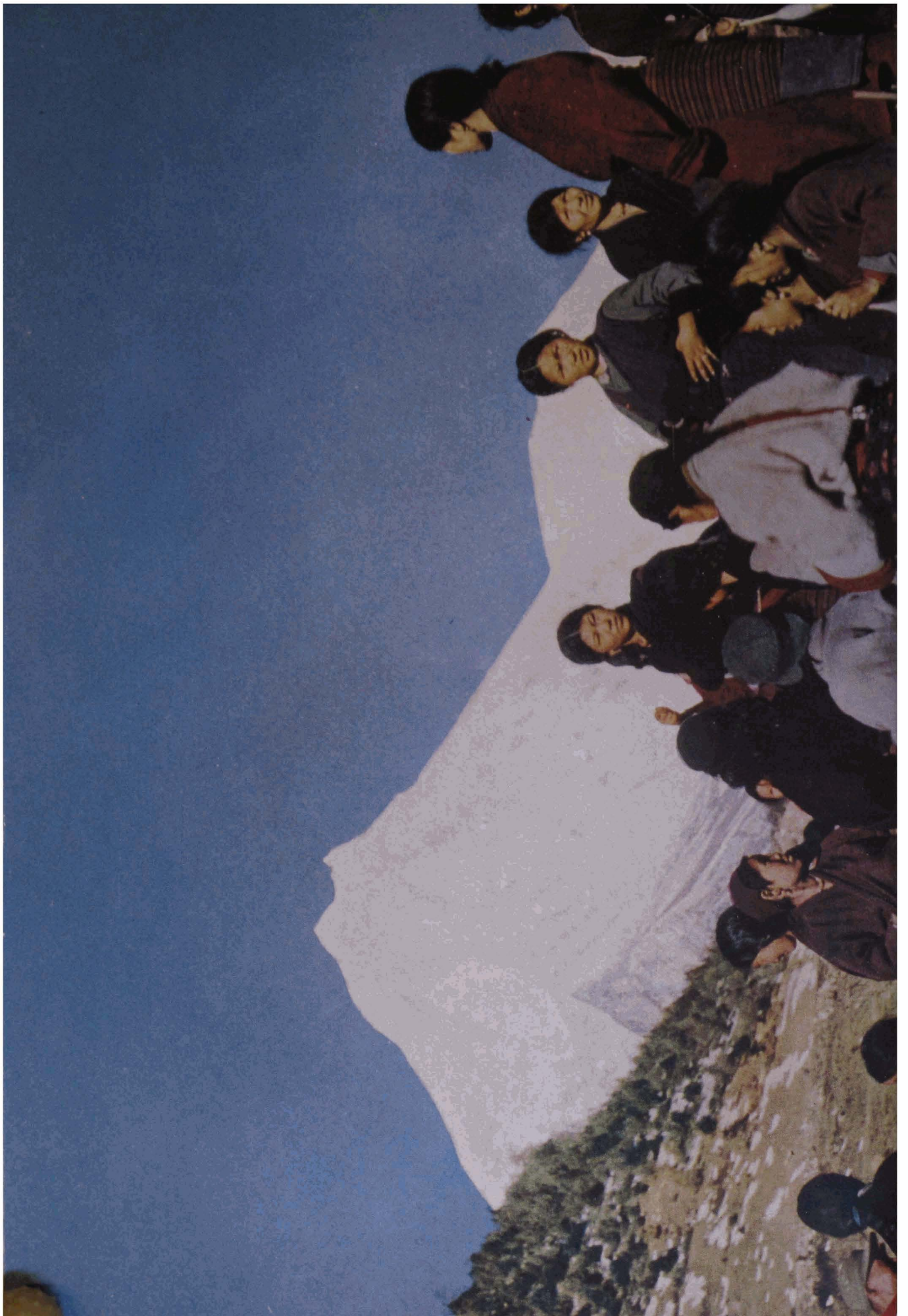


PEOPLES
OF
NEPAL HIMALAYA

PRINTED IN JAPAN

The villagers of Lho with Mt. Manaslu on the background. Melting snow of the spring still remains dotted here and there on the slope of conifer woodland. (Photo. by T. Yoda, April, 1953).



PEOPLES OF NEPAL HIMALAYA

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Scientific Results of the Japanese Expeditions to Nepal Himalaya

1952-1953

Vol. III.

Edited by

H. KIHARA

FAUNA AND FLORA RESEARCH SOCIETY
KYOTO UNIVERSITY, KYOTO, JAPAN

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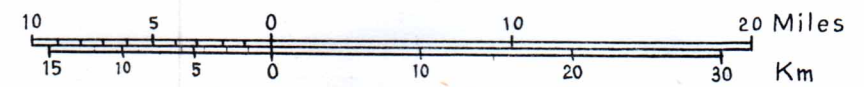
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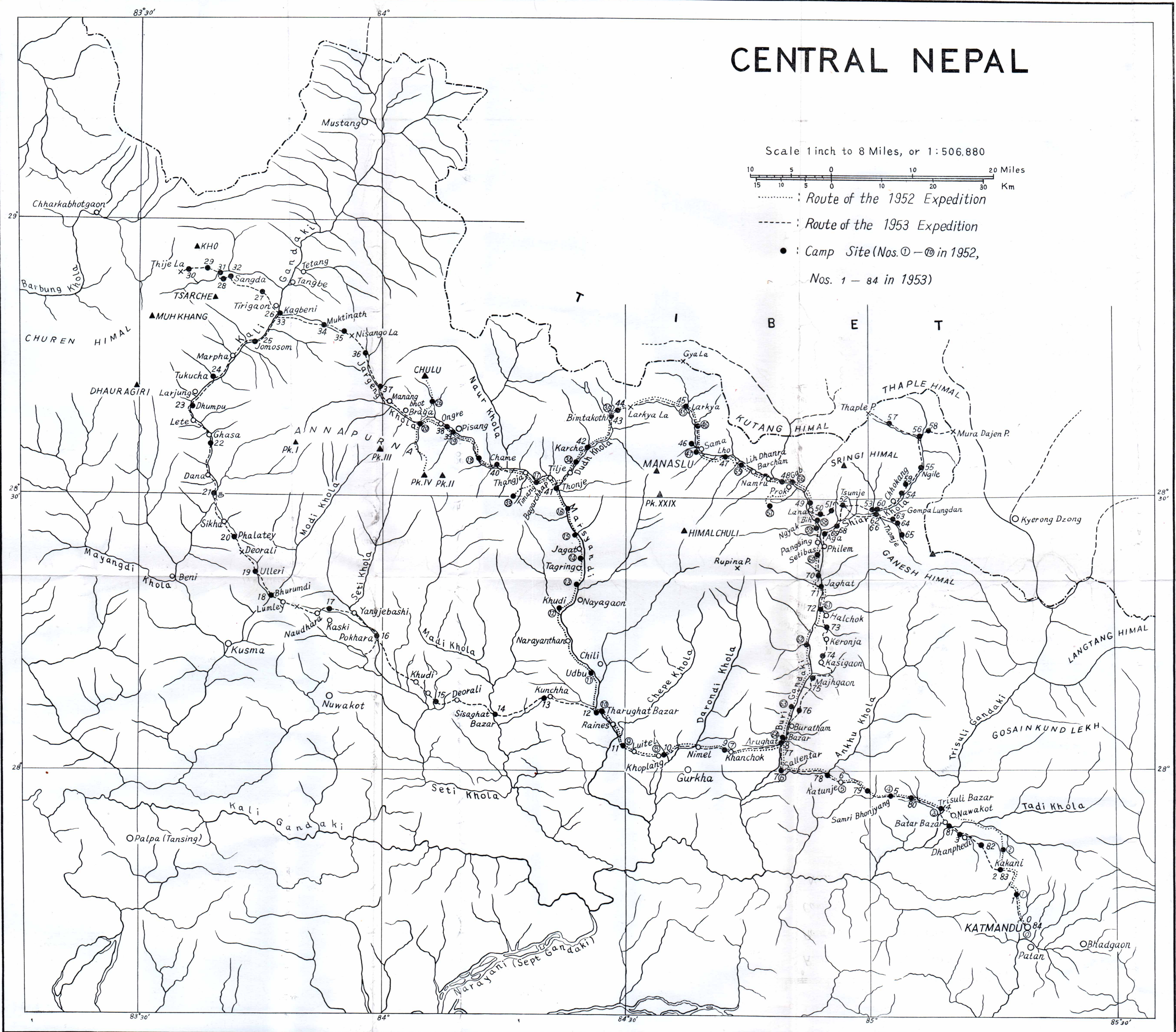
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CENTRAL NEPAL

Scale 1 inch to 8 Miles, or 1:506,880



- : Route of the 1952 Expedition
- : Route of the 1953 Expedition
- : Camp Site (Nos. ① - ⑳ in 1952,
Nos. 1 - 84 in 1953)



Preface

Our plan to publish the reports for the Japanese Scientific Expeditions to Nepal, 1952 and 1953, is complete with this third volume. The account of these expeditions can be read in Dr. Kihara's preface to the first volume, which dealt with the fauna and flora of Nepal. The second volume of the same series was dedicated to agricultural investigations of that country. The present third volume is concerned with cultural anthropology or ethnology. The data, most of which stems from the 1953 expedition, were collected by Jirō Kawakita, Sasuke Nakao, and Kinji Imanishi. Some of these data, geographical, ethnobotanical or agricultural, have already appeared in the second volume. Yoshinaru Huzioka assisted these collectors and worked afterwards on some parts of the data in Japan.

Nepal is the land of religions, the land of cultures, both Hindu, Buddhist, and Lamaist. These religions and cultures mixed with each other in this country show peculiar features of cultural contacts. This becomes more complicated when one notes this in connection with the facts of co-dwelling, the rise and fall of various tribes, whose origins and characters are still obscure and need to be investigated.

In the last few centuries, various missions were sent from the Western world to study this country; they published many valuable reports about the Nepalese land and people. Specifically when the fact was known that Nepal had been keeping many Sanskrit manuscripts, especially of Buddhist texts which had been lost in other parts of the globe, Nepal became to be regarded as one of the most important places for Buddhist research. Such discoveries and ensuing investigations were mostly carried on by Western or Indian savants. It seems to me, however, that their research was sometimes far from being satisfactory in certain branches of the human sciences; anthropological and ethnological concerns in general are being increasingly encouraged in recent days, their methodology being developed and more and more data accumulated.

Missions of similar nature were, however, scarcely or utterly not launched from the Eastern countries. Although some of our Japanese forerunners explored the country and studied things Nepalese, their concern pinpointed mainly Buddhist studies, such as ancient manuscripts or architecture; and not a small number of Buddhist texts discovered in Nepal, were deciphered and published by Japanese scholars. But the aim this time was to make an investigation especially from the point of view of cultural anthropology and ethnology. And we are proud of the fact that this expedition was not only the unique one which originated in the East, but also one of the few expeditions of this kind among other expeditions which flocked to Nepal from all directions of

the world after the great war.

Among the Western missions to this country these last centuries, the first is that of the Jesuit missionaries, Father J. Grueber and Father A. d'Orville, who passed through Nepal from Lhasa to Katmandu by the route of the Kuti pass in 1663. Later, the Capuchin mission established a branch in Katmandu in 1715, under the leadership of Father Orazio della Penna. Most of them moved further to Lhasa, but they were finally expelled from Tibet in 1745 and came back to Patan in the Nepal Valley. They were engaged in missionary work until Prithvi Narayan, the Gurkha conquerer, drove them out in 1770. Their records in this long period were, however, mostly lost or forgotten under the heap of dust in the Vatican Library of Rome, and the rest are of little value from the scientific standpoint.

A Jesuit father Ippolito Desideri passed Nepal via the Kuti pass and Katmandu in 1721-1722. Though his account is valuable, the description about Nepal is short.

The East India Company sent George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner to Tibet, who took the route by way of Bhutan. They also tried to establish a connection with Nepal, and supported the Malla dynasty, which was soon taken over by Prithvi Narayan, the Gurkha new-comer. The latter of course hated such British relief to his enemy, and ever since he had held sway over the whole of Nepal, the country was closed to almost all foreign visitors.

The Tibeto-Nepalese war took place in 1788-1793, caused by the invasion of the Gurkhas into Tibet. The Tibetan army, reinforced from Ch'ing dynasty, China, proceeded far into Nepal and a severe battle was fought at Nawakot. Just at this time, William Kirkpatrick was sent from the East India Company as a mediator, and, though his mission was not fruitful, he left us a precious book, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul* (London, 1811).

Brian Houghton Hodgson, appointed as British Resident in Nepal and who stayed there about two decades until 1845, was a man of extraordinary talent and energy. Not only a great politician, but also a man of high scholarship, he left bulky records of scientific value, contributing to natural history, Buddhism, anthropology, history, and other branches of science. Many articles written by him were gathered and reprinted in his *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet: Together with further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology, and Commerce of these Countries* (London: Trübner & Co., 1874). His contributions in anthropology are even now regarded as of great value, especially since this science applied to this area remains in a very elementary stage.

Regarding history, a book written by some Nepalese scholars was translated into English (*History of Nepal*, edited by Daniel Wright, and translated from Parbatiya by Munshi Shew Shunker Singh and Pandit Shri Gunanand,

Cambridge, 1877). The most important and thorough-going account of Nepalese history was, however, written by a famous orientalist Sylvain Lévi in 1905, 1906, and 1907 (*Le Népal, étude historique d'un royaume Hindou*, Annales du Musée Guimet, 17, 18, 19). Perceval Landon, a British politician who sojourned many years in Katmandu, published a comprehensive book in two volumes entitled *Nepal* (London, 1928). This book concerns mainly Nepalese history, geography and politics, but is rather poor and sporadic in anthropological data.

Most of the above-mentioned contributions afford fairly abundant materials concerning the Katmandu Valley and the central government there, while only scanty observations are available concerning areas outside the valley. In 1881-82, Sarat Chandra Das crossed the north-eastern part of Nepal in his journey from Darjeeling to Lhasa (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, ed. by W. W. Rockhill, London, 1902). Central and Western Nepal were travelled by a Japanese Buddhist priest, the Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi (See p. 14). He entered Nepal in 1899 from Birganj, and via Katmandu, Pokhara, and Tukucha, arrived at Tsarang, a settlement near the Tibetan border, where he stayed almost one year. From this village, he proceeded to Marpha and Chharkabhotgaon and entered into Tibet the following year. Later he visited again Katmandu to talk with the Maharaja, after his flight from Lhasa. The reliability of his accounts was highly appreciated by the members of our expedition, who followed partly the same route as he. Among his sporadic observations of anthropological nature, the records about Tsarang and its vicinity are important.

After 1949, when Nepal abandoned the policy of isolation from the outer world, some ethnological surveys seem to have been made on this country. Scholars, for instance, accompanying the Swiss expedition to Mt. Everest, gathered ethnological specimens of Nepalese people, especially that of Newars, and published a book, *Catalogue de la Collection d'Ethnographie Nepalaise du Musée d'Ethnographie de la Ville de Genève*, par Mme. Marguerite Lobsiger-Dellenbach, Genève, 1954. The achievements of Prof. G. Tucci's trip in 1952 were reported in his *Tra Giungle e Pagode*, Roma, 1953. The author being an authority in oriental and Buddhological studies, the book contains many anthropological as well as Buddhological materials. We must say, however, that purely anthropological works which are available are few in number. Plans for publication in the near future (for instance, *A Handbook of Nepal*, ed. by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, and a book by Prof. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, London) have been announced. And we hope they will afford us new light and deeper understanding anthropologically speaking about this country.

Now, the writers of the present book wished to expose their material still in the state of raw data. This is because the authors were hesitant to indulge

in generalization, which would be particularly dangerous in a field of investigation into human behavior. And yet, the writers have inserted between their raw materials many tentative views, which, I believe, will give the reader some heuristic suggestions.

The first task to be accomplished in such an unknown land as Nepal is to know and enumerate the various kinds of cultural contents found within the country. Part I of Mr. Kawakita's article was written for this purpose, and it will give some orientation to future surveys, though the materials gathered are admittedly somewhat heterogeneous and not systematized. He spent forty-two days in a Bhotiya (Tibetan) village named Tsumje. The aim of this stay was to make an intensive survey of a Tibetan community, although the period was too short to obtain sufficient materials for that purpose. The results of this community survey were stated in Part II of his article. Recognition of the existence of patrilineal and localized clans among the agricultural Tibetans, together with genealogical tables obtained in the same community, are the most important achievements in this survey. He also applied the Rorschach psychological tests to thirty-one villagers. The protocols obtained were entrusted to Dr. K. Imanishi and Mr. Y. Huzioka, the latter an anthropologist who has nonetheless psychological training. Mr. Huzioka's article in this volume may be useful especially when it is studied in comparison with the data obtained by H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark and his collaborators in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, who had applied Rorschach tests and Thematic aperception tests to numerous Tibetan refugees in Kalimpong in 1951.

Lastly, Mr. S. Nakao in his article analyses and states his views about the routes used in the diffusion of cultivated plants and animals. It is true that his views are still of a very hypothetical character, based upon his own experiences in this country as well as various information from other sources. However, I believe such an investigation is much suggestive and has a close connection with anthropological and ethnological studies.

It is my deep-felt hope that these materials and opinions will prove to be helpful for the future welfare of Nepal. Although our contributions are still sporadic and insufficient, may they be at least one of the stepping-stones toward mutual understanding between Nepal and Japan.

I wish to take this opportunity to express once more our sincere gratitude to H. M. the King of Nepal, the Governmental authorities and other people, whose good offices and collaboration made possible our expeditions. Our thanks are also due to the Mainichi Newspaper and the Japan Alpine Club for their kind assistance and encouragement given to members of the Fauna and Flora Research Society, Kyoto University.

Gadjin M. Nagao

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Ethno-Geographical Observations on the Nepal Himalaya

Jirō KAWAKITA

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Author's Preface

The present volume deals with the author's observations of the rural life of the Nepalese. In any country a survey of man and his society is an extremely difficult task, because people are unwilling to disclose their private lives to outsiders. In addition, before my trip in 1953 I had no experience of survey in the Himalayas. Because of the lack of my preliminary training and experience, my observations and interpretations of facts may be open to question.

As I was not trained in Nepali, data concerning the southern side of the Great Himalaya, where this language prevails together with the local tribal languages, were almost always obtained through an interpreter. Also on the northern side of the mountain range, as my Tibetan conversation was too awkward most data were collected through an interpreter at interviews with the natives, and partly by direct conversation with our Sherpa porters. But still my poor knowledge of Tibetan was always used to check the reliability of this material. The rule of Romanization adopted in this book is, as a rule, after C. A. Bell: *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*, 2nd ed. 1919. But some spellings, such as *za* instead of *dsa* and *dza*, are conventionally used and will be retained here. The pronunciation of *r* in *tra*, *pra*, *dre*, etc., is very slight and short; I mistook it for *tha*, *pha* and *dhe* in many cases. The strongly aspirated *phe*, etc. in the Sherpa dialect of Tibetan is spelled *hhe* and so forth. The sign of lengthening the sound, —, is sometimes omitted; the sign of shortening the sound is not used. Italicized words are always the ones recorded in my direct on-the-spot survey; even though my hearing might not be trustworthy, no standardized spelling is used, as in the case of "Chenrezi" for *Changarezi*, the latter being adopted here. Frequently used local terms such as *gompa*, *chorten*, *tsosum* and *nang-zang* are not italicized, except in its first usage in the text. Customary spellings such as bazaar, Brahman, pouah, etc., are sometimes used without italicization.

The map used for our travel and reports is the one made by the Survey of India, drawn in the scale of one inch to eight miles, but some minor

topographical mistakes were corrected by our field observations. The spellings of place names used in that map are, in most cases, adopted in this report. However, in those area where Tibetan is predominant instead of Nepali or Hindi these spellings seem sometimes to be inadequate. The lowland Nepalese and the Indians have difficulties in pronouncing *tsa*, *tsha*, *dza*, etc. The reason we find some incorrect spellings on this map, as "Chāme" instead of *Tseme*, "Thangja" instead of *Thonzo*, "Barcham" instead of *Bhar-tsam*, etc., seems to lie in this fact. Some villages have two names. With these considerations in mind, in this volume of my itinerary I afforded other spellings and names than the ones adopted on the map of the Survey of India.

I owe a great deal to the observations done by Dr. Kinji Imanishi, the leader of the 1952 expedition and an anthropologist. Some of his observations have already been published in "Nepal Himalaya no Shizen (Nature of the Nepal Himalaya)" *Kagaku*, Vol. 23, Nos. 8 & 9, 1953 (in Japanese); "Annapurna and Manaslu", *Sangaku*, Vol. 48, 1953 (in Japanese). I am also indebted to the records of our expedition party to Mt. Manaslu: *Manaslu 1952-3*, edited by the Japanese Alpine Club, 1954 (in Japanese). I used some of the data collected by various members of our expeditions, particularly those of Mr. Sasuke Nakao, my colleague in 1953, Mr. Sakuta Takebushi, and Mr. Jiro Taguchi to all of whom I wish to express my gratitude.

In addition, I gathered some ethnological specimens during my stay in Nepal. Though the number of these is only 57, almost all of them were collected in a single community: a Bhotiya (Tibetan) village called Tsumje in the Shiar Khola valley of the upper Buri Gandaki. Moreover the data were obtained intensively concerning this village, as is shown in this volume. All of the specimens were contributed to the Ethnological Museum which belongs to the Japanese Ethnological Society of 132 Shimo-Hoya, Hoyamachi, Kitatama-gun, Tokyo. Mr. Keizō Shibusawa, the president of the Japanese Ethnological Society, financially supported this collection and other anthropological surveying activities done by me.

In spite of many difficulties, I found the surveying trip very enjoyable. I owe much to the generosity of the Nepalese Government and the frank attitude of the people whom we met there. I want to take this occasion to express my sincere gratitude to H.M. the King of Nepal and to the governmental authorities, as well as to the friendly people of that country. I was firmly determined throughout my travels to make observations with a cool brain and a warm heart. Though it be but a trifling contribution, it is my heartfelt desire that this volume may be utilized for the future improvement of the welfare of Nepal.

In Japan, the Japanese Alpine Club and the Mainichi Press supported

our survey trip. I wish to state specifically my personal gratitude to Mr. Yukio Mita, the chief leader of the 1953 expedition to Nepal, and to Mr. Aritsune Maki, the president of the Japanese Alpine Club at that time. The Bureau of Education gave a grant to assist in the processing and completion of our studies. I owe many of the photographs used in this volume to the courtesy of the Mainichi Press (mainly taken by Mr. Sakuta Takebushi and Mr. Takayoshi Yoda), Prof. S. Nakao and Dr. Kazuhiko Hayashi.

Among the editorial staff of the Fauna and Flora Research Society, Prof. Gadjin M. Nagao was kind enough to read the manuscript, giving me many suggestions. Prof. Shinobu Iwamura undertook the painstaking work of correcting my awkward English. Prof. David G. Mandelbaum and Dr. Elizabeth K. Bauer of the University of California and Prof. Giuseppe Tucci of Rome kindly gave me valuable suggestions to further my studies. For the kindnesses of all these people, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude.

J. K.

Abbreviations

Lowland=The area between the Great Himalaya and the Siwalik Range.
See the definition in p. 7.

Highland=The area north beyond the Great Himalaya within the territory of Nepal. See the definition in p. 7.

Gorge Districts=The gorge regions where the Great Himalaya is cut by antecedent rivers.

C.=The camp number adopted in the itinerary in the author's trip in 1953.
C. 38-C. 39, for instance, means the spot between C. 38 and C. 39.

Nep.=Nepali (or Parbatiya) language.

Tib.=Tibetan language.

m=meter. 1900 m means 1900 meters above sea-level.

cm=centimeter.

Rs.=Nepalese rupees.

Rf. and Ad.=See p. 287 in Chapter VI of Part II.

Ka., Pra. and Shi.=The three settlements of Tsumje. See p. 232.

EBr, YSi, 2Wi, 4So, etc.=The statuses in kin relationship. See p. 249.

Introduction

Topography behind culture

Of the topographic characteristics of central Nepal, the Great Himalaya and the Siwalik Range are most important for understanding the Nepalese cultures. In this paper the writer divides the land into three parts by these

two ranges: one is the *Tarai* which lies south of the Siwalik; the other is the *Lowland* which is between the Siwalik and the Great Himalaya. The Lowland may be called Nepal proper, because it is the cradle land of the native Nepalese culture and includes the heart of the Nepal State. Many streams such as the Gandaki and the Sept Kosi take a east-west direction between these two ranges. Accordingly this region may be called *central valley belt*. But the writer avoids this nomenclature in the present article. One of the reasons is that the term *Nepal Valley* or simply *Valley* is customarily applied to that basin which is the uppermost part of the Bagmati and includes the capital city Katmandu. We may use, therefore, the term *valley* in this sense. Another reason is more important: although the lowest points in the Lowland have altitudes of only five hundred meters above sea-level, most of the Lowland is a rugged hilly region. And high hill tops with more than 2000 m occur here and there. On the other hand even the highest ridges of the Siwalik rarely exceed 2500 m. The term *valley* may give an inadequate impression to the reader on this hilly lowland of Nepal proper.

The third region of Nepal lies beyond the Great Himalaya. It belongs to the Tibetan Plateau in a broader sense. But we find a few other ranges there such as the Ladakh Range and others than the Great Himalaya. This region is not so flat as the Tibetan Plateau as is seen in the Changtang plain which lies north of the Tsang Po river. The writer calls this part of Nepal the *Highland*. There is only a small portion which belongs to the *Highland* in eastern Nepal, because the Great Himalaya makes the boundary between Nepal and Tibet. In central and west Nepal, the Great Himalaya runs through Nepal, as a result of which the northern part of the region belongs to this *Highland*. The Highland of this part is a rugged country divided by high *himals* and deep ravines, except in the vicinity of Mustang.

It seems to the writer that these three regions of Nepal afford a physical bases to the three cultural regions. The Tarai, which constitutes the lowest mountain feet of the Siwalik, has been liable influence of the Hindu cultural tradition. The Highland has been influenced by the Tibetan mode of life. And the Lowland which is protected by the barriers of the Siwalik and the Great Himalaya has advantages to preserve the Nepalese culture.

The development of human culture is stimulated and promoted by facilities of communication. Flatness means easy communication: ruggedness is an enemy of communication. In this connection, it is fortunate that otherwise unsurmountable Great Himalaya and other ranges with *himals* are torn up by the antecedent rivers. Only within the drainage area of the Gandaki river, you will find such antecedent rivers as the Kali Gandaki, the Marsyandi, the Buri Gandaki, and the Trisuli Gandaki. Most of these ante-



Fig. 1. A yak caravan in the Highland, Larkya, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao



Fig. 2. A Himalayan gorge. A village called Ngyak is seen on cliff. Dhorzhong, June, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao

cedents have their springs within the territory of Tibet. The parts where these antecedents cross the barrier of the Great Himalaya are called the *Gorge Districts* in this article. Through these *Gorge Districts*, the people of the *Lowland* and those of the Hindustan Plain have kept communication with the people of the *Highland* and Tibet throughout the centuries.

The easiest route through the Gorge District in the drainage of the Gandaki is that of the Kali Gandaki. But most important is that of the Trisuli Gandaki. The amount of trade through the whole Himalayas is largest in the case of the Chumbi valley which connects Kalimpong with Gyantse and Hlasa (Lhasa). But the trade route through the Trisuli Gandaki ranks next to it in importance. The prosperity of trade route depends not only on topographical advantages but also on the prosperity of hinterland. This is a reason why the route through the Trisuli Gandaki is preferred to that through the Kali Gandaki. Because the former is more accessible to the heart of Tibet, i.e. the middle stream of the Tsangpo. And it provides a nearer route than that of the Kali Gandaki to the fertile basin of the Nepal Valley and also to the prosperous Gangetic Plain.

The reason why such a small basin as the Nepal Valley has been and is so prosperous in the long history of this country is another problem. In a later chapter this problem will be taken up. So far as the topographical environment is concerned, this basin is largest in whole Nepal proper. As a whole Nepal proper is a rugged land. Another reason is the location itself: the Valley is situated on the point that divides the two river drainages of the Gandaki and Sept Kosi. It is important as communication lines, both strategic and commercial. Thirdly, its elevation combined with a moderately mild climate provides quite a good geographical environment for prosperity as in the case of the Kashmir Valley.

Climate

If we disregard her climatic conditions, we can never appraise the role of environment as a whole, which has led to the formation of the present-day Nepal. Among the climatic factors monsoon and tropical heat are most important. As a result of the precipitous Great Himalaya which shuts out the effects of the monsoon, the western half of the *Highland* makes a "cool and dry region", while the eastern half of the *Highland* makes a "cool and humid region", because the gateways of the Marsyandi and the Buri Gandaki permit invasion of the heavy monsoon clouds up to the boundary of the Nepalese-Tibetan border. The *Lowland* is also climatically humid, although a fairly prominent dry season dominates in the winter half of the year. Under ca. 1200 m, a type of red lateritic soil formation and the flora designate the subtropical climate in this Nepal Proper.

The role of the Tarai is unmistakable in the history of Nepal. On account of the windward slope and tropical heat, the Tarai is hot and wet, and is famous by its unhealthy milieu. Most of the Tarai was an unexploited forest land or tropical savanna until quite recent times, with wild beasts haunting there. It is one of the most famous big-game hunting grounds in Eastern Asia. And the Gurkha Maharajas used to enjoy hunting trips with great pomp. In the rainy season the dreadful hand of Durga goddess, a terrible malaria called *awal*, captures many victims. Only the malaria-immunized Tharus with their primitive culture are aboriginal in this belt. Even the adventurous soldiers of the East India Company was annihilated by pestilence in the war with Nepal in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

It is, therefore, not only the steepness of the Siwalik but the unhealthy Tarai that have protected Nepal proper from the challenge of invaders and have brought up the Nepalese ways of life. Nepal has been crushed neither by the Muslims nor by the English.

Tribal culture

Probably because of the above-mentioned reasons the people of Nepal was destined to develop autogenetically his own culture. And the national character shows a kind of acceptability toward foreign culture, as is the case of sea-protected Japan. But smallness of the state, with ruggedness of topography and local varieties of climate, have prevented establishment of a strong integrated culture. In fact, the cultural development of Nepal has been stagnating at the tribal level.

Generally speaking, the distribution of the tribes in the mountainous and hilly parts of Nepal tells the waves of migration which have come from north through the Himalayas. The best proof on the direction of these migrations is their tribal language, most of which belong to the Tibeto-Burmanese family. Hodgson classifies the Himalayan tribes into the following three categories, : (a) the unbroken tribes, (b) the broken tribes, (c) the tribes of helot craftsmen.¹⁾

According to him, the unbroken tribes such as the Khas, the Magar, the Gurung, the Newar, and the Murmi, (same with the Tamangs), represent the latest waves of migration so that they hold still their own territories. Generally they live in relatively high places near the Great Himalaya. The broken tribes belong to some older waves of migration. They are distributed in more southern and lower hills than the unbroken tribes. Having

1) B. H. Hodgson (1874): *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet: together with further papers on the geography, ethnology, and commerce of those countries*. Part II, pp. 14-15.

been pushed by the later waves, their territories were broken to pieces, which remain here and there as small patches of land. Most of them are called *Awalia* in this country. Their languages have changed from the original Tibeto-Burmanese stock into some mixed ones. The tribes of helot craftsmen have lost their tribal characters so thoroughly that no means of identifying the origin can be found. They live side by side with other ethnic groups in the subtropical low places of Nepal.

Differentiation of culture

The effects of isolation and adaptation to the habitat seem to promote the differentiation of ethnic groups. In the language of the Gurungs who occupy a large territory are found so many local varieties that they feel difficulty in intra-tribal communication. This is an example of the effect of isolation. Crop rotation changes according to altitude. People of the Lowland use clothing of the Nepalese style, which are fit to such a hot climate as found in the Lowland. On the other hand, the people of the Highland put on the Tibetan style costume, which is composed of thick felt gown and felt boots which are useful in the cold climate of the Highland. These are only a few examples of adaptative differentiation found in some culture traits.

Not only cases of culture traits but more synthetic phases of culture as a whole show the same kind of differentiation in some cases. A fine example is found among the Gurung tribe. At the first glance we can hardly believe that the northern and southern Gurungs ever belonged to a common ethnic group. Now the former live in the Highland. They are Lamaists; they live in the Tibetan mode settlement; they speak Tibetan and wear the Tibetan costume. The latter live in the Lowland. They stick to Hinduism; their villages take a few forms of clustered settlement, which are different from the former's: they use the Nepalese type of costume and speak Nepali along with their own tribal language. The same kind of differentiation has happened among the Tamangs. These two examples are results of adaptative differentiation, though these are at the same time results of acculturation. The differences in topography and climate between the Highland and the Lowland are important.

Growth of the two supertribal cultures

By means of the ecological effects of isolation, adaptation and acculturation, the Himalayas has brought up various tribal cultures in this manner. When Nepal felt the necessity of a supertribal culture, she borrowed foreign traditions from the Hindu and the Tibetan mode of life, which has penetrated into this land-locked area through the Siwalik and the Great Himalaya. In fact these two greater cultures have been the forces which has eroded or

acculturated the indigenous tribal cultures in Nepal.

Language

Most of the unbroken tribes are bi-lingual. Their language does not have its own letters except the classical Newar language. Besides their various dialects they use a kind of *lingua franca*, which is Nepali (or called *Parbatia*, *Gurkhali* and *Khaskura*), and sometimes other Hindi dialects in the south of the Great Himalaya, while in the north of the Great Himalaya, it is Tibetan (or *Pöke* in Tibetan). Nepali is a variety of the Sanskritic language, and, therefore, the spread of this language indicates an invasion of the Indian culture from the south.

Hodgson tells us that "the dialects prevailing to the westward of that river (the Kali Gandaki) are for the most part extremely mixed, and indeed almost merged in the ordinary tongues of the plains of Hindusthan, as also because I have no immediate access to the people of the West. The case is very different in the Eastern sub-Himalayas, where I was domiciled, and where, as will be seen, the Indian Prakrits have hardly been able to make a single cognizable impression upon any of the numerous vernaculars of the people, with the sole exception of the Khas or Parbattia Bhasha, which, as being a mongrel tongue I have omitted".²⁾ In central Nepal, through which the writer travelled, Nepali is understandable even to women side by side with their own aboriginal language. The linguistic erosion of the tribal culture by the Hindu culture is proceeding more remarkably in the western half than in the eastern half of Nepal, probably because of a heavier influence of the monsoon and of the protective effects of the moist forest lands in eastern Nepal.

Tibetan has penetrated into the Highland from the north, replacing the vernacular languages. In this way some groups of the north Gurungs can hardly tell us the vocabulary of their own language. The Sherpas are completely tibetanized in this point.

Religion

In religion the process of acculturation by the two great cultures are going on as will be seen in the present book. We can divide central Nepal into two cultural areas, by using religions as an indicator. The borderline between the Hinduistic and Lamaistic areas coincides with the crest line of the Great Himalaya. Nepalese Buddhism which has intermediate characters between Hinduism and Lamaism is declining.

The history of the Nepalese dynasties suggests a trend toward the Hinduistic social organization. In the later half of the fourteenth century,

2) B. H. Hodgson, *op. cit.* Part II, p. 29.

Jaya Sthiti Malla and his son Jyotir introduced for the first time Brahmanism into the daily life of the people.³⁾ It was symbolic that the Indian corn was introduced from the south into Nepal at the time when the same Jagat Jyotir Malla ruled Bhatgaon. (He died in 1427). There was a violent protest against the importation of this new grain.⁴⁾

The former Newar dynasty seemed to be more sympathetic toward the Tibetan culture as well as toward the Hindu culture. The coins which were produced by the Newari dynasty circulated in Tibet. In the early half of the seventeenth century, Bhima Malla, one of the royal family of the Newari dynasty, exercised his influence as a great merchant⁵⁾ to Hlasa.

Later on, the Gurkha dynasty seemed to be more apathetic to the Tibetan mode of life. In this way, the crevice between the Hindu and Tibetan cultures seems to have grown up in Nepal, mixed with unfriendly feelings between them.

Under these conditions, it is a little difficult to discover traces of older religions in the Nepal Himalaya. But we can find probably survivals of Nepal Buddhism in the Nepal Valley and in some places further north of the Valley. Another indigenous religion in the Nepal Himalaya is Jangrism which seems to be a kind of shamanistic religion, with the priest called *Jangri* or *Jhankri*. This religion is found at least among the Takalis, the Gurungs, the Lepchas, and probably among the other unbroken tribes.

Universalization and localization

Even the two great cultural traditions have their own sphere. Their spheres are the hot and sub-humid Indian sub-continent and the cold and arid Tibetan Plateau, respectively. In other words, these facts suggest the existence of some inclination or predisposition toward accepting such established cultural traditions as the Hindu and Tibetan. Since the roots of the predisposition are so deep that these indigenous cultures are still surviving under the guise of more elaborated and greater cultural traditions. Mutual intercourse between universalization and localization, or according to M. N. Srinivas, *Sanskritization* and *Parochialization*, in the case of the Hindu culture, must be treated with cautiousness.⁶⁾

In the case of the Tibetan culture, this kind of mutual relationship is found between orthodox Buddhism and the tendency toward the Bon religion. Some indigenous of beliefs among the Tibetans penetrate deep into

3) P. Landon (1928): *Nepal*. vol. I, p. 38.

4) P. Landon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 56.

5) P. Landon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 43-44

6) Mckim Marriott, ed. by (1955): *Village India*. (American Anthropologist, Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations, No. 6.)

orthodox of Tibetan Buddhism. Lamaism is said to be Bonistic Buddhism, which has been adapted to Tibet, though the Bon religion has been on the surface superseded by Buddhism. It is interesting that this ancient religion is found, according to Ekai Kawaguchi, in a purer form in the north-western Nepal.⁷⁾ And Prof. Giuseppe Tucci told the writer that he confirmed it in this district. According to him, Jangrism is same with Bonism.⁸⁾ In this point, too, central Nepal still preserves some aboriginal elements of culture.

Role of the marginal zone

The intermediate zone between the Hindu and Tibetan cultures is being eliminated by a process of acculturation. But it is an interesting question whether this intermediate zone is simply a survival of the cultures of tribal level, which are in the course of disorganization. The highly developed culture of the Newars since the dawn of history in the Nepal Valley is found in this intermediate zone. The Newars are peaceful mediators of both the Hindu and Tibetan cultures.

Another people who contribute toward acculturation in this intermediate zone are the Gurkha soldiers. Prithwi Narayan, who overthrew the former Newar dynasty and created the present Gurkha dynasty in 1769, came from a small town called Gurkha, which is located on a hill between Katmandu and Pokhara. Although the name of the Gurkha soldiers is famous, there is no tribe called the Gurkhas. Two elements have contributed to the foundation of this dynasty. One is the Thakurs who constitute the ruling class. They came from India long time ago. They have conciliated the mountain tribes such as the Gurungs and the Magars with their organizing talent. Most of the Gurkha soldiers belong to these mountain tribes. In other words, these soldiers are not a people who are too sophisticated to be soldiers by the Hindu culture but who are being acculturated by this culture, however, still preserving their naive sturdiness. Yet it is true that they have been dispersed from their own territory. In other words, they are absorbed into Hindu caste society with their own tribal culture disintegrating.

The third example is commercial activities of the Takali tribe, who lives in the contact zone of these two cultures. The reason why such flowers of people's talent and energy have bloomed in this zone of cultural contact, is still not clear, but it seems that the zone of contact or the marginal zone plays a role, when some circumstances necessary for it become ripe.

7) Ekai Kawaguchi (1904): *Chibetto Ryokôki*. (in Japanese), Vol. I, p. 84; or its translation: *Three Years in Tibet*. p. 73.

8) See also, Giuseppe Tucci (1953): *Tra Giungle e Pagode*.

PART I. ETHNIC AND CULTURAL DISTRIBUTIONS

Chapter I. LAND OCCUPANCE⁹⁾

Forest-clad hills and wind-blown wilderness of the Himalayas in the past are considerably inhabited by man at present. They destroyed natural vegetation and have cultivated the land and made pastures. Especially in the altitude between ca. 1000 and 2000 m, it is very difficult to find virgin forests. We find terraced cultivated field everywhere in this altitudinal zone. If it is not for cultivated field, secondary forests, bushlands and grasslands tell us that these lands are under human control, whether for grazing or for gathering foliage, fuel and so on. Under ca. 1000 m, you will observe cultivated fields, especially irrigated paddy fields everywhere. Land use is, however, a little less intensive, probably because of an unhealthy milieu. And we can find a few patches of virgin forest in some rare cases. Above 2000 m, natural vegetation occurs more frequently. It is partly due to the tremendous steepness of slopes, partly due to the poor development of soil cover which hinders tillage. Indeed, you will find many gravels mixed with finer earth in most of the surface of cultivated land, or you will find stone hedges surround the field, where stones are removed. (See Fig. 6 in p. 19.)

The average upper limit of cultivated land is at ca. 3630 m, though it sometimes reaches 4000 m in the arid Highland (See Vol. II.). But the upper limit of the utilized land as pasture merges into the snow line at ca. 5200 m, making the boundary of *oekmene*. In the arid Highland struggles for water restrict the acreage of cultivated land, though the desert-like wilderness is utilized everywhere as pasture.

Conclusively we find two main types of land use other than the forest for wood and fuel: one is cultivated land and the other pasture land. These two types exist side by side everywhere. And it suggests that the people are engaged not only in plant growing but also in animal husbandry.

Usually cultivated land is more important than pasture for their living. And we can find three main types of cultivated land: (1) *irrigated paddy field*, (2) *dry field*, (3) *irrigated field* in the arid Highland. (This nomenclature will be used through this article). *Irrigated paddy field* characterizes most of the Lowland under ca. 1600 m, though dry field is always found side by side. *Irrigated field* is overwhelmingly dominant in the arid Highland. In the other cases dry field is universal.

9) About the human influences on natural vegetation, refer, J. Kawakita (1956): "Vegetation," *Land and Crops of Nepal Himalaya* (ed. by H. Kihara), (Vol. II. of the present series,) pp. 1-65.

Chapter II. AGRICULTURE¹⁰⁾

As regards vertical distribution of crop rotation, the present writer described it in detail in Volume II. Now only a few more important points will be discussed here again. As a whole efforts are seen to utilize as much as possible the heat of the sun in a manner most effective at each given altitude. (A detailed account in this respect based upon the climatic data was given in Volume II of this series by the writer.) This kind of efforts towards an economic rationalism are universal *irrespective of cultures and races*. We must not underestimate the efforts on the part of the natives, who are striving for increase of productivity and improving their life.

In view of this fact, however, there is no reason why a spring barley belt should not exist above the spring wheat belt. Because barley has a less amount of heat requirement than wheat. That such a belt does not exist is not proved. One point to account for this phenomenon is that there exist little flat lands suitable for cultivation at the places above the spring wheat belt in the case of central Nepal.

In this respect, however, it should be remembered that barley is almost the only staple crop raised in Tibet, situated above 4000 m. This is attested by the fact that tsampa, the staple diet of the Tibetan people, is largely made of barley flour.

Two questions may be raised about the economic rationalism among them. One question is as follows: in the low places, the yield of crop per unit of land seems to diminish as the land becomes lower. In contrast the satisfactory growth and yield of crops are observed in the steep and remote mountains. In the Lowland, particularly in the dry cultivated land, fallowing is sometimes found. But in places of high altitude, there is no fallowed land. As for the growing period of crops, there is much unutilized productive season as compared with the necessary period for the crop rotations in the case of the Lowland. Particularly in the case of paddy fields where rice is harvested only once in the year, almost no crop is raised after rice is harvested. (The Nepal Valley is a sole exception.) In short it may be said that the dry season favourable for the growth of crops is not fully utilized in the Lowland.

It is true that African millet is raised after maize is harvested in the

10) About the technics of agriculture, see also, S. Nakao (1956): "Agricultural practice," *Land and Crops of Nepal Himalaya* (ed. by H. Kihara) (Vol. II of the present series), pp. 95-107.

About the crop zones, refer, J. Kawakita (1956): "Crop zone" in the same Vol. II. pp. 67-93.

About some other observations concerning agriculture, use the index of this book.

Lowland, but it is doubtful whether this is a prevalent practice or not, particularly in view of a large amount of labour necessary for the transplantation and the nature of African millet, which requires considerable water.

Mustard is said to be sown in autumn to obtain mustard oil. But in view of the fact that mustard is a crop of limited use, it is not probable that they are raised on a large scale. In summary cultivation is far more intensive in the Highland than in the Lowland. Such an impression is not only of the writer's. Mr. H. W. Tilman, who went up the Marsyandi valley in spring, refers to good growth of the crops which caught his eyes at Pisang (C. 39, 3080 m).¹¹⁾

Even on the southern slopes of the Great Himalaya, cultivation becomes more intensive in proportion to altitude.

It will be said, in view of many examples, that such a difference in the intensiveness of cultivation between the Lowland and the Highland is caused by a difference in the amount of fertilizer used. It may also be said that the difference is caused by the fact that a Highland farmer has a greater number of cattle than a Lowland farmer.

An example at Phalatei (C. 20, 2310 m) throws a light on the second question before us. At more than a dozen patches of cultivated fields on the mountain slopes near the village, the rotation of barley and maize was observed. The upper limits of these fields have a common altitude of about 2400 m, which marks, at the same time, the upper limit of this kind of crop rotation. Above this limit there are many virgin forests.

At several other places too the upper cultivation limit was observed at about 2000 m. Above this altitude virgin forests are still seen. They were often observed on the southern side of the Great Himalaya. Throughout the course of his journey the writer observed that the upper limit of cultivation exists as high as at 4000 m in the Highland.

What significance can be attached to the existence of two upper cultivation limits? The writer has already enumerated two different major cultures, the Hindu culture in the Lowland and the Tibetan culture in the Highland, in Introduction. And rice, maize and millet are the staple crops that are indigenous to the Hindu culture area, while barley, wheat and buckwheat are native to the Tibetan culture area. A boundary line runs at about alt. 2000 m, separating the spheres of these two combinations of crops.

If we are to think that each of these peoples, the Hindu-aculturated people and the Tibetan-aculturated people, has a great attachment to their respective combination of staple crops, then it will not be amiss to conclude

11) H. W. Tilman (1952): *Nepal Himalaya*. p. 136.



Fig. 3. Cultivating paddy fields. At the Pokhara basin, June, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

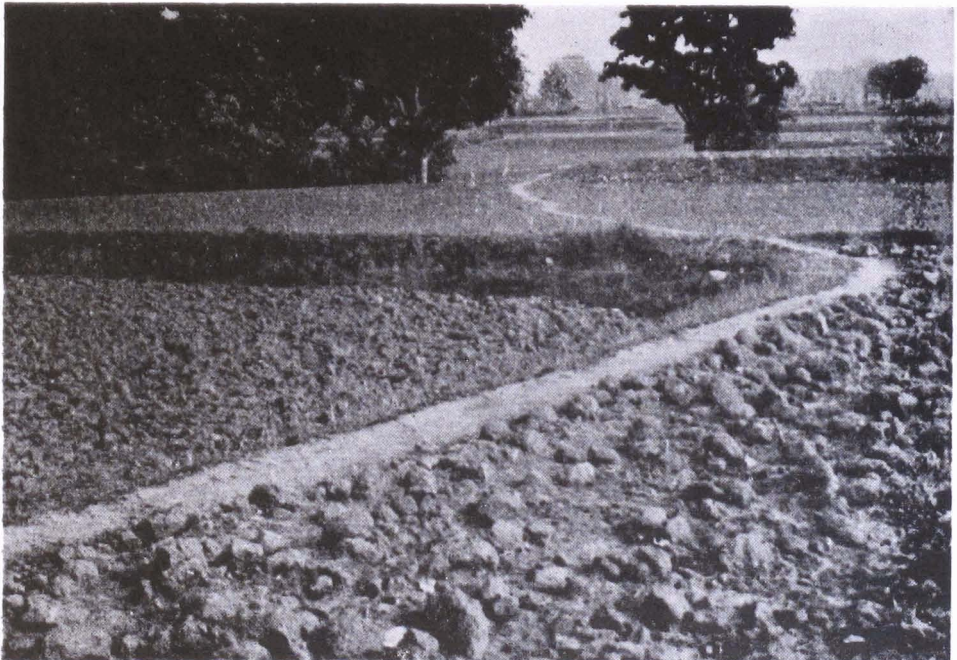


Fig. 4. The cultivated field and the fallowed pasture in rotation. The fallow in front is recently ploughed. Seen at the Sallentar river terrace. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 5. Plowing with a pair of zōpa. At the Manangbhot basin, May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 6. Manure fertilizer put on a field. Note the numerous gravels mixed with soil. At Munji, the Manangbhot basin, May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

that the Hindu-acculturated people will not clear the land lying beyond the altitude unfit for the cultivation of maize, African millet, and rice. The upper cultivation limit at Phalatei is at the uppermost altitude which permit rotation of maize with other crops. The inhabitants there are the Hindu-acculturated Magars.

The lands which exceed 2000 m are too small in size and too dispersed in the southern side of the Great Himalaya, to sustain Tibetanized people. This will be the reason why these high places in the Lowland are covered with virgin forests.

In view of this, the vertical zonation of crop rotation, while showing the natural and universal drive for increase of productivity on the one hand, is in harmony with the differentiation of cultures. 2200 m or roughly 2000 m, is perhaps the upper limit of the Hindu culture, and the boundary running along this altitude constitutes the line that divides the Lowland and the Highland on the Great Himalaya.

Chapter III. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY¹²⁾

Generally speaking, the most important animal is cattle. But the kinds of this bovine animals are different in various altitudes. In greater part of the Lowland under alt. 2000 m or so, the buffalo is fed side by side with the cattle of Indian type. From ca. 2000 m up to ca. 3000 m, the buffalo is not found and a kind of small black cow is raised. On the other hand, the yak is dominant at above ca. 3500 m. In the intermediate zone from ca. 3000 m up to ca. 3500 m, we find the dzo (Tib. *zō*, a hybrid of the yak and ordinary cattle) as the dominant animal.

In other words, the zone of buffalo is the zone of the Hindu culture, both of which flourish in the Lowland. In the Lowland, the cattle is mainly ox and used for cultivating the fields. Their number amounts to twice as many as the buffaloes. On the contrary, we do not find buffaloes cultivating the fields: it is mainly raised for milking and probably for getting manure. Buffalo's milk and butter (Nep. *ghi*) made from its milk are used not only for daily diet but for religious purpose. Yak symbolizes Tibet. The distribution area of this animal indicates most pertinently the extent of a purely Tibetan habitat. Ecologically it is quite suggestive that such a high desolate land as is indicated by the existence of yak is the home of the unique Tibetan culture. A saying current among the Highland inhabitants that the yak cannot go where maize is raised signifies the existence of an upper limit of the Hindu culture in relation to the Tibetan culture.

12) See a more detailed description of animal husbandry among the Tibetans in pp. 327-36.

It is an unpardonable sin for the Hindu to kill a cow or to eat beef, no matter that it is either an ordinary cow or buffalo. But the Highland natives are fond of beef. In the intermediate altitudes, the Newars eat meat of buffalo, though they never kill the ordinary cow or eat its meat. But the goat and sheep that are in importance next to the bovine animals are raised and used for food both in the Highland as well as in the Lowland.



Fig. 7. A sheep flock grazing near the lateral moraine. A high peak called *Prangar* (higher than 7000 m) is seen. Bimtakothi, May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

As regards animal husbandry as a whole, the most important different point between the Highland and the Lowland is found, as is already pointed out, in the relative importance of animal husbandry in the whole system of agriculture. Indeed, the Highlanders are pastoral people, while the Lowlanders the vegetarians in a broader sense.

Chapter IV. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCE

In the Lowland, transportation is almost exclusively done by human power, while in the Highland, particularly in the arid region, it is done mainly by pack animals such as horses, donkeys, mules, *zō* and yaks. Sometimes sheep and goats are seen carrying on their backs small packs of salt.

In the Kali Gandaki district, Tukucha and Dana are the points where freight is transposed from one means of transportation to the other, namely



Fig. 8. Carrying baggages by forehead. At Panch Mane Bhanjyang, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda



Fig. 9. A big man goes on a palanquin. At Panch Mane Bhanjyang, March, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 10. A yak caravan. At Karche, the Manangbhot basin, May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 11. Three Tibetans driving a yak caravan. At Karche, the Manangbhot basin, May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

from men to pack-animals, or vice versa. The eastern boundary of pack-animal transportation is Pisang (C. 39), lying at the upper reaches of the Marsyandi. Usually pack-animal transportation terminates at the Manang-bhot basin.

Freight transported by pack-animals from Tibet via the Gya La is carried down as far as Sama in the Buri Gandaki drainage, and Bimtakothi is the terminal for freight to be carried over the Larkya La. In the dry season packs of *zōpa* (of which a description will be given later) are seen carrying freight as far as down to Thonje. In the Shiar Khola area, pack-animals carry freight across the Tibetan boundary to Chhogang which is situated in the middle reach of the Shiar Khola river.

It is not likely that the steep mountainous terrain hinders transportation by pack-animals, the best means for longer range transportation. For most of the hilly areas in the Lowland are quite easy to traverse for pack-animals which are capable of going the steep mountains in the Highland. Moreover, in the Lowland there are neither waste land nor desert where it is impossible to obtain fodder. Though the cattle-raising tradition is kept among the Lowland inhabitants, no pack-animal transportation is found in the Lowland and almost no horse is seen. The only exception observed was a caravan near Pokhara, which had come down from the Highland.

It was impossible to ascertain the existence of pack-animal transportation in the Lowland. This will have much to do with the comparatively small weight attached to commerce, particularly to long-distance trade, in the Lowland. It is true that there exist in the Lowland many commercial settlements called *bazaar*, but their commercial activities are insignificant, largely confined to local exchange. An account will be given on this point



Fig. 12. A woman, chickens and a bundle of the sal leaves for sale. At Samri Bhanjyang. August 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

later in connection with settlements.

All merchandize on sale at the shops in these settlements are "shop-worn", dusty and yellowish. Local products such as corn, faggots, milk, eggs, wine and sal leaves are sold. Of course, long-distance commercial exchange is carried on to a certain extent. Matches, cigarettes and coloured clothes are some of the imported items in large demand.

A shop-owner in Tharughat Bazaar told the writer that he bought drapery from the Nepal Valley district, Butwal, and Birganj. Sometimes Bombay products are imported. Brass products and general merchandize are usually brought from the Nepal Valley.



Fig. 13. A dish made of sal leaves for wedding cake. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21793.

As a whole, however, commerce in the Lowland are far from active. Only large towns such as Katmandu and Pokhara and medium-sized bazaar towns such as Trisuli Bazaar provide varieties of merchandize. These are the few exceptional long-distance commercial towns. The source of prosperity of these towns is in their trade with the Highland. It may be said, therefore, that the largest item in long-distance commerce in the Lowland is human beings, namely the Gurkha boys who go out of their country in order to enlist in the Nepalese or Indian Army. Many of them are Gurungs who live in the high hilly areas. There were found in the remotest mountains some ex-soldiers who had been in military service in post-War Japan.

In the Highland the situation is quite different. In the agricultural village outside the sphere of pack-animal transportation, most of the villagers find it profitable to make long-distance commercial travels. An account will be given in later chapters to show how prevalent this has been among the Tibetan-aculturated people, how deeply it is rooted in their social

organization, how it sprang up, and what function it is performing in their daily life.

Chapter V. SETTLEMENT

1. The Agricultural Settlements

For convenience' sake the settlements are classified here into agricultural and commercial settlements. Generally speaking, the former is basic and earlier in origin. It is thought that the latter had segregated itself from the former.

Agricultural settlements may be subdivided into four types: Type A which is a loosely clustered settlement found in the Lowland; type B which is a clustered settlement in the high hills of the Lowland; type C which is a clustered settlement in the humid Highland; and type D which is a compactly clustered settlement in the arid Highland (Fig. 14).

(1) Type A

The type A settlement is mostly found in the Lowland under 1500 m. More particularly, most of this kind of settlements are located on the hill tops and mountain hillsides but not in the valley bottoms. Since the number of commercial villages in the Lowland is quite small as compared with that of type A settlements, the majority of population in the Nepal Lowland will be said to live on the hill tops and hillsides, not in the valley bottoms. This is clearly shown in a map prepared by the Survey of India. In the Katmandu basin many settlements of this type are located on the flat elevated places, with alluvial places carefully avoided. In the vicinity of Jitpur

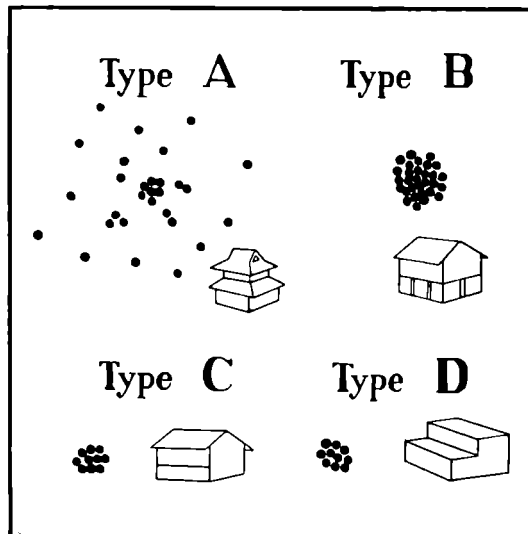


Fig. 14. The four types of the agricultural settlements.

Phedi (C. 1), groups of a dozen houses are seen located at about every 300 meters along a slightly elevated line near the foot of the mountains.

It is difficult by a casual survey to determine the number of houses and people in the type A settlement, because, though there is a group of houses rather compactly clustered in the centre of the settlement, isolated houses or groups of a few houses are found here and there at an interval of several scores or several hundred meters from each other in the surrounding area. This makes it difficult to determine the boundary of each settlement. Sometimes two or three nuclei are found in stead of one in the centre.

At Dhanphedi (C. 3), when the hillsides are viewed from the valley bottom, twelve isolated houses and a group of three houses were observed standing on the slopes, small ridges and river terraces, presenting an appearance of a dispersed settlement. But the core of the settlement is located on a higher ridge. At Kaguni the writer, standing at the valley bottom, observed a group of about ten houses, three groups of three houses and four isolated houses located also on the slopes, which made it difficult for the writer to determine the core of the settlement.

Tharpu and Bhaktini (C. 5-C. 6) consist of three groups of five and fourteen and five houses, respectively. Some more scattered farm houses exist in the vicinity of each village. Both of these settlements are situated on the mountain slopes. Katunje, which is on the hilltop, has about 35 houses. Isolated houses lie in the vicinity.

Samri Bhanjyang (C. 5) is a village situated at a mountain pass 1370 m high. About fifteen houses are clustered there. In the vicinity of this group of houses three groups of four houses and three farm houses were found scattered at intervals from fifty to several hundred scores of meters from one another.

In Nepali *bhanjyang* means a mountain pass, *dhara*, a gentle slope on the hill, and *phedi*, a flat place in the valley bottom. The settlements in the Nepal Lowland are located on the dhara and bhanjyang, not in the phedi. In any case there is an exceedingly large number of settlements with these three terms in the village names. Samri Bhanjyang has in its centre a *dharamsāla* (government rest house) and shops, with appearance of a bazaar-type commercial settlement to be mentioned later on. But fundamentally this village seems to belong to type A. Since our party traveled along the main artery linking Katmandu with Pokhara, comparatively few opportunities were available to observe pure type A agricultural settlements, most of the settlements we were able to observe being more or less commercial.

The above is a result of our own observation. But the number of houses in a settlement were claimed by the inhabitants to be larger than we had counted. It seems that they included all houses located within the boundary



Fig. 15. A patch of clustered houses of type A of agricultural settlement. A Gurung village seen at Kunchha Barua. April, 1953.
Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 16. Typical-farm houses of type A of agricultural settlement. Terraced fields are not for paddy but are just *dry fields*. March, 1953.
Photo. by T. Yoda

of *gaon* (Nepal, a village), which includes not only a compactly clustered nucleus but outlying scattered farm houses. For instance, as is shown in Fig. 29 (p. 50), the number of houses in the five settlements surrounding Khanchok Phedi (C. 9) is, according to the inhabitants, about 20 houses at Khanchok Dhara, about 30 at Khanchok Bhanjyang, 6 at Khanchok Phedi, about 150 at Mashil and about 40 at Sikre. The population is largest in the case of a village which stands on a *dhara* but not along the main road. A village called Bagua which lies on a hill near Khanchok has about 200 houses.

Of the settlements observed by the writer, the largest one among those standing either on the hilltops or hillsides and belonging basically to type A is Lumlei (C. 17-18) with 225 houses. The number, however, was given by a villager. It appeared to us that the number of house forming the nucleus did not exceed 70.

Meanwhile, the type A settlements whose nuclei consist of less than ten houses are rare. Roughly speaking, therefore, it will be said that 20 houses is the minimum in a settlement of this type including the nucleus and outlying houses. It will be concluded that the type A settlement has houses ranging from 20 to 200 with the population of ranging from 100 to 1000.

It is usually the case that a few Hindu shrines are found near the centre of a type A settlement. (See the chapter on religion in p. 106 about this point.) As for the structure of dwellings, rectangular two-storied houses predominate. The roofs are thatched with rice straw and of hipped roof type. The walls are constructed by piling up slates of sedimentary rocks which are abundantly found in Nepal. The crevices on the walls are usually filled in with mud, finished off with red lateritic soil which is abundant in the Lowland. The window frames are made of wood. Folding doors to be opened with a padlock are in use. As is pointed out in the chapter on religion (pp. 118-20), wall-paintings are sometimes seen on the outside surface of the walls.

This type of construction is seen in main houses, beside which it is usual to find less elaborately constructed shacks for cattle which are one-storied, long in width and of the principal rafter construction. These shacks often lack walls. A wooden frame for piling up rice straw for fodder is jointly owned by two or three houses. A vegetable garden is cultivated around the main house and cattle shack, and *Euphorbia* trees are often used as hedgerow. Banana, mango and papaya trees are grown in the vegetable garden. Sugar canes are sometimes raised in the vegetable garden at places under 1000 m. But green vegetables are not common.

With regard to the function of dwelling houses, the point worth mentioning is that the first floor is almost invariably used for residence of the family members. In the case of shabby-looking houses, the first floor is

apparently used as a garret, but we often observed dwellers looking out of the first floor windows. The ground floor is used as a store room, a workshop or for housing cattle. In the case of a shop, the ground floor is used as a stall.

The structure of dwelling houses, particularly of the main house, is standardized to a considerable degree. Of course there exist some exceptions. The type of thatched roofing sometimes changes to gable roofing or slated roofing in case of the house in a commercial settlement. Even in purely agricultural settlements such roofing is sometimes observed. In the area between Kunchha (C. 13) and Sisaghat Bazaar (C. 14), which is on the flat hills under 800 meters high, the number of gable-roofed houses becomes larger. In some cases there are settlements where all houses are gable-roofed. Half the houses at a settlement of Brahmans on the river terrace at Raines (C. 11-C. 12) are gable-roofed with bamboo used for making the gables and walls of the first floor. The gable roof, however, is apparently the standard type of roofing at the Gurung settlements.

A prominent exception is the *gōl ghār* (round house, Nep.) with nearly elliptical walls. It seems that the walls are made by piling up stones, but the surface is always finished with mud, thus presenting a reddish or whitish appearance. Horizontally observed, the form of this kind of house is nearly elliptical. The roof is always thatched with straw. The ridge of the roof, like that of a hipped roof, is shorter than the longer side of the walls. The straw at the edge of the eaves is cut elliptically to match the construction of the walls. Houses of this type are generally two-storied. The distribution of *gōl ghār* houses is quite unique. Almost no house of this type is observed east of Pokhara. Two or three exceptional cases, however, were observed. Moreover, those exceptions were one-storied and used for storing food.

At Yangjebashi northwest of Pokhara, this type of house begins to occupy a considerable proportion at various settlements. At Suikhet (C. 17) from 70 % to 80 % of the houses belong to the *gōl ghār* type. At the Naudhara settlements (C. 17-C. 18) the proportion is overwhelmingly large, and there are some settlements whose houses are all of this type.

In the vicinity of Bhurumdi (C. 18) there are settlements at low places entirely composed of *gōl ghār* houses, and on the ridges and hillsides there are settlements where there are rectangular, stone-walled and slate-roofed houses.

At Ulleri (C. 19) a small percentage of the houses belongs to this type, and in the drainage area of the Kali Gandaki, this type of houses radically decreases in number. At Phalatei (C. 20) no such house is seen. At Sikha and Ghara, situated farther down Phalatei, a few houses of this type were

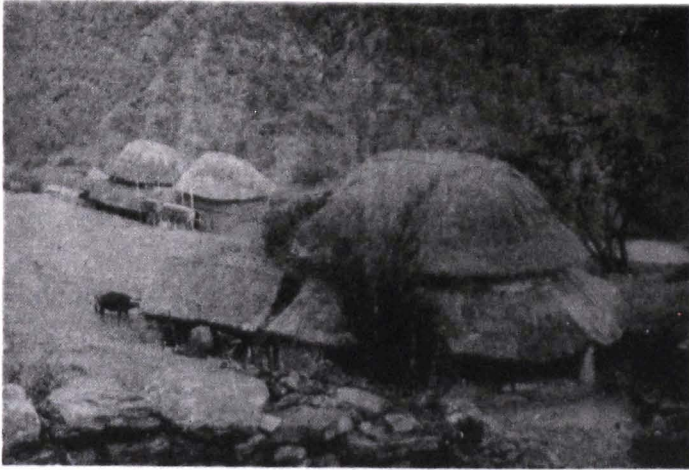


Fig. 17. *Göl ghār* houses. At Suikhet, April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

found, but they were the last ones we saw.

It may be, therefore, concluded that the distribution of this type is confined to the area between Pakhara and the main stream of the Kali Gandaki with its centre at Naudhara. According to information received near Naudhara and Bhurumdi, the settlements consisting of such houses are almost invariably Brahman.

A traveler we happened to meet near Bhurumdi offered the following explanation:

“That *göl ghār* settlement (situated at a point about 1300 meters above the sea level according to visual measurement) over there is inhabited by Brahmans alone. Those settlements over there with rectangular houses (which seemed to be situated at about 1800 meters above the sea level according to visual measurement) are all the Gurung settlements. The Gurungs prefer high places, where they can raise wheat, barley and the other crops and feed cattle, but they don't plant paddy. They are very healthy and strong and they build those rectangular houses by carrying stones up to such high places. They are actively engaged in commerce, and consequently rich, exploiting those living in the lower places.

“Meanwhile rice is indispensable to the Brahmans, and so they live in the low places. They are poor and build “round houses”, and are mainly dependent upon paddy cultivation. They are being exploited by the Gurungs”.

A remarkable point about the *göl ghār* house is that the ground floor is used for the purpose of residence and the first floor for storing rice straws and other things. This is not seen in all other types of farm houses.

It cannot be, however, categorically stated that all *göl ghār* houses are

the dwelling houses of the Brahmans alone, as suggested by the example of Ulleri, where exist some *gōl ghār* houses, though the settlement is inhabited by the Magars and the Gurungs. Also it cannot be concluded that the Brahmans always live in *gōl ghāl* houses, as is seen in the case of Raines. On the whole, however, it can be said that this type of houses is Brahman. The uppermost limit of the distribution of this type of houses are alt. 2020 m (Ulleri). It is a fact that this type of houses is almost always located in the zone of paddy cultivation.

Even in the vicinity of Naudhara where the *gōl ghār* type predominates, the type of settlement belongs to type A in the Lowland.

(2) Type B

The most noticeable difference between type A and type B is that in case of the latter type all village houses are aggregated in a single clustered settlement with no dispersed farm houses around it. The exact number of houses in a type B settlement is unknown to the writer. The Gurung villages found high up on the mountain slopes such as Halchok, Rungje, Keronja and Kasigaon in the Buri Gandaki Gorge District, have houses ranging from 100 to 200. The size of type B settlement seems, generally speaking, to be larger than that of type A. In the vicinity of Naudhara mentioned above, the minimum size of type B Gurung settlement seems to be greater than that of type A settlements.

The type B villages are found adjoining type A's, making a higher zone of distribution. No clear line of distinction, however, can be drawn between these two types. But at Majhgaon (C. 75) in the Buri Gandaki, there is a compactly clustered type B Gurung settlement at about 1750 m, while at about 1450 m there is a loosely clustered type A Brahman settlement. This is a good example of vertical distribution. The Brahman *gōl ghār* villages in the vicinity of Naudhara (C. 17-C. 18) are of type A and mostly distributed at about 1400 m. North of them are located type B Gurung villages at about 1600 m. In the vicinity of Bhurumdi, the type A Brahman *gōl ghār* villages are located on lower places than the type B Gurung villages. Roughly speaking, the boundary line between type A and type B seems to exist at 1600 m. It is worthy of attention that this altitude is roughly the average upper limit of paddy cultivation.

In the houses of type B settlements the wall is made by piling up slates without being finished with mud. Sometimes white walls are found, and no thatched roof is seen. The roof is covered with slates or thick wooden boards with stones placed on them. Various kinds of slates are used—from most crude ones made from sheet stones to finely wrought ones about one centimeter thick. As the roofs in the Lowland are thatched with paddy

Fig. 18. A typical type B agricultural settlement inhabited by the Gurungs. Kasigaon, August, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 19. A typical type B agricultural settlement inhabited by the Gurungs. At Keronja, August, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao

Fig. 20. The Gurung people with their houses of type B settlement. At Keronja, August 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



straw, this means that type B houses are outside the area of paddy cultivation. The eaves are of the gable roofing type but sometimes of the hipped roof type, which may be considered as imitation of the straw-thatched hipped roof of the type A settlements in the Lowland.

On the whole, one-storied houses preponderate. In the case of two-storied houses the ground floor is used for storing purposes or for housing the cattle near the Gorge District in the Buri Gandaki. These two-storied houses are shabbily built. Even in the case of finely built two-storied house, it is single-roofed, unlike the type A straw-thatched double-roofed houses. The cattle-shack is often detached from the main house, and sometimes high-floored corn storing shack is built and the space under the floor are used for housing the cattle. On account of an advanced stage of aggregation of type B, no vegetable garden with fences around them such as seen in the farm house of type A is observed. Unlike in the Lowland where the luxuriant growth of tropical fruit plants is seen, the type B houses have no such plants, as these houses are situated in the altitudes where these plants are hardly possible of growth.

At the type B settlements almost no Hindu shrine is seen, forming the centre of settlement. Instead of shrines, however, the Gurung settlement on the mountain slopes in the Buri Gandaki gorge district has a large stone tower called *mane* on an elevated ground (See p. 121).

These Gurung settlements which are found in the southern slopes of the Ganesh Himal may be within the region where the Nepalese Buddhism still remains. It is certain that the inhabitants of these settlements are believers in Jangri religion.

There is nothing to suggest survival of the Nepalese Buddhism in the vicinity of Pokhara in the west. But according to Mr. Jiro Taguchi, a

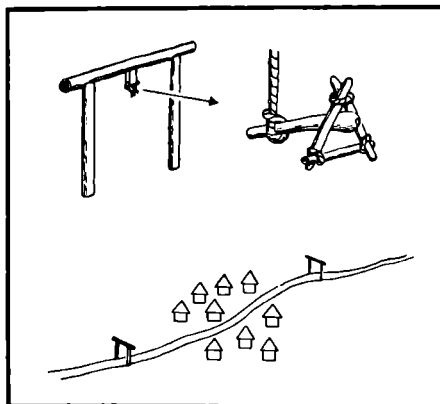


Fig. 21. The wooden gate with sexual symbols in the Gurung villages.

Note: (1) Following Mr. J. Taguchi. (2) Observed at several villages between Khudi (in the middle reach of the Marsyandi) and Pokhara.

member of the 1953 expedition, many Gurung settlements were seen on a high hilly district along the mountain road leading from Khudi in the middle reaches of the Marsyandi to Pokhara. All of these settlements have wooden gates at both village entrances facing the road. These wooden gates are similar to the Torii (the wooden or stone gate of the Japanese Shinto shrine). From the centre top of the wooden gate hang two wooden symbols of sexual organ. (See Fig. 21).

Such wooden gates at both village entrances serve to show existence of a strong community feeling. The writer was not fortunate enough to come across such Gurung villages during the entire course of his journey. This was because his route lay outside the high hilly areas, the main habitat of the Gurungs.

Type B settlements are chiefly the "Lebensraum" of the Gurungs. But, strictly speaking, this may not be very accurate. Also it cannot be concluded that all Gurung settlements belong to type B. A village (*gaon*) called Barua (C. 13) in the Kunchha area is inhabited by the Gurungs alone, but a tendency toward dispersion of farm houses is fairly strong and straw-thatched two-storied houses of hipped roof predominate.

(3) Type C

The type C houses are distributed at alt. 2000-3500 m in the north of the Great Himalaya Range and are in the wet forest zone. They are, therefore, quite outside the area of paddy cultivation. Generally speaking, type C houses are found in the barley—wheat belt rather than to the maize belt. In this respect it is more Tibetan. Moreover, since it is in the Lamaistic culture zone, it is definitely Tibetan. The tribes are the Bhotas and the Lama-Gurungs. But there is no sign that tribal difference is exerting influences upon the type of settlements. The type C settlements are founded on slightly elevated positions, near which the farm land is cultivated by reclaiming what little gentle slopes that are found on the steep mountain sides.

Due to the climatic conditions even the most highly located farming settlement of type C, such as Karche (C. 42, 2630 m) and Sama (3400 m), is not so highly located as settlements in the arid region. There are a few settlements, such as Bimtakothi (3540 m), which are more highly located. But as the degree of dependence upon commerce is greater, these settlements will be discussed later on. None of these settlements seem to have many houses. Thonje (C. 41) has about 20 houses; Bimtakothi (C. 43), 11; Lho (C. 47), a standard-sized settlement in the upper reaches of the Buri Gandaki, about 25. Tsumje has 36, except a monastery, and these houses are subdivided into three smaller settlements, each with 10, 8 and 18 respectively.

Tarung in the lower slope than Tsumje has 7-8. Most of the farming settlements in the vicinity have less than 30.

The main houses in these settlements are built in fairly close approximation with one another, and some of them are built with common walls between them to save cost of construction. Meanwhile, there are many houses that have small open spaces facing south for farm work. The walls are made by piling up stone slates with crevices rarely filled in with mud. The roofs are of gable roofing and either slated or covered with thick wooden boards. The roof ridges are often covered with mats made of bamboo.

In appearance no great difference exists between type B and C. Only type C is almost invariably two-storied, and the ground floor, surrounded by stone walls, is used as stable and storage. The first floor is always used for living.

The greatest difference in appearance between types B and C is existence of religious symbols in the latter. These symbols consist of a *gompa* (lama temple), *Chorten*, *Möndan* and numerous stone towers and stone piles. A detailed account will be given in the chapter on religion.

Some of the type C settlements have barns for cow milking, which are built on the elevated ground around the villages. These barns are used in summer when cattle is allowed to graze in the pasture. According to Mr. Tilman, these barns are called *kharka* (Tib.), but the writer had no opportunity to hear this word spoken.

(4) Type D

The area of distribution of the type D settlements, concentrating in the arid region, roughly corresponds with the area where flat-roofed houses predominate.

As these settlements are located in the arid region, they must necessarily be founded at places convenient for irrigation and water-supply. But a tendency was found that the settlements are built on the elevated ground and steep mountainous terrain.

The gently sloping lots are chosen as farm land, but, as these lots are generally handicapped by the steep mountainous terrains, efforts are everywhere made to induct water from the rivers by water-ways to the elevated ground.

Several families live in a kind of tenement house, or a set of houses with common walls and built as a single unit for making construction easier. The flat roof top of such houses is used as working places, and sometimes the edges of the roof tops are used as faggot stores. Such may be one of the causes for building sets of houses very close one another.

The walls are made of stone and no perceptible difference is detected



Fig. 22. Kuzan, a typical type D agricultural settlement.
May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

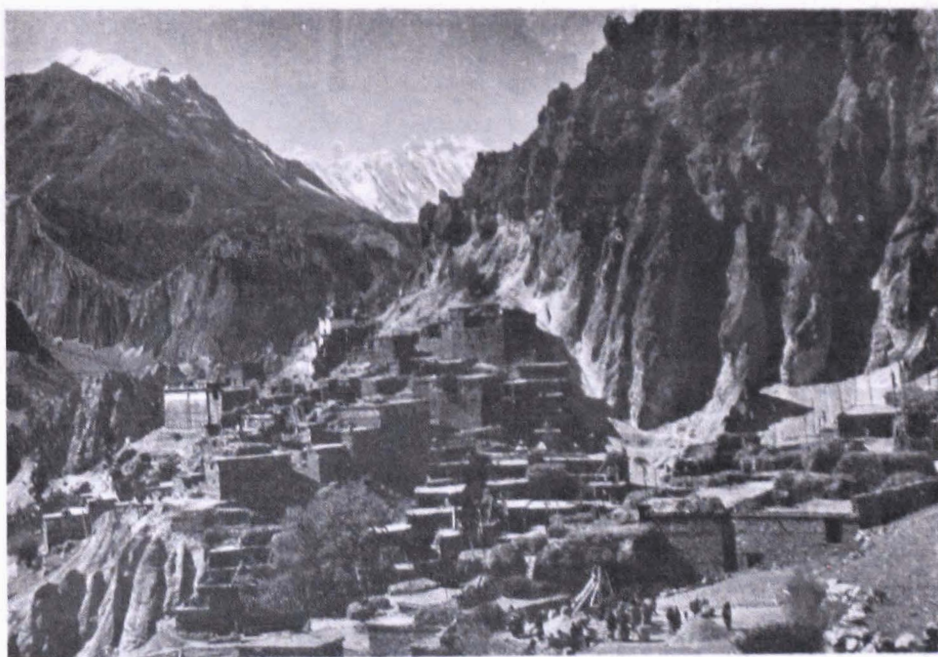


Fig. 23. Braga, a type D agricultural settlement.
October, 1952. Photo. by K. Hayashi

with those of types B and C. In most cases the walls outside the houses are finished with a coating of white or red mud. The beams above the ceiling are supported by places of timber, and brushwood is spread over the beam. On the floor of the roof-tops mud is spread. The floor of the second storey is covered with board. Most of the houses are two-storied, but sometimes one-storied and even three- or four-storied houses are found.

Although a typical settlement presents an appearance of a few large buildings, there is usually found a square inner court with about 10 meters wide in each building. A wicket gate or a gate found under the first floor leads to the inner court. The base floor is used for housing the cattle and faggots, the entrance of which is faced to the inner court. The first floor is entered by way of the inner court, using a wooden ladder or a flight of stone steps. The second floor is entered in a similar manner through a trap-door which is bored in the ceiling.

Thus, though the building presents an appearance of a single house, the inside of the house is partitioned, each room being occupied by one family.

It is difficult to know the number of families or of their members in a settlement of such buildings. Except those settlements situated along the main stream of the Kali Gandaki which are rather commercial in its character, the greatest agricultural settlement of this type appears to be Manang (C. 37-C. 38), which seems to consist of about 100 families.

On the occasion of a dispute that arose between Manang and one of its neighbouring villages, Braga, all villagers of Manang are said to have gone to the Subba of Thonje to present their case. The writer observed that the number of villagers on the occasion assembled amounted to approximately 100. Only a few women were present, and there were a few children. The total number of population will be about 600, the figure being obtained by multiplying 100 by 6. The number of families will be, therefore, considered to be about 100. An account will be given later concerning the dispute (pp. 67-68).

In any case the types C and D are small in population as compared with types B and A, some of which contain more than 200 houses. All type D settlements other than Manang will be considered far smaller than Manang.

Type D, being situated within the sphere of influence of Lamaism like type C, has religious buildings and symbols. In the type D settlements there often exist abandoned buildings. This is perhaps due to destruction of waterways by some reason or another. Waterways are vital in these districts.

Another characteristic of type D is existence in some special cases of the "twin settlement," which is a set of two settlements inhabited by the same inhabitants, who seasonally transmigrate from one settlement to the other. A typical example of twin settlement is Sangda (C. 32). According

to Dr. K. Imanishi, who was the leader in the 1952 expedition, another example is found near Gho in the upper reaches of the Marsyandi. Mr. H. W. Tilman also suggests existence of the "Twin type" at Phugaon in the upper Naur Khola.¹³⁾

As Sangda affords us various points of interest, an account will be made of village life there. Fig. 24 is a map of the village and its environs.

From Kagbeni we made a westward side trip toward the headwaters of a river called Keha Lungpa. The mountains were extremely rugged and steep, but we managed to go as far as the Thiye La, a pass about 5200 meters high, which forms the great divide between the Kali Gandaki and the Karnali river basins. The two settlements of Sangda and Kho in the upper Keha Lungpa were desolately isolated hamlets located where one could see only the glacial ridges above and the precipitous canyons below. The inhabitants cultivate mere snatches of arable land for food. There are a few interesting facts about these settlements. In the first place, Sangda was first introduced to the world by Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi. The present writer sees how trustworthy is his description of this area. Secondly, these villages mark the uppermost limit of cultivation in the area covered by our survey. The elevation of the Sangda settlement is 3700 meters, while that of Kho 3950. The actual limit of cultivation is about 40 meters above the latter, or about 3990 meters above the sea level. Both settlements are located in the arid region.

The twin settlements of Sangda are Sangda and Kho. As is shown in the map, another abandoned settlement exists on a terribly steep slope on the opposite bank of Sangda. Around the abandoned settlement is seen a terraced barn land. According to the villagers, the settlement is the site of former Sangda. It was inhabited until about 100 years ago. But it was abandoned on account of the shortage of water probably due to destruction of the irrigation water-ways. And at present only a kind of amaranths (*Amaranthus caudatus* L.) are cultivated there.

On the western side of Kho the farm land, which had been abandoned on account of the difficulty of inducting water, was seen at an altitude of about 4000 m.

On the western side of Sangda there is a small valley called Dondo Lungpa, in which an abundant quantity of water flows, coming from a glacier in the origin of this stream. The water of this valley is inducted by a water-way to its gently sloping farm land.

Three years ago, however, a great avalanche destructed the water-way, as the result of which the villagers suffered from a famine. Last year they

13) H. W. Tilman (1952): *Nepal Himalaya*. pp. 170-71.

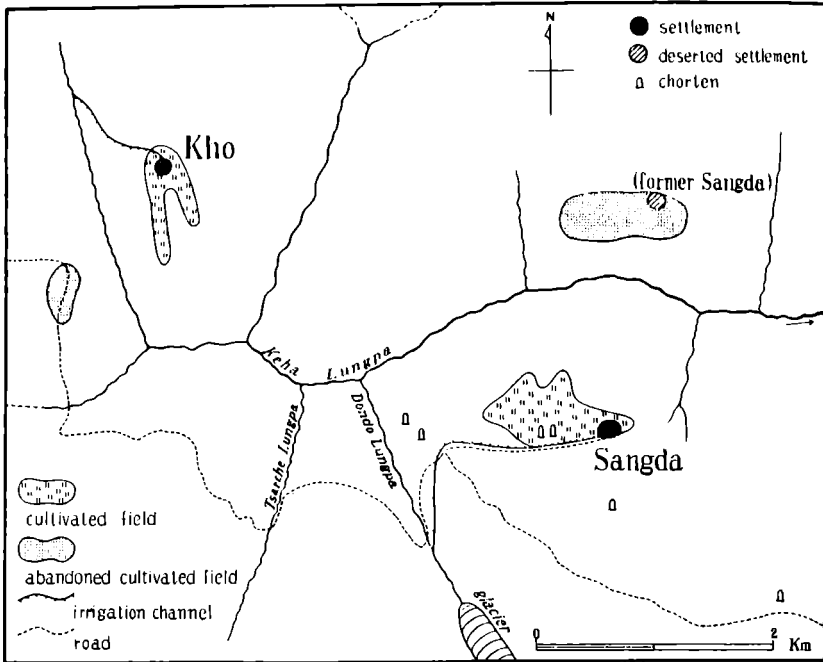


Fig. 24. Vicinity of Sangda.

restored the water-way, but during the intervening period they could not cultivate the land. They migrated to Kho, where they stayed until last year. Compared with Sangda, the farming land of Kho is small, and, consequently, the villagers had to go to Kagbeni to buy food to make up for shortage of food. As is shown in this case, the water-ways have a vital importance to the villagers.

The fact that the vicinity of this village is an extremely arid zone is clearly indicated by the vegetation. On the northern slope where Sangda is situated, almost no big trees grow, only shrubs clinging to the ground. The only kind of big tree sparsely growing in the vicinity is a juniper (*Juniperus Wallichiana*) which are capable of growing in the arid zone. The southern slope where Kho is situated seems to be drier than the northern slope, only shrubs belonging to *Caragana* and mugworts (*Artemisia sp.*) sparsely growing. Therefore, at Sangda and Kho the farm land is irrigated by the water-way inducting water from a near-by valley stream.

As it faces the south, Kho must be better for farming, blessed with the sun's heat and rays more abundant than in Sangda which faces the north.

The farming season in 1953 began about April 10 with the sowing of wheat. Buckwheat was scheduled to be sown about June 10. In the intervening period some villagers were expected to go to Kho about May 25 to sow wheat, and about a month later to sow buckwheat, but it was stated that they did not settle there. (Nearly one day is necessary to go on foot



Fig. 25. Sangda, a *twin settlement*. April, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao

from Sangda to Kho.)

In early September, wheat and buckwheat are reaped at Sangda, and some villagers go to Kho to do reaping there during the autumn. The fact that a lag of about a month and a half exists in the farming season at northern and southern slopes seems to be one of the reasons to make possible this kind of farming schedule to make cultivation at both settlements.

Other than wheat and buckwheat, *Amaranthus* is cultivated. The seeds of this plant are ground into flour and used for food. Kawaguchi writes: "In this village they eat a strange food called Tahu, which resembles buckwheat but is much inferior. This is all the people here can raise. There is only one crop per year."¹⁴ This is undoubtedly a reference to *Amaranthus*.

In addition to cultivation, livestock raising plays a large part in the economy. The eleven families in Sangda own about 200 head of yaks, 400 of goats, 20 oxen and 30 horses. Of course these animals are available as a vehicle of migration and commerce.

Migration to Kho begins in December, and the migrated people stay there for four months until April, when they return to Sangda and immediately start cultivation. The main cause for migration is snow fall. At Sangda on the northern slope, snow is from 5 to 10 feet deep in winter, while at Kho on the southern slope it usually melts away in a day or two.

14) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 82.

The twin settlement reveals the wisdom of the natives who deliberately take into account the various factors affecting them such as snow fall, avalanches, the decay of water-ways, the relative merits of farm lands, the farming schedule, the capacity of transportation by animals, and others.

The type of dwellings at both Sangda and Kho has an appearance of a big single flat-roofed building partitioned into flats. The inhabitants amount to about 40 persons in eleven families, the number of persons per family averaging 3.64.

According to Abbot Ekai Kawaguchi, who first visited this settlement on June 15 in 1900, described this settlement as "a mountain village having about 10 families."¹⁵) There seems to have been almost no change in the number of families there.

The family is called *meme*, and each *meme* has a male household chief. The name of *meme* is called by the name of the chief. There is hardly any doubt that the social organization of these people is that of a patrilineal clan and that polyandry is practiced. The writer learned that the names of the fathers who are heads of the eleven families are: (1) *Sidar*, (2) *Tara*, (3) *Tire*, (4) *Tsendendu*, (5) *Tama*, (6) *Ka*, (7) *Tonbu*, (8) *Chugoa*, (9) *Churho*, (10) *Phuroa*, (11) *Tsarwa*. These names appear to be entirely different from those of Tsumje, where most of the names seem Lamaistic. However, in view of the possibility that Buddhist names may exist, a conclusion must be postponed. (See pp. 211-12.)

About a detailed account of agriculture and animal husbandry in this twin village the writer expects the readers to refer to pp. 310-12 and p. 336; about the religious activities, to refer to pp. 153-54.

As to the number of inhabitants in the type D agricultural settlements, we find Kawaguchi refers to a village called Tsārang (spelled Chārāng by the Survey of India) which is situated in the uppermost reaches of the Kali Gandaki.¹⁶) This village is situated on a flat elevated place far above the valley bottom. Like examples which will be found in p. 155, this village has a *Kani* gate in the downstream direction. The village settlement is situated at a place considerably north of the gate.

On an elevated place at the settlement, rise to the sky a red lamasery of the old sect and a castle which was formerly occupied by a lord who once governed the province of Lho in this district. Secular houses, both large and small, number about 30 and the total population 250, according to Kawaguchi. Of the population, Lama priests number 114-15, of which 50 are nuns. Priests, therefore, number about 60.

15) Ekai Kawaguchi (1904): *Chibetto Ryokoki* ("Three years in Tibet," in English), Vol. I, p. 81.

16) *op. cit.*, pp. 54-74.

If the figures given by Kawaguchi is right, the number of secular inhabitants amounts to about 135 and that of families to approximately 32. The number of people per family is 4.22. The average size of type D settlements is suggested by these figures. These figures will be compared to the figures at Tsumje to be described later.

As are suggested by the examples of Tsumje and Sangda, a considerable number of types C and D settlements may be considered to have a social structure which will be called a patri-clan settlement type. It will be, therefore, necessary to pay due attention to the size of clans as well as to the size of settlements. (See also pp. 248-49.)

As a general observation on the agricultural settlements, it may be stated that as the site of agricultural settlement a southern slope is preferred to a northern slope. The amount of the sun shine and heat which is a decisive factor in farming and health may have led to this. The number of agricultural settlements is comparatively small in humid low places below 1000 m and at valley bottoms. One of the reasons for this may be sanitary. C. E. Taylor¹⁷⁾ says that the threat of malaria increases with decrease in altitude. At Arughat Bazaar (C. 8, 610 m), the writer came across in the monsoon season with many clearly under-nourished villagers with yellowish faces and in languid manners. The threat of malaria was confirmed by the villagers.

Also in the wide basin of Pokhara (about 740-970 m above the sea level), where cultivated land is seen anywhere, settlements are only sparsely distributed. On the surrounding hilly regions, however, particularly those in the north and east (consequently they face south and west, respectively), many settlements were observed.

2. The Commercial Settlement

The settlements whose inhabitants are mainly engaged in commerce (hereinafter to be called commercial settlements) may be broadly divided into two categories:

- A. Commercial settlements in the Lowland to be called "bazaar-type settlements."
- B. Commercial settlements in the Highland and the Gorge Districts to be called "long-distance-commerce type settlements."

(1) Bazaar Type Settlements

Bazaar settlements may be sub-divided into (a) large-size bazaar settlements; (b) medium-size bazaar settlements; and (c) small-size bazaar settlements.

17) C. E. Taylor (1951): "A Medical Survey of the Kali Gandaki and Pokhara Valleys of Central Nepal," *Geographical Review*, Vol. XLI, pp. 421-37.

The large-size bazaar settlements are Katmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon and Pokhara. As the recent population census data are not available, recourse is here made to P. Landon, who cited the 1920 population census. According to Landon¹⁸⁾, Katmandu had 108,805 inhabitants; Patan, 104,928; Bhatgaon, 93,176. The population of Pokhara is not available, but Landon estimated that it was about 10,000. Following the governer of Pokhara, it is 13,000 in 1953. Anyway the three referred to above are the three greatest cities in Nepal. All of them are situated in the Nepal Valley, which is a point worthy of attention. The biggest city outside the Nepal Valley is Pokhara. The Katmandu basin (i. e. the Nepal Valley) is the largest plain in mountainous Nepal, except the unhealthy Tarai. Next to the Katmandu basin in size is the Pokhara basin.



Fig. 26. Darbar square of Patan. August, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

It is natural that these fertile basins offer good places for establishing large settlements. Attention should be paid to the altitude at which these basins are placed. The flat land in the Nepal Valley is at an altitude of 1300-1500 m above the sea level. As has already been pointed out, this high altitude plays a very important role in the sanitary environments of cities. With regard to agriculture winter cropping, particularly that of wheat and barley, is not practiced at low places below 1200 m throughout the country, owing to unknown factors.

18) P. Landon (1928): *Nepal*. Vol. I, p. 18.

Historically speaking, culture bloomed early in the Nepal Valley. This may have been one of the reasons for making the farm land fertile in the hinterland of those three cities. For, in no other basin, even when they are above 1200 m, the cultivation of wheat, barley, and green vegetables in the rice field after rice is harvested is carried on so intensively as in the Valley.

The Pokhara basin is unfortunately situated below 1000 m, and is less healthy. Pokhara (970 m) is, however, one of the most highly situated settlements in this basin. Moreover, as this basin is filled with a diluvial formation consisting mainly of large-grained sand and pebbles, drainage offers no difficulty. Various rivers flowing in this basin cut the soft diluvial formation and make gorges with precipices several scores of meters high. In the region where Pokhara is situated, a large river with an abundant flow of water which is called Seti Khola, flows largely underground. According to an observation made at Male Patan (C. 15), the precipices about 30 m high are formed by a river called Rupatal Khola. The surface of the precipices from the top to the bottom is made of boulders and pebbles, some of which are about 30 cm in diameter and many of which are of various sizes smaller than that of a man's fist. The tops of these precipices constitute perfectly flat basins in the bottom of which many paddy-fields are seen. Sometimes, the tops are waste land.

Good drainage means water shortage. Jang Bahadur once planned to irrigate the paddy fields by pumping the water of a lake called Phewa Tal which is situated at a low place in the suburbs of Pokhara.¹⁹⁾ In spite of good drainage, however, no rotation in the rice fields is practiced in the basin. Here the question of altitude will have something to do with this. But from a sanitary point of view, such good drainage is favourable to the city, particularly as there are no paddy fields in the surrounding areas.

The problem of communications is also very important. The Katmandu basin is the place where the source of the Bagmati river exists and where is also in a position near a divide between the Gandaki and the Sun Kosi, the two greatest rivers in Nepal. The traffic through the Trisuli Gandaki valley, a valley of greatest importance in Nepal as a means of communications with Tibet, also passes through Katmandu.

Because of this, from the standpoint of commerce, not to speak of politics, the Nepal Valley is of great importance since the greater part of commerce in Nepal is being done in the Valley. Many Indians and Tibetans come to this Valley.

The paper currency of Nepal suddenly loses its exchange value outside the Nepal Valley. It is accepted as far as Trisuli Bazaar, but farther than

19) Landon: *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 19.

that it is replaced by silver coins.

Pokhara is situated at a vantage point. It is an important relaying point in the long distance trade route between India and Tibet via the Kali Gandaki.

Such large cities as Katmandu and Pokhara may be said to be large-size commercial settlements whose development has been promoted by long distance trade as well as local trade.

Of course the functions of these cities are not confined to commerce alone. Temples and festivals will be described in connection with the religious activities. Here it will be noted that the festivals are more frequently held in the large-size bazaar settlements than in the medium- and small-size ones, and that these festivals are also performing the function of fairs. This fact shows that the religious activities and commercial development are closely interrelated.

Among typical medium-size bazaar settlements are Trisuli Bazaar (C. 4), Arughat Bazaar (C. 8) and Tharughat Bazaar (C. 12).

As to the number of houses and population, Trisuli Bazaar has, according to the villagers, about 200 houses and 2500 inhabitants. A survey on the spot confirmed these figures. Arughat Bazaar has about 60 houses, and Tharughat Bazaar 24. Other fairly large ones are Dharamtoli with several scores of houses, Batar Bazaar with about 30 houses and 400 inhabitants, and Katunje with about 35 houses, and Khoplang with about 40 houses and nearly 300 inhabitants. The number of inhabitants per houses, therefore, is 12.5 at Trisuli Bazaar, more than 13 at Batār Bazaar, and 7.5 at Khoplang.

As suggested by these figures, many of these bazaar settlements have streets along which large and small houses are built in close approximation. Some of these houses are large three-storied ones in each one of which three or four families reside. Of course such a tendency is more conspicuous in Katmandu and Pokhara, and the number of per house inhabitants is greater in these cities. An example observed at Tharughat Bazaar is a one-storied gable-roofed shabby-looking small house at the centre of which is a wall dividing the house into two parts. The mother occupies one, while her son and his wife live in the other, each with its own kitchen.

The houses of the bazaar settlements are different from the typical dwelling house in a farm village in the Lowland in those points to be mentioned below.

The houses in the Bazaar settlements are less roofed with straw than with clay, stone slate or iron sheets or corrugates. Oven-baked bricks and sun-baked bricks are generally used in making the walls. At Trisuli Bazaar, examples were seen of using sun-dried bricks made from the rich lateritic soil found in the vicinity. In manufacturing the oven-baked bricks, an oven



Fig. 27. Arughat Bazaar, a middle-sized bazaar settlement on a *ghat*. August, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao



Fig. 28. Trisuli Bazaar. March, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

is built whenever a new house is made, so that abandoned ovens are sometimes observed near the house sites. Gable roofs are seen more often in the bazaar settlement than in type A agricultural settlements. But even in large towns such as Pokhara where there are three-storied houses with their base floors constructed in accordance with the bazaar type, the roofs are sometimes thatched with straw and are of the hipped roof type. The characteristics of bazaar-type construction of houses are more conspicuous in the larger bazaar settlements.

Trisuli Bazaar and Arughat Bazaar, two largest settlements among the medium-size bazaar settlements, are situated at points where the trunk road linking Katmandu with Pokhara intersects the Trisuli Gandaki and the Buri Gandaki. Likewise, Tharughat Bazaar (C. 12) and Sisaghat Bazaar (C. 14) are at points where the trunk road crosses the Marsyandi and the Madi Khola. The latter is a very small one with six houses. As is suggested by the word *ghat* (Nep. a ferry) incorporated in the name of the place, each settlement with this syllable in its name has a ferry or bridge. An important factor in the origin of such a town is the communications carried on along the gorges flowing from north to south. In the lower reaches of the three greatest rivers that flow across the Great Himalaya are situated such bazaars having the syllable *ghat* in their names.

The long distance commercial activities with the Highland seem to constitute the mainspring of the development of these bazaars. This is clearly observed in diminishing size of bazaars in proportion as the west they are situated from the Nepal Valley. The bazaars in order of size are; Trisuli Bazaar—Arughat Bazaar—Tharughat Bazaar—Sisaghat Bazaar.

All bazaars situated at the *ghat* are at low altitudes: Trisuli Bazaar 720m; Arughat Bazaar, 610m; Tharughat Bazaar, 640m; and Sisaghat Bazaar, 520 m. On account of unhealthy conditions incidental to the low altitudes, these settlements have not been able to develop so much as to engage in full fledged exchange economy. For instance, it is said that Tharughat Bazaar was founded about 50 years ago, and that until then it was only a deserted place with a few houses. But with the construction of a suspension bridge spanning the Marsyandi, people began to flock from other parts of the district, and the bazaar was set up.

Of the 24 houses in this bazaar two-thirds of the house owners have farming lands, and one-third are tenants. Most of the inhabitants are engaged in retail trade beside farming. At present there are three draperies, two general merchandize shops, two brass utensil shops, one part-time tailor's and several cereal shops. In short, the inhabitants are partly agricultural and partly commercial. (See also p. 25.)

Of other medium-size bazaar settlements, Dharamtoli and Batār Bazaar

are on the elevated flat places, Katunje near the top of a hill and Khoplang in a pass on the hill.

Unlike the bazaars mentioned above, which are situated along the valley bottoms at low altitudes, these bazaars have come to be tinged with the bazaar character because they happen to be situated along the main arteries of communications, although they originally belonged to a typical type A agricultural settlement. The nuclei of these settlements have houses ranging from 20 to 50, and generally present a similar appearance.

Chaturali (C. 2-C. 3), Khanchok Bhanjyang (C. 8-C. 9), Kunchha (C. 12-C. 13) and Deorali (C. 14-C. 15) are bazaar settlements belonging to this category. They are situated on the hill-tops or hill-side. All of them are partly agricultural and partly commercial.

Small-size bazaar settlements are sometimes found on the hill tops and hillsides (examples are found near Kakani), but usually they are found in the low valley bottoms. As for the number of houses, most of them have less than 20. For instance, Kaguni, 12; Chauringhwe Phedi has three groups of houses, with 4, 20, and 6; Hasei Bazaar, about 10; and Sisaghat Bazaar, 6. There are many other smaller bazaar settlements. In the lower reaches of Dhanphedi there is a bazaar settlement with 8 houses. Farther down the stream, at the ferry at the Tadi Khola, there is a 4-house bazaar settlement. In the area between Kaguni and Samri Bhanjyang there are a 9-house and 1-house bazaar settlements. Going west and crossing a pass, Choutara and Baran Bhlng are found on the *phedi*, having 10 and 6 houses respectively. In the area between C. 10-C. 11, there are found Putli Bazaar with about 6 houses, while Bare Pirke with about 12 houses and 60 inhabitants. In the centre of the Pokhara basin is Sisua with 8-9 houses. Also in the area between Bhurumdi (C. 18) and Ulleri (C. 19), all the settlements in the valley bottoms are of a very small-size, of which Bhurumdi is the largest with 18 houses. Among others are Bire Thāti with two houses, Lamduali with 4 or 5 houses, and Sudaya with several houses. Settlements with more than several scores of houses such as Ulleri are only found high up on the hill-sides. The line of demarcation is thus very clear.

It is easily imagined that most of these small-size bazaar settlements are partly agricultural and partly commercial in character. The characteristics of a bazaar are clearly perceived even in the smallest settlement by presence of shops. In these small-size settlements, houses with gable roofs are sometimes observed and the line-settlement is usually the case. These serve to give them an appearance of bazaar settlement. Furthermore, in the small-size bazaar settlements, many one-storied shabby-looking huts are observed, and their walls are made of brushwood and which roofs are thatched with branches of broad-leaved *Castanopsis indica* and *Schima Wallichiana*

which grow abundantly in the vicinity. Even in the medium-size bazaar settlements such huts are often seen at the outskirts of settlement.

In proportion to the degree of shabbiness of these dwelling huts, they may be classified to belong to either of the next three categories: newly built ones, those for temporary use, and those for the poverty-stricken people.

In the case of Khanchok Phedi the houses form a line settlement built on one side of the road. No. 1 house there is a hut with a gable roof and walls made of brushwood, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 have straw-thatched gable roofs and shabby walls made by piling up stones. No. 5 house is a best-looking two-storied house with a straw-thatched gable roof and solid stone walls. No. 6 house is a big but shabby house with a straw-thatched hipped-ridge roof and mud walls. All the houses are one-storied except No. 5.

According to the inhabitants this settlement was first founded six years ago, and the families came from different districts. The family living in No. 1 are the Magars from a village called Asarang Gaon. Those of Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6 are the Newars from Khanchok Bhanjyang which is situated just above the settlement, and the family in No. 5 are Gurungs from a village called Bagua which is situated on a hill south of the settlement, separated by a mountain. (See Fig. 29.)

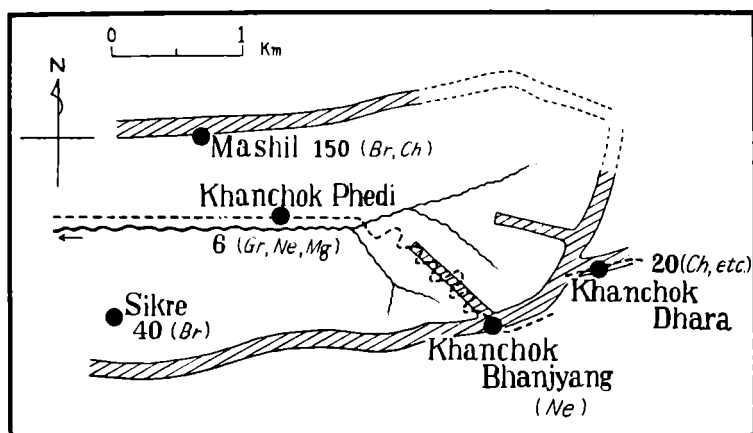


Fig. 29. Vicinity of Khanchok.

Notes: (1) Numbers show the approximate number of households.

(2) Ne=Newar, Ch=Chetri, Br=Brahman, Mg=Magar, Gr=Gurung.

All families make living by selling various kinds of goods to travellers. They go to nearby Khanchok Bhanjyang to buy rice, butter (Nep. *ghi*), hens and eggs and sell them at their settlement.

Of the six families, only the Gurung family living in the best-looking house has farming land at Bagua. All the other families have no land. The villager says that most *gaon* (villages) in the vicinity have a *panchayat*

(to be described later) except this settlement.

According to the Gurung householder, each *gaon* has two or three *jimmal* (tax-collectors), who squeeze money out of the farmers, but there are no *jimmals* at Khanchok Phedi. So all the six houses used to pay taxes to the *jimmals* at Khanchok Dhara. Since no inhabitant has land in the village, they are not engaged in farming. They have no obligation, therefore, to pay the land tax. But whenever a new house is built, the *jimmals* come around for assessing, and imposing a tax on the house. Any one who builds a new house is obliged to pay a tax amounting to 2 rupees a year. "We have paid the house tax for the past five years, but now we are determined not to pay it this year, because the *jimmals* would not give us receipts. The inhabitants of Mashil (see Fig. 29) also have not paid taxes for the past three years."

This informant also stated that there were scarcely any communal relations between the inhabitants of his settlement and, consequently, almost no communal life exists.

Putli Bazaar (C. 10-C. 11), situated along the road in a valley bottom, has six houses of shabby construction with *Castanopsis*-thatched gable roofs. These houses form a line settlement. No Hindu shrine is seen there. The writer surmised that this is a new settlement, but a woman stated that it was founded so long ago as she did not remember when it was built. All the male members were out for farming.

Bare Pirke is situated at a concavity in the gently sloping hilly region and a line-settlement consisting of shabby-looking, narrow and long one-storied houses with *Castanopsis*-thatched gable roofs and brushwood walls.

An inhabitant there stated: "There are 12 houses and 60 inhabitants, who are engaged in farming and retail business. The *gaon* of Bare Pirke is a very old village and the nucleus of the village is on the nearby hill top. The line-settlement was made only about ten years ago. In the rainy season six families return to the nuclear settlement to engage in farming, while the remaining six stay there as they have no farm land. They had moved from different parts of the country. There is no restriction on migration. In the dry season the six families come back from the nuclear settlement on the hilltop."

Judging from the two or three examples mentioned above, it will be surmised that most bazaar settlements situated on *phedis* are more or less small-sized, and that most of these small-size settlements are newly formed ones composed of inhabitants from different parts of the country. There are also considerable number of settlements whose inhabitants make seasonal migrations in the rainy and dry seasons.

The gradual improvement in the means of communication and the ad-

vance of civilization in the outside world during the past several scores of years seem to be responsible for an increase in the volume of communications and commerce even in this traditionally stationary hilly region in the Lowland.

This increase, while helping the old bazaar settlements to grow bigger, is apparently responsible for the creation of some of the small-size bazaar settlements.

The *phedi*, which is situated at a lower altitude in the Lowland, does not afford a sanitary environment. Because of this, it has long been left uninhabited.



Fig. 30. Toli, a small-sized bazaar settlement on the *phedi* in the Nepal Valley. March, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

The suffix *khet* in Nepali, for instance in Suikhet and Padlikhet, means farm land, irrespective of paddy or dry field. But in fact the villages with this suffix, which are situated in the low valley bottoms unfit for large-scale habitation, have only paddy fields. This suffix suggests the history of human habitation in the low valley bottoms in recent years, as it evokes an association with such place where few inhabitants and abundant paddy fields are found.

As the level ground is preferred in constructing road, so they run through the *phedis*. This fact affects the medium- and small-size bazaar settlements which are situated on the *phedis*. About 70% of the road running between Katmandu and Pokhara is on the *phedis*, the rest running through the moun-

tain tops, hillsides and elevated grounds.

Let us take an 8 miles to 1 inch map of this district prepared by the Survey of India, and draw a 10 miles wide belt through the 94.3 mile distance between Katmandu and Pokhara. The number of settlements covered by this rectangular belt amounts to 44 on the map. Of this number, 34, that is 70%, are situated on the hilltops and hillsides. Only the remaining 10 are situated on the *phedis*. But it is presumed that, if an on-the-spot survey is conducted, some of those 10 will be those settlements which are situated on the elevated ground or hillside. If such a map lists only the more important settlements, the contrast would become much clearer.

The characteristics of bazaars will be further clarified, when the structure of ethnic groups is made clear. An analysis of ethnic groups will be given in later chapters.

(2) Long Distance Commercial Type Settlements

Among the settlements that belong to this type are Dana, Ghasa, Lete, Tukucha, Marpha, Jomosom, and Kagbeni, all of which are situated in the Gorge District in the middle reaches of the Kali Gandaki river.

An account has already been given concerning the trade routes with Tibet and India. (See pp. 21-26 and p. 87.)

Of the settlements mentioned above, the largest ones are Dana and Tukucha. It may be noted that they are situated at those points where man-power



Fig. 31. A caravan of asses loaded with salt-packs, passing the street of Tukucha.

April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

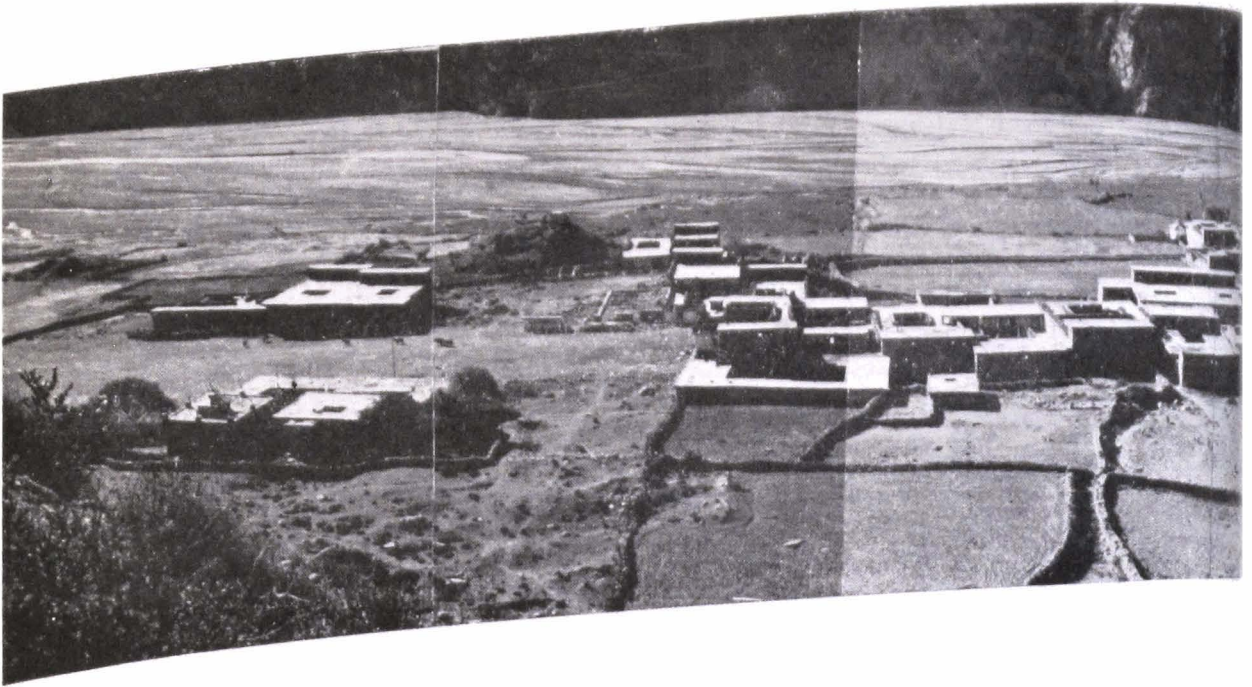


Fig. 32. Tukucha. A lama temple is seen at the left-hand downside corner. Gandaki flows from left to right.

transportation is switched over to pack-animal transportation, and vice versa.

The writer frequently encountered coolie-carriers with baggages on the shoulders in the districts farther below Dana, but did not see caravans carrying the freight.

In the districts farther up Tukucha, no instance of man-power transportation were observed. All transportation is made by pack-animals such as mules, asses and *zōpas*. From one to several drivers, who are always males, were driving with whips, whistles, shouts, and sometimes with stones, after the trains of animals. In the intermediate regions between Dana and Tukucha, both kinds of transportation were seen.

The items exchanged between the Lowland and the Highland are: salt from the Highland and Tibet; and wheat, rice, barley and sometimes general merchandizes from the Lowland and India. A driver told us, "If someone brings a bag of salt to the downstream districts, he can get a bag of barley. And this bag of barley will be exchanged with three bags of salt in the upstream districts such as Tukucha."

On a bottleneck road along a steep glen lying between Dana and Ghasa, there is a tunnel-like place where a passage is made through the perpendicular rock wall. It is considered that the passage of pack animals had been impossible before its construction. Even nowadays only donkeys can pass through this point with ease.



Irrigated fields of barley surround the town. The main stream of the Kali April, 1953. Photo by J. Kawakita

According to a Takali man, the trade between Tibet and southern Nepal can be traced a long time ago. In *Takali*, *thuk* means food, *che* a place, and so the place name Tukucha means a place where the provisions are traded.

Dana is a line-settlement, with some solidly-built three-storied, clay- or slate-roofed long rectangular houses. At the outskirts of the settlement, however, there still remain old straw-thatched hip-roofed houses. The finely built houses give a clean appearance, and the ground floor is used for housing the cattle. The writer saw a caravan consisting of a considerable number of pack animals which are comfortably housed in one of such houses. Most dwelling houses in such a settlement are so constructed as to allow to enter the first floor directly from the road by a flight of stone steps. This type of construction was also seen near Sikha.

According to an inhabitant of the village, two or three especially prominent buildings are in possession of the *Takali subbas*. (Refer also p. 66 and pp. 89-92.) New houses were being built at the outskirts of the village. The village presented an lively appearance.

The difference in altitude between Dana (1420 m) and Ghasa (1960 m) is more than 500 m. And the appearance of settlement type changes suddenly in this place. At various settlements in the vicinity of Ghasa, the type of dwelling houses is akin to that of type D agricultural settlement houses with flat roofs and built closely one another. At these settlements the group of

houses is so built as to form a square with an inner court in its centre. This is generally the case throughout the Highland. In this respect the houses at these settlements are different from those at Dana.

All the houses at Ghasa are one-storied, and most of those at Lete and Dhumpu are also one-storied. But those at Tukucha are almost always two-storied. Few one-storied or three-storied houses are seen there.

Tukucha is the largest town among them. (See Fig. 32.) A lamasery standing at the outskirts of the settlement and a library of Buddhist scriptures built in the centre of the settlement are very fine buildings at Tukucha. The fine dwelling houses are owned by the rich Takali tribe men. Opposite to a house occupied by a Takali family named Nar Singh, is an autonomous government building, which is constructed by the Takalis. This autonomous body governs the gorge district. In the building are housed a hospital and a dispensary, which are under the control of an autonomous government committee composed of the Takalis. (Refer also to p. 89 about the Takali committee.) The physician working in the hospital was invited from Butwal by that committee.

Lying immediately south of the Nar Singh house is a small library, which is also built by the committee. The library is used for education of the people. Also at a corner southwest of the town there are three one-storied shabby houses along the road. An iron-smith and tailors are living in those houses.

Kagbeni has a four-storied house, under the first floor of which the village main street passes. Taking into consideration the fact that the settlement has a comparatively few buildings, it is surprising that it has 60 families. This fact discloses the character of type D settlement.

It is not known exactly how many inhabitants there are in each of these long distance trade settlements. But judging from the case of Kagbeni, it is presumed that both Tukucha and Dana have more than 100 families, or probably even 200 with a population amounting roughly to 1,000. The number of the Takalis living in the area between Ghasa and Tukucha is reported to be nearly 10,000 by themselves. Besides Tukucha, there are several large settlements such as Dhumpu in the area. If each of these settlements is roughly half of Tukucha in size, the estimated number of inhabitants of the Takalis will be reliable.

Almost all of the inhabitants in these settlements seem to engage in transportation and commerce with Tibet and the Lowland of Nepal. Their occupation next in importance is farming, and the third is animal husbandry. It is supposed that the inhabitants in the settlements which are farther up from Kagbeni and along the valley are engaged in long distance trade.

Among the inhabitants in the Tibetan-acclulturated settlements in the

Highland, the Bhotas as well as the Lama-Gurungs, we find an inclination toward long distance trade in leisure time, even though their main occupation is farming. Meanwhile, there are few settlements which may be classified as exclusively belonging to the long-distance-trade centre type. Those which belongs to this type are Bimtakothi and Larkya which lie above the cultivation limits.

Bimtakothi (3540 m) has 11 houses, no farming is possible there, and cattle-raising is the only kind of land utilization. There are beautiful pastures in a hilly side of the village. Freight is switched from the pack animal to man power at Bimtakothi, though sometimes caravans consisting of *zōpa* (Tib., a male hybrid between a yak and a cow) go as far as to Thonje in the dry season. The main industry of the inhabitants of Bimtakothi is transportation and commerce carried on during the summer months.

Larkya looks like Bimtakothi. But Larkya is a settlement inhabited only during the summer. Salt is transported from Tibet via the Gya La pass in the north, and again via Larkya La and Bimtakothi, to the Lowland of Nepal, while rice, dyeing materials and other stuffs are transported to Tibet from the Lowland by the same route. There is another route that goes by way of the Buri Gandaki gorge. Larkya is situated at the point where these routes bifurcate.

When the writer visited this temporary settlement on June 1, 1953, he counted 13 shabby-looking one-storied houses with stone walls, like those seen at *kharka*, of which 4 were flat-roofed, 6 bamboo-roofed and 3 had no roof at all. Three or four tents were also observed. In summer time, two or three tea-houses are open. The writer observed there piled sacks of salt.

One of the dwellers there stated: "A large fair is set up in August. It is open for one month. Many people flock to the fair from Tibet, Arughat Bazaar and the western districts."

Larkya has an alpine pasture-ground. Immediately below there is an abandoned farm ground on a terrace in the valley at an altitude of 3670 m, below the forest-growing limits.

An inhabitant there stated: "Formerly the villagers cultivated that abandoned farm ground. But later we obtained the privilege of engaging in trade from the Nepal Government, and became to be engaged in commerce. So we abandoned farming. We came from a village near the Gya La. Larkya is a seasonal settlement and so no one lives here in winter."

A deserted farm was also observed near Karche (C. 37) at 3870 m, above the upper cultivation limits. It is now used as a pasture. One of the reasons for the existence of such deserted farm grounds is, as may be suggested by the case just mentioned above, an increase in trade, which encourages the villagers to turn to commerce instead of sticking to agriculture which

yields only scant and unstable crops.

In summary

(1) In contrast to the fairly uniform size of the purely agricultural settlements in the Lowland—several scores of houses on average—the bazaar settlements are divergent in size, ranging from extremely large to very small ones. And most of the bazaar settlements belong to the small size. In most cases these small bazaars have only a very limited sphere of commerce. The larger ones are engaged in long distance trade. In spite of their small size, even the smallest bazaar settlement is distinguishable from the agricultural settlement by their habitat, settlement structure, the construction of dwelling houses and the composition of inhabitants.

(2) However, the “commercial” settlements in the Highland and the gorge districts is indistinguishable from the agricultural settlements in spite of the fact that they are engaged in long distance trade.

Dana, for instance, which is situated at a low place in the Kali Gandaki gorge district, can be separated into two parts. The one is a line-settlement and has a distinct type of houses in its centre. Surrounding it, there exist several clustered settlements, around which are semi-dispersed houses on the mountain side and ridges. The latter parts, therefore, presents an aspect of agricultural settlement belonging to type A.

Tukucha and Marpha, however, are not line-settlements. They have not fundamental difference from the typical agricultural settlements of flat-roofed houses in the Highland. Their houses have a type common with that of the type D agricultural settlements. The difference between the agricultural and commercial settlements is not that in type but that the proportion of commerce to agriculture. The most conspicuous difference between the Highland and Lowland agriculturalists is that the former are engaged in long distance trade and have the custom of leaving home for work in addition to practising agriculture elsewhere.

Chapter VI. TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND AUTONOMY

1. Tol, Gaon and Mouza

Territorial organizations in Nepal are complicated and different from district to district. In the area covered by the writer's travels, and at least south of the Great Himalaya, the smallest unit of territorial organization is almost invariably called *gaon*. It has a certain spread of territory.

There is, however, a smaller unit than the *gaon* which is called *tol* (Nep.). In a large town such as Katmandu there are wards with the suffix *tol*, e. g. Asantol. It is also reported that at a large line-settlement village called

Kau Khola east of Pokhara there are several *tols*.

A traveller stated: "A *tol* is often called after the name of caste; For instance, Tamang Tol. It is not always the case, however, that one *tol* is inhabited only by one people belonging to the same caste. People of two or three castes may live there."

Unlike a *gaon*, however, a *tol* has no territory. It is something like a neighbourhood grown spontaneously. But it is not always the case that a *tol* has social solidarity commonly met with in the neighbourhood. The name of a *tol* is not always suffixed with that word. At a *gaon* called Chawringhwe Phedi is a settlement composed of four houses. This settlement is called Kale Posol. *Posol* (Nep.) means a shop. This *tol* is called by that name because a man named Kale opened a shop there. In most districts the word *tol* is not known. For instance, take the case of Khanchok Phedi. This is a bazaar settlement with only several houses that has grown on a *phedi*. So at most this is only a *tol*. It has no territory. In this district the word *tol* is not known, and the inhabitants insist that this settlement is a *gaon*. Judging from the above, it may be stated that a *gaon* sometimes includes several *tols*.

A territorial unit called *mouza* consists of several or a dozen *gaons*. (Some inhabitants employ the word *mouza* in the sense of a boundary line between the *gaons*.)

A group of several *mouzas* makes another territorial unit called *ilaka* (Nep.).

It appears that no administrator is sent to a *gaon* directly from the central Government. The word *mukhya* (Nep.), meaning a village master, is applied to those who are in charge of administration. But this is different from district to district. No exact information in this respect was available.

At one place it was stated that an autonomous body called *panchayat* is in charge of administration. (An account on this point will be given later.) At another place it was stated that a *jimmal* is in charge of administration.

A traveller at Arughat Bazaar stated: "Formerly *mukhyas* or *jimmals* appointed by the Government collected the taxes and rents at the *gaons*." A villager of Khachok Phedi stated: "Generally there are two or three *jimmals* in the *gaon*, who squeeze money out of the villagers."

A *jimmal* is, however, a tax-collector at the manor (Nep. *birta*), and he works under the manorial system which still survives in Nepal.

According to a villager a farmer who is living in a *birta* must pay five rupees as rent as well as some portion of his crops per *bigha* (a square of 20 yards by 20 yards).²⁰⁾

20) According to Landon, *bigha* is a standard measure of land in Tarai and its adjoining Bhitri Madesh hilly district. He says a *bigha* is 90 yards by 90 yards. (P. Landon, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 206)

Besides that, as has already been stated, a villager complained that a house tax amounting to two rupees a year was imposed for building a house, though he did not practise farming. It appears that the words *jimmal* and *mukhya* are used indiscriminatedly to mean village tax-collectors, whether they are from the birta or not.

It is stated that the Central Government administrators are stationed in the territorial organizations above the mouza.

According to an inhabitant at Barua (C. 13), Barua is the name of a *gaon*, which comprises, together with 14 other *gaons*, a *mouza* called Kunchha. This gaon is generally called "No. 2 Barua" (which means a second gaon called Barua under Kunchha) or "Kunchha Barua". Kunchha itself is one of several *mouzas* comprising an *ilaka* called Lumjong (spelled Lamjung in the map). It is called "No. 1 Kunchha".

There is a centre of administration in a mouza or a group of mouzas. The administrative centre is called *chota adha*. A higher order of administrative centre in the ilaka is called *bara adha*. That of Kunchha is situated on a mountain pass. A small settlement is formed around this administrative centre, and it is called Kunchha Adha.

Adjoining the mouza Kunchha in the south is the territory of the mouza Bandipur, the adha of which is also situated on an elevated place on a hill.

It was stated that at an *adha* there are a judge, tax collectors and policemen, who were appointed directly by the Government.

As has already been pointed out, most of the old-established settlements are situated on hillsides. Accordingly, the boundary lines of gaons, mouzas and ilakas are drawn in large along the valley bottoms where paddy fields are cultivated. For instance, even a large settlement such as Arughat Bazaar is situated on the boundary between two ilakas. It is governed by a *bara adha* at Gurkha which is situated on the hill. (Gurkha is the place of origin of the Gurkha Dynasty.) Khanchok Phedi is also situated on the boundary line of the mouza of Khanchok. The boundary between Bare Pirke and Raines is along a river called Chepe Khola, and the mountain ridge have nothing to do with the boundary. Tharughat Bazaar, included in a gaon called Raines, is situated at a boundary line formed by the Marsyandi river. This bazaar's tax collectors are said to live at Kunchha Adha. The boundary between Kunchha and Bandipur is also marked by a river flowing west from the mountain pass at Kunchha.

2. Panchayat

An organization called *panchayat* is said to be traced far back in the past in the Lowland of Nepal as in India. Generally speaking, it has no authority in legislation, jurisprudence and administration. It has no authority

to impose the taxes. It is a body for village autonomy in the matters other than those mentioned above.

But according to P. Landon, the late Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher considered to, about 1928, confer the authority of law making on the panchayat with a view to reviving the system. The motive of his plan was due to difficulties for carrying on his law courts, which were limited in number. His improvement of the legal system made it easier for ordinary people to resort to suits. The difficulty was brought about by a great number of suits brought by people. The Nepalese are a people who often go to law.

The writer has no knowledge about the destiny of his idea. A town dweller stated: "There had been no *panchayat* in Nepal. But the *panchayat* system was introduced with the ascendancy of the Nepali Congress Party two years ago." It may be said, therefore, that a new meaning was given to the old system by a democratization movement similar in character to that which is initiated by Gandhi in India. It cannot be said that the panchayat system have not existed in the Nepali villages.

In India the panchayat is classified into a village panchayat or a caste panchayat. But it is not known whether the system is so in Nepal. A villager at Khanchok Phedi stated that most villages had a panchayat. Another villager stated that each tol elects its own, and that this representative was sometimes recommended as a member of the gaon panchayat committee.

The panchayat sometimes exercises his authority over more than one gaon. For instance, Yangjebashi (C. 16-C. 17) and Suikhet (C. 17) are gaons with their own territory. They are situated in the valley bottoms. But it is stated that they are under the Kaskikot panchayat of Kaskikot which is situated on the high hill south of the gaons.

The suffix *kot* means the former site of a palace, but it is not always the case that a panchayat is always situated in such a nuclear settlement on a hill. For instance, Lumlei (1590 m) is on a mountain side over the valley, but its panchayat is said to stay at a gaon called Padlikhet in the valley farther below. In this connection it should be noted that the majority of the inhabitants of Lumlei are Brahmans. Considering that the Brahmans choose their dwellings, as already pointed out, in the low-lying areas fit for paddy cultivation, Lumlei may have been a village separated in the past from a mother village of the Brahmans in the vicinity of Padlikhet.

Bhurumdi (C. 18), lying in the bottom of a ravine called Modi Khola, is said to belong to the panchayat of a gaon called Ghandrung situated on an elevated mountain side farther upstream.

There is a fairly large tributary that flows north-west from the Deorali pass (C. 19-C. 20) to the Kali Gandaki river. The largest village in the drainage of this river is a gaon called Sikha (around 2030 m high) with

several scores of houses. In the upper reaches of the tributary there are settlements such as Phalatei (2300 m) and Chitrei (2420 m), while in the lower reaches such settlements as Ghara (1820 m). All of these settlements are situated on the sloping mountain flanks.

A villager at Phalatei stated: "Sikha is the principal village in the drainage of the ravine. Phalatei was founded about 25 years ago, and its inhabitants are all Magars, who had migrated from Sikha. They could not get sufficient income because there were too many people at Sikha. I, too, came to Phalatei 16 years ago, when there were only two or three houses, and there was little farm land. There is no shrine in this settlement and no god is worshipped at the each houses. There will be an annual festival six months later (that is, in October), when all inhabitants go to Sikha, where there is a Hindu shrine. The *panchayat* is at Sikha. Here the inhabitants are all engaged in farming."

As a matter of fact, Phalatei is a village near the upper cultivation limits in that area. (See p. 17.) Further up, there is a settlement called Chitrei with four or five houses. This is situated on the upper cultivation limits. Close to it there are found burned stumps of trees, the sign of a newly settled village.

Many festivals are observed at Katmandu and Pokhara, but at other principal settlements the semi-annual Hindu grand festivals in April and October are major ones. At nearby Beni in the lower reaches of the Kali Gandaki, two festivals are observed annually, but one, at Sikha, as already pointed out. At Phalatei and Chitrei no festival is held at all.

In this connection, a case will be reminded where a unified community consists of several villages. There may have been two groups of villages—"mother villages" and "daughter villages." It seems that a *panchayat* is placed in the "mother village."

In 1950 there was a revolutionary riot following the heels of the ascendancy of the Nepali Congress Party. The riot was instrumental in bringing about a constitutional monarchy. Since then the Nepali Government has been adopting a policy of supporting the *panchayat* system. The effects of this policy were observed in this village.

At Sikha a building is used as a primary school. A villager stated: "This primary school was built by the villagers two years ago. Children come to this school from Sikha, Phalatei and Ghara. At the beginning there were four teachers and the number of school children reached 100. But the number of children has gradually decreased, and at present there are only about 40 and with it the number of teachers has been reduced to two. The reason for the decrease is that the majority of the school children belong to poor families so that they can not afford the fees. Of the two teachers,

one is a native of this place, while the other came from Beni. They receive 25 rupees a month from the Nepali Government, which is not enough for subsistence. So each school boy brings 8 pounds of food a month as an additional fee. The school was constructed upon the promise of the Nepali Government to subsidise 300 rupees a year, but the Government has never given."

As is suggested by the above statement, a panchayat has been an economically weak body. Meanwhile, there are signs that this village autonomous body will play a big role in future development of the country.

The writer here will attempt at guessing the number of population from that of the school children.

Assuming that all of the 100 school children are boys between the ages of 10 to 20, and that the attendance rate is 100%, the number of population living within the territory of the panchayat is about 1000, if we multiply the number of school children by 10. If we assume the attendance rate at 50%, the number of population is approximately 2000.

There is reasons to suppose that the population living within the territory of a panchayat in the Nepali Lowland is about 1000. As already pointed out, this figure is equivalent to the population of the largest gaon, or that of a mouza consisting of several small gaons.

As will be described later, the Takali committee in the middle reaches of the Kali Gandaki presents the appearance of tribal panchayat. But, because this committee controls nearly 10,000 inhabitants and the power of autonomy is far stronger, it cannot be classified into the category of panchayat.

3. Rolo and Water Control

The autonomous organization of settlement in the upper reaches of the Kali Gandaki such as Kagbeni and Tirigaon, which are oases, is much more definite than that in the Lowland.

Kagbeni has an assembly building. The building is called *nyertsang* (Tib.). Those authorized to enter the building are strictly confined to the villagers. All kinds of meeting are held there. The possibility that a place of meeting called by the name of *nyertsang* may have some connection with religious meetings will be pointed out later (p. 181), although it was said that the assembly hall of Kagbeni has no religious decorations as the Buddhist altar. Only the crowned antlers of a deer were seen hang over a window of the building. (Fig. 110.) At Kagbeni a long water way is made from the river to irrigate the fields. The water way is vital for the villagers.

A villager stated: "When a water way is destroyed, about 30 to 60 villagers (the village has about 60 families), join their efforts to repair it. In

order to maintain the communal life and to direct such a kind of work, three leaders are chosen. They are called *rolo*. They are chosen by an election, which is held once a year after sowing barley and wheat. (The sowing season is at the end of autumn.)

"The leaders are responsible for the control of water, and issue orders on all common affairs. For their responsibilities, they are given due pecuniary compensation, if they perform their duties and solve disputes. Nearly every village has such a kind of the *rolo* system. But a small village such as Tirigaon has only two *rolo* leaders."

A dispute arose while the writer was staying there. Some Manang villagers came to the Tukucha district crossing over a mountain to buy fire arms as the result of a dispute that had arisen between Manang and Braga. (An account is given on the dispute in pp. 67-68). It appeared that those villagers urged a Kagbeni villager to join them. This villager was called Rinjin, whom the writer's party employed as a servant. In an effort to dissuade her husband from joining them, Rinjin's wife came to our quarters and abused him. As a result this man left us after he had accompanied us up to Muktinath. Meanwhile, information reached us that a decisive battle would be fought between the two disputing villagers in the Manang area in two or three days. At Kagbeni the *rolos* lost no time in mustering all the villagers to the *nyertsang* and issued an order prohibiting them to go out of the village for two days thenceforth. It was decided that those violating the order would be subject to a fine of 15 rupees.

This custom of electing *rolos* (in fact village masters) in the Highland settlements seems to be in consonance with the spirit of self-respect and independence held by the Tibetan-acculturated people, who are in a sharp contrast with the Lowland inhabitants who are apt to surrender themselves to authority.

According to Mr. Tilman, almost all the villages in the Manangbhot basin, particularly those near Manang and Braga, have several village masters. He writes: "The principles of democracy, of one man one vote, and of fair shares for all, were well understood."²¹⁾

Because of this democratic system, Mr. Tilman's party had to deal with the village masters of several villages, not of one representative, in employing coolies or procuring provisions. It was necessary to give fair shares for all.

The spirit of independence, and the non-chalant and even haughty attitude seen in every one of the villagers in the Manangbhot area—and these are common with all mountain tribes—seem to be particularly due to the

21) H. W. Tilman, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

fact that they have the custom of being engaged in long distance trade. As Mr. Tilman writes, they are well versed in the happenings in the outside world and sophisticated,

During the six months of winter, they go to Delhi and Calcutta, or sometimes even to Rangoon and Singapore. According to a member of the 1952 expedition party, they know the tactics of selling at high prices at, say, Rangoon, glass pebbles as precious stones found in Tibet. They buy them cheap at Calcutta. They also know how to travel on the train without buying a ticket. One of them was heard complaining that it became increasingly difficult to travel in this way.

In this respect, Manangbhot is particularly notorious. But such a tendency is more or less prevalent among the Tibetan-acculturated people in the Highland. They do not think nothing of asking foreign travellers for cigarettes. In appearance they assume a condescending attitude, but they never budge in business transactions.

The social personality manifested in the strong hankering for individual independence and liberty and a strong feeling of jealousy may have something to do with the growth of the democratic system of choosing the village masters by election. It may also have something to do with their inclination toward commerce.

An election system is also maintained at the Tibetan settlements in the humid parts of the Highland. An account concerning this point will be found later in connection with the description of Tsumje.

4. Subba

The local administrators higher in rank than any mentioned heretofore and with a semi-feudalistic character exercise authority in the outlying districts, particularly north of the Great Himalaya. They are called *subba* (*suba*, Nep.).

In some districts they have a big territory and a great number of villagers under their control. In some cases, however, the subba's position is equivalent to that of the chief administrator of a county of several villages. No exact information is available concerning the history of the subba system. A gentleman at Katmandu stated: "The position of a *subba* is one of the public official ranks, and this system is about 40 to 50 years old."

Subba is translated by Landon somewhere as District Lieutenant (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 10) but elsewhere as Captain (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 94). The latter refers to a suba under the Central Government, while the former was used in his description of the remote Palpa district.

Landon, in his description of Butwal and its environs, refers to the villages, where there are two subas under Bada Hakim (the same as *barahakim*,

roughly same with the prefectural governor). Also in his description of the outlying districts in the western part of Nepal, Landon writes that the subas and other officials stay at the small towns in this part of the country, and that they are given some kind of independent authority. The reason for that, he says, is the difficulty of maintaining contact with the Central Government because of the steep terrains.

As can be seen from the above, the position of a suba in the Central Government is pretty low, and in the provincial town he is an official subordinate to the prefectural governor, and in the provincial town not very remote, he is a kind of county superintendent under the prefectural governor, while in the remote outlying districts he is a semi-feudal lord.

Near the narrowest gorge in the Kali Gandaki a monument stands, commemorating the construction of the road that goes across the cliff. According to the interpreter who translated the inscription, a certain suba constructed and repaired the road. The interpreter stated that the *suba* means a rich landlord, and that it is a sort of title given by the Government. Any one, he said, who contributes a large amount of money to the Government will be made a suba. The construction and repair of road are either made by a suba under the order of the Government or by himself.

While we were going north through the Great Himalaya, the word *subba* was heard frequently. In any way, the position of subas seems different from place to place.

Throughout the Kali Gandaki Gorge District, more than one among the 13 members of the Takali tribe committee, of which reference is made in pp. 89-91, act as subbas to the outside.

In the area lying between Ghasa and Tukucha, almost all of the inhabitants are the Takalis, who maintain a sort of autonomy among themselves. Their sphere of influence is, however, not confined to the area alone. It is extended farther north beyond Jomosom (C. 25) up to Ghiling in the upper reaches of the main stream of the Kali Gandaki.

The Takali subbas have the right of collecting the taxes in the area lying between Jomosom and Ghiling and that of promulgating laws applicable in the area in addition to the home land of this tribe.

According to the Kagbeni villagers, the subbas have recently prohibited to import tobacco into the area within their sphere of influence under the fine of 200 rupees.

There is a rock-salt bed at a place half way between Ghiling and Kagbeni. The mining right of salt is in the hands of these subbas.

No reference is made to the existence of a subba in the Manangbhot district. It appears that the political influence of the Central Government is small in the district. According to Mr. Tilman (*op. cit.*, p. 139), the centre

of administration nearest from the district is Kunchha (C. 13), but no officials there have ever been to Manangbhot nor do they want to go. It was also stated by Mr. Tilman that Manangbhot has almost never been subject to taxation by the Central Government.

An account will be given here concerning a dispute which occurred at Manangbhot. The writer had an opportunity to observe it. The action taken by the *suba* at Thonje will be described in the following. A murder case occurred in 1951 at Braga. The murderer was a man who had come from Tibet and was living at Braga. The murdered was a native young man at Braga. It appeared that the murderer was an influential person in the village, so the father of the murdered man, seeing that he could find no means to be avenged on the murderer there, appealed to the villagers of his neighbouring village of Manang, who took up the case, and appealed to the Government officials. It will be remembered that in spite of local autonomy in all criminal and civil cases, a murder case must be reported to the police of the Central Government.

By the time a Government policeman arrived at Manangbhot in the autumn of 1952, the murderer had fled to Tibet. But in the spring of 1953, he returned to Braga, carrying a machinegun and rifles and accompanied by several henchmen. The policeman of the village lost no time in fleeing. Fighting took place between Braga and Manang, each of which had more than a dozen fighting men. Several skirmishes were fought, after which Manang became short of fire arms and sent men to Tukucha to buy automatic rifles.

In due course of time, a report reached us that a battle was going to be fought soon. We decided to go near Manang and gather information. By the time we reached the Manangbhot basin, a report reached that the *subba* living at Thonje would offer mediation. Hearing this report, we decided to pass through Manang and Braga without stopping. At Manang apparently no commotion was seen. Men were seen working in the field. At a dry river bed lying halfway between Manang and Braga, a tent was sighted. It was said that the *Thonje Subba* was in that tent. Sometimes three or four rifle shots were heard. But there were no signs of battle. Two groups of people were gathered in front of the tent. When we passed below the Braga settlement, some villagers were seen looking down at us, shouting angry voices and going to and fro in agitation.

The party managed to reach the outskirts of Ongre in a hurry, where we stayed overnight, and we felt that we were out of danger for the time being. Next day we saw the party of the Thonje Subba who was on his way home on horseback. The party took a rest at our camping.

The Subba was a young man of about 20 years old. He was in a full

Nepali dress, wearing a gold wrist-watch. But all of the members of his suite, numbering more than twelve were dressed in a pure and simple Tibetan fashion. It was stated that his mediation proved unsuccessful. The Manang side accepted the Subba's terms, but Braga refused. A skirmish was said to have been fought on the afternoon of the previous day. While the Subba's party was taking a rest, more than 100 Manang villagers, including women and children, came, asking the Subba to mediate again.

The writer has no knowledge as to the end of the dispute. The Thonje Subba is Mr. Khagendra Jang, who usually resides at a Gurung settlement lying below Thonje. He is a Gurung, and he inherited his present position from his father. The father of his wife is the village master of Thilche (C. 41-C. 42), and called "Subba" by the villagers.

The position of subba seems hereditary, at least in this case. The territory under the jurisdiction of the Subba extends from south of the gorge to the area where the Tibetan-acculturated people live. At least the area lying west of the Larkya La is under his influence.

As soon as the Subba returned from his trip of mediation, he went to Bimtakothi about the time when the writer's party arrived there. The object of the Subba's trip there was to collect money which had been lent to his tenants at Bimtakothi. This suggests that the Subba is also a big land-owner.

Judging from his dress, his principal language, and his talks, the subba, living in the area where two cultures coexist, seemed to consider the Tibetan culture inferior to the Nepali culture. This subba is supported by the Gurungs.

According to the Thonje Subba, selling and buying of tobacco is prohibited within his domain, but as late as the autumn of 1952, cigarettes were on sale at Thonje. According to the information gathered by the interpreter above mentioned, the inhabitants in and around Thonje smoke tobacco grown in their own fields. They say that a real reason for enforcing such a local policy as prohibiting the sale of tobacco is to prevent money from flowing outside by buying tobacco.

The tendency of priestly power to be associated with political power is well known in the case of Tibetan Lamaism. This tendency also appears in the Lamaistic zone of Nepal, although it was noted only in the eastern part of the area covered by our survey trip. The *subba* who lives at Chhogang (C. 53-C. 54) in the upper Shiar Khola valley happens to be the only one who is a *lama*. He is called *Septu Lama*.

The territory administered by Mr. Septu Lama is bounded on the east by the Tibetan border, where the Shiar Khola river originates; on the west by the villages of Sama (C. 46-C. 47) and Larkya; on the south by the vil-

lage of Burthum (C. 76-C. 77).²²⁾ It covers, in short, the entire area drained by the Buri Gandaki river and its great tributary, the Shiar Khola. He behaves virtually as a feudal lord within this territory, collecting the taxes and administering justice as an agent of the central government.

His jurisdiction extends over the non-Lamaist peoples of the Gorge District and below, but for the most part the people he administers are Lamaists. His nominal administrative centre is at Burthum in the lower reaches of the Buri Gandaki and near Arughat Bazaar. But his real administrative centre is at Chhogang along the Shiar Khola. It should be noted that the Shiar Khola basin, where his administrative seat is located, is the region settled by the Bhotas or pure Tibetans, and where orthodox Lamaism is the strongest. The Shiar Khola valley is connected with Tibet by two relatively accessible passes about 5000 meters in elevation and in many respects is a salient of Central Tibetan culture projecting into Nepal. The *Septu Lama* himself is a person who was educated at Hlasa (Lhasa), and around Chhogang, his administrative seat, are concentrated many Lamaist temples.

In the spring of 1953, the *Septu Lama* went to Sama on the western edge of his territory and resided there for some time. At Sama there is a splendid *gompa* and a lamasery housing many monks and nuns. One of the main purposes of his trip was to collect the taxes in this area. On his return, he passed through Tsumje, while we were there. He stayed overnight at the Lungsang temple in this village. As soon as he arrived, a representative from each of the three *tsosum* (clan) immediately visited him to pay respects. Since one of the regular representatives was away on a trip to a distant pasture, his wife was sent to greet the official in his stead. This is illustrative of the power of this official. Since the *Septu Lama* had ordered an accounting of the property of the village *gompa*, eight people—six from the three *tsosum* and two others of priest—sit together at the Shimmushe settlement and were working until nightfall at the task.

In his domain it is only in the Shiar Khola drainage area that the Bhotas live as an ethnic group. It may be, therefore, said that the Lama Subba is a subba who has the Bhotas and Lama religion as his supporters. But it is not clear whether he is the only subba within his domain, though there is no doubt that he is the most powerful subba. Perhaps there may be some other minor subbas in his domain.

The area lying in the upper reaches of the Buri Gandaki is mainly inhabited by the Lama-Gurungs. According to a villager at Gapsha, a Gurung subba resides at Namru (C. 47-C. 48).

22) Burthum is spelled *Burāthum* in the map of the Survey of India. But this pronunciation is incorrect.

5. Kings of Olden Times

Prithvi Narayan from the Gurkha district finally conquered the Nepal Valley in 1767 and after many expeditions he became to have complete mastery over almost all the Nepal region, which had been divided into several scores of small countries. The map bears many names ending with “-kot,” which indicates a court or the site of a court. This happens especially in Middle and West Nepal, but in East Nepal their number decreases. There are few of them in Tarai and lower valleys, but many on the hills south of the Great Himalaya. Aside from those printed on the map we found several places ending with “-kot” during our expedition.

The writer would like to mention some stories concerning the old kings who had held those small kingdoms. A tradition among the Takali tribe says there was once a courageous king at Thini (near C. 25, Jomosom). Then, a king called Hansharāj from the Jumla and Singa districts in West Nepal settled himself there and married a princess of King Thini. It is said that since then the people from various districts began to gather for trade to Tukucha and its neighbourhood. The villagers of Kagbeni have a similar tradition. In the village Kagbeni there is a four-storied building as big as a castle, the walls of which are half destroyed due to negligence. It is said that this building once belonged to the King of Kagbeni and his descendants still live there, though impoverished. Before this king, who was called Phuldung Topgyal and formerly king of Jumla, King of Mustang (Mustang is an important village at the border of Tibet upstream) ruled the district down to Dana. When King of Jumla was settled at Kagbeni, King of Mustang attacked him but was defeated by King Jumla, for Kagbeni and its neighbouring 20 villages were on the side of King of Jumla. The caves, Zimbu Phu, were said to have been dug by the villagers of Kagbeni, who had escaped from the attack of King of Mustang, to hide themselves. Seven generations have passed since King Kagbeni lived there. Afterward Tukucha became so powerful that the King's power declined.

Mr. Tilman²³⁾ tells the following story in connection with the decayed towers and walls at a deserted village located at the origin of the Naur Khola. When Nepal was divided into many small kingdoms before the 18th century, Naurgaon was the capital of the kingdom of Ghale Gurung who ruled over the whole Manangbhot and down to Thonje. His enemy was King of Lamjung ruling over the region down the Marsyandi. To protect himself from his enemy, King of Ghale built a castle near Naurgaon. He defeated King of Lamjung completely, but he and his subjects were murdered by King of Lamjung at Baman Dande village in the valley of the

23) H. W. Tilman, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

Marsyandi, where King of Lamjung sued for peace.

It is hard to tell whether these fragmental stories are credible or not, but we can see at least the size of the old kingdoms, though vaguely. These stories depict the process in which the Tibetan kings north of the Himalaya were under the pressure of the southern districts.

Chapter VII. TRIBES AND CASTES

1. Classification of the Native People²⁴⁾

One of the most interesting problems in Nepal is the relations between the caste system and the distribution of tribes. The Hindus are distributed in the Lowland, as mentioned in Introduction while caste society is also found in the Lowland. The Lowland is nothing but the northern borders of "Caste India", located in the low plains. The Lowland provides a rich field for studying transition from caste society on the borders to non-caste society of the Highland.

In Nepal, too, there is a word "jat" (Nep., plural: *jati*), which means "Caste". As to the classification of the whole caste in Nepal, there are various opinions among the educated people in Katmandu. The following is an example of classification made by a gentleman in Katmandu.

A. People mostly living in the Nepal Valley and speaking Nepali and Newari.

- (1) Malla
- (2) Shrestha
- (3) Pradhan
- (4) Joshi
- (5) Guvaju
- (6) Tuladhar
- (7) Pradhananga
- (8) Manandhar
- (9) Nepali Brahman
- (10) Jyapu (peasant)

B. People living outside of the Nepal Valley, generally called the Parbatia and speaking Nepali.

- (1) Thakuri
- (2) Chautaria
Chetri-Khatri
- (3) Deoja

24) On the names of castes, see, B.H. Hodgson (1874): *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet: together with further papers on the geography, ethnology, and commerce of those countries*. London: Trübner & co., Part II.

Bista

- (4) Chetri-Brahman
- (5) Gurung (Gurkhali)
Limboo
- (6) Rai
Thulung
- (7) Magar
- (8) Chetri-peasant
- (9) Koirala
- (10) Upadhyaya
- (11) Padhya
- (12) Rana

Classification considerably differs according to the persons who make them. But at least on the two points they agree, that is, the Newar tribe who live in the Nepal Valley and various ethnic groups who came from outside of the Valley are generally and traditionally called the *Parbatia*, which means the people living in the hills. The classification above shows at least the following fact. If we regard the Newars as an independent ethnic group, even in that group there is seen a tendency toward segregation into various castes. Once we take a step out of the Valley, however, there are not so many different ethnic groups. A caste seems to coincide with an ethnic group there (this is as far as the author could gather data, and there was such a person as Landon who finds four castes in the Magar tribe). In some regions an ethnic group mainly occupies a district and is more appropriate to be called a tribe. In other regions several ethnic groups dwell in mixture, but they do not constitute a caste society, while in some other regions, ethnic groups are intermingled in the same locality, and it seems proper to call it a caste society from their relationships and the occupational status in the village.

2. Observations in the Regions

It is almost impossible to distinguish one ethnic group from another by their appearance, their bodily construction and their costumes except in a very few cases. The interpreter had been proud of his ability to tell it from seeing their costumes and manners. He gradually lost his confidence and finally gave up his method of distinguishing, when a woman whom he judged, from the way she dressed, to be of the Gurung tribe told him that she was a Takali woman. In fact, therefore, we had no way but to ask the villagers or the neighbouring villagers in order to find out their tribal identification. What the writer mentioned in Appendix 1 is the miscellaneous materials regarding each *gaon* or settlement and the writer believes that they are fairly

trustworthy because he has been considerably experienced.

3. The Newars

No one doubts that the centre of the Newar tribe is in the Nepal Valley (Katmandu Basin). Most of them engage in farming but some in manufacture and in commerce. After the conquest by the Gurkhas, they seem to have been treated as a conquered tribe to some extent, and a teacher at Katmandu complained that teaching the Newar language had been suppressed by the government until quite recently. It was only a recent event that the opportunity to be adopted as Gurkha soldiers was opened to them. It is said that the matured central culture of Nepal owes much to the abilities of the Newar tribe. Many acknowledge that they are born artisans. It is also by them that various kinds of craft—including Buddhist arts—are kept at Hlasa and its neighbourhood in Tibet.

The theory may be correct that the Newar tribe is akin to the Tibetan in culture. Hodgson²⁵⁾ already noticed the kinship of the Newar language to Tibetan. The various tribes in the Lowland have a tendency toward polygyny, while the Newars have that toward polyandry, which is especially noticeable among the Buddhists. (Landon: *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 88.) In the Nepal Lowland only the Newars sacrifice buffaloes and eat their meat. But a custom that girls marry the fruits of *bēl* tree is found only among the Newars in Nepal.²⁶⁾ Such customs show that their culture is akin to the culture of India.

Despite the fact that the Newars live in the Nepal Valley, it is obvious that many have immigrated to other regions outside the Nepal Valley. We notice in the distribution table (Appendix I) that they are the most important inhabitants of the bazaar settlements. They are in Trisuli Bazaar, Arughat Bazaar, Khoplang, etc. This characteristic is remarkable even in such small bazaars as shown in the case of Khanchok and its neighbourhood (Fig. 29, p. 50). Among 6 families at Khanchok Phedi, 4 were the Newars who came from Khanchok Bhanjyang, which had been one of the bazaar settlements along the mountain pass. The fact that among the Gurung's settlements all over the Kunchha hills a bazaar settlement along the mountain pass was the only one belonging to the Newars provides another evidence.

Along the road from Katmandu to Pokhara trade was more prosperous in the east than in the west. As if to match with this fact, there are more Newars in the east than in the west. In Pokhara, a prosperous commercial

25) B. H. Hodgson (1874): *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet: together with further papers on the geography, ethnology, and commerce of those countries.*

26) Sirdar Ikbāl Ali Shah: *Nepal, the Home of the Gods*, p. 171 & 175.

town, however, the Newars do not necessarily constitute an overwhelming majority but there are as many Takalis. In the west of Pokhara they are recorded as a minority inhabitants even in the bazaar settlements. The last record is of Ghasa (C. 22-C. 23).

The trace along which the Newars immigrated to the bazaar district from their native land, the Nepal Valley, is thus clear. But, as we have seen, almost all the bazaars have been newly built or newly expanding in *phedis*. We can see, therefore, that the history of the emigration of the Newars is not very old, and it is proceeding still now. They are moving from a bazaar to the west or to the district along the *phedi* road, where they had never exploited. Accordingly, their occupations are those of the bazaar inhabitants, that is commerce and arts. True that they are often engaged also incidentally in farming in order to obtain their livelihood, but it will be more proper to call them an occupational caste in Nepal, if considered from the standpoint of their occupations.

4. The Chetri and the Thakuri

It is said that the Thakuri is an aristocratic caste from Rajputana and descendants of the immigrants into Nepal who has escaped from the Muslim invasion of India. The writer was told that King of Nepal and the family of the Prime Minister belong to the Thakuri. But the writer was also told during his expedition, that the Thakuri belong to the priest caste. We cannot decide which was right. Katunje (C. 6) and Bhurumdi (C. 18) are the only places where their distribution is recorded and the records themselves are few (in the latter only one family is mentioned.) Hodgson and Landon say that, according to an old chronicle in Nepal, the Khas tribe from the pure Hindu had already lived in 1000 A.D. before the Thakuri, and they lived in the lower regions than the Magar. Both of them are the Kshatriya, the soldier caste from Rajputana. Accordingly the Thakuri seem to have belonged to the second wave of immigration.²⁷⁾

Anyhow the Chetri are recorded as an important element in the villages on the hills, such as Khanchok Dhara (1150 m high), and Mashil (with Brahman), and in Argum Pouah (C. 15-C. 16) it co-exists with other castes. The examples of Mashil and Argum Pouah make us think that they live in places almost as high as the Brahmans. In such villages they are mainly engaged in farming.

5. The Brahmans

The Brahmans, the priest caste, has appeared in the history of the Nepal Valley in remote times. They are, however, mostly poor farmers now. We

27) Landon: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 241. Hodgson: *op. cit.*, Part II.

found them in the western half of the Lowland in the course of our expedition, and sometimes they occupied almost all the vast regions. On the river terrace along the Marsyandi all over Raines (C. 11-C. 12), almost all the inhabitants of the villages consisted of Brahman farmers. Their dominancy became gradually remarkable from the Marsyandi region toward the west. Though they cultivate the dry fields in Raines, most of them raise irrigated rice like the villagers of Rupatal, Sisua, Baidam, etc., in the Pokhara Basin, who are all Brahmans. In Majhgaon in the Buri Gandaki valley, the Brahman villagers begin to appear at a low altitude, where paddy cultivation is possible. According to Mr. Jiro Taguchi, a member of the climbing party in 1953, he could not buy even a bottle of spirit during a few days of his journey, because the Brahman villages were situated all over the regions of low hills north of the Pokhara basin at the middle reaches of the Madi Khola (south of the Annapurna mountains). The writer also found the bee-hive made in the hollowed trunk in which honey-bees are raised in their villages. A certain gentleman of Katmandu said that their abstinence from wine is only nominal and they often drink secretly.

In the west of Pokhara, the Brahman who are engaged in planting rice, are distributed over the area from Naudhara (C. 17-C. 18) and its neighbourhood to the Modi Khola valley as mentioned above. The average altitude of their habitation is lower than that of the Gurungs, who are generally cultivators in the dry field. It is in this region that the elliptical houses called *gōl ghār* can be seen as a characteristic of the Brahman. As compared with the Newars, they are similar in that they live in the region as high as they can plant rice, but differ in that they do not make commerce and manufacturing.

6. The Magars

According to Landon, this tribe, who formerly occupied Tarai and the low hills near Butwal and Palpa, are now distributed in the west of the basin of Katmandu; they were scattered both to west and east after Palpa was invaded by the Rajput forces; originally they were the Mongoloids who had come down from the north, but went so close to India as their Buddhist character were weakened and nominally converted to Hinduism, when they were conquered by Rajput.²⁸⁾

Their features are more characteristic of the Mongoloid as compared with those of the Newars, the Chetri and especially the Brahmans. They seem to inhabit the higher hills than the latter, but a little lower than the Gurungs. They settle on the high hills at the lower reaches of the Kali

28) *op cit.* Vol. II, p. 243.



Fig. 33. A Brahman farmer. At Raines, April, 1953.
Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 34. An old wife of a Brahman farmer and her granddaughter. At Raines, April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 35. Bee-hives made of hollowed logs hanging on the first floor in a Brahman farmer's house. At Raines, April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 36. A Brahman (?) girl. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

Gandaki as a pretty large group and are neighbours of the Takalis at the northern part of it. The writer has already mentioned that they are widely distributed all over the whole valley with Sikha as its centre where their *panchayat* is situated. (See pp. 61-63.) Many villages on the hills around Dana adjoining to this region are also inhabited by them. The bottle-necked topography between Dana and Ghasa is the border of distribution of the Takalis and the Magars. In Ulleri, which is situated east of the hills, their number is as large as the Gurungs. The border line between the distribution of the Magars and that of the Gurungs may be marked hereabout.



Fig. 37. The Magars and their village. At Sikha, April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

However, they seem to be widely scattered outside this region; they share Nyen (C. 47-C. 48) in the upper reaches of the Buri Gandaki equally with the Gurungs and also at Baseri (C. 76). These examples suggest that some of them tend to be distributed over a little lower region than the Gurungs, and we notice that some are mixed with other tribes in the Katmandu Basin and at the bazaar settlements in the Lowland. In his account of journey S. Chandra Das says that the name "Magar" is seen in East Nepal near Tibet; the name appears in a sad story of disastrous fighting between the Bhotas and Sherpas on the one hand and a tyrannical chief from the Magar tribe on the other hand, who ruled over them in Kangpa-Chan Village²⁹⁾

29) S. C. Das (1902): *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*. Edited by W. W. Rockhill.

In Phalatei and Sikha, the centres of the region, they worship Heaven at the time of threshing, and erect "trisula" on the roof of house. Such customs suggest something of religious colour of the Highland people mixed with Hinduism. (See p. 174.) So Landon's suggestion that their base is on the hilly region may be right, but the writer thinks that their territory does not extend to the Highland north of the Great Himalaya, though their base is in the hilly region. This is seen in the fact that we do not find the Lama-Magar, though there are found Lama-Gurungs or Lama-Tamangs which are ethnic groups as will be mentioned later.

7. The Gurungs

The main forces of Gurkha soldiers consist of the Gurungs and the Magars. We have heard of a Magar regiment in the army of British India, but the Gurung soldiers are more famous. We could never find the Gurkhas as an ethnic group. The name "Gurkha" is used as the name of a village, that of "ilaka" to include the village, or that of the present dynasty, which originated from that village, while the word "Gurkhali" is used only to indicate the Gurungs in some cases. The Rana's feudal government had been based entirely on the forces of the Gurungs, Magars, and Limboos till the revolution broke out. Some suggest that the successive generals, since the time of the famous Jang Bahadur, entitled themselves as Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung in order to make the people take them as their chiefs by entitling them with the name of ilaka such as Kaski (west of Pokhara) and Lamjung (Kunchha and its neighbourhood), where the Gurungs were so powerful. (Landon, *op. cit.*)

One says, therefore, that the central government treated the Gurungs generously. As the writer have taken Bhurumdi and its neighbourhood as an example, the Gurungs on the high hills dominated and exploited the Brahmans who are engaged in planting rice in the low land. (Refer to p. 31.) It is partly due to the Brahman's lack of vitality and partly to the policy of the government. Following Landon, the government adopted a policy of high rent and heavy taxes on rice produce. They adopted such a policy in order that the inferior kind of soil be cultivated. This policy produced some effects, but in fact the Gurungs enjoyed benefits on the sacrifices of other tribes in the Lowland. It may be true to some extent that the Gurkha Party which is supporting the former feudal government of the Ranas was active in exploiting the Gurung villages.

It seems to the writer that the Gurungs are the best porters the writer has found in the Himalayas. Many tribes in the Lowland are weaker than the Gurungs. The Bhotas on the Highland are as strong as the Gurungs but they are much tactful in bargaining. The writer has found the Gurungs

strong and comparatively faithful, though some exceptions were observed.

In their horizontal distribution, the region mainly occupied by them adjoins to that of the Tamangs at the upper reaches of the Ankhu Khola (the stream between the Trisuli Gandaki and the Buri Gandaki) in the eastern part (according to Mr. S. Takebushi), but it is not clear how far it is in the western part, though it seems to adjoin to that of the Magars above mentioned in the vicinity of Ulleri. In the south, it extends perhaps to the Siwalik range over the hills, but it is unknown to the writer. Judging from the examples of Bagua (south Khanchok) and Kunchha as the writer has already mentioned, the central area of the distribution is the hills on the south slope of such mountains as Mt. Annapurna, Mt. Himal Chuli, and the Ganesh Himal. It seems to have a great influence on the local segregation in culture that they live on the comparatively high land near the Himalayas. Their homeland occupies an intermediate zone between those of the Magars and other tribes in the Lowland, and those of the Bhotas in the Highland.

Their costumes are suited for a mild climate, but they often carry blankets sewn together like a hood to protect themselves against the cold weather and rain. As the region of their distribution is divided into parts by high peaks, deep valleys and violent streams, their language seems to have many dialects. For example, a Braga villager (C. 37-C. 38) whom the writer met at Tseme (C. 40) said, "The Gurung language has many dialects, and all inhabitants in the villages from the uppermost reaches of the Marsyandi to Pisang (C. 39) consist of Gurungs." He added that the people in the villages from Tarangchung, on the lower stream than Pisang, through Thonje (C. 41) to Sama (C. 46-C. 47) belong to the Bhotas. Afterwards, as the result of gathering information, however, we found some villages which had been told to belong to Bhotas to be those of the Gurungs. Thus, even the Gurungs do not regard themselves as belonging to the same tribe. A Subba from the Gurungs in Thilche (C. 41-C. 42) said, "The Gurung language has so many dialects that they cannot understand one another."

The village which maintains their original Gurung culture best among the Gurungs, is perhaps the villages of type B settlement on the high hills at the southern slope of the Himalayas, which have wooden sacred archways and sexual symbols on them at both entrances of the village. (Refer pp. 34-35.) The inhabitants of these villages believe in a native religion preached by the priests called *jangri* (or *Jhankri*), who are not much affected by the influence of either Hinduism or Lamaism, though they may have been once under the influence of Nepal Buddhism. Such a characteristic culture of their own, has long been under the influence of the culture of the Lowland in Nepal in the southern part, and under the Tibetan culture in the northern part so that there are the Gurung culture of the Lowland and the *Lama-*

Gurung culture.

Now let us examine their language. Almost all tribes in Nepal have their spoken languages but no written ones. But Nepali has letters and is commonly used among the people in the Lowland, while the Tibetan language has letters and is used by the people in the Highland. In this way, most of them are bi-lingual, using either of the two *lingua franca* other than their vernacular languages. We can find the same thing with the Gurungs. It seems that Nepali is well understood in the region spreading from the lower valley of the Buri Gandaki up to Philem (C. 69-C. 70). The basin of the river Shiar Khola, a little upper stream from Philem, is the area influenced by the Tibetan language, and only a few males seem to understand Nepali. When a porter from the Lowland went Philem from Aga (C. 69) after a long stay in the basin of the Shiar Khola where Nepali is not understood, he looked very happy that he could make his Nepali understood even by a woman working in the field. Going up along the main stream of the Buri Gandaki, we found Nepali gradually to give place to Tibetan at Philem and its neighbourhood, and in Gapsha (C. 48) even children can understand Tibetan well.

Not only men but women and children can understand Tibetan in the Manangbhot basin at the source of the Marsyandi. A man of Braga (a village in the Manangbhot basin) whom the writer met at Tseme, however, said that they use the Gurung language as well as Tibetan at Braga and other villages in the basin. In Pisang down along the river, men could understand Tibetan but the women coolies whom we employed could not. In the region from Tarangchung to Thonje (C. 41), which is adjacent to Pisang in downstream, the people cannot wholly understand Tibetan, though the women and children at Tseme can understand it a little. We felt rather strange when we heard a women say, "Chhang Shimbu du mindu?" (Will you have a cup of Tibetan beer?) to us at a tea-house in a meadow. The writer was told that she was a Bhotea. In Thonje the women understood Nepali pretty well, though they did not understand Tibetan. Male coolies we employed there could, however, understand Tibetan quite well. They told us that they were mainly the Gurungs. Both subbas of Thonje and Thilche were proficient in Nepali. In the vicinity of Bimtakothi along the source of the Dudh Khola, all people seemed to speak Tibetan.

Judging from these data, we may say the following. Up to the district lower than Thonje along the Marsyandi, Gurung and Nepali are used, while in the district upper than Thonje, along both the main stream and the Dudh Khola river, Gurung and Tibetan. As we went far up the stream, less Gurung but more Tibetan became to be heard. It seems that Tibetan penetrated first among men and then women and children. This naturally is due



Fig. 38. Pure Gurung ladies in the Buri Gandaki Gorge District. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

Fig. 39. Pure Gurungs giving salt to their cattle. At Keronja. August, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

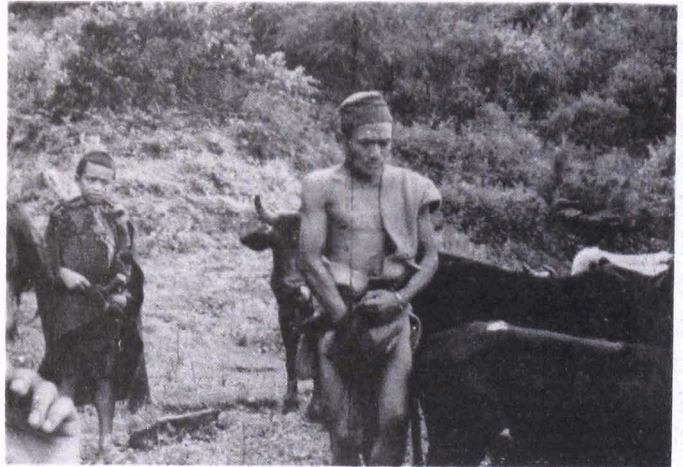


Fig. 40. Pure Gurung boys sitting on a cliff. Near Aga. July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

Fig. 41. Hinduized Gurungs. Note the *tika* on her forehead and her clothing. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda



Fig. 42. The Tibetanized Gurungs or *Lama-Gurung*. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

Fig. 43. A *Lama-Gurung* girl. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda



to the fact that men who had more external contact than the others were the first to learn Tibetan, a kind of international language.

The Tibetan and the Gurung languages are used not only side by side but the vocabularies of the two languages are often mixed with each other. The incident proved this that, when the writer tried to make a Lama-Gurung man (the Tibetan-acculturated Gurung) we hired at Namru (C. 47-C. 48), speak his language, he gave *shorong* for 'house', *tawal* for 'village', *tsatsa* for 'salt', which are at least *not* Tibetan; *mi* for 'man', *ngu* for 'I', "*Kim ni pra*" for 'Come to my house' and "*changle chi thung*" for 'to drink spirit'; some these are unmistakably common with Tibetan. It was not easy, therefore, for us to distinguish the Gurung terms from the Tibetan. According to the interpreter, the language used by the inhabitants at Tseme village, at the upper reaches of the Marsyandi, is Tibetan mixed considerably with their native language.

It is not, therefore, strange if they have two names for a place, one in Gurung and the other in Tibetan. According to the villagers of Braga, the word 'Braga' (or 'Praga') is a village name in the Gurung language, though the Bhotas call this village 'Thaga'. But, in Tibetan used by the village people at Tsumje, 'a big rock', for example, is called both *pra* and *tra*, and sometimes *thak*. The pronunciation of *pra* and *tha* in 'Praga' and 'Thaga' may be identical. For some more examples, "Bimtakothi" (C. 43) is called *Peme Tang*, and also "Kasigaon" (C. 74), *Tashi Kang* in Tibetan. These examples suggest that these language have a tendency to be mixed up with each other easily. Having little knowledge of the Gurung language, we do not know where to place it among other languages. But, some Lama-Gurung said that their Gurung language seemed to be akin to Takali and Tamang. We can rely upon him to some extent as these tribes are distributed almost on the same altitude. The solution of these problems depend entirely upon future study.

Thus, the Gorge Districts of the Great Himalaya located on the border between the Nepali and Tibetan linguistic areas, also draws a line between Hinduism and Lamaism. Moreover, it is the dividing line between the Nepal Lowland and the Tibetan culture in the eating habits, clothing and dwelling. We are not, therefore, quite wrong, if we call the Lama-Gurung (the Tibetanized Gurungs) living in the upper reaches of the Marsyandi and the Buri Gandaki the Tibetan, from their Tibetan way of living, but they should be distinguished from the Bhotas because of their consciousness of being a different ethnic group from the Bhotas. According to the native, *Lama-Gurung* does not mean the Gurung lama but the Tibetan style Gurung or the Gurung Lamaist.

The people of the Lowland use meat for food, but the amount of meat

in the diet seems to be greater among the Highlanders. Consumption of meat constitutes one of the criteria dividing the Gurung peoples who are found both in the Highland and the Lowland. The Gurungs living above the Gorge Districts are called the *Lama-Gurungs*. One of these Lama-Gurungs that we hired as a porter at Jagāt told us, as we approached the downstream village of Rungje (C. 73), that the village was inhabited by *Cho-Gurungs*, or "vegetarian-Gurungs." The writer does not believe that these people actually avoided eating any meat, but the term suggests a cultural boundary. At Halchok, which was the next village above it, there was, it will be recalled, one of the little huts in the fields where we saw the head and meat of a freshly slaughtered ox. We shall refer, hereafter, to the Highland Gurung as Lama-Gurung and to the Lowland Gurung as Cho-Gurung.

It is not certain that the term *Cho-Gurung* is the generic name for the lower Gurungs including those influenced by Hinduism at the still lower reaches of the river. It is also not certain that all the Gurungs except the Lama-Gurungs believe Hinduism. But the writer will use tentatively the term *Cho-Gurung* as a term which designates all the Gurungs except the Lama-Gurungs, though the Cho-Gurungs may be still subdivided into the pure Gurungs and the Hindu Gurungs.

The pure Gurung settlements will belong to type B agricultural settlement as mentioned above. But they become type A in the lower hills, type C in the humid Highland and type D in the arid Highland.

8. The Tamangs

The writer never came across the Tamangs in the course of his expedition except at Katunje (C. 6) and Prok (downstream of C. 48), where they were not the main inhabitants, the ratio being only 10% of all in the latter village. They were mostly seen to the east of our course. And it was not without reason: according to Mr. Takebushi, they are predominant on the hills at the south slopes of the Great Himalaya, such as the Ganesh Himal, the Langtang Himal and so on, and also spread from the Ankhū Khola valley in the west to the Sun Kosi valley in the east. To the east of the Tamangs region there lays the Sherpas region; to the west, that of the Gurungs; and to the north, Tibet inhabited by the Bhotéas. Mr. Takebushi says that the Tamangs seem to have been segregated into two subtypes as in the case of the Gurungs. The Tamangs situated high at the south slope of the Ganesh Himal are not likely to be under the influence of Lamaism and Hinduism. But only from *tika*, cosmetic on the foreheads, which is a sign of Hindu, we can tell that most of those living in the lower country are Hindu believers. On the other hand, those on the high mountains such

as the Gosāin Kund Lekh and others are Lamaists, influenced by the Tibetan culture, who have given themselves the name *Lama-Tamang*.

In the account of his travel Mr. H. W. Tilman (*op. cit.*, p. 37) mentions a village of Tibetan style called Langtang on the Highland in front of the Langtang Himal (3300 m high, about 30 families), and says that the Lama-Tamangs are like the Tibetan and vigorous and cheerful and do not mind dirtiness. But, unlike the Tibetans, they sometimes wash their faces and hunt lice. They say that they have descended from mixed ancestors between the Tibetans from Kyerong (the first village we meet with in the Tibetan region) and the Tamangs in the Helmu region (at the south side of the Langtang Himal), and call themselves Lama-Tamang. A Sherpa accompanied Mr. Tilman said that their Tibetan language is similar to the Lachen dialect in the neighbourhood of North Sikkim.

9. The Takalis

The writer has often mentioned that the distribution of the Takalis is centered in the Gorge District of the Kali Gandaki. According to the materials concerning the distributions of the tribes (Appendix 1), 90% or more of the inhabitants in the region between Ghasa (C. 22-C. 23) and Tukucha (C. 24) are, as already mentioned, the Takalis. As a matter of fact, a Takali assured the writer that this region belonged to the Takalis. Ghasa is 1960 m, and Tukucha, 2500 m high.

At Jomosom, where you can reach by going up toward the north of this central region, they do not constitute a majority, but about 50 per cent of the inhabitants. At Kagbeni, they entirely gave way to the Bhotéas. Toward the lower reaches of the river, they occupy an important part of Dana (C. 21-C. 22); in other words they are distributed right in the middle of the area inhabited by the Magar tribe, forming a long strip in the central settlement of Dana along the main transportation line. The same tendency was seen in the case of Bhurumdi (C. 18). And at such a large business town as Pokhara, Takalis are still the majority, particularly at its central part, along with the Newars. Pokhara must be the last town where the Takalis are distributed, for we have no record, further than Pokhara, of the Takali distribution except for the seven Takali families found at Thonje (C. 41) located far away from Pokhara.

Since "Takali" is often aspirated as "Thakali", it may be right to spell the name as "Thakali". For instance, Hodgson spells it "Thakoras".³⁰⁾ Also Prof. G. Tucci spells the name "Thakali".³¹⁾ And they are called *Thak* as well. According to their tradition, the origin of the name is

30) B. H. Hodgson, *op. cit.* Part II, pp. 13-14.

31) Giuseppe Tucci (1953): *Tra Giungle e Pagode*. pp. 66-67.

traced back to a time later than that of "the Tale of Hansharāj," which the writer has already referred to. (See p. 70.) An incident in their legend is supposed to have happened sometime after the beginning of trade between the two countries, Tibet and Nepal. A man who belongs to the Thapa caste, a well-known Nepali Chetri caste, happened to come to this area and died near Tukucha. Since that time the Kali Gandaki river began to be called the *Thapa Khola* (*Khola* means 'river' in Nepali), and then *Thakhola*, and the inhabitants in this valley have become to be called the *Takali*. Even now the Bhotas call this area *Takola*. The number of the inhabitants who belong to this tribe are said to be nearly 10,000.

As for their customs of eating, clothing, and house, there were seen mixed influences of both Tibet and the Nepal Lowland. They eat rice for breakfast; for their noon meal, light food with tea; and for supper, rice or bread made from buckwheat. Takali characteristics are not in their clothing: they wear expediently whatever style of costume found in the areas with which they trade. As far as the writer's observation is concerned, their costume is a mixed one, Tibetan and Nepali. Their house with flat roof, which is of the Tibetan style, is closely packed together as mentioned in connection with the type D settlement, but in the lower reaches of the river down from Dana, their house type changes into the gable-roofed one.

Their main occupations is brokerage in the valley, the second, farming, and the third, animal husbandry. Their main agricultural products are barley, wheat, and buckwheat. Their animals are cows, mules, goats and yaks, last of which are on the higher meadows. Their main business is to exchange wheat, barley and rice bought in the Lowland with salt imported from Tibet. (Refer also to p. 54.) They do not settle accounts while they are busy in trade, but once a year (in October). They may be compared with the Marwaris in India in that they live mainly on business.

The society of the Takalis are divided into four sections which are: (1) *Gouchand* (2) *Tulachand* (3) *Serchand* (4) *Bhattachand*. These sections have neither symbols of their own nor ranks. They practise exogamy between the sections. For example, each Gouchand cannot marry with one another, but can do so with one from other sections. They say that intercaste marriage with other tribes are not approved among the Takalis.

Marriage among the Takalis is monogamous and patrilocal, even though they are rich. Generally, the father proposes his children's marriage to the bride's father. When the proposal is accepted by the latter, who decides it, considering their son's and daughter's intention, wedding is halfly settled. After a ceremony the bride is sent to the bridegroom's house. But it is not until the first child is born that the bride's father recognize the marriage and gives presents (ornaments, money, clothing, food, etc.) to the bridegroom's



Fig. 44. A daughter of the Takali subba. At Tukucha.
April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 45. The Takali pupils in a primary school. At Tukucha.
April, 1953, Photo. by J. Kawakita

father. They can divorce by consent. If they are not satisfied with their marriage life, either husband or wife may ask for divorce.

One of the most interesting phenomena in this tribe is a social reformation which took place some twenty to twenty-five years ago. Suddenly in recent times, these people seem to have experienced a renaissance based on a powerful uprising of tribal nationalism. About twenty years ago they elected a governing council of thirteen men who undertook the task of carrying out a revolutionary reform program.

This council was given almost complete judicial authority over its people. Only cases involving murder were to be handled by higher authorities. The chiefs were made the *subba* of the area. (Refer also to p. 66.) In August of each year a general meeting is held to take care of business not handled by the council. Also at this meeting certain decisions which govern the activities of the council are adopted. The committee also fills up the vacancies in its membership at this meeting. Thus, almost all affairs are handled by the committee. If one does not observe them, he shall be subject to a fine of 50 Rs. Law suits and other affairs are dealt with immediately, if they are simple and unimportant, but complicated ones are decided at the next general meeting. Sometimes, the committee holds a special court for some peculiar suits.

These resolutions of the committee and the general meeting strongly influence the life of the Takalis. In the economic sphere, they requested a savings program which called upon each family to store up a year's supply of food and fuel. This is strictly observed. Recently they created a commercial loan fund from which loans at the low interest rate of four per cent are made available to any Takali. (Refer to p. 339 about the interest rates among the Bhotas.)

Educational matters were also part of the reform program and in the course of the past fifteen years the people have come to recognize the value of education. On the edge of the town of Tukucha, the writer saw a fine building which, he was told, is going to be used as a primary school. The funds for the school are 30,000 Rs. How a remarkable work it is to set up a school in such a mountainous country will be easily understood, when compared with the Magar's way to keep the elementary school in Sikha Panchayat. (Refer pp. 61-63.)

Pending its completion an open air primary school taught by one teacher was being held in square adjoining the Tukucha *gompā*. One of their textbooks consists of several sheets of paper on which short sentences in Nepali and English are written. The pupils used stone-made blackboards. A child read sentences aloud, while other children followed him in unison. According to the teacher's explanation, they use the Takali language in his class.

This language, according to him, is quite different from any other languages in Nepal, and it is used only by the Takalis. It does not have its own letters, but spelled in the Hindi letters.

The first National High School was established in the beginning of 1953 in Pokhara. Soon after that the writer, who visited this town, called on this school, became acquainted with the school-master and attended at the ceremony. The writer was told the number of all the students was over 100 and divided into eight ordinary and one special classes. Though in high school, the youngest student was seven and a half years old, the youngest of the highest class 13, and in the lower classes there were also a few older student. They follow the coeducation system, but there were only a few girls. There were several teachers and assistant teachers besides the school-master.

One of the guests of honour, present at the ceremony was a powerful Takali subba, a fine gentleman, who wore his best summer suits and a golden watch on his wrist and had a camera. He offered the writer American cigarettes. The school-master was very polite to him, because the subba was one of the financial supporters of this school. The subbas of the Takalis, wealthy men, send their children, including girls, to college in India. One of them, the writer was told, had graduated from Benares University and has got a M. A. degree.

The schedule of reformation covered their religious life. The religion of this people came originally from *Hindu Tantra*, and in the Takali language is called *Jangri*. The term *jangri* refers to the priesthood of this religion. About 400 years ago Lamaism came down from the north. *Lama* fought with *jangri* and won. Jangrism was suppressed, its sacred books and writings were burned and Lamaism became the dominant religion until recent times. However, there still remain some Takalis who were Hinduists and some who continued to adhere to Jangrism. In very recent times the leaders of this tribe, feeling that it was inconvenient for the three religions to coexist among so small a people and within so limited an area, decided to give official recognition to Jangrism and to make it the sole faith. As a result—so the writer was told—the great majority of Lamaist temples and monasteries in this area are at present in a state of decay.

The writer's own observation corroborates this explanation. There is a magnificent Buddhist library building in Tukucha, quite out of place in this backward environment, and on the outskirts of the town there is an impressive walled *gompa*. When the writer visited this *gompa*, however, he found it deserted. The priest's quarters were in ruins. The writer's guide, who is a dweller of Tukucha, confirmed the above account in explaining the reason for the decline of Lamaism and told me that the Lamaist bishop,

whose seat this temple had been, abandoned it because of the circumstances described above.

According to an informant, Jangrism is a kind of practical religion, with which nowadays every Takali is familiar. Jangrism has neither gods nor sacred images. Nor does it have any complicated ritual. The writer was further told that today there are no special practitioners called *jangri*, but that the members of each family are *jangri* and take part in very simple religious rites. In this point, the writer thinks, there is innovation in this revival, though its detail is not clear.

Despite the revival of Jangrism, both Lamaism and Hinduism continue to maintain their popular following among these people. A *lama* of Tukucha still performs certain functions and exercises some influence in the community. (Refer pp. 171-72 and p. 154.) Lamaism exercises its influence mainly over the middle and lower classes. Also in this town of Tukucha the writer met a nun, an upper class Takali woman, who still clung to the Lamaist faith. It is also a fact that the various festivals in the religious calendar of the Takalis mostly tend to have a strong Indian flavour. This can be detected in the names, patron deities, and rituals of the festivals of this area, as will be described later on: *Kumarpuja*, the festival of the bachelor youth (held in August); *Deoali* (held before the advent of winter); and *Holi* (held after winter). (See p. 108 and p. 131.)

The writer was unable to learn anything about the content of Jangrism as a religion, but he imagines it to be a sort of Shamanistic cult. G. Gorer states that Jhankri originated among the Gurung peoples, and that the religion of the Lepchas of Sikkim has been influenced by Jhankri influences from Nepal.³²⁾ S. Takebushi told the writer that he has found the men called *jangri* among the Gurungs in the southern slopes of the Ganesh Himal. Professor Giuseppe Tucci told the writer that Jangrism and Bonnism are same, and Bonnism is found among the Takalis and the villagers of Chhar-kabhotgaon.³³⁾ (Refer also to p. 140, p. 149, and p. 154.) *Jangri* is pronounced *jhankri* by most of the Katmandu people. The main forces which have instigated such a vast social reform have come from the people of the Serchand section who are most active in commerce. These data, besides the writer's observations, are mostly given by Miss Savitri Kumari, a powerful subba's daughter, through an interpreter. The Subbas who are leaders of this committee consisting of 13 members come of a few families of the Serchand section.

The writer want to add here that late Harkaman, an ancestor of these

32) Geoffroy Gorer (1938): *Himalayan Village*. p. 216 and 92.

33) See also, G. Tucci (1953): *Tra Giungle e Pagode*.

families, took care of the Rev. Kawaguchi who had been introduced him by a priest of Bodhnath, when the former visited Tibet. Kawaguchi described him "a governor called Harkaman Subba" (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 48). The same Subba Harkaman went to Tibet to buy a set of Tibetan sūtras upon the request of the King. The Rev. Kawaguchi speaks of him as "a man of unyielding spirit", and says that he had his own temple at Tukucha, in which is put a set of Tibetan sūtras (*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 204) and that he was surprised, when he met Harkaman at the palace in Katmandu after having left Tibet. (*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 433.)

The facts mentioned above may prove that in the end of the 19th century, the Takali's commercial activities extended not only to the seat of the government of Nepal but also even to Tibet. A few active representatives of the Takali merchants are always staying in the capital city in order to catch informations and conveniences. And the Takalis acquired the right of monopolized commerce of tobacco a few years ago.

Thus the Takalis must be an interesting tribe in Nepal. Though they live in the border-land between the Tibetan Highland and the Nepali Lowland like the Gurungs and the Tamangs, they are different from the latter. First, they have accomplished unification of the tribe based on their ethnic consciousness not only in their economic status but through the reform of the way of their living. Second, their unification has been accomplished chiefly by putting stress on trade. Thirdly, theirs is a kind of the long distance trade which has the characteristics of intermediate trade. The Takalis are called wholesale merchants as contrasted with the Newars, most of whom are village retailers, and this is one of the reasons why the former makes connections with the central government.

The geographical location of the region where they are distributed is one of the basic conditions which make them more prosperous than the others. Their business skill and activities owe much to the circumstances that their region is situated on a gateway between the Tibetan Highland and the Nepali Lowland. The fact that two different cultures come in contact with each other in their region may not be advantageous for the up-bringing of their own peculiar culture, but it has brought up among them a flexible adaptability to both of the two greater cultural traditions. In their customs of eating, clothing and housing, they can be Tibetan and Nepali according to the circumstances where they live. In their religion they seem to adhere not much to either Hinduism or Lamaism. Due to their flexibility they can easily extend their business in Hlasa, Katmandu and India.

Their population is no more than 10,000. This is ten times as big as the population of a panchayat. A moderate size of their population and

their concentration in a valley make them combine themselves more easily than the Gurungs and the Tamangs who live dispersed over vast areas and whose population is too numerous to accomplish any kind of tribal integration. Without unification they can not be so prosperous in commerce. None of the tribes but the Takalis in Nepal have accomplished such unification. Therefore, it may be worth considering that the population is neither too large nor too small for gradual development of means of communication and commerce.

It is very difficult to answer why such an ethnical unification has been largely urged recently. We find a parallel tendency in India, where, while the old caste system is declining, a strong tendency toward unification in each caste is observed in recent years. This tendency is not oriented to the differentiation of a caste but to the amalgamation of relative castes to a greater unit, both in the caste hierarchy and in areal size of unification. This fact seems to be suggestive to the writer in relation to the unification found in the Takalis.³⁴⁾

Let us turn again to their distribution. We find a tendency that they leave their homeland and move into the commercial towns along the line of communication. They are similar to the Newars in that they live on commerce. Accordingly, they live in the places convenient for commercial activities, competing with the Newars. As mentioned above, both tribes are different from each other in their directions of commercial activities. Therefore, though these two tribes live together in the central region in Pokhara, we must pay attention not only to their competitive phases but to their cooperative phases.

We cannot say to what kind of culture the Takalis belong. Their faces are characteristic of the Mongoloids in the Highland. Almost undoubtedly their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese family.

10. The Bhotetas

The people we may call the Tibetans are called variously as the *Bhotiya*, *Bhoteya*, *Bhotea*, *Bhutea*, *Bhoto*, etc. in Nepal. When the term Tibetan is understood in such a broad sense as those people under the influence of the Tibetan culture and customs, the Lama-Gurungs and the Lama-Tamangs will be included. But the Bhotetas seem most likely to be called pure Tibetans. They use only the Tibetan language. The Bhotetas call the Tibetan language "*Pöke*" (Tib.), and Nepali is called "*Rhonge*" (Tib.), according to the Sherpas. What dialects of Tibetan are spoken? According to Hlakpa, a Sherpa, the Bhotetas in Tsumje and its neighbourhood speak the *Khim* dialect. The

34) Kingsley Davis (1951): *The Population of India and Pakistan*. pp. 162-77.



Fig. 46. A Bhotea man. 1953.
Photo. by T. Yoda



Fig. 47. A Bhotea family returning
from India to Tibet. 1953.
Photo. by T. Yoda

dialect spoken among the people in Hlasa and its neighbourhood is called *Nān*, and the dialect of the Sherpas, *Kangba*, and the *Khim* dialect are mainly spoken in and around Sikkim and Darjeeling. In his account of travel Mr. Tilman says that Tensin, a Sherpa, found the dialect among the Lama-Tamangs in Langtang was somewhat similar to the dialect of Lachen and its neighbourhood in north Sikkim. (*Op. cit.*, p. 37.) If this suggestion is right, it is thought that the region from Sikkim through the Langtang Himal to Tsumje in the west are under the influence of the *Khim* dialect.

The writer also finds through an interpreter that the people in the Lowland of Nepal often call Tibet *Bhot*. The people in the territory of Nepal situated in the north of the Great Himalaya such as the region in and around Thonje and Larkya, call it *Muglang*, and the Bhoteas call it *Pöyul*.

The region where the Bhoteas are mainly distributed is *Pöyul*, that is Tibet, and the Bhoteas, i. e. *Pöpa* (the Tibetans in Tib.), are distributed only over the projected region into the Nepalese territory from *Pöyul*. According to the author's observation, the Bhoteas live mainly in the basin of the Shiar Khola in the east, and at the upper reaches of the Kali Gandaki in the west. The territory of the Lama-Gurungs divides that of the Bhoteas into two parts, east and west. It will be clear from the table (Appendix 1) that there live also the Bhoteas but not so much as the Lama-Gurungs

in the villages of the Lama-Gurung districts. Some of the villages are inhabited almost entirely by the Bhotetas as Bhartsam (C. 47-C. 48).

We can see in the following examples that the Bhotetas are sometimes mobile as priests, merchants, strolling players and agricultural labourers who are not settled in one place. The author will inform the case of Tsumje about the Bhoteta villages (see Part II).

11. The Occupational Groups

Besides the groups above mentioned, there are many occupational ethnic groups who live mainly in the Lowland. They are the *Dami*, the *Sarki*, the blacksmith's caste, etc. The people called *Dami* or *Damai* are of the tailor caste, who live mainly in the Lowland bazaars such as Trisuli Bazaar. The Sarkis belong to the caste of shoemakers and leather dealers, and mostly live in the bazaar settlements in the lower parts. But we missed the name of the caste of blacksmith. (*Kami* is the name for it according to Hodgson³⁵.) They are divided into professional castes, so that they constitute a minority everywhere. Though they are small in number, they are specialists and therefore they seem to be distributed widely. A few of them are distributed even in the villages in the Highland. As we can see from their characteristics, they easily move from one place to another. For examples, on the roadside along the lower reaches of Ghasa (C. 22-C. 23), several shoemakers of the Sarki make a small settlement and open shops in their shabby cottages. There they live on mending or making Tibetan shoes for travellers. In reply to our questions they said that they had come from Baglung and formed this settlement temporarily. When their business diminishes, they move to other places looking for work. Their Hindu-like dark faces show that these groups came from the Lowland of Nepal or India. In the Highland, they are easily discriminated from the Highlanders who have characteristics of the Mongoloids, by their countenance, and their tongue also shows that they have come from the Lowland. Everyone in the Lowland says that the social ranks of their castes, especially the Sarki and the caste of blacksmith are regarded very low. At Tukucha, a town in the valley, three poor houses of one story in the south-western corner of the town drew the writer's attention. These families belong to the Dami, the tailor caste, and the blacksmith caste. The writer will call attention here to the fact that the ordinary people also make dresses or shoes besides these specialists in the Bhoteta and Lama-Gurung Highland. Wool spinning is done by men as well as by women. It is said that at Sangda, an isolated village, the farming tools are made by the ordinary people who buy ingot iron in the

35) Hodgson: *op. cit.*, Part. II, p. 15.



Fig. 48. A travelling musician in the Lowland. This caste is probably called *Gain*. At Manchouka. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 49. A temporary settlement of the Sarki (shoemaker's caste). Near Ghasa. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

lower reaches of the river, and that there are no specialists there. Therefore, the writer doubts whether these professional groups are so indispensable for the people in the Highland as in the Lowland. There is such an exceptional case that in Lho (C. 47) there are four families of Sarki, three of Dami, two of the blacksmith caste—9 in total—out of 25 families. We conjecture from the example of Tsumje that these people cannot easily make their living unless the people of several villages are their regular customers.

Their present condition is as mentioned above and there is no doubt that the principal places where they live and are active are in the Lowland where bazaar settlements exist.

12. Geographical and Social Mobility of the Tribes under the Influence of the Tibetan Culture

Besides the people above mentioned, there are roving players, roving priests and other specialists in the Lowland. The caste of roving musicians (Gain), the caste of mimicking animal crying (Tatti), and many others are found,³⁶⁾ whom we met in the Lowland while travelling. The Bhoteas in the Highland are mobile as individuals. They are engaged in long distance trade as much as the Lama-Gurungs. They also often make pilgrimage like other tribes. Besides them, in many villages on the Highland there is a group of poverty-stricken people of the Bhoteas and the Lama-Gurungs. Pisang (C. 39) is an example. Seven Bhoteas, who had desired to be employed as porters, were not natives but from other districts. For example, one of them was born at Hlasa and after wandering about many other places, arrived at Pisang in 1952, when we met him. Not a few of the Lama-Gurungs whom we employed at Sama had such experiences. Perhaps because of this mobility, the sphere of marriage of the Bhoteas sometimes extends very far. For instance, the mother of a Lama-Gurung porter who joined our party at Namru (C. 47-C. 48) came from a house at Kagbeni, where we stayed overnight. His aunt from Namru, in turn, is married into the same family in Kagbeni.

Mr. Takebushi, one of the members of our expedition, said, "I met again the speckled handsome boy, who came to our camp at Sama last year. Surprisingly enough, he was a child of the sister of Sherpa Ang Tshering No. 5. The boy said that he had not seen his uncle for a number of years."

He also writes:

"A Sherpa called Rakkaro Bakkar was very popular with us. He joined the 1952 survey party and he was very much liked by everybody because

36) Hodgson: *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 15.

of his lovable nature. He was born at the foot of Mt. Gosainthan near the Tibetan border, and, while still a boy, he left his home and roamed about in Nepal. He was a perfect vagabond. He could sing all folk songs of Nepal, and he was an indispensable man, when we made merry round our camp fire at night."³⁷⁾

Description of this kind is often seen in books of travel in the Himalayas and Tibet. It shows how some of the Tibetan-acculturated people roam about in the country. These roving labourers are not necessarily bad people. Two or three of the porters we employed were trustworthy. Though

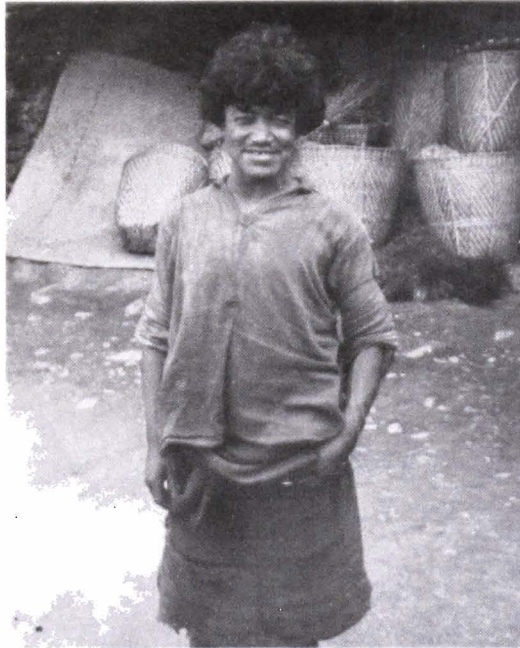


Fig. 50. A rural proletarian among the Highland villages. He is a Lama-Gurung. At Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

they are a kind of rural labourers, their nature is generally as gay as the usual Tibetans. It will be one of the noticeable characters among the Tibetans. "Gymnastic exercises of all sorts and dancing are very popular among them, and their movements are cadenced and easy. As they walk about, they are always humming some sacred or popular songs."³⁸⁾

Intermarriage among various ethnic groups of the Tibetan-acculturated people, be they Bhotas, Lama-Gurungs or Sherpas, is fairly free. In Tilman's book we find examples of inter-marriage between the Lama-Tamang,

37) the Japanese Alpine Club, edited by (1954): *Manaslu*. p. 59 & 62.

38) E. Huc (1852): *Souvenirs of a Journey through Tartary, Tibet and China during the Years 1844, 1845 and 1846*. (Peking: Lazarist Press.), Vol. II, pp. 219-20.

Sherpas and Bhotéas. This kind of free marriage is fundamentally different from the mingling of the castes seen in the Lowland.

13. Geographical Distribution of Various Ethnic Groups

A vertical distribution of various ethnic groups is shown in Fig. 51. (Efforts were made to represent a horizontal distribution as much as possible in the chart.) The non-Tibetan Tamangs in the Lowland are here referred to as Cho-Tamangs, just as in the case of the Cho-Gurungs. No clear line in the distribution of the Cho-Tamangs and Lama-Tamangs is discernable. A horizontal distribution is shown in Fig. 52. These two roughly show the territories of the ethnic groups. The charts show that the Thakuri, Chetris and occupational groups (the Dami, Sarki, iron-smith caste and so on) have no territory of their own.

The Newars and Brahmans live on the same altitude. Most of them are cultivators of the irrigated paddy fields, and their culture is tinted by it.

The Takalis, Gurungs, Tamangs and perhaps Sherpas are distributed on the same altitude from west to east. The fact that they are distributed north and south of the Great Himalaya and both in the Highland and Lowland corresponds with the mixing of the Tibetan type and the Lowland Nepali type.

The Gurungs and Tamangs are so large groups that each of them are subdivided into two ethnic groups. Among the Takali there is a group of Tibetan Takali who believe in Lamaism and another group who are of the Lowland Nepali type, adhering to Hinduism. Perhaps because of their small

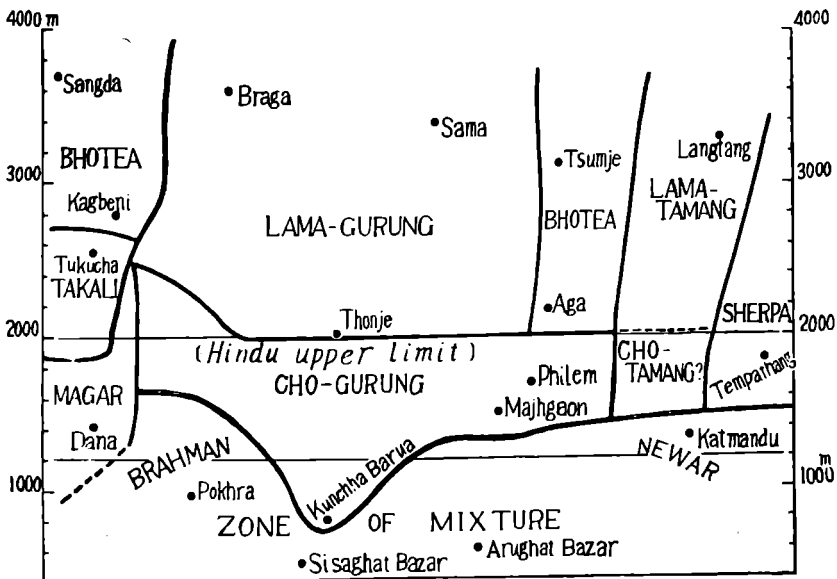


Fig. 51. Vertical distribution of tribes.

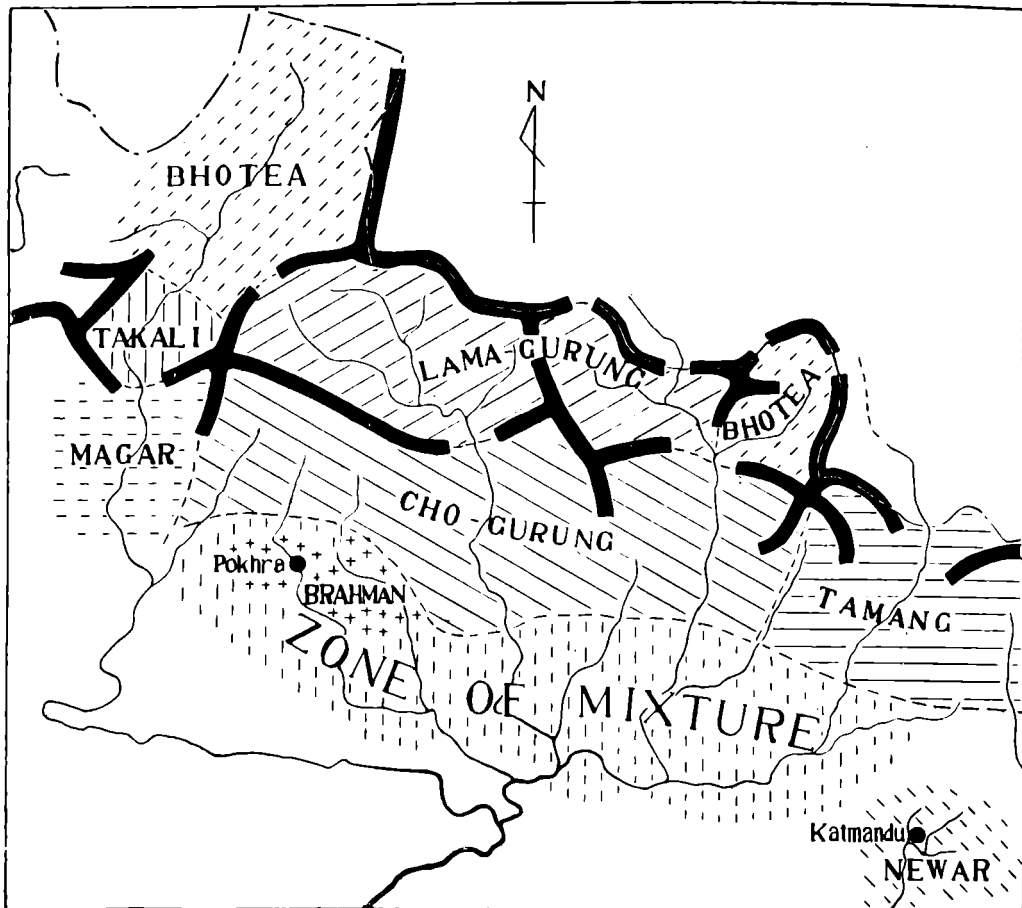


Fig. 52. Horizontal distribution of tribes.
Thick lines indicate high himals.

number, they are not sub-divided. We have no data as to whether the Sherpas can be divided into the Lama-Sherpas and Cho-Sherpas.

There is a tendency that some high mountain passes make the boundaries of the territories of ethnic groups and sub-groups. For instance, the Nisango La pass (about 5200 m), which is negotiable, separates the territories of the Bhoteas from the Lama-Gurungs. But the Larkya La pass (about 5200 m) does not play such a role. On both sides of it live the Lama-Gurungs. The gorges also tend to play a similar role. Near the confluence of the Shiar Khola, which is formed by sheer precipices, is a border line between the Bhoteas and Gurungs. The border line between the Magars and Takalis is situated at a bottle-necked topography in the downstream of Ghasa.

What is interesting about these border lines is that the valleys such as the Ankhū Khola and Sun Kosi, which offer good means of communication, seem to form the border lines separating the Gurungs, Tamangs and

Sherpas. Of course, these territories are not bounded by clear-cut border lines. One of the comparatively clear-cut border lines is that along the Kali Gandaki that separates the Magars, Takalis and Bhotas. But near this line they live together. The border lines separating the Newars, Brahmans and Gurungs are obscure. In the territories of these ethnic groups it is easier to find out the centres of habitation than their border lines. The centre of habitation of the Newars is in the Nepal Valley and that of the Brahmans is in the low hilly region in the west.

14. Mixing of Various Ethnic Groups and Development of the Caste Society³⁹⁾

Mixing and segregation are a matter of degree. Let us now turn to a microscopic than macroscopic view in considering the phenomena of mixing.

First, when we take somewhat macroscopic view, we find such a kind of mixing in which a bloc of several villages is occupied mainly by an ethnic group but such blocs are mixed, each being occupied by different ethnic groups. For instance, near Pokhara, the Gurungs and Brahmans live together. There, roughly speaking, the Gurungs live on the higher hills, while the Brahmans on the low hills and basins. But there are villages of the Gurungs around the Phewa Tal lake which is lower than Pokhara. And there are also Brahman villages on the higher hills near Kaski Naudhara. Such is the distribution of the Brahmans and Gurungs in the area from Pokhara to Raines (C. 11-C. 12).

Now let us consider the settlements in which one ethnic group is predominant. Dana (C. 21-C. 22) is a good example. It is inhabited mostly by the Magars, but the commercial settlement there is Takali. Though Kunchha (C. 13) is situated within the territory of the Gurungs, the bazaar settlement there called Kunchha Adha is occupied by the Newars. Also there seem to be many agricultural villages within each of which the settlement is inhabited by an ethnic group, but the kind of ethnic group is different from settlement to settlement in the eastern half of the Lowland. The vicinity of Khanchok, mentioned in Fig. 29, is the case in point. Even except such bazaar settlements as Khanchok Bhanjyang and Khanchok Phedi, the

39) In this connection, Hodgson's following paper is suggestive.

B. H. Hodgson (1874): *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet: together with further papers on the geography, ethnology, and commerce of those countries*. London Trübner & Co.

In this book, he classifies many Himalaya tribes into three categories connected with their habitats: one is "the unbroken tribes" such as the Magar and Gurung; the second is "the broken tribes" such as the Thami and Pahi; the third is "the tribe of helot craftsmen" such as the Sarki and Damai. (Part II, pp. 14-15). He also suggests that some unbroken tribes such as the Magars and the Gurungs had their more restricted fatherland or *janam bhumi* before the conquests of the House of Gurkha. (Part II, p. 30).

Chetris, Brahmans and Gurungs form their own settlements respectively in a small region there. The Brahman, Gurung and Tamang settlements at the gaon called Majhgaon (C. 75) are also a good example. (See also p. 32.)

Let us take a more microscopic view and see the state of mixture of the ethnic groups in one settlement. It goes without saying that many ethnic groups live together at such large towns as Katmandu and Pokhara. Except them, mixture of ethnic groups is most prominently observed at the smaller bazaar settlements. Table I will show this. The under-mentioned settlements are said to contain many ethnic groups. Many of the settlements are bazaar settlements lying at low altitudes and on the *phedis*.

It has already been pointed out that most of the bazaar settlements lying on the *phedis* in the Lowland are either of recent origin or in the process of expansion in recent years. Judging from this, it will be said that the unhealthy *phedis* in the Lowland have become the melting pot of different ethnic groups, thanks to improvement in the means of communication and expansion of commerce.

While the process of mixture in most of the agricultural settlements must have taken considerable time, mixing of ethnic groups in the bazaar settlements on the *phedis* is taking place with an astonishing speed.

Many of the bazaar settlements on the *phedis* are small in size, but there are so many of them. Therefore, mixing of ethnic groups is not a phenomenon seen only in large towns. This fact may have a great bearing upon the future, because it is at these *phedis* that mixed living is helping to build up a caste society. It may be true that formation of caste society is making progress more rapidly and intensively at large towns such as Katmandu, where various ethnic groups live together. But judging from examples in India, it is towns, particularly large towns, that the decline and fall of the caste system is most apparent, as they have impact of modernization most strongly. The stronghold of the caste system is in the agricultural areas. The time may come when the forces operating for destruction of the caste system will outstrip forces operating for formation and maintenance of the caste system in large towns such as Katmandu. But it will be a long time indeed before such a thing happens in the agricultural districts in Nepal. It is interesting that Landon pointed out in his writings that in Nepal the caste system is in progress. But it is too hasty to conclude that mixing of ethnic groups means formation of caste society.

The writer would like to point out some chief characteristics of the caste system, though based on rather scanty materials:

(1) Membership to a caste is fixed by birth, and it is a life-long status. On this point, however, the writer has not enough data.

(2) On caste endogamy, the writer has only scanty data. In the Low-

Table 1. Bazaar settlements of mixed living of ethnic groups

Name of settlement	Altitude (m)	Terrain	Type of settlement	Ethnic groups
Khanchok Phedi	960	Valley bottom	Bazaar	Newar, Gurung, Magar
Sisaghat Bazaar	520	Valley bottom	Bazaar	Newar, Gurung, Bhoto
Khudi	790	Basin bottom	Farm village	Many castes
Argum Pouah	870	Basin bottom	Bazaar	Chetri, Brahman, Gurung Newar, Sarki
Yangjebashi	1140	Valley bottom	Bazaar	Many castes
Lumlei	1590	Hillside	Bazaar	Any castes and Brahmans
Bhurumdi	1120	Valley bottom	Bazaar	Takali, Newar, Gurung, Thakuri
Average	1000	Mainly valley bottom	Mainly bazaar	

land intermarriage between the different castes is known to limited extent. There is another village in a *phedi* along the Marsyandi having the name of *Khudi* besides the one in the Pokhara basin. Someone said that those are the villages where inter-caste marriage is held. A Gurung man informed that the place name is of Gurung origin and it shows that those villages are within the sphere of influence of the Gurungs. A Katmandu inhabitant explained that *khudo* means molasses obtained from sugar canes and is of Gurung origin, and the word is now used throughout Nepal. He further said that *khudi* is a place where *khudo* is made. As a matter of fact sugar canes are cultivated only at points below 1200 m. The villages with the name of Khudi are all situated within the irrigated rice field cultivation zone in the *phedis*. The villages in the Pokhara basin, in particular, have many castes living in it.

The above may indicate that inter-ethnic group marriage is being made to some extent in the settlements in the *phedis*. But on the whole, intermarriage between the different ethnic groups is prohibited within the Hinduistic cultural sphere in the Lowland.

(3) Nothing is known clearly as to the extent in which the individuals belonging to the different castes try to avoid mutual intercourse in daily life such as eating the meal on a common table. Though we paid little attention to this point, our Brahman porters and interpreters tried to avoid contact with the men of other castes. One of our interpreters, a Bengal Brahman, was particularly friendly toward the Brahmans at Raines, while he showed disgust toward the men of the lower castes in the Lowland. He

seemed to consider the Bhoteas the lowest caste. He also seemed to place the Sherpas on the same status as the Bhoteas, for he objected to employ Sherpas at our base camp at Sama. When we invited a Bhotea man to dinner at Tsumje for the purpose of interviewing him, the interpreter refused to partake of the dinner together with the man. The Bhotea man, a very old man, was a very proud and fine man, but to the interpreter he was just a dog. Our Brahman porter did not show his disgust as openly as the interpreter, but none the less he hated the Bhoteas.

Thus at least in the Lowland everyone seems to be well aware of which ethnic group a man belongs to.

(4) Those belonging to the occupational castes are well aware of their social status. Others regard them with distaste. Among the occupational castes, the lowest castes are the Damis, Sarkis and iron-smiths. In the history of Nepal the Brahmans belonged to the priest caste, the Thakuris to the administrator caste, and the Chetris to the warrior caste. There is a tendency for the Newars to become a small-merchant and artisan caste and the Takalis a merchant caste.

At the population centres of the Newars and Takalis, most of them are engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry together with other industries. But as they move away from the centres, they show the tendency of forming occupational groups. This is particularly true at the communities where many ethnic groups live together. It seems that each ethnic group has developed its own peculiar ability, and as time passes, castes have become differentiated. As they have come to live together, each group has come to put emphasis on its own particular ability. This shows that the ethnic groups distributed on a non-caste basis is being regrouped based upon the castes. The primary cause for this may be competitive co-operation among tribal cultures, as a result of which increase of social productivity is realized in the Lowland.

Now let us turn our attention to the Highland people. A considerable number of other ethnic groups are living within the territory of the Lama-Gurungs. In the upper reaches of the Buri Gandaki, one-thirds of the inhabitants at Lho are those of the occupational castes. At Nyen (C. 47-C. 48) the number of Magar inhabitants and that of Lama-Gurungs are equal. Both the Lama-Gurungs and Cho-Gurungs live at Li Dhandra and Namru. Bhartsam is entirely inhabited by Bhoteas.

In the upper reaches of the Marsyandi, the Bhoteas, Takalis and Cho-Gurungs live side by side with Lama-Gurung who are the majority. Characteristics of mixing of the ethnic groups in the Highland are as follows:

(1) Generally speaking, men who "invade" a territory where a single ethnic group predominates are those belonging to the ethnic group which

is predominant in the adjoining area. For instance, in the territory of the Lama-Gurungs in the downstream it is the Cho-Gurungs, a subgroup of the Gurungs, who occupy a secondary position in the territory. It is mainly the Bhoteas who occupy the secondary place in other areas.

(2) An exception to the above is minority occupational groups that come from the Lowland. These groups gradually "invade" the territories of the Lama-Gurungs, Bhoteas and Takalis. No data have been obtained on the castes of the lower places such as the Brahmans, Newars, Chetris and Thakurs.

(3) Thus the kinds of the ethnic groups living together in the Highland is very few. If both the Lama-Gurungs and Cho-Gurungs belong to a bigger group, the number of groups will become fewer.

What is social intercourse between the various ethnic groups living together in the Highland? It appears that the occupational minority groups are being accorded special treatment as aliens by the majority groups, Bhoteas and Lama-Gurungs. No more can be learned as to the order of the castes and intermarriage. But it has already been pointed out that intermarriage among the Bhoteas, Lama-Gurungs, Lama-Tamangs and Sherpas are fairly free. An account has been given as to mixing of the Gurung and Tibetan languages (pp. 80-84). The writer came across in the Highland no indication that showed caste segregation as seen in the Lowland. Intercourse between the Sherpa porters and Bhoteas was quite free and open. Judging from this, it may be safe to conclude that there is no caste system or any other system similar to that in the Lowland. There is almost no difference at all between the highly Tibetan-aculturated Gurungs and the Bhoteas, and so their cohabitation in a single village settlement is different from that in the bazaar settlements in the Lowland.

What is important in this connection is that in the Tibetan-aculturated areas in the Highland emphasis is put on individual's independence, self-respect and envy against other people and some other characteristics in their social personality or norms. Unlike the people in the Lowland, they are not authoritarian. Even the tendency toward authoritarianism in the Lama religion is a system that admits of individuals' talent mobility. (Refer p. 210, pp. 212-14 and p. 349.) According to this system, there is no absolute gap in the linear order of the laymen—semilaymen—priests—holy men—Buddha, because any individual can hope to reach the highest level, if only he has ability and tries hard enough.

The people in the Highland, particularly the males, are engaged in every kind of labours. So a tendency is at work that will prevent fixing of the occupational status of each individual, that is to say, every male can do farming or animal husbandry, and in the leisure season he is engaged in

commercial expedition. There was a village master who applied for the post of a porter, because he thought it was a paying job. In the arid Highland, the males sometimes make weaving, sewing and tailoring. In analyzing the non-caste social relations in the Highland as against the Lowland, it is necessary, therefore, to study their social personality and system of value consciousness. It would also be necessary for this purpose to study the nature of their labour in daily life in connection with personality formation and value consciousness.

Chapter VIII. RELIGION

A. The Hinduistic Lowland

The Lowland constitutes the main portion of Nepal, and there the dominant religion is Hinduism. However, Hinduism is a very comprehensive religion embracing a great number of heterodoxes. It may be, therefore, better not to begin with an attempt to define it.

1. Location of Temples and Shrines

The shrines, which serve as direct indicators of the extent of the Hinduistic zone, range from great temples to small roadside ones, and vary widely in form. One of the general characteristics common to all these place of worship is their location. They are found inside settled areas, mostly in the very centre. In such large cities as Katmandu and Patan, the temples are clustered around the central districts, the area known as Darbar Square (old palace square). At Dharamtoli (C. 0-C. 1) a bell tower and shrines of *Ganesh* and other deities are to be found similarly around a small central plaza of the town. The small *Shiva* and *Ganesh* at Jitpur Bazaar (C. 1) are likewise located in the middle of the village. The same is true of the Hindu shrines at Arughat Bazaar (C. 8), Khopleng (C. 10-C. 11), Luitel (C. 10-C. 11), Argum Pouah (C. 15-C. 16), and Baseri (C. 76). In many places there are shrines located on the outskirts of town or village, as, for example, Pashpatinath Temple in the suburbs of Katmandu and *Mahakali* temple outside the town of Pokhara. However, in such cases, there is another important temple more centrally located. While there may often be several shrines in one settlement, it is probably safe to say that every settlement invariably has at least one. The relationship between shrine and settlement is in marked contrast to that which prevails in the Lamaistic zone.

2. Springs and Rivers

That rivers and water are regarded as sacred by the Hindus in India is a well-known fact. The worship of the Ganges at Benares need not be



Fig. 53. The Ganesh shrine and a bell in the plaza of Dharamtoli. March, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 54. A Shiva shrine in a small-sized bazaar settlement Argum Pouah in the Pokhara basin. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

cited. The same attitude prevails among the Hindus of Nepal. The Nepalese counterpart to the Ganges is the Bagmati River which flows through the Katmandu basin. Along its bank is the Pashpatinath temple, where along the edge of the river are beautifully constructed stone steps called *ghats*. Here the sick and the dying come to bathe their feet in the sacred waters of the Bagmati and the dead are brought to be cremated. This site is a small scale replica of Benares with which the people of the Nepal Valley (i.e. the Katmandu basin) have had long historical ties. Many local residents have made pilgrimages to Benares and in the past numerous kings of Nepal in times of political troubles have fled to Benares in the guise of pilgrims.⁴⁰⁾

Ridi on the lower Kali Gandaki river is another such holy spot, where, according to Landon,⁴¹⁾ devout believers seek to have their ashes thrown into the river in the belief that they would be transformed into the sacred shaligrams (black fossil ammonites), which are found in this river and which we will refer to below. Similar riparian holy spots are to be seen on rare occasions even in small villages. They are all marked by *ghat*, the stone steps descending to water.

The Takali people who live in the Gorge District of the Kali Gandaki valley celebrate their great festival called *Kumarpuja* in August. This is a festival in honour of the goddess of wealth, *Mahalakshmi Devi*. Participants in the celebration, which is held in the village of Khanti near Tuku-cha (C. 24), are all unmarried young men. They begin their observance of this week-long festival by bathing in the sacred waters of the Kali Gandaki on the first day.

There are no real wells in Nepal. The local water supply comes from springs. Some of these springs are located in the spots where natural springs would be unlikely to exist. Thus it would appear that the technique of piping water through the underground conduits must have long been known even at the village level. Since very few settlements in the Lowland are located in valley bottoms, mountain flanks or hill tops being the favoured locations, this technique is probably a treasured tradition. Practically every village has one of these springs, located sometimes at the edge and sometimes in the centre of settled area. In small villages the spring is merely a simple water spout, but in villages of ordinary size it is of fairly elaborate stonework with the steps leading down into a catch basin from which water can be dipped. The villagers also bathe there. An example of such a spring is to be seen at Batar Bazaar (C. 3-C. 4). At Katmandu there

40) Cf. P. Landon (1928): *Nepal*, Vol. I, p. 223.

41) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 12.

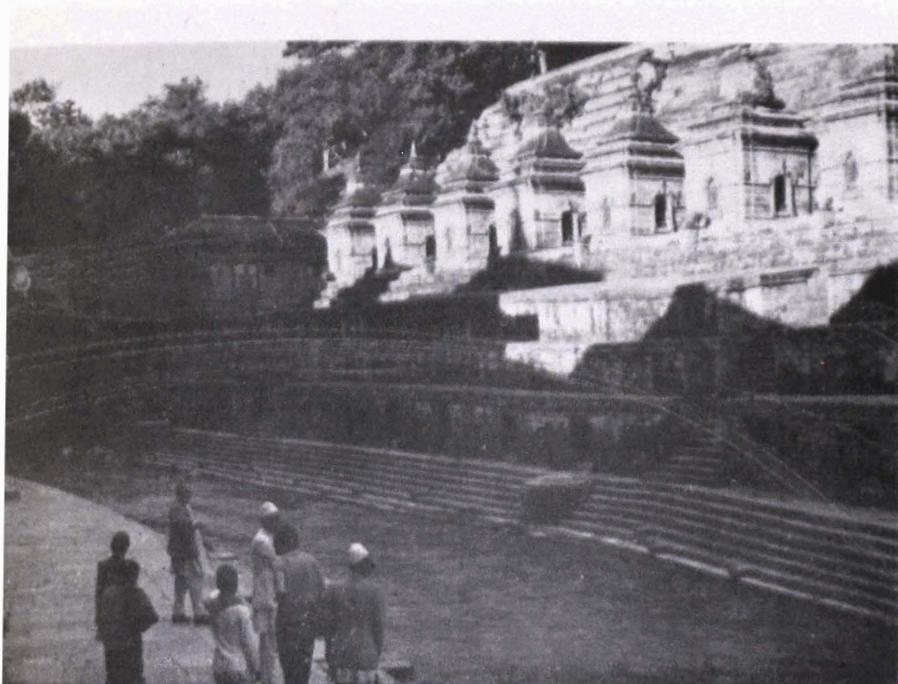


Fig. 55. The *ghat* of Pashpatinath. August, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

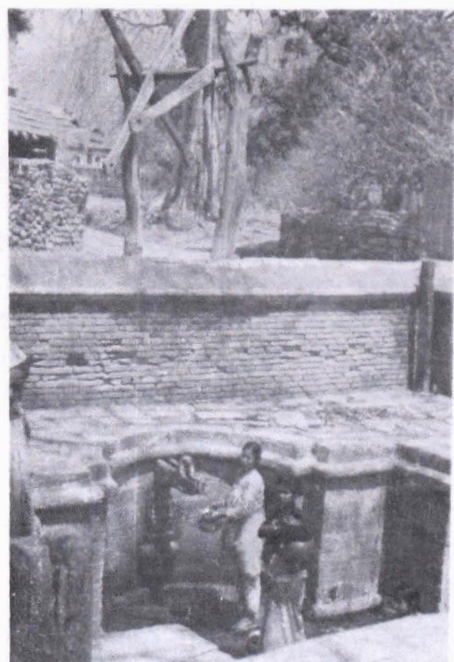


Fig. 56. A spring and ladies. A *rotipin* is seen in behind. At Batar Bazaar. March, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

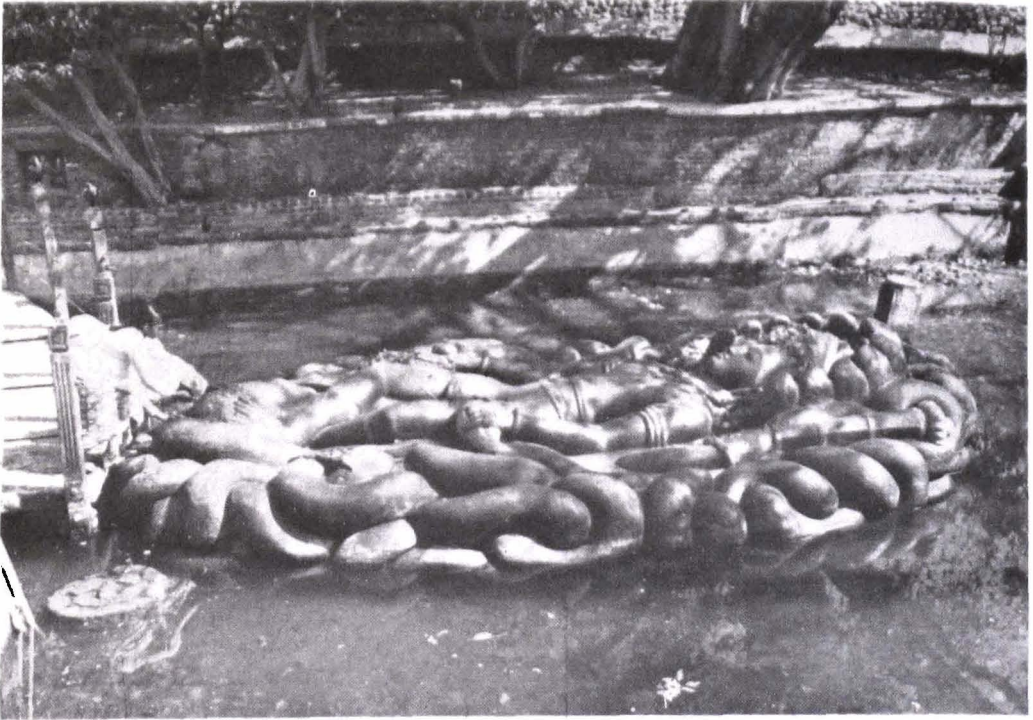


Fig. 57. Vishnu's image in the flowing water pool. A lady is touching the image with piety. At Balaji. March, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

are some splendid springs, modeled upon similar springs in India. In large towns such as Katmandu and Pokhara, the tradition of communal spring is carried over to the modern water system where public hydrants are provided. The townspeople gather around these hydrants with their brass or unglazed pottery jars to obtain their water. Of course, there are also places, as at Trisuli Bazaar (C. 4), where water supply comes directly from an open stream.

That the springs are associated with religious worship is indicated by the variously sculptured water spouts found there. Many spouts are shaped like ox heads with water flowing from the mouth of ox. Sometimes the *rotipin* (to be described later) are located near the spring. (See Fig. 56.) Muktinath (C. 34) is in the Highland, but it is known even in India as a holy spot for pilgrimage and is the site of a Hindu temple dedicated to Vishnu. There in the thick woods forming an oasis in the arid Highland region is a spring which originally had wooden spouts but now has oxhead water spouts made of copper. These were donated, the writer was told, by the mother of Mr. Yagendraman, a *subba* (refer to pp. 65-69) of the Takali tribe of Tukucha. At this spring the water was flowing out of 108 separate spouts. When our Lowland porters saw this spring, they were overjoyed.

Stripping themselves naked, they rubbed their bodies with the oil they had brought with them, and bathed in the water. Then from each of the 108 spouts they took water to fill empty whisky bottles. These they not only carried with them for the entire journey, but even tried to steal from each other. At Sallentar (C. 7) two rocks beside a spring were made objects of worship.

Among the holy spots of Hinduism in Nepal which Landon describes are a few that may similarly be associated with sacred springs. These are the lake in the Gosain Kund, the sacred mountains north of Katmandu, and the "floating gods" of Balaji and Nilkantha in the Nepal Valley. The first mentioned is a small mountain lake from the surface of which protrudes a round black rock. Devout Hindus of the Shiva sect regard this rock as an image of *Mahadeo* (i. e. Shiva) seated on a snake coiling a submerged rock. The "floating gods" of Balaji and Nilkantha are both reclining images of Vishnu carved out of black rock and located in square pools of running water with only their faces above the water level. They lie on couches of intertwined snakes (cobras).⁴²⁾ At Balaji (northwest of Katmandu) we noticed that the water draining from the pool flowed out through a number of water spouts.

Water also plays a part in the Machendrajatra festival which will be described later (p. 128 and p. 129).

3¹ Rocks and Stones

Rocks and stones play a conspicuous role as objects of worship in Hinduism, although, of course, not all rocks and stones are necessarily regarded as sacred. Among those which are obviously treated as sacred objects are those found in the shrines. In a valley bottom northeast of Kunchha (C. 13), there was a shrine containing a round stone. The shrine was located in a clump of trees and enclosed within a square fenced lot. According to the villagers, the shrine was to the god *Mahadeo* (probably meaning Shiva). The round stone had been rubbed with a red or white cosmetic called *shindur* (Nep.) and was covered with votive offerings of fresh mugwort leaves. Similarly at Argum Pouah (C. 15-C. 16) there was another square shrine containing a long piece of stone, which the villagers say represents *Shiva*. In front of the shrine there were traces of blood of the sacrificed animal. At Chauringhwe Phedi (C. 77-C. 78) there were two large round rocks under a crude arbour made of bamboo poles and rush mats. Between the rocks was erected a trident on a wooden pole. To the pole were attached black and red cloth streamers. Near Samri Bhanjyang (C. 5) was a crude

42) Landon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 226-28; Vol. II, pp. 37-38.

stone shrine that looked like an outdoor fireplace in which were placed several black stone spheroids.

In the examples of stone worship given above, we can see traces of so-called *linga* worship and the tendency to prefer stones which are round in shape and black in colour. There were, of course, exceptions, such as at Ulleri (C. 19), where we found another open air shrine containing stone fragments with pointed edges. The tips of these stones had been wrapped with white string. The stones were soiled as if milk had been poured over them.



Fig. 58. Open-air Hindu shrine and sacred stones. Near Samri Bhanjyang. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

They were also marked with a bit of rouge-like pigment and had fresh leaves and rhododendron flowers strewn about them. Behind these shrines were several cherry tree branches thrust into the ground and decorated with narrow strips of red, white, and green cloth in the manner of the Japanese *shide*.⁴³⁾ The villagers told us it was the shrine of the goddess *Banadevi*. The rock in the area was all sharp-edged shale. This example may serve to reinforce the conclusion that there is a particularly close relationship between round stones and Shiva.

There is also worship of rocks and stones outside the shrines. In a

43) Hereafter, the Japanese term "*shide*" will be used to refer to this kind of cloth streamers fastened to tree branches because of their similarity to the pendant paper strips used in Japan for religious purposes. These Nepalese "*shide*" tend to be used for religious worship from the Gorge Districts up into the Highland.

valley west of Samri Bhanjyang (C. 5) we saw a man and a child pouring milk over a rock in the paddy field and praying to it. Upon inquiry we learned that they were praying for the corn harvest and that the deity being worshipped was a snake god called *Nag*. Similarly at Jitpur Phedi, a rock in a field near the village was worshipped by women who were sprinkling it with milk and grains of rice. At Sallentar the pair of rocks near the spring (already mentioned) and a large tree nearby were used as supports for a sacred rope which enclosed a space about five or six meter square. On the side of the enclosure facing the spring was a wooden structure resembling a *torii* (Jap., "sacred archway"). In a mountain pass village called Deorali (C. 14-C. 15), there was a rock placed at the foot of a large *Ficus sp.* tree which overhung the pass. Its religious significance was indicated by the offerings of fresh leaves and markings of *shindur* on it. We noted also that the villagers would press their palms together each time they passed it. Below Jagat (C. 71) in the Gorge District of the Buri Gandaki valley, we saw a woman climbing to the top of a large boulder for worshipping.

The examples noted above give some evidence that rocks and stones are worshipped by the Hindus of the Lowland and that the practice is widely spread throughout the Lowland region. The most conspicuous example of this kind of worship is that of the famous fossil ammonites of the Kali Gandaki valley. For the first time we saw them in the Dhumpu-Tukucha (C. 23-C. 24) area of the Kali Gandaki valley. One of our Lowland porters picked up a stone and brought it to us. When we split open the pebble, we found it contained a splendid ammonite specimen. Thereafter, as we went up to Kagbeni (C. 26) we found many of these ammonite stones along the way. At Kagbeni we found them imbedded in the rocks strata. From Kagbeni to Muktinath we found what appeared to be ammonites in large rocks as tall as a man and rusty red in colour. Most of the ammonites commonly found are rounded by erosion and black in colour, although some have rust red surface markings or striped patterns formed by shell lime. When split open, the lime in the central portion of some of the fossils seems to be replaced by some mineral which is golden in colour. Sometimes, also, ammonite stone has a hole in the centre.

Once when the writer was about to break open a small black fossil specimen with such a hole, he was stopped by one of the porters who told that the perforated stones were particularly sacred, since they were *Mahadeo*. We had frequently been told enroute that we would find sacred black stones with centres of gold at Muktinath. In the light of what he related about the fossils with metallic deposits, this story was not, after all, without some basis. The porter who restrained him was a Magar tribesman of

the Lowland region, and it is particularly among these Lowland people that the fossils are regarded as sacred. The villagers of Kagbeni in the Highland, most of whom are the Bhotas, called the ammonite fossil *mamli*. But they didn't regard it as sacred.

What is clear about these *Mahadeo* stones is the significance of their black colour. In the first place, the *Kali* of Kali Gandaki is the Nepali word as well as Sanscrit for "black." This river is also known as Krishna Gandaki, and the god Krishna is believed in India to have a bluish black skin. Images of this god are often carved out of black stone. It happens also that the patron god of Muktinath, which is located on an upper tributary of the Kali Gandaki, is Vishnu. Krishna is a deity and a hero who is another incarnation of Vishnu. Krishna is one of the most widely worshipped gods in the Lowland, and each night the porters we recruited at Katmandu used to sing hymns to Krishna. The words of the song were as follows: "That star shining beautifully in the night sky is no ordinary star. It is the star of Krishna."

However, neither the black stones nor black colour were associated only with Krishna. They were also identified with the linga of the god of destruction and creation, Shiva, and with the fearsome female deity, *Mahakali*, as her name suggests. Rather than an attribute of any particular deity, blackness appears to have a significance deriving from deeper and more ancient Hinduistic feeling and ideology. Ammonites of the Kali Gandaki, we were told, were famous in India from ancient times and the worship of them is fairly widespread, particularly in northern India.

This kind of stone worship is not found in Tibetan culture. However, along the Kali Gandaki, this practice appears to have spread to points north of the Gorge District. It would seem from this and other evidences which we will describe later, that in this valley the influence of Hinduism has penetrated somewhat into the Highland. One puzzling item was the use by the Lamaistic Gurung people of round stones in connection with their religious practices. These stones were observed at a place outside a Gurung village in the upper Marsyandi valley at a place where chickens were sacrificed. (Further description will be given in pp. 123-24.)

4. Animals

We have already touched upon the snake in religious worship, when we described the deities worshipped at Gosain Kund, Nilkantha, and Balaji and near Samri Bhanjyang. In the case of the last mentioned, the deity was actually a snake god called *Nag*. When we consider the position of the snake in Indian Hinduism we are inclined to think that its role in Hinduistic culture is also an ancient one. In Tibetan culture snakes are not prominent but a snakelike mythical creature, the dragon, does play a conspicuous role.

The relationship between the snake and the dragon symbol should be an interesting topic for study.

The monkey in the Hindu religion is famous as the god *Hanuman*, an image of which is to be found in Katmandu. However, the monkey appears also in the mythology of Tibet. There are three kinds of monkeys in Nepal: the *Macaca mulata*, *Macaca assamensis*, and *Semnopithecus schistaceus*. On our trip through the Lowland we frequently encountered the *Macaca*. Many of them live in the Swayambhunath temple outside Katmandu. We did not, however, see images of *Hanuman* elsewhere in the Lowland. We saw the *Semnopithecus* (Himalayan Langur) in the forests located about 2000 meters above the sea level, but found no evidence to show that this monkey is ever an object of religious worship. Since the monkey bands invade villages and ravage crops, the Gurungs of the Gorge Districts and the Bhotas of the Highland drive them off with slings. Also, according to Mr. Sakuta Takebushi, some of the Highland people build traps to catch monkeys.

The worship of bovines is a well known feature of Hinduism. The sacrificing of animals before Hindu shrines is a frequent practice in the Lowland. However, we learned at Argum Pouah (C. 15-C. 16) and at Pokhara (C 16), that oxen are never used for sacrifices by any of the Lowland peoples and that the water buffalo is sacrificed only by the Newar people. The animals generally used for sacrificial purposes by all peoples are goats and sheep. The typical practice of the Newar people may be a clue to their cultural lineage.

5. Plants

Plants are much more closely associated with religion in Hinduistic culture than in Tibetan culture. The most commonly encountered plants with religious significance were the peepul tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and the banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), which we saw growing everywhere in the villages and along the road, but rarely in a truly wild state. At certain places we saw banyan seedlings protected by stone enclosures to keep the domestic animals from eating their leaves. Along the road where these two trees are planted in pairs there are often resting places called *choutāra* (Nep., "square platform"). As the word suggests these are quadrangular platform, with steps placed on the side facing the road so that travellers may set down their loads and rest. The peepul and banyan trees, under which these rest stations are built, provide shelters from the blistering sun of the Lowland. At these *choutāra* one frequently sees monuments put up by the people who have enjoyed their use. These rest stations, built voluntarily by the villagers, may sometimes be found where the road can hardly be said to exist, as in the case of one we observed north of Baseri (C. 76). According to the



Fig. 59. A *choutāra* in a *phedi*. Near Hasei Bazaar.
April, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao

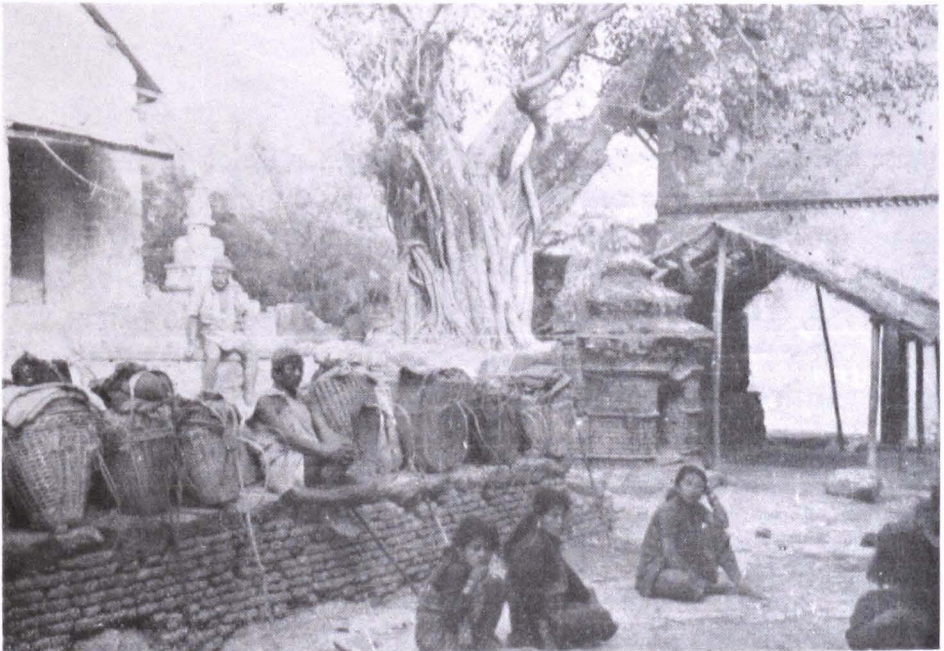


Fig. 60. Travellers resting in a *choutāra*. At Jitpur Phedi.
April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

writer's records the average uppermost altitude range for the peepul is 1650 meters, although on the northern slope it is much lower, the average being 1150 meters. The banyan's range is 1170 meters. Above this altitude the banyan is replaced by other trees. At a *choutāra* on upper Suikhet (C. 17-C. 18, 1280 meters), for example, *Myrica esculenta* was used. Near Naudhara (C. 17-C. 18, 1350 meters) instead of the banyan another *Ficus sp.* was paired with the peepul. Just below Phalatei (C. 20, 2300 meters), cherry (*Prunus cerasoides*) and *Populus sp.* grew. Along lower Dana (C. 21-C. 22, 1390 meters) we found again the *Ficus sp.* The *Ficus sp.* and the *Populus sp.*, it is to be noted, are very much like the peepul in appearance.

We have already noted how the trees are associated with places of worship as at the spring at Sallentar and on the Deorali Pass (C. 14-C. 15). In both these cases at the foot of trees there were stones as objects of worship. Also at the latter place it was a *Ficus sp.* North of the gorges of the Kali Gandaki, outside the town of Marpha (C. 24-C. 25), there was a large *Populus sp.* tree at the foot of which a sort of sacred archway or torii and a *Lungda* (to be described later) were erected. In the arid upland country many a *Populus sp.* which surrounds the holy shrine of Muktinath enhances its appeal for the Hindu faithful because this tree is reminiscent of the peepul.

We saw the *bēl* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) planted in Nepal. The fruit of this tree is connected with the Hindu religion in India. We have no direct data on this but it is said that of all the Nepali tribes only the Newar have religious rites connected with this fruit. Young Newar girls, we are told, are "married" to the fruit of this tree during their childhood. This story was confirmed by one of our Newar porters.⁴⁴⁾



Fig. 61. Cultivation of sacred plant Turshi. At Bhaktini. August, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

44) Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, *Nepal, The Home of the Gods*. pp. 171, 175.

Mention must be made of the plant called *turshi* (Nep.) (this word was definitely not pronounced Tulsi), which in Nepal as in India is regarded as sacred by the Hindus. We saw this plant in the garden of a certain farmer near the centre of the little Newar village of Bhaktini (C. 78 C. 79). It was surrounded by a circular brick wall about one meter high and was carefully protected by a bamboo cage. The *turshi* is a grass which undoubtedly belongs to the *Perilla* family. According to the writer's colleague, Mr. Nakao, it was either an *Ocimum sanctum* L. or an *O. basilicum* L. We could not believe that it was a tree and that the seed of this plant is used as rosary beads as has been reported.⁴⁵⁾

Besides the plant a wooden pole about fifteen meters long was erected. This, the villagers told us, is used in the worship of sacred herbs, which are effective as medicine for coughs and other ailments. In the late fall, on the occasion of "the eleventh day full moon festival" *Ekadashi Purnima Puja* lanterns are hung for fifteen days on the pole beside the plant. This lantern is called the *Turshi Batti*.

The *Ekadashi* (11th Day Festival) is a festival universally celebrated by the Hindus on the eleventh day of each half month according to the Indian calendar. Even at Katmandu it is observed twice each month. On this day the consumption of meat is forbidden. There are two major celebrations of this festival each year, one before September and the other in November. On these two occasions the townspeople go to the Pashpatinath temple and spend the night there without sleeping.

Associated with the *Ekadashi* are the wall picture which are frequently seen in private houses in the villages of the Lowland. These wall pictures are of two types. The first type consists of geometric lines and curves forming a sort of design. Thus, the writer will refer to it as the "design type." The other type tends toward realistic representation of things, so he will call it the "realistic type." Both the "design-" and "realistic-type" pictures are drawn in three colours: red, white and black. Since the pictures are painted directly on the walls which are in most cases plastered with the lateritic soil of the Lowland, the background colour is usually vermilion or brown, although sometimes it is whitish.

The writer had no opportunity to investigate the religious significance of the "design-type," but a village called Luitel (C. 10-C. 11) he saw an excellent example of the "realistic-type." The picture was in a farm house. (See Fig. 62.) It was explained as follows: In the centre of the picture is the figure of a farmer going to his field carrying his tools. Around him is a loom, a cotton gin and other implements for home manufacturing. The

45) Biren Bonnerjea (1927): *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*.

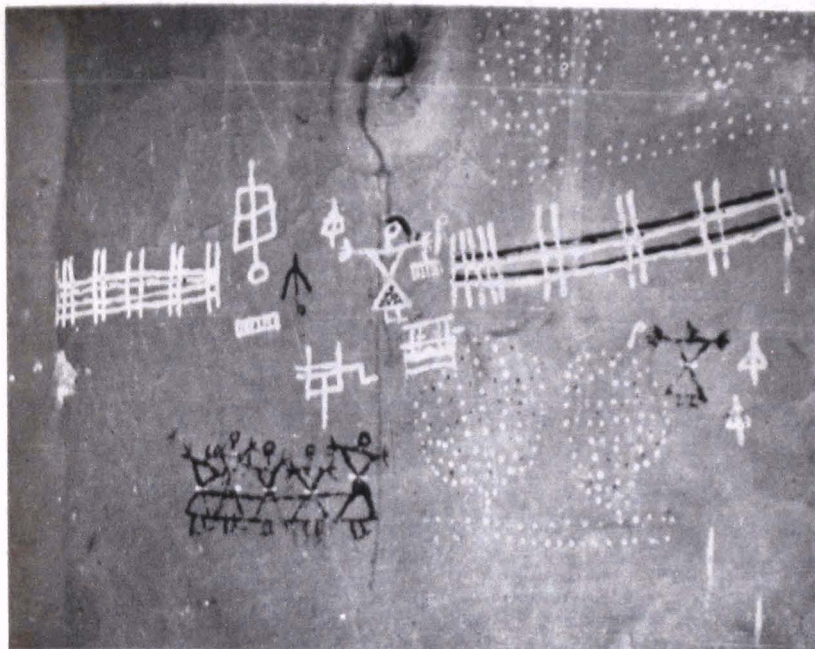


Fig. 62. Wall picture for the Ekadashi Festival in a farmhouse. Only women may draw these pictures. At Luitel Bhanjyang, April, 1953, Photo. by J. Kawakita

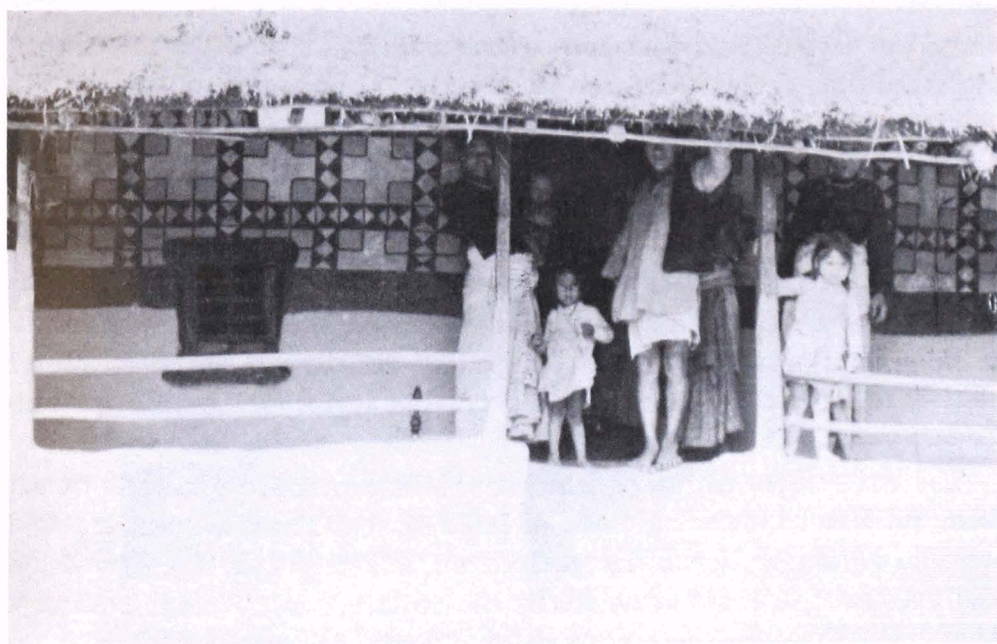


Fig. 63. Wall pictures of geometric type. At Deorali, C. 14-15. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

fences enclose a fruit orchard and a field. A group of dancing maidens and a girl pouring water to a fruit tree seedling are shown.

In the wall above the picture there was a cavity in which the candles were burned on festival nights. The crude and primitive drawing technique was most interesting. According to the villager who explained the picture, the family would gather at this place once a month on the *Ekadashi* day to offer a candle and pray before going out to the fields to gather the first fruit. It is at this time that the picture is drawn. The artist who drew the wall picture was a middle-aged matron. She was present at the time of our visit and responded to our request for an explanation of the picture only with shy giggles.

Luitel was inhabited mostly by the Newars. These wall pictures are not found in every farm house. In some villages there was none. The practice is observed throughout the Lowland. "Design-type" pictures can be observed in the Marsyandi valley as far up Thilche (C. 41-C. 42), which is located over the Gorge District. According to our Bengali interpreter, similar pictures can be seen in Bihar and other regions in India.

It is a general rule that only women draw these pictures. Such was the case also at the village of Chitrei (C. 19-C. 20), although we were told that here the artist was also a woman but did not necessarily have to be a married woman. The writer learned also that the pictures were drawn at the time the house was built in order to bring good luck. No religious worship apparently was associated with the picture. Perhaps this was because this particular village was located in a peripheral area or, again, because our informant, an outsider, did not know the fact. In any case, the absence of religious rites would appear to be an exception to the rule. The writer was not able to ascertain the kind of people who inhabited this village, but it was a new village settled about the same time as its immediate neighbour, Phalatei (C. 20), the inhabitants of which were all Magars. In other respects also the culture of this village was one with some non-Hinduistic characteristics.

Finally, we come to a custom related to plants, which is reminiscent of the *shimenawa* or sacred ropes of Japanese religious ceremonies. The Nepalese sacred ropes are usually made of thin strips of bamboo instead of rice straws used in Japan.

The writer does not know whether this is a practice generally observed among all Hindus including those in India or whether it is peculiar to the mountain region of Nepal. He noticed on this trip that the sacred ropes were not found in those areas where the influence of Tibetan culture was strong. For example, there were no sacred rope in the Bhotean village of Tsumje or elsewhere in the Shiar Khola valley although bamboo is used for other purposes in that region.

Let us describe some of the examples of sacred rope that we observed on our journey. There was, first, the type we saw on a shrine dedicated to *Mahadeo* near Trisuli Bazaar (C. 4). The sacred rope was strung under the eaves of the four sides of the shrine with plant leaves suspended from it at regular intervals. There were many examples of this type in the Lowland. Frequently under the eaves of houses one would see ropes similar to the sacred rope but used to support ears of corn or other crops. A careless observer easily mistakes these for the sacred rope. However, at Murali Bang (C. 21-C. 22) there was a farmhouse which had a genuine sacred rope in addition to the ropes under the eaves. The sacred rope was supported separately by poles erected at the four corners of the house.

As we approached the periphery of the Hinduistic zone of the Lowland, we encountered numerous variant types. For example, in three Gurung villages, Rungje (C. 73), Keronja (C. 73-C. 74), and Kasigaon (C. 74), which are located in the border region between the Hinduistic and Lamaistic cultural zones in the Buri Gandaki valley, there were stone towers resembling the Lamaist *mane* (to be described later). These towers were called *mane* as in the Lamaistic zone and were located on the elevated ground above the settled areas. They were, however, taller and larger than the ordinary *mane* and were each surrounded by sacred ropes mounted on four poles erected around the monument. Moreover, the monument itself was jointed to each of the four poles by a sacred rope. (Fig. 65.)

The two passes (both called Deorali) which lie between Pokhara and the Kali Gandaki valley are at elevations of 1710 meters and 2760 meters, respectively. In our passage over them, we were able to observe the interesting phenomenon of Tibetan cultural influences gradually superseding the Hinduistic culture as we climbed higher and higher. At Naudhara (C. 17-C. 18) near the first of these passes, the culture was almost entirely Hinduistic. The two or three sacred ropes we saw in its vicinity were hung across the road between trees. From the sacred ropes were suspended many grass stalks and leaves at intervals as well as a few small wooden artifacts (Fig. 64). Later at Sikha (C. 20-C. 21), beyond the second pass, we saw another sacred rope, hung between a tall bamboo pole, a willow tree, and another wooden pole. This arrangement was located in an open space in front of a small building which served as the village school. At the festival time in October, the villagers told us, a lighted candle is placed on the bamboo pole. The school building was probably used for religious purposes originally.

At Muktinath, further north in the Highland, the main religious edifice was, as we have already noted, the Hindu shrine of Vishnu, but in addition to it there were two temples where Lamaistic influences seemed to predominate. One of these was a temple where a famous sacred fire is worshipped.



Fig. 64. A sacred rope suspended across the road. Near Naudhara. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

Fig. 65. A religious tower *mane* surrounded by sacred ropes. At Rungje. August, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

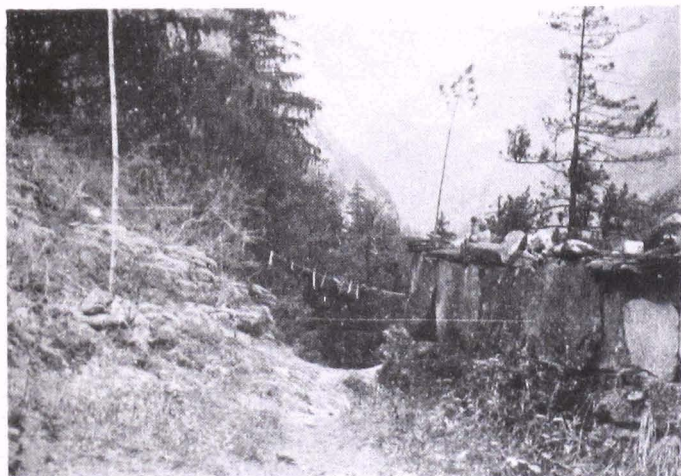


Fig. 66. *Do'ata* and a *Möndan*. At Tarangchung. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

Here natural gas emerging together with water from a subterranean source is kept burning constantly. Above the flames is the alter which supports a large seated image of Buddha, the principal deity. It was flanked by images of Hindu gods. In the inner courtyard of this temple there was a tall *Tarbuche* (to be explained later) and at each of the four corners of the temple was erected a *Tarchho*. These religious flags are characteristic features of the Lamaistic cultural landscape, but in this case they were joined one another with a sacred rope.

In the above description, we note that the sacred rope is most common in the Lowland, that they are associated with religious, probably Hindu, activities, and that they are found not only at shrine but also around houses. In the latter case they may be regarded as evidence of the worship of household gods. The plant leaves suspended from the sacred rope may be regarded as playing a purifying and exorcistic function. The *turshi* plant, already described, is regarded in India as having various divine powers including the power to drive away all evil spirits. The writer feels that the sexual symbol used in the sacred rope called *dopata* (Tib. ?), which we saw in the villages along the upper Marsyandi, are not without similar significance.

Dopata were found at Tarangchung (C. 39-C. 40) and at Thilche (C. 41-C. 42). Here the Marsyandi valley enters the Highland region and the villages in this area can all be said to come within the Lamaistic cultural sphere. The customs are Tibetan and the principal inhabitants are Tibetanized Gurung people. The *dopata* are sacred ropes placed at the outskirts of the villages and strung across the road. Outside Tarangchung, at both the upper and lower approaches to the village there are *Möndan* (described later) surmounted by *Chorten* (to be described later). Slightly below the *Möndan* at the lower approach there was a *dopata* stretching from a tree on one side of the path to a wooden pole on the other. Suspended at intervals from the bamboo "rope" of the *dopata* were a number of short wooden sticks resembling dolls. They seem clumsily executed as dolls, but when considered in the light of other data, it is clear that they are representations of the phallus. Protruding from the ground on the road between the *Möndan* and the *dopata*, we observed an object resembling the wooden handle of a plow. In view of the fact that blood and chicken feathers were scattered about, chickens must have been sacrificed there.

Below this village is another called Tseme (C. 40) which has no *dopata* but a stone gateway called *Kani* (to be described later), something that Tarangchung does not have. On the path just below this gate were several round stones of the type already described half-buried in the ground. Here, too, blood and chicken feathers were observed. At Thilche there was a

dopata similar to the one at Tarangchung also located at the lower approach to the village. On the opposite end of the village there were four short sticks thrust in the ground. Within the square space thus marked off there were chicken feathers to indicate that some sort of religious rite had taken place. Later, we learned from a man in Namru (C. 47-C. 48) that these places where chickens were killed were called *thaktren* (Tib.).

On the basis of the examples just given, we see that the *dopata* is not found in every village. Hence, it is possible that it is something that is put up only on certain occasions. We also noted that the *dopata* was located on the lower approach to a village, that where there was a *dopata* there was no *Kani*, (cf., Tarangchung and Thilche), and that the *Kani* of neighbouring villages was usually located on the downstream side. From this it is also possible to conclude that the *dopata* may be a substitute for the *Kani*. We will again return to this point in our discussion of the Highland region (p. 148, 153, 155 and pp. 157-59). The evidence of chicken sacrifice near the *Kani* and the *dopata* suggests, at the very least, that these structures have some religious significance. Further, referring again to the sacred rope, we do not think we understand the significance of the phalli on the *dopata* without considering the exorcistic function of the phallic symbol. And the symbols of sexual organs hung on the wooden toriis in the Gurung villages, which were described on pp. 34-35, afford more definite evidence to this view. The linga of Shiva in the Lowland is phallic in origin, but the writer would hesitate to accept the interpretation simply linking it directly with the Highland *dopata*. Leaving discussion of phallicism in the Highland to another occasion, can we not say, as far as the sacred rope is concerned, that the plant leaves and the phalli both have the common function of driving away evil spirits? We may regard the sacred rope as a Lowland culture trait which has penetrated into the Highland via the access provided by the Marsyandi valley. The fact, however, that the plant has been replaced by the phallus as the source of spiritual power indicates that the Lowland culture trait did not migrate from one region to the other without modification. Further, we note that, while in the Lowland the sacred rope is found in association with individual houses (except those located at shrines), in the upper Marsyandi valley it is associated with the village as a whole.

6. Gods and Sacred Images.

We have mentioned in our discussion so far the names of many Lowland deities. The writer will append here some field data pertaining to these gods which might be of some reference value.

(1) *Bhagaban*. This is said to derive from a Sanskrit word meaning

deity.⁴⁶⁾ However, the only place where we happened to note the use of this word was among the Lamaist Takali tribe at Ghasa (C. 22-C. 23). They used it to refer to various deities of Lamaism.

(2) *Mahadeo*. Together with *Mahakali*, this deity appears to be the most widely worshipped god in Nepal.⁴⁷⁾ This god appears to be identical with Shiva and is sometimes referred to as *Shiva*. Stones are often worshipped as the embodiment of this deity, and as we have already seen, black ammonites, especially those with holes in them, are regarded as his dwelling place.

The Trisula (trident) is often associated with *Mahadeo* as we have seen in the case of the shrine at Chauringhwe Phedi. We shall see later what new significance has been given to the trident after its migration to the Highland.

(3) *Vishnu*. This deity and Krishna, who is said to be his avatar (incarnation), is worshipped, as we have seen, from the examples already described, throughout the Lowland.

(4) *Ganesh*. This god of knowledge is found in each village of the Lowland in the form of elephant-faced stone images placed out of doors.

(5) In Nepal as in Hindu India female deities play a conspicuous role. Among the names of female deities that we have recorded are: *Mahakali*, *Bhairabi*, *Durga*, *Banadevi*, *Sitalamai*, and *Mahalakshmi* (in Nepalese parlances). *Mahakali* is the most widely worshipped. *Bhairabi* is the same deity.⁴⁸⁾ *Durga* and *Mahakali* are one and the same. According to Landon, the festival in honour of this god is an important one called *Durga Puja* and in former times the government buys water buffaloes and goats for sacrificial purposes from the people at nominal prices on this occasion. A certain gentlemen at Katmandu told us that in October Nepal's biggest festival, the *Dosain*, is held in honour of *Durga*. We learned that at this time chickens, ducks, water buffaloes, and goats are offered in sacrifice. One

46) Note by G. M. Nagao. The word comes from the Sanskrit word *Bhagavān*, and is used in Hindu, Buddhist, and particularly in the Lamaist religions as a general term for the various gods and Buddhas.

47) Note by Nagao. *Mahadeo* is a Nepalese corruption of the Sanskrit *mahadeva*, which means "great god," and refers to the god one worships. However, it is often used as an appellation particularly for *isvara* or *mahesvara* (great self-existing heaven) or the supreme god-head.

48) Note by Nagao. *Bhairava* means "terrible god" and *Bhairavi* is the feminine form of the word. They are usually the epithets of Shiva and his wife, *Devī*. The appellation was introduced into Buddhism or Lamaism, and *Vajra-Bhairava* is widely worshipped in that community. However, *Vajra-Bhairava* is the epithet of *Yamāntaka*, or "the Conqueror of *Yama*, the Lord of the Dead," and he takes the Bull-shaped head, often embracing his *Shakti*. In this case, it is believed that *Mañjuśrī* incarnated as the *Vajra-Bhairava*. Among other names of gods, *Banadevi* must be *Vana-devi* of Sanskrit; *Sitalamai* is obscure, being probably derived from Hindu god, *Sitā*.

detail about this festival which ought to be mentioned here is the fact that the *rotipin*, a sort of revolving swing which will be described later, is used only during this festival.



Fig. 67. The image of Mahakali. At Katmandu.
March, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

In Landon's work the name *Bhairabi* does not appear, but the name of the male god *Bhairab* is seen here and there. Landon describes him as being identical, in Nepal as elsewhere, with Shiva. When he is discussing Nawakot (a little east of C. 4), he says that the famous temple there is dedicated to Bhairab.⁴⁹⁾ However, we heard that the deity enshrined at that temple was called *Bhairabi* or *Mahakali*.

On April 1 we left Trisuli Bazaar, which is just down the slope from Nawakot, en route to Samri Bhanjyang. It happened that the great spring festival of *Mahakali* was to be held that night at Nawakot. The writer must record what we observed at this time. Our journey that day took us along the road which connects Katmandu with Pokhara. It was one of the most important trunk roads in Nepal, although this "highway" was hardly more than a narrow path. The road is more trodden in the spring, which is the dry season, than at other seasons; in the rainy season there is virtually no traffic. Even in the spring, however, travellers are not very frequently encountered, particularly as one goes west of Trisuli Bazaar. On

49) Landon, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 27-28

this day, however, we met a ceaseless stream of eastward bound travellers. Indeed, they formed a virtual procession winding down the road.

Virtually, all of these travellers seemed to be going to the festival at Nawakot, which we heard was attracting people also from as far away as Katmandu. The surprising thing was that the majority of the travellers were women. They were decked out with beautiful necklaces, bracelets and earrings, and seemed to be in high spirits. Most of the travellers came in groups of ten or more, which were probably made up of members of the same village or caste. It is difficult to distinguish tribal connections by costume alone, and for us it was impossible, but most of the travellers were apparently Gurungs. When a group consisted of members of both sexes, in most cases, the women were in the van, while a smaller number of men brought up the rear as if they were serving as a guard to, or escort the main body of those noisy and animated women. In one group which we met on a narrow forest track at Samri Bhanjyang, the women were making the hills echo with their choral singing, while their male escort sang an accompaniment. According to those of this group, *Bhairabi* is a powerful female deity and particularly kind to women. Such was a scene of prelude in the Shakti festival of the fertility goddess *Durga*.

Shrines dedicated to the female god *Mahakali* or *Durga* are not only found all the way from Katmandu to the north of Pokhara, but also all along the Kali Gandaki valley from Dana (C. 21-C. 22) to Muktinath beyond the Gorge District. Just below Kagbeni there is reportedly a temple dedicated to *Mahakali* where a festival called *Tengba Chirting* (Tib.) is held before the winter season. On this occasion men of the vicinity assemble near the temple, place some prize money in a hole, and engage in an archery competition. The one who makes a direct hit on the hole gets the prize. It should be noted, however, that the use of the name *Mahakali* and the presence of her image in the shrines of the Highland does not necessarily prove that the worship of *Mahakali* here is the same as that of the Lowland. North of the Great Himalaya cultural traits, names, and forms may be similar to those of the Lowland, but their function and significance are often apt to be modified or even reversed. In this instance, also, the festival was held at the shrine of *Mahakali*, but there was absolutely no participation in it by women. At Muktinath the image of the female god *Mahakali* is smaller and subordinate to the image of the main buddha of the temple.

Sitalamai, according to Landon, is a deity which tends to be worshipped in Nepal by both Hindus and Buddhists. There is, for example, a shrine dedicated to this female god near the great stupa of the Buddhist Swayambhunath temple. The only place the writer happened to find this deity out-

side of the Nepal Valley was at a village called Kau Khola located east of Pokhara. The shrine here was a low white onion-shaped pagoda placed on a square platform. In front of the shrine was hang a small bell, characteristic of Hindu shrines. The villagers regard this goddess as the deity of smallpox, as Landon has pointed out. Landon has also called attention to resemblance of the tower to a Buddhist chaitya (reliquary tower).

Landon makes no reference to the worship of *Banadevi* and *Mahalakshmi*. We have already touched upon one example of the former. Information on the latter was encountered only in connection with the youth festival of the Takali people already mentioned. (See p. 108.) Unlike *Mahakali* this goddess has no ferocious aspect. She is the goddess of wealth and beauty.

(6) *Makchindra* (Nep.) is a water deity, rendered *Machendra* by Landon and others. According to Landon, this god was originally a Buddhist saint, but he is worshipped today by followers of both faiths. It is believed that if *Makchindra* is not prayed to, droughts will occur. Both Landon and Ikbal Ali Shah cite interesting legends concerning this. In the latter part of March at Katmandu, we saw the festival in honour of this god. A tall pagoda-shaped cart called the *Cheria* (Nep.) strikingly reminiscent of that of the Gion Festival of Kyoto, Japan, is drawn through the streets of the town. The *Cheria* is also used in Pokhara, but it was only in Katmandu that the occasion was established as the festival of *Makchindra*.

(7) As for other deities, we have already referred to the snake god called *Nag* and to the sacred shrub called *Turshi*.

Images of various Hindu gods printed in colour on paper are sold in the rural market villages (*bazaar*). In Tharughat Bazaar (C. 12) it was interesting to see these prints being sold in a shop of this small village along with photographs of Mao Tse-tung, Lenin and Stalin. The Communist Party is a legal party in Nepal, and at Katmandu the jeep-borne Communist Party members, haranguing the crowds in the plaza during the *Makchindra* festival, were seen.

7. Worship, Rituals, Festivals

(1) Votive Offerings

As we have seen, the sacrificing of goats, sheep and chickens to the gods is a common practice in the Lowland. Among the *Newar* tribesmen water buffaloes are sacrificed. The sacrificial animals are, of course, used subsequently for food. Although we saw fish netted in a stream called Ankhu Khola, not once in the Lowland did we see fish used for religious offerings or even as food. Our observation of sacrificial rites in general was very limited. We saw only the after-traces of such rites at the shrines of *Mahadeo* and *Mahakali*. At a shrine in Argum Pouah (C. 15-C. 16) we

saw offerings of buffalo skulls hung under the pent-roof of the shrine. This, however, was the only time that we saw bones and skulls used as offerings in the Lowland. It was, on the other hand, a fairly common practice in the upper Kali Gandaki valley around the Gorge District. We will touch upon this subject in our description of the religious practices of the Highland. The origins of this practice are probably indigenous and not derived from either Hinduism or Lamaism.

We heard nothing about any practice of human sacrifice, but we did encounter the following instance of homicide. Outside of Tharughat Bazaar (C. 12) we met a man carrying a blood-covered axe. He told us that there had been a murder the previous night in his village. A normally law-abiding farmer in a dream killed his wife. This he had done with the axe, which our informant was carrying to the courthouse at Kunchha (C. 13).

Animal sacrifice is not unknown in the Highland, but in general the practice is more common in the Lowland.

The use of plants as religious offerings is a conspicuous part of Lowland religious custom. As in the examples already cited, these offerings usually consisted of fresh leaves. Apparently any kind of green foliage, except that of conifer tree, was acceptable. Sacred stones and shrines almost always had offerings of leaves. The tower of the *cheria* or festival cart at Katmandu was completely covered with fresh leaves. Flowers were also prominently used as offerings. The consumption of flowers for religious purposes at Katmandu, for example, was tremendous. All varieties seem to be used. People from the Kakani hills (C. 2) who come to sell firewood at Katmandu also bring quantities of rhododendrons, *Calanse spp.* and other orchids which they sell in the town. We saw votive offerings of

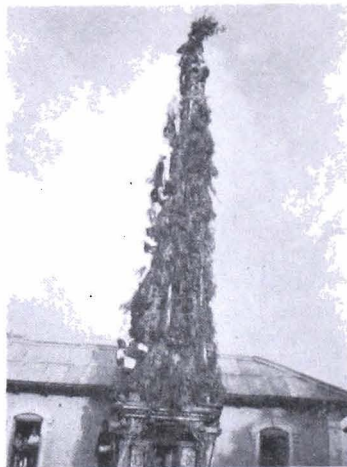


Fig. 68. The tower of the *cheria* cart covered with green leaves on the festival day of Machendra. At Katmandu. March, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

rhododendrons not only in the shrines near the larger settlements but even in an isolated shrine at the top of the Deorali pass (C. 19-C. 20).

On the other hand, in the Highland, flowers and specifically green leaves are not used for religious purposes except in the *Lanchepha*, a charm against evil spirits, which will be described in detail later.



Fig. 69. Rhododendron and orchids on the way to Katmandu. At Jitpur Phedi. March, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao

Lights play a part in religious worship both in the Lowland and Highland. The tendency in the Lowland is to celebrate festivals at night, and the role of the *batti* (Nep. "lamp") is very prominent. During the *Ekadashi* festival, as we have seen, candles are lighted in private homes. The *Turshi Batti* is a lamp suspended on a long pole. The *Deoali* festival, a pre-winter festival of the Takali people, is apparently celebrated simply by each household lighting *battis* without any special assembling of celebrants.

The cosmetic (*shindur*) that the Hindu men and women use to make the mark (Nep. *tika*) on their foreheads also is used, as we have seen, as a means of worshipping at the shrines. Coloured water is used in a Takali religious festival called *Holi* held at the end of winter. The water is thrown by the celebrants at each other as a means of welcoming the end of the winter season. After this ceremony men and women go separate, and have their own banquets. According to our interpreter, this festival is also widely observed in India.

Our data on the use of food as offerings to the gods is fairly limited. The practice of pouring milk over objects of worship has already been mentioned. This custom is apparently widespread in the Hinduistic zone. We have also noticed the instance at Jitpur Phedi of raw rice grains scattered on sacred rocks. Beyond this, however, the writer does not recall to have seen instances of food used for religious offerings in the Lowland. According to Dr. K. Imanishi,⁵⁰ women and children during the fall festival in the lower Marsyandi region go around wearing grains of rice stuck to their foreheads. We did not see any cooked food used as offering. This may have been due to the fact that our opportunities to visit shrines on festival days were limited.

(2) Worship and Festivals

As is true in other religions, worship marks the rhythm of daily life in the Hinduism of the Lowland. At Pokhara the temple bell rings several times a day beginning at half past six in the morning. When it rings, many worshippers emerge from the temple. Men and women worship at different hours. Prayer sets the rhythm of each day even in the smallest of settlements. Ringing of the bell in the village temple and the assembling of worshippers inside the lighted temple in the evening is a common scene. A villager of Tharughat (C. 12) described it as follows:

"When dusk approaches, one of the women of the village sounds the bell and lights the candle in the temple. The villagers hear the bell and

50) Material attributed to Imanishi in this article are from Dr. K. Imanishi (1953), "Annapurna and Manaslu," *Sangaku* (Mountains), XLVIII pp. 1-59 and from personal conversations. The writer is also indebted to Mr. Sakuta Takebushi, a member of the expeditions of 1952, 1953, and 1954. His contributions are similarly acknowledged.

know that evening has come."

Dr. Imanishi reports that at Jitpur Phedi (C. 1), there are several stone shrines around the spring in the centre of the village. Those who come for water in the morning stop to worship at each one of them. Children would rub the faces of the images in the shrines and with the same hands rub their own faces. That women in the Lowland are not barred from taking an active part in worship services is one point of contrast with the religious practices in the Highland.

The number of annual festivals in large towns such as Katmandu and Pokhara is tremendous. The townspeople of Katmandu are said to devote one day in every three to some kind of festival. The people of Pokhara hold eight to ten major festivals a year, while lesser festivals are celebrated, it is said, almost every day. Throughout the Lowland the major festivals seem to take place in October and April. One is struck by the prominent part played in these festivals by female deities such as *Mahakali*. The most popular festivals attracting people from a wide area are those of Katmandu, Pokhara, and the fairly important commercial villages—Nawakot, Arughat, and Beni. The close relationship between religious festivals and market days there presents a resemblance to the third-day and eighth-day fairs of Japan. In the Lowland of Nepal exchange economy is relatively undeveloped, and the prosperity of the commercial villages known as bazaars depend upon these festival fairs.

Festivals play not only an economic function but provide amusement. In this connection, the writer would like to describe the device known as *rotipin*. This is a sort of revolving wheel made of wood (see Fig. 72). When in use, wooden crosspieces are attached to the spokes to form seats. Four persons ride, while the fifth person turns the wheel manually. The writer's first experience with a device of this kind was at Katmandu on the day of *Makchindra* festival. It was a sturdily built modernized wheel which the writer rode after paying a fee to the man attending it. During our subsequent journey through the Lowland we saw similar devices in many settlements, but none were in use. We did see children using ordinary swings seating one person, however. According to the people of Katmandu, the *rotipin* was used only during the great fall *Dōsain* festival of the goddess *Durga*. Thus, the one in operation during the spring *Makchindra* festival might have been an exception. The *rotipin* is sometimes called a *rotpin*. In Kunchha (C. 13) it was known simply as a *rhot*. The ordinary swing, which we saw being used, is called a *pin*.

The *rotipin* are found distributed one for several settlements, probably one for each *gaon*. There were also *gaon* which did not seem to have *rotipin* at all. In general, the *rotipin* tended to be most numerous in areas inhabited by the



Fig. 70. A festival day in Pokhara. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 71. Musical players on a festival day. At Katmandu. March, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

Newar people, but there was no clear evidence that they are to be identified with any one people. In the *gaon* called Naudhara (C. 17-C. 18), we were told that only villagers were allowed to use the *rotipin*, but we do not know whether it was the general rule that the *rotipin* of any particular *gaon* was to be enjoyed only by its residents. It seemed that during the *Durga* festival the people from neighbouring *gaon* would assemble in one *gaon* to celebrate it. It was true, however, that the *rotipin* was owned by a native of the host *gaon*, who would collect the fees for its use during the festival time.

The location of the *rotipin* in the settlement was not fixed. There were places like Batār Bazaar, where it was near the centrally located spring, but, on the whole, it was located some distance from the shrines in the centre of a village. At times it was found on the edge of the village. These *rotipin* might be regarded as excellent indicators of the extent of the worship of that female deity in the Lowland. Another point of interest about the *rotipin* has to do with one of its peculiar structural features. The wooden poles, which correspond to the rope of an ordinary swing, are made thicker at the extremities where the seats are attached and where the cross-bar that supports them is pivoted. This is to strengthen the points where holes are made through the poles. This primitive style of carpentry appears to be related to a similar type of architectural construction peculiar to the Lowland. In a certain kind of Lowland houses the vertical supporting posts are likewise thickened at the upper end a rectangular notch is cut to receive the beam (see Fig. 74). This primitive type of post and beam construction is not found in the larger towns where another method is universally employed (see Fig. 75). Even in the countryside it is not seen in the bazaar-type villages nor it is necessarily the predominant type in the farm villages. It is, however, more or less common throughout the Lowland as far as Pokhara. Although there is no foundation for this theory, it is possible to speculate that there once existed in the Nepalese Lowland a culture far more ancient than the present one and that this primitive architectural feature and the *rotipin* are both survivals of this earlier culture.

The *rotipin* may then, in summary, be regarded as an amusement device associated with the fall festival of the goddess *Durga* and operated as a private enterprise by a number of the village. The writer feels, however, that there is some more meaning in the *rotipin* than this. Although he is again unable to offer any concrete evidence in support of his hypothesis, he would hazard a guess that it serves a religious function by providing the patron deity with amusement or by honouring her with the pleasure afforded its users.



Fig. 72. A *rotipin* on a festival day. Near Tharughat Bazaar. Autumn of 1952. Photo. by K. Hayashi



Fig. 73. The swing called *pin*. Near Chouringhwe Phedi. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 74. A house under construction—1. Note the unique technique for supporting beams. At Murali Bang. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

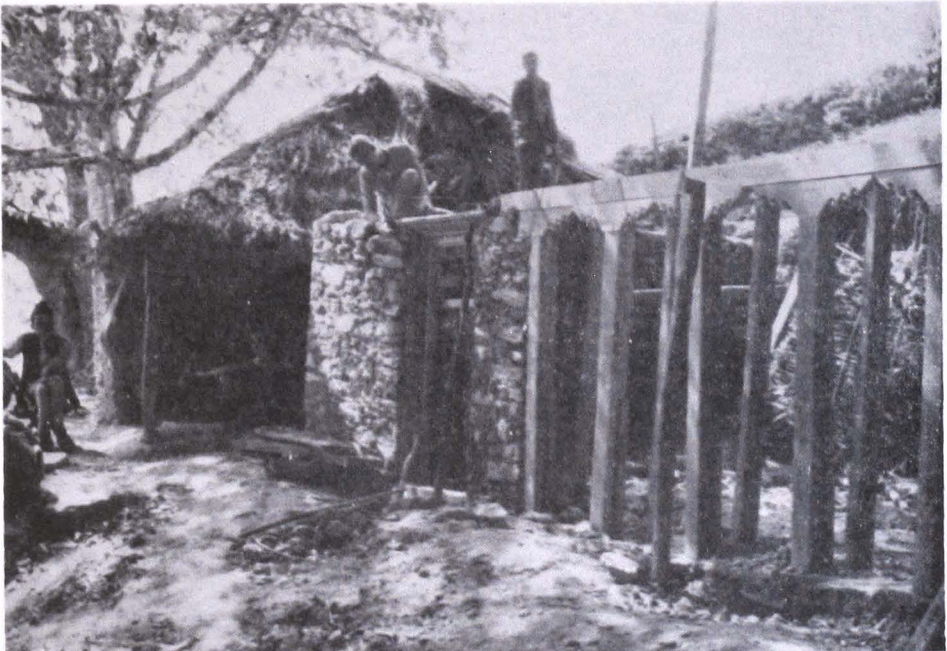


Fig. 75. A house under construction—2. This and the previous illustration show the two methods of supporting beams. At Deorali, C. 14-15. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

8. Charity

Another characteristic feature of the culture of the Hinduistic Lowland is hospitality to the travellers, wanderers, and indigents. As travellers we were especially impressed with eleemosynary work done for the benefit of travellers, namely, the *dharamsāla*, the *thāti*, and the *choutāra*.

The *dharamsāla* (Nep.) are free lodging places set up in villages or settlements at intervals of a day's journey, or, at times, a half day's journey along the road such as the main road from Katmandu to Pokhara and that in the lower Kali Gandaki valley. In the upper portion of this valley, the writer remembers only one—at Muktinath. The term *pouah* (Nep.) also refers to free lodgings for transients and is found in the place name Argum Pouah, but he was not able to learn what distinguishes the two terms. He believes that *dharamsāla* is the term most often used to the elaborate lodgings built by the government. These are two-storied brick structures with sleeping quarters in the upper story and space for cooking and storage on the ground floor.

Thāti (Nep.) are a sort of arbour used as resting places or for lodgings for travellers. They are not located in the settled areas but between villages or on the outskirts of a village. Just about when we would want to stop to rest, we would find a *thāti*. These arbours were truly cool and appropriate shelters from the blazing sun of the Lowland. They are about four meters square and though square in plan, they have hipped-ridge roofs like those seen on rectangular houses. The cruder ones were roofed with straw thatches but the more elaborate structures have tile roofs. Supporting posts are placed about two meters apart—one on each corner and one in the middle of each of the side. In the centre was another post, making a total of nine posts in all. The central post supports the roof ridge. The floor raised to about a man's height off the ground is of plain boards and reached by steps made of half-split logs.

The *thāti* are clean and since they are open at the sides, except for an occasional low railing made of boards, and they afford good ventilation and an unobstructed view. Not a single nail was used in their construction. The posts, railings, and roof-trusses of many of them are often elaborately carved. These structures as a whole not only have a definite style but impressed us as product of a long cultural development.

According to the explanation the writer was given near Burthum (C. 76-C. 77), the *thāti* are built to provide rest for travellers by a villager motivated by reasons of *dharam* (i. e. religion). This was also the explanation given elsewhere. The writer actually saw over ten travellers lodging and cooking their meals at a *thāti*. According to a resident of Katmandu, these structures were called *phāti* instead of *thāti* and were built by wealthy



Fig. 76. *Thāti*. At Dhanphedi. March, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda



Fig. 77. *Thāti*. At Khoplang. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

persons for the sake of the poor or travellers. In either case they are contributed work of private persons. There is a famous *phāti* located midway between Katmandu and Balaji, which has sixteen instead of nine posts and is known by the name *Suora Kuttepathi*. Another famous *phāti* is said to exist between Katmandu and Bhatgaon.

Near Arughat Bazaar (C. 8) we learned that this kind of arbour is called *machang* (Nep.) and used as watch stations to guard the crops against damage by wild beasts and birds as well as for resting places for travellers. At Katmandu we were told that the *phāti* were for the latter purpose and the *machang* for guarding the crops. Thus it seems that there are two kinds of arbours with different uses, but the writer did not have an opportunity to examine any but those built on the roadside.

The distribution of the *thāti* is strictly limited to the Lowland region from Katmandu on the east to Pokhara on the west. Beyond Pokhara they suddenly disappear. The northernmost *thāti* that we observed was one located south of Baseri (C. 76) in the Buri Gandaki valley. The east-west and northern limits of the *thāti* are not more than 1000 meters in elevation. However, as we went further from north down the Buri Gandaki valley, we saw between Lokpa (C. 68-C. 69) located just below the Shiar Khola valley and Halchok (C. 72-C. 73) a number of small huts in the fields which were a little similar to the *thāti*. These huts were much meaner and smaller than the latter. They have only four supporting posts with much lower floor, and semi-circular arched roof made of roughly woven bamboo mats.

At Lokpa we saw a village girl spinning wool in one of these huts. Another at Halchok was occupied by a man and a woman with children, apparently members of a single family. In still another there were a man and raw beef and the head of an ox. Standing in the fields amidst the growing maize, they looked very much like watch stations. Huts of a similar design were seen near villages throughout the Gorge District. The lower part of the structures were sometimes used as animal pens and the upper part to store grain. These may not have any connection with the *thāti*, but if they have, they might be regarded as the prototype in form and function of the latter, or, contrariwise, as representing the residue of ebbing waves of the Lowland culture embodied in the *thāti*.

The origins of *thāti* are lost in the dim mists of antiquity, but even today the floors of these structures are kept clean. Unlike the *dharamsāla* they are voluntarily built and maintained by local villagers. They indicate the existence of living persons to whom *dharam* has meaning. Should such persons disappear, the *thāti* would also probably disappear without a trace. Since we have already discussed the *choutāra*, we shall not dwell upon them here except to say that these also are voluntary work of the religious-

minded villagers.

This kind of religion-inspired hospitality is probably not motivated in hope of reward in this world at least. However, works of charity and hospitality presuppose the existence of those who would receive it. Indeed, the culture and society of this region might be described as one in which the recipients of charity comprise the majority of the population. The attitude of the population toward accepting charity is perhaps the most striking illustration of the contrast between the Hinduistic and Tibetan cultures. According to Dr. Kazuhiko Hayashi, who was the physician of the 1952 expedition, there was no end of villagers who came to him seeking medical attention during his whole sojourn in Nepal, but there was a sharp difference in the attitude toward his services of the natives according to locality. The villagers of the Lowland always took it for granted that treatment would be free of charge. However, in the Highland those asking to be treated would almost always bring some kind of honorarium, be it merely a couple of eggs, a bottle of local wine, or potatoes, although he asked no fee.

B. The Lamaistic Highland

Lamaism in the Nepalese Highland embraces a vast number of non-Buddhistic elements. The Bon religion, which is said to be the ancient religion of Tibet and to be only partly justified in the Lamaist scriptures, is, as Kawaguchi has indicated, still alive in Nepal at Chharkabhotgaon⁵¹).

This Chharkabhotgaon (also known as Thorpo) is a small hamlet located on the plateau north of the Great Himalaya, and was just a little west of the most northwestern point in our itinerary, but owing to lack of time we had to forego a visit to it.

Lamaism, like Hinduism, appears to be a congeries of heterodox faiths. However, if the religion is looked at as part of the culture of a people, it reveals a surprisingly uniform pattern. Accordingly, hereafter, the writer's use of the term Lamaistic is limited to the religion as a cultural phenomenon. The term Tibetan might have been used to label the culture under study, but since the writer's emphasis will be on matters of religion and belief, he will use the term Lamaistic culture. The term Hinduistic should be understood in the same sense.

1. Location of Temples and Settlements

The location of the Lamaist temples (Tib. *gompa*, *gomba*)—location in relation to topography and to the settled areas—differs greatly from that of

51) Ekai Kawaguchi, *Chibetto Ryokōki* (Tibetan Travels). Tokyo, 1904, Vol. I, p. 84.

the Hindu temples. This aspect alone may give us clues to some essential features of the Lamaistic culture. From travel accounts of Tibet, it is well known that the gompas tend to be located in high places remote from settled areas. This is likewise the tendency in the Tibetan zone of Nepal.

The lowest gumpa in the Kali Gandaki valley is the one at Tukucha (C. 24). Tukucha is located on a flat river plain and the *gumpa* is sited also on the plain near the northern edge of the village. In contrast, just below Tukucha, at Dana (C. 21-C. 22) which is the site of the uppermost Hindu shrine in the valley, the shrine is dedicated to the female deity *Mahakali* and is situated high on the mountain side overlooking the village. This juxtaposition is an example of exceptions to the general rule, which are encountered in the border region between the Lamaistic and the Hinduistic culture zones. Of course, as we shall point out later (p. 227), this can be interpreted as evidence of advances and retreats of the boundary between the two culture zones in history.

The *gumpa* at Marpha (C. 24-C. 25) occupies a site midway up the face of a cliff which rises northwest of the village. It is thus not only high but also quite isolated from the secular world. At Kagbeni (C. 26) a Lama monastery, a reddish building several stories high, is located within the village. However, another gumpa-like structure can also be seen on a prominence outside of the village. At Braga (C. 37-C. 38) there is a white gumpa on top of a high cliff at the foot of which is the settlement.

The gumpa at Sama (C. 46-C. 47) is on a hill some distance up-stream from the village. This is also the case at Li Dhandra (C. 47-C. 48). At Tsumje there are four temples, two located high on a cliff rising behind the village and two within the village itself. One of the latter, which we visited, was actually built on the top of a large rock located in the wheat fields between the three settlements which make up this village. Originally this temple was built for the settlement just below it. Hence, it must be said that, here too the temple site had been chosen so that it would be higher than the settled area which it served. The leading temple in the region around Tsumje, the Gumpa Tensin, is also located so that it overlooks the villages of its communicants. This is also true of the temple at Philem (C. 69-C. 70).

As we have already noted, most of the settlements in the Lowland, are located on the hills or mountain ridges rather than in the valley bottoms. In the Highland the opposite is generally true. The valleys in the Highland are naturally more desirable for human settlement because the weather is less severe, the terrain is less precipitous, and the land is more suitable for agriculture than on the colder, steeper, and barren mountain side. It is the writer's feeling, however, that the urge to locate settlements as high as

possible despite less favorable conditions is even stronger among the Highlanders than among the people of the Lowland.

Braga and Pisang (C. 39) are good examples of this tendency. In Tsumje they are located in the generally steep mountainous country. Nevertheless, the three settlements of this village are sited on the ground that is relatively higher than the surrounding terrain. Several reasons may be advanced for this phenomenon. Danger of inundation by flood is slight, but there is always the threat of avalanches. Another factor may be that an elevated site was necessary for defence in earlier unsettled times when there was warfare between villages. Warfare is not entirely a thing of the past. Our own expedition was menaced, as a matter of fact, by the hostilities between the two villages of Manang and Braga. That the location of a village on the high ground in the arid zone complicates the problem of water supply is obvious. Nevertheless, the older settlement of Tirigaon, just above Kagbeni, is located midway up a dizzy precipice. Water was brought to it with great difficulty from an up-river source by means of a tortuous canal, which frequently suffered damage from snow and rock slides. Today this old settlement of Tirigaon is abandoned and desolate and a new settlement has been built below the old site on a fan-shaped tract of arable land at the mouth of a small valley. This may be a typical example of the abandonment of inconvenient heights for arable land and more accessible water supply of the lower ground as the result of the passing of anarchic conditions.

However, is it not possible that this desire to be settled on the high ground sprang not only from the need for protection against natural and man-made dangers, but was also a response to some religious motivation? In any case, when we consider the location of gompa, the religious aspect becomes much clearer.

The gompa are by no means uniformly distributed, one to each settlement or community. There may be several temples in one village and none at all in another. In general there seems to be fewer gompa in the upper Marsyandi valley between Pisang (C. 39) and Bimtakothi (C. 43). The principal inhabitants of this region are the Gurung people, known locally as the *Lama-Gurung*, whose religion is Lamaism and whose customs are Tibetan, although not purely so. By contrast in the Shiar Khola valley around Tsumje where the inhabitants are a Tibetan people (*Bhotea*), there seems to be a great number of gompa relative to the number of settlements.

2. Religious Monuments

In the Lamaistic zone one encounters numerous stone towers as well as stone piles. These structures have a variety of shapes and are difficult to group into definite categories. Yet they have definite functions which are

part of a general scheme; so a mere individual description would tend to obscure understanding of their real nature. Among the difficulties of classification there is the fact that their nomenclature varies from locality to locality, and differs between the Highland and Lowland. Further, while some are purely Buddhistic in form and function, there are also others which represent non-Lamaist or pre-Lamaist traditions. Again, while there are some which are found only among the *Bhotea* and other Tibetan tribes, there are others which are peculiar to the Himalayan peoples such as the *Gurung*.

Accordingly, the writer have reversed the normal procedure and have attempted first to set up and justify a classification system of his own. This is, then, followed by description of examples in the order that we actually observed them on our trip. In short the data is here presented in raw form so as to give the reader and himself an opportunity for further interpretation or reinterpretation.

(1) Classification and Explanation

A common feature of all these stone monuments is the fact that they all rise up from the ground as towers and that have some religious significance. Still another general characteristic is the fact that their function is to overcome or repel terrestrial or subterranean evil spirits.

The stone monuments will be divided tentatively into the following eight categories: (a) *Chorten*, (b) *Risum Gonbo*, (c) *Thobo*, (d) *Laptse*, (e) *Möndan*, (f) *Kani*, (g) *Lamchepha*, and (h) *Vacant Shrines*. Where these words are capitalized in the following discussion, they represent the terminology here adopted by this writer for purposes of classification. When the same words appear in small letters, they represent the actual terminology used by the local people. All of these words are Tibetan.

(a) *Chorten*, also pronounced *choten*, *chote*, are towers, regular in shape with a pointed top, and a bamboo pole, or an evergreen tree branch at their upper extremity. Square in plan, some resemble two- or three-storied pagodas. Others are smaller and are single storied. In some places, e.g. Tsumje, the latter are called *mani* and are distinguished from the former which are known as *choten*. This term, *mani* or *mane*, is often used with reference to the *Chorten* and is a word familiar to the people of the Highland. The people of the Lowland and Indians tend to refer to all types of religious towers as *mane*.

It seems clear that the *Chorten* originated as sacred reliquaries, and it is said that the Highland people put all kinds of precious objects, such as sutras and other treasures, in them. They also say they are the tombs of famous priests. The bones of famous monks are supposed to have magical



Fig. 78. *Chorten* or *mani*. A small-sized one. At Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

Fig. 79. *Risum Gonbo*. Near Jagat. July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 80. *Risum Gonbo* on a *Kani*. In the upper Buri Gandaki. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda





Fig. 81. One type of *Thobo*. At the Nisango La.
May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 82. *Laptse* with yak horn offerings. Near Sangda.
May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 83. *Laptse* on the Tibetan border. At Mura Dajen Pass.
July 3, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao

powers. Thus, one of the important purposes of the *Chorten* appears to be to repel the attacks of evil spirits. The *Chorten* tend to be located near villages and to be placed on the elevated ground.

(b) *Risum Gonbo*⁵²⁾ usually consist of three *Chorten* joined together each topped with a pole of conifer tree on which is suspended a *Lungda* (described later). Sometimes the three towers are not joined together but simply placed next to each other. Frequently, one sees three *Chorten* lined up in a row, an arrangement which appears to be a transition to the *Risum Gonbo*. The *Risum Gonbo* are also called *lisum gonbo*, a pronunciation more frequently heard than the former. In some places they are known as *risun gonbo* or *rishi gunbu*. The *Lama-Gurung* use the term *lisun gonbo* to refer also to something other than the triple-towered structure. This is a simple pile of stones on which is erected a pole of conifer tree decorated with

52) S.C. Das, *Dictionary*, p. 1181: *Rigs-gsum-mgon-po*, "the three bodhisattvas who protect the three worlds." The three worlds here are those of the gods, the human race, and the Serpent demi-god race; *mgon-po* means "lord" or "tutelary god", *nātha* in Sanskrit.

slide and which we will refer to below as the *Thobo*. Since the word *Risum Gonbo* appears unmistakably in the name of the sacred mountain, *Konka Risumgongba*, explored by Rock's expedition to the borders of *Sikang Province*, the extremely wide use of the term can be imagined.⁵³⁾

The *Risum Gonbo* are frequently erected on top of the village gateways called *Kani*; sometimes they are located inside the village. Their location near settlements and their great number among the villages of the *Lama-Gurung* are particularly conspicuous features. Another noteworthy feature is use of red, white, and black colours on the triple towers. As we will see later, these colours represent a triune deity and are believed to have the power to exercise evil spirits.



Fig. 84. *Möndan* are passed on the left side. At Marpha. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

(c) *Thobo* refers to any of a group of stone piles which have no common shape. Most of them look like the monument (described above) which the *Lama-Gurung* call *lisum gonbo*, but the term also applies to simple piles of stones without any *slide* or other top ornament. They may be merely stacks of stone like the cairns which mountaineers erect on the summit of a mountain. Such structures are called *thobo* or *tho*. This *tho* or *dho* means stone in Tibetan, and *thobo* signifies nothing more than a heap of stones. Discussion of the forms and functions of the *Thobo* will be taken up below.⁵⁴⁾

(d) *Laptse*, also referred to as *raptse*, or *labtse*, are invariably located at the highest point of an elevation such as the summit of a mountain pass.⁵⁵⁾

53) J. F. Rock, "Konka Risumgongba, holy mountain of the outlaws," *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. LX, No. 1.

54) Note by Nagao. Stone in Tibetan is *rdo* or *rdo-ba*. If *mtho*, the meaning would be "high"; if *thog*, "summit."

55) Note by Nagao. *Lap-rtse* means "summit of the pass."

They are high cone-shaped heaps of stone with *shides* rising from the apex. On them are found stone tablets with carved sutras or offerings of yak horns. They are without question the same as the *obo* of Mongolia.

Travellers passing by these *Laptse* recite the sutras and throw a stone on the heap. Being located on the heights in the rugged mountain country instead of on the plains of Mongolia, they make one feel even more strongly that they are associated with the worship of lofty things.

(e) *Möndan* (also *mötang*) are long rectangular stonework structures built along the axis of road leading into and out of the village. They are not themselves towers but most of them support one or more *Chorten*. On the *Möndan* and *Chorten* are often placed several *mani dokö* or stone tablets with the words "*Om Mani Padme Hum*" elaborately inscribed on them, or with bas-relief sculptures of Buddhist images or animals. They are apparently built for the same purpose as the *Chorten*.⁵⁶⁾

(f) *Kani*, sometimes called *kane*, are, as already explained, gateways to the village. They are not actually monuments, but again usually have *Risum Gonbo* or *Chorten* built on them. Some of them may be best described as *Chorten* with a passage cut into their base. Although the *Kani* are called gateways, this does not imply that the villages are surrounded by walls. Quite the contrary is true, and the villages can be entered from any direction. Those villages which have *Kani* on the two sides are few and never are two *Kani* duplicates of each other. The reason for this remains a problem. We can perhaps be fairly sure, however, that the purpose of the *Kani* is to exclude evil spirits from the village. In this connection it must be remembered that the Gurung villages in the southern side of the Great Himalaya have *toriis* (wooden gates) with sexual symbols (pp. 34-35).

(g) *Lamchepha* (also called *lamche*, *lamcheke*, *tho*, *tserma*) consist of heaps of two or three stones placed on the fresh leaves of some broad-leaved tree and left on the road outside of a village. They are also intended to keep evil spirits from entering the village. Sometimes food is placed on or around the *Lamchepha* in order to placate and buy off the evil spirits. *Lam* or *lamga* is the Tibetan word for road. According to our Sherpa guides, *lamche* means "landslide," and the stone heaps mark the roads destroyed by it. The Sherpas also said it was customary for the piles to have three stones, but actually sometimes only two were used.

Lamchepha, under various names, are found beyond the Lamaistic sphere in the hills of the Lowland. This suggests that they might be a vestigial part of the aboriginal religion of the mountain zone, that had never been

56) *Möndan* with *Chorten* are usually erected in the middle of a road. In such cases it is the custom to pass to the left of them.

completely absorbed by either Lamaism nor Hinduism.

(h) The Vacant Shrines are, according to the writer's definition, structures differing from other stone monuments in that they are built in the form of a shrine but yet contain no visible object of worship. They are thus, literally, vacant shrines. Since they are stone shrines, one is led to compare them to the Hindu shrines. It is suggested that they are most numerous in the middle Kali Gandaki valley, an area which adjoins the Hindu shrine area.

(2) Descriptions of Examples

In the northwest of Katmandu there is a pass called Panch Mane Bhanjyang (C. 1-C. 2), at the summit of which are five mounds covered with grass. Some gentlemen in Katmandu told us that the name of the pass meant "the pass of the five measures," because the mounds resembled *mana* (Nep.)—a kind of grain measure used in Nepal—the bottom upside down. However, a very likely translation might be: "the pass of the five *mane*." On the basis of two or three other data, it seems possible to think that there might have been in the past a time when Lamaistic culture, originating in the north, had extended beyond its present limits down into areas of the Lowland now thoroughly Hinduistic in culture.

On a hill at Katunje (C. 6), we saw what appeared to be the skullbone of a deer, some dishes, and food left on the road. Through the interpreters we learned from the villagers that these were known as *mashan*. When a person became sick, he and the *jagaral* would perform a rite after which the *mashan* was thrown on the road. The *jagaral*, we learned from our interpreter was a Hindu Tantric. The *mashan* might be thought of as having some relationship to the *Lamchepha*, but this was in the Hindu Lowland zone. Another problem is the significance of the deer skull symbol, which we also saw at Kagbeni in the Highland. (C. 26). Above a second story window of a house was the skull of a deer on which was placed a crown-like ornament. (Refer also to p. 63 and Fig. 110 in p. 187.)

Among the noteworthy place names in the Lowland is *Deorali*, a Nepalese word which means "place where god resides," and which almost always refers to the summit of a pass. Our itinerary took us through three passes (C. 14-C. 15), (C. 17-C. 18) and (C. 19-C. 20) so named. The first pass is 1100 meters in elevation. At its summit was a settlement called Deorali and a great *Ficus sp.* tree with the sacred stone which we have already described (p. 113). It was entirely Hinduistic in aspect. The second *Deorali* was 1710 meters high. At its summit we encountered our first *Chorten* and a single house built of stone in the semi-Tibetan style. However, as we descended again into the valley beyond it to Bhurumdi (C. 18, 1120 meters), we saw a

Shiva shrine and a *Chorten* together in the same settlement.

The third pass was 2760 meters high. At its summit there were many *Thobo* and at the foot of a tree was a Vacant Shrine. The tree itself was decorated to its topmost branches with numerous strips of white cotton, serving as *shide*. It seems impossible to doubt, that part of this arrangement is designed to offer prayers to Heaven. On this pass we saw a *choutāra* without usual trees, peepul or other species. Around the Vacant Shrine were some scattered rhododendron flowers and some bamboo. Thus at this *Deorali* there was a touch of the Lowland Hinduistic flavour. There were, however, no visible deities or sacred images. In other words, the *deo* here did not refer to any of these things but to something else which might be termed heaven. It is for this reason that places with the name *Deorali* are located at the highest point along the road.

The porters whom we recruited from the Lowland tended to refer to all stone towers and stone heaps found in elevated places as *deorali* without distinguishing *Laptse*, *Thobo*, and *Chorten* from each other. This tendency for Lowlanders to use a single generic term, such as *deorali*, instead of more precise nomenclature, reveals, the writer believes, that the worship of high places is originally and basically a Highland tradition.

As one descends into the Kali Gandaki valley on the other side of the third pass, one notes that the culture once again has a strong Hinduistic flavour. This observation may seem a bit farfetched, but the tendency toward Lamaistic and Hinduistic elements to be distributed vertically according to the elevation of the terrain merits attention. This thesis can be pushed even more strongly, if the terms of reference are broadened to Tibetan-type and Hindu-type cultures.

At the village of Sikha (2030 meters), part way down into the valley, the culture is still not completely Hinduistic. Here the villagers were using oxen to hull grain by trampling. Around a pole made of a truncated tree trunk there were scattered unhulled grains. Two pairs of oxen tethered to the pole and driven by two men trampled the grains moving in a counter-clockwise direction. On the pivot pole was fastened a freshly cut branch of a conifer tree with strips of white cotton dangling from it, thus showing its religious purposes. The villagers explained it as follows: "Before beginning the threshing, we pray to our god and fasten the *shide* to the pole. This we call the *meo*. The god has no name; He is in heaven." The writer would guess that this *meo* is related etymologically to the *mei* in *Nam La Choumei*, the name of a festival at Sangda, which will be described later and to the *mö* in *Möndan*, but its meaning must be left to linguists. The *-dan* in the word probably comes from *tang* or *thang* (Tib. "place, flat land"). This is the village mentioned previously as having the *batti* on a



Fig. 85. A type of the sacred pole to which oxen teams are tethered for hulling grain. At Hasei Bazaar. Autumn of 1952. Photo. by S. Takebushi

pole in its autumn festival and was, on the surface at least, a village where Hinduism was the chief religion. (Refer to p. 120.)

Near C. 21 on the Kali Gandaki river bank where there is a hot spring (Nep. *Tat Pani*), we frequently saw Vacant Shrines and square stone heaps which resembled incomplete *Chorten*. Behind the Vacant Shrines there were often *shides* made of dead branches.

Beyond Dana (C. 21-C. 22, 1420 meters), where *Mahakali* is worshipped, the valley takes a sharp ascent. A little further on there is a spot to the left of the mountain road where a tributary river flows into the valley, transforming itself in a large waterfall. Beneath it there was a bamboo pole about a meter and a half long thrust into the ground and supporting a *shide*. A short distance from this there was a splendid example of a Vacant Shrine. (Figs. 86 and 87.) It was built of stone, but was unlike anything to be seen in the Highland. In the space where in Lowland shrines a sacred image would be placed, there were only some strips of cotton cloth and little bells suspended from the ceiling. In the vacant space adjoining were placed a few fresh leaves. Behind the shrine numerous *shides* are erected. In front of the shrine there were traces of small fire and some blood splatterings, while on the reclining trunk of a nearby tree were the horns of four or five sheep (or goats). In the opinion of our interpreter, all this belonged neither to Hinduism nor Lamaism.



Fig. 86. A Vacant Shrine—1. At Murali Bang. April, 1953.
Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 87. A Vacant Shrine—2. At Murali Bang. April, 1953.
Photo. by J. Kawakita

From this point on as the road ascended the steeply rising river valley, Tibetan influences became stronger and stronger.

Chorten and *Möndan* were observed at Ghasa, Lete, Tukucha, and Marpha. *Chorten*-type *Kani* were also seen. On the ceilings of the *Kani* were Buddhist pictures and beside them were many sutra-inscribed wheels called *muni* or *mani*. As the men who drive the caravans went through the gates, they rubbed the *mani* wheels with their right hands. The wheels turned clockwise giving forth merit and virtue from the sutras. Tukucha is a larger town, and everything is on a more elaborate scale. One enters the town from the downstream side through a splendid *Kani*. Near it was an imposing building which we were told was a library of Buddhist sutras. In the middle of the road was a long line of *mani* wheels. Here and there the line was interrupted by *Chorten* with onion-shaped tops. (See also pp. 53-56 about Tukucha.)

Between Tukucha and Marpha, we came upon the last of the *choutāra*. On it stood a *Chorten*. In these parts the *Chorten* were also called *mane*. When we ask, "What is it?" the answer would be "*chorten*"; but when we ask, "Is this a *mane*?" the answer would be, "Yes, it is."

Kani are often found at both ends of a village, but the more elaborate *Chorten*-type *Kani* were usually located on the downstream end. The *Möndan* are mostly found outside these *Kani* line up in a row with *Chorten* built on them. At Kagbeni the dwellings were closely clustered Tibetan-style buildings typical of the arid zone. Some were as high as four stories. Here, instead of entering through a *Kani*, one passes beneath one of the buildings. Even so the entrance to the village was likewise on the downstream side.

At the summit of Thiye La and every other pass-like eminence between Kagbeni and the Thiye La, we invariably found *Laptse*.

The writer has already described much about the twin village Sangda and Kho. (See pp. 38-42, p. 312 and p. 336.) Now a few data concerning religion will be here added. The principal religious observance of this community is an annual agricultural festival held in spring before the beginning of the farming season. The name of the festival is *Hlachogen* or, alternatively, *Nam la Choumei*. It was held, we were told, about one month before our visit (or around the 10th of April). The *hla* in *Hlachogen* means "God" in Tibetan and is the same as that found in the name of the capital city of Tibet, Hlasi (Lhasa). The *nam* in *Nam la Choumei* is Tibetan for "Heaven." On the day of the festival the heads of families assemble at a *chorten* located on a mountain ridge south of the settlement and after praying for good crops offer a sacrificial goat. Following this rite, they drink wine and feast on the goat before returning home. The homes of the eleven families, incidentally, are clustered together wall to wall in what appears to be a

single building. Selection of a proper day for the festival is a very important function which is entrusted to a person versed in Lamaism. If such a person is not available in the village, he is sought out elsewhere. This year the Sangda villagers went to the "*Takola Lama*" (the *Lama* of a gompa at Tukucha). The day for planting is similarly determined. On that day the entire village turns out to make planting.

Above and a little to the west of the hamlet of Kho on a rock in a once cultivated but now abandoned tract of land was a very crudely built Vacant Shrine built of stone. Beside it was a single wooden pole used as a *Lungda* (see p. 166). There was nothing in the Vacant Shrine, but on the rock there was a natural hollowed surface, which, the writer was told, was made "a long time ago, when the *lama* of Sangda came flying in the air and placed his palm on the rock." The natural depression in the rock did indeed look like the outline of a hand. To this day, apparently, the villagers visit this spot to worship. Interesting is the idea of a being who could fly—the idea, in other words, of a superman.

The writer has described Sangda and Kho in some detail, because they are so close to the village of Chharkabhot which Kawaguchi described as an outpost of the Bon religion and because they are so isolated. He felt that this community may have preserved to a considerable degree some traces of the original pre-Lamaist religion of the Highland. The role of the *Chorten* and the Vacant Shrine here is particularly to be noticed.

Near the temple at Muktinath, which is located on the lower slopes of a mountain, there were numerous stone towers and stone heaps on the ridges of hills. They were of all types ranging from crudely built *Thobo* to elaborate *Chorten* and were built wherever the site commands a good view. The writer was told by his guide, a Hindu priest, that some of the *mane* were the tombs of saints. He was referring particularly to those which had imposing *Chorten* on them.

Below Pisang (C. 39) there is a place where the Marsyandi river makes a sharp turn and descends in a rapid. On the left bank of this turn there is a huge monolithic rock wall, which rises up to a height of about 1000 meters. As we descended through the forest on the right bank opposite it, we came upon a large group of *Thobo* or stone heaps located on a spot which had an excellent view. The porters we had hired at Pisang called these heaps "*lisun gonbo*," but our interpreter translated for us that they were "*deorali* of the Gurung tribe." There were almost 100 of these stone heaps. They were smaller than *Chorten* or *Laptse*. Some had living trees rising from their tops, while others supported cut branches. Most of the live trees were saplings but sometimes they were quite large. The trees were of three kinds: *Pinus*, *Juniperus* and *Abies*, all conifer species found

in the nearby forest. There were broad-leaf trees also in the vicinity but these were not used in the *Thobo*. The fragrance of the conifers and the fact that they stand erect and point straight up are points to be noted. This will be discussed more fully later. *Shides* made from branches of both conifer and broad-leaf trees were placed at the foot of these trees standing on the stone heaps. The white cotton streamers of the *shides* were inscribed with sacred characters from the Lamaist sutras. Similarly inscribed strips of cloth were also hung from the branches of nearby conifer trees. According to the porters from Pisang these were all in honour of the god who lives on the great cliff.

Dr. K. Imanishi, who visited this place the year before reports that his porters cut branches and put them up inviting him to do likewise. They piled stones around the base of one branch and performed a dance around it. This was, they said, to protect them from ill health.

In each of the villages of Tseme, Thonzo, Sarku, and Bagarchhap located in the upper Marsyandi valley, where the Lama-Gurung people are numerous, we observed *Kani* with *Risum Gonbo* built on them. These *Kani* were uniformly located on the downstream side of the villages. There was only one gate to a village. As mentioned before (pp. 123-24) the villages of Tarangchung and Thilche had no *Kani* but *dopata*, which apparently served the same function and were likewise located on the downstream side of their villages (on the east and south, respectively). When we see all these examples and recall that along the Kali Gandaki also the more elaborate *Kani* were usually located on the downstream side, we may be justified in suspecting that there is some explanation for the practice. However, when we enter the Buri Gandaki valley, there are seen some exceptions.

At Thonje located at the confluence of the Marsyandi and the Dudh Khola rivers, there was a *Kani* with onion-shaped *Chorten* on the eastern side, which may be called on downstream side, and a *Risum Gonbo* on the southern (also downstream) side.

The *Risum Gonbo* on the *Kani* at Tseme had a white centre tower, flanked by a red left-hand tower and a black right-hand tower. At Sarku, at the top of each of the three towers of similar structure there was a pine pole. The centre pole had a white banner, and the left- and right-hand poles had red and black banners, respectively. At Bagarchhap there was an identical arrangement of coloured flags, but the *Risum Gonbo* at Thonje had a white centre tower with yellow and black side towers. The white and yellow towers had flags of matching colours, but the black tower had a green flag. Also at Thilche, one of the *Chorten* was coloured white and yellow. This was not the only instance. Coloured *Chorten* and

gompa are not uncommon in the Highland, but the colours are always red or white or a combination of the two. In any case, it can be concluded that in the Lamaistic culture of the Highland, colour has some significance. Our interpreter, a Brahman from Bengal, who claims to have been to Tibet, told us that white represented the Lamaistic faith and red was the colour identifying Jangrism (to be discussed later). The writer does not have knowledge to judge reliability of this explanation, but the lamaseries at Kagbeni, Khingar, Zharkot (C. 33-C. 34) were all painted red. The *Chorten* at Sangda was, he recalls, also red. At Muktinath the lamasery near the temple was white above and red below. Further east, he recalls only that the *gompa* at Braga (C. 37-C. 38) was white, and have no clear recollection of others. His impression is that there is no red *gompa* (uncertain).

Returning to the colours of the *Risum Gonbo* described above, the writer obtained the following information on their significance. According to the villagers at Thonje, white colour on the *Risum Gonbo* symbolizes a god called *Kunjo Sunbo*, red stood for a god called *Tsen*, and black represents a forest devil called *Dui*. The *Risum Gonbo*, they said, represents containment of the evil forest spirits by the good gods. People in other villages declared that the white, yellow and green colours of the Thonje *Risum Gonbo* all stood for gods named *Rishi Gumbu*, and that these gods were associated with both Lamaist and Gurung beliefs. We will come back later to discussion of the gods *Tsen* and *Dui* mentioned above.

Let us here give a description of *Möndan* worship as the writer witnessed it at Thonje. On the east side of this village there were two *Möndan* surmounted by *Chorten*. In addition to *dokö* with inscriptions from the sutras there were many others with carved figures of buddhas and saints, copulating buddhas, oxheads, faces of dogs and crow-headed goblins. The *chorten* were adorned with sheep (or goat?) horns. One morning, we saw a man walking around the *Möndan* turning the prayer wheels (locally called *muni*) and repeating something to himself. When this man left an old woman came along and stood turning the *muni* with one hand until another woman joined her. Then she began to walk around one of the *Möndan* keeping always to her right. Soon one or two other women appeared and fell into the line behind the old woman. Eventually, there were eight women in the procession. With the exception of the first woman none of the women carried anything in her hands, but six of the seven had infants on their backs and the seventh was accompanied by a child on foot. The children were probably their own. After they had circled the outside *Möndan* several dozen times they switched to the inner one, and circled it similarly before they returned to the village.

During this our porters, whom we had hired in the Lowland, would

tease the women in Nepali. The women would answer back as they circled. From this it was apparent that, though the women's costumes were Tibetan in style, they could speak Nepali. Five of the women were Takalis and two were Gurungs. This area is generally Lamaistic in culture but it is near the periphery of the Lamaistic region and the influence of Lowland-type culture is fairly strong. The fact that the *Möndan* have a religious function needs no demonstration, but this ritual just described suggests that there is some relationship between the *Möndan* and the women with children. Also, it is to be noted that in particular Lamaistic worship service women were not excluded from participation.

Bimtakothi (C. 43) and Larkya (C. 45) are located on the west and east sides, respectively, of the Larkya La (a mountain pass, elevation 5200 meters). They are near the terminal moraines of glaciers. Larkya is a settlement which can be occupied only in the summer, and on the morain above both places there are *Chorten*. Here again it was obvious that lofty sites had been chosen for these structures. At Bimtakothi, in addition, there were *Möndan* (without *Chorten*) at the upper and lower ends of the village, but there were no *Kani*. On the summit of Larkya La there were two *Laptse*. One had red and green banners, and the other had white banners with inscriptions from the sutras. Offerings of yak horns were observed on both. The terrain in this area was bleak and desolate. There was nothing but white glacier and brown gravels to be seen. Here and there along the approaches on either side of the pass we saw *Thobo* unadorned by *shide*, wherever there was a slight eminence.

The writer wishes now to illustrate by means of diagram (Fig. 88) the complicated arrangement of stone monuments at the upper entrance to the village of Lho, which marked our entry into the upper Buri Gandaki valley. There were two gates at the upper entrance. The road is divided in front of the first gate. When our interpreter started to take the right-hand path which went under the gate, he was stopped by a woman of the village and told that he must "pass to the left of the *risun gonbo*." According to this woman the gate was not a *kani* but a *tsikpa*, a general Tibetan term the villagers used for the fence, wall and the like. Under the gate was a *Lamchepha*, but this too was given a distinctive local name—*tserma*. Its purpose, the woman explained, is "to keep the dead from returning to the village." The triple-towered *Risum Gonbo* on top of the *Kani* was conventionally called *risun gonbo*. On two of its towers were several stalks of bamboo, but on the remaining tower was a single pole made of a pine sapling stripped of its branches and foliage except at the very tip. This was called a *lungda* by the villagers, although it had no banner attached to it. We learned that the pole was replaced with a fresh one, whenever

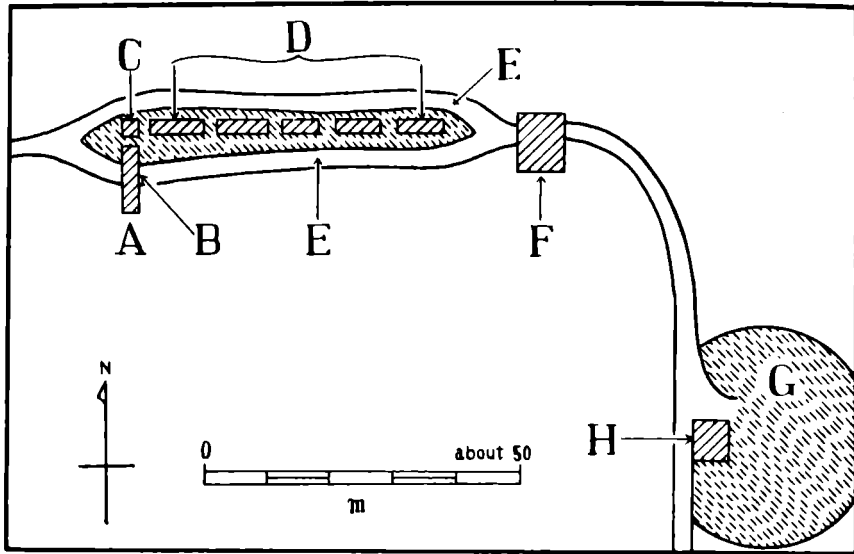


Fig. 88. The upper entrance to the village of Lho.

- Legend: A. *Kani* (*tsikpa*) surmounted by a *Risum Gonbo*
 B. Location of *Lamchepha* (*tserma*) under centre of *Kani*.
 C. *Chorten* (*risum gonbo*).
 D. *Möndan* (*mane, möndan?*).
 E. Road.
 F. *Kani* (*risun gonbo*).
 G. Settlement.
 H. Large *Chorten* (*kani*).

the green foliage turned brown, and the women were not permitted to perform this task. Any male, however low his status, was eligible to do it, provided that he had some religious instruction.

To one side of the *Kani* there was a square heap of stones about one meter or more in height. This too had a tree branch rising from its summit and was likewise called a *risun gonbo*.

After passing a row of *Möndan* the divided road became one again and passed through a second gate. This gate was a square *Chorten*-type structure with sacred pictures on the inside walls. It was also called a *risun gonbo* and not a *kani*. Beyond this gate near the entrance to the settled area there was a tall *Chorten*-type three-storied pagoda. On the ground floor was the entrance to the tower. The second story was onion-shaped and had square eaves, from the four corners of which hung wooden phalli. These were reminiscent of the phalli on the *dopata* we saw in the upper Marsyandi valley. The third story was square in shape with white walls on which were painted four faces glaring with huge eyes. These faces were unmistakably of the same tradition as those on the great stupas of the Buddhist temples, Boddhnath and Swayambhunath, of the Katmandu

Basin. One of the villagers referred to this tower as a *kani*. According to him, any tower, whether it served as a gate or not, was a *kani*.

The terminology used in this village for these religious towers and mounds of stone, differ considerably from that used elsewhere. This is not, the writer believes, simply a matter of localism, but is probably a philological matter. The people of this area are predominantly Lama-Gurungs rather than Bhotas, and, though they have been considerably assimilated with the Tibetan culture pattern including the language, they have preserved a certain amount of the Gurung language, so that the Gurung vocabulary has become mixed with their Tibetan usage. This matter has already been touched upon, when we discussed the ethnic distribution pattern (pp. 80-84), but it is probable that, if we had interrogated the more conservative womenfolk, we might have uncovered many more variant terms. In order to analyse such a word as *tserma*, reference to the Gurung language may be necessary.

At Sama (C. 46-C. 47) there were *Chorten*-type square-shaped *Kani* at both upper and lower ends of the village. On the upstream *Kani* there were the same faces glaring in the four directions painted on the upper walls. Nearly all of the settlements we observed between Lho and Gapsha (C. 48) had *Kani* with *Risum Gonbo* on them. However, in contrast to those in the upper Marsyandi region, none of the *Risum Gonbo* here was coloured. Some of the triple-towered *Risum Gonbo* had *Lungda*; others had none. But all the *Lungda* had only white banners. The *Kani* with *Risum Gonbo* were always found at only one of the entrances to the village. The other entrance usually had another kind of *Kani*, such as, in some cases, the *Chorten*-type *Kani* with the four faces which we have described. Unfortunately, the writer did not record which of the two kinds of *Kani* were located on the downstream side of the village.

The first *Risum Gonbo* we saw after we had been in the Shiar Khola valley was at Philem (C. 69-C. 70), which we passed through, when we resumed our descent through the Buri Gandaki Valley. There was a *Kani* at the downstream end of the village here, but it had no *Risum Gonbo* on it. *Risum Gonbo* were found, strangely enough, within the settlement itself standing here and there among the houses. This village had a *gompa*, which was located some distance above the village, but only a few of the houses displayed the white banners of the *Tarchho* (to be described later). Thus already the Lamaistic influence was considerably weaker, while the influence of Gurung culture or that of the Lowland-type increased. As we descended further to Setibas (C. 69-C. 70) we saw a *Risum Gonbo* together with a *Möndan*, but soon we saw the last of them along the road outside of a settlement tucked away in a side valley west of Jagāt. All of these

were built along the side of the road without any association with a *Kani*.

The writer does not remember to have seen any examples of the typical *Risum Gonbo* in the Bhotean village of Tsumje. The closest thing to it was a row of three *Chorten* located on the edge of a high precipice overlooking the village. The villagers, however, were not unacquainted with the *Risum Gonbo*, which they referred to as *lisun gonbo*, applying the term only to the connected-tower type monument. As the Tsumje people explained it, the monument represented three gods. It was placed outside a house or a village and had the power to drive away other gods (including, of course, devils and demons). It also served to prevent the dead persons, who had gone to heaven, from returning again to the village. It was, as a rule, located outside the village, but in times of heavy snow or flood, it could be set up within the village.

The writer has already pointed out that the *Risum Gonbo* of the Buri Gandaki region were not coloured. However, the Tsumje villagers knew that the three gods were symbolized by different colours. According to them, red stood for the god *Janbiyan*, white for *Changarezi*, and black for *Channa Dorje*. These three gods were, he was told, actually a trinity, representing a single deity, and the colours represented different aspects of the god: white the aspect of silence, red the laughing aspect, and black the aspect of anger.⁵⁷⁾

It should be noticed here that according to the Tsumje villagers anyone can build a *Risum Gonbo*, but after it is completed a *lama* must purify it with prayers. The service is called a *ramne*. In referring to building the religious monuments, the villagers stressed the purification ceremony only with respect to the *Risum Gonbo*. There seems to be something about these particular gods that demanded purification service. We need to discuss the names and the nature of these three gods further.

The geographical distribution of the *Risum Gonbo*, to the extent that the writer was able to check it, is confined to the upper Marsyandi valley below Pisang. But there is at least one at Braga, according to a photograph taken by the 1952 expedition; and to the upper Buri Gandaki valley above Jagāt, excluding the Shiar Khola basin. Since these two valleys are contiguous, there is actually a single distribution area. Although the writer is merely expressing a conjecture, he feels that the monuments in the upper Marsyandi valley are closer to the true worship of trinitarian deity. This feeling is based on the use of three colours on the towers and flags and the names and attributes assigned to the gods in this area. Further, because

57) *Jambiyān* is Ḥjam-paḥi dbyaṅs, *Changarezi* is Sphyān-ras-gzigs, and *Channa Dorje* is Phyag-na rdo-rje. They refer, respectively, to *Mañjuśrī*, *Avalokiteśvara*, and *Vajrapāṇi* in Sanskrit.

the geographical distribution of the *Risum Gonbo* coincides with the distribution of the *Lama-Gurung* people and because the degree to which the Gurung language has been preserved is greater among the Gurungs of the upper Marsyandi than among their fellow tribesmen in the upper Buri Gandaki valley, he suspects that the *Risum Gonbo* represent ancient religious traditions which antedate the conversion of the Highland *Lama-Gurungs* to Lamaism.

Let us now turn to other types of religious monuments that we saw at Tsumje. *Chorten* were extremely numerous in this village, and the tendency to build them on the rocks and elevated places was quite evident, although many were located in the low spots relative to the settled areas. The villagers distinguished two types of *Chorten*; calling one *chorten* and the other *mani*. Both were alike in some respects. They were built by wealthy persons in memory of someone who had died; their sites were chosen by a *lama*, who also performed services at them after they were built. The *chorten*, however, were larger than the *mani* and were different from the latter in that they had a cavity large enough to hold a human body. In this space various kinds of treasures would be placed. The writer did not discover the nature of these treasures, but learned that they were called *zhungphung* at Tsumje and that they were placed in the monument at the time it was built. The purpose of the *chorten*, the writer was told, was to ward off illness. The *mani*, on the other hand, were built more with the idea of commemorating human spirits. They were erected in the name of a given person and could be built, while that person was still alive as well as after he was dead. The writer was told a poor person could not build one.

On both the *chorten* and the *mani* were many stone tablets inscribed with sacred texts. These seemed most numerous on the *mani*. The tablets were known by the villagers as *mani tokö* or *mani dokö*. The *to* or *do* here clearly meant "stone." The villagers told us that the tablets were brought in from the *Kam* region in Tibet by specialists in this work, but, since the stones are so heavy, it is likely that the work was actually done somewhere near the village. There were, of course, many *mani dokö* on the *Möndan*, which were called *möndang* in this village. The *möndang* were built for the purposes similar to those of the *chorten* and *mani* and were located near the *Kani*. The writer was told that any person who had the means could build one. The *Kani* gate of this village was an elaborate two-storied *Chorten*-type structure and was located at the upper end of the village. It also marked the entrance to the paths leading up to the two temples situated above the village. The *Kani* was known to villagers by that name.

The writer does not remember any *Thobo* in this village. There were some *Thobo*, however, at Dhorzhong (C. 50) which is just across a ridge west of Tsumje. These were built on certain rocky protuberances and were topped by slender foliage-topped pine branches. There were other *Thobo* on the pass leading to Tsumje, but these could hardly be distinguished from *Laptse*. There was no *Laptse* in the village of Tsumje itself, but the villagers knew the term and said there were some on the mountain behind the village.

At Tsumje the writer made Rorschach psychological tests for over thirty of the villagers. The results cannot be discussed in detail here, but especially prominent among the responses was the *chorten*. The pointed end of the *chorten* and the treasure cavity in it seem strongly impressed on the villagers' minds.

Finally, let us note how these stone monuments change and eventually disappear as one descends through the gorge of the Buri Gandaki. At Jagāt (C. 71, 1370 meters) one notices that the *Chorten* are found among the houses in the settled area, approximating to the location of the Hindu shrines. From this point onward the Lamaistic influences decline at a rapid rate, but we were unable to survey the villages immediately below Jagāt. It was the monsoon season and the swollen waters of the river forced us to detour uphill again along the mountains on the left bank of the valley. However, at Halchok (C. 72-C. 73, about 1400 meters high), the first village we saw on our detour, the *Chorten* and the *Tarchho*—two indices of Lamaistic culture—were already gone. Just before reaching the next village Rungje (C. 73), we crossed a pass about 2000 meters in elevation. There on an eminence was a sort of *mane*-like *Thobo* with three or four dried branches thrust in it. Our Lowland porters said it was a *deorali*, and one of the Sherpas said it was a *laptse*.

The writer has already mentioned the stone towers encircled with sacred ropes that we saw in the villages of Rungje (1730 meters), Keronja (2030 meters) and Kasigaon (1890 meters) (See pp. 121-22). The point he wishes to note here is that these towers were large *Chorten*-type structures with small openings in them corresponding to the inner cavity of the *Chorten*. The fact that they were called *mane* is in accordance with the Lamaistic practice, but the fact that there was only one of these structures in each village is very atypical. It is noted, also, that the towers were in each case located above the settled area.

Just before reaching Kasigaon (C. 74), we came upon a number of small round stone towers looking like *mane* standing on the mountain facing the village on the opposite side of a valley. Upon inquiry we learned this was the village cemetery. There were fresh graves covered with bamboo mats.

There is a great disparity between these monuments and the *Chorten* which were erected to house the bones of saints who would repulse the evil spirits.

These three villages, of course, had almost no adherents of the Lamaist faith. There was only one house in Kasigaon which displayed a *Tarchho* flagpole. The villagers knew it as a *tarchho* and explained that the house belonged to a *lama*. They probably meant that it was the house of a Lamaist believer. This village was also known as Tasi Kang, a name with a Tibetan sound in sharp contrast to the Nepali sounding name—Kasigaon. In a little hamlet called Yarsa (1930 meters), south of Kasigaon, there was a short tiny *Tarchho* on the roof of a house. This was the last sign of Lamaistic culture we saw.

At Syang (C. 24-C. 25) in the Kali Gandaki gorges, which similarly constitute a zone of transition between the Lamaistic and Hinduistic spheres, we saw from a distance a number of white stone piles on a hill near the settled area. We were told that they were grave markers but the writer was not able to verify this. Except for these two cases mentioned, we saw absolutely no burial grounds in the Highland region. A priest in Muktinath told us that the inhabitants of that area sometimes used graveyard and sometimes did not, but he did not seem to know the truth. Even in the Lowlands, however, we saw only one graveyard. This was at Chaturali (C. 82) on the northwest slope of the Kakani hills. It was a grassy plot pleasantly situated on a saddle of the mountain below the settlement. Here and there were tiny mounds under the turfs. Finding no other suitable spot and not realizing that it was a burial ground, we pitched our tents there and were laughed at by our porters.

Finally, we shall take up the *Lamchepha*. In the upper Marsyandi regions, we saw them from time to time on the road as we travelled from Pisang (C. 39) down to Thonje and up the Dudh Khola valley to Thilche (C. 41-C. 42). They were called *lamcheke* in this region and were used in the following manner. When someone died, the corpse was taken outside of the village and disposed of. On the return trip, these *lamcheke* were placed on the road so that evil spirits could not follow the funeral party back into the village. Green foliage was always placed beneath the stones, which were in most cases three in number. Whether three was the number in every instance, the writer's records do not show.

The *Lamchepha* were usually found in the little trodden lonely stretches of road outside the villages, but an exception, already noted, was the *tserma* we saw at the village of Lho in the upper Buri Gandaki valley. This was atypical, because it was placed directly under the *Kani* and it could be bypassed on an alternate road. The purpose of this *tserma* was like the other *Lamchepha* to block the entrance of evil spirits and it too was occasioned

by someone's death in the village. Could it be, then, that the evil spirits are only able to go to the right? (See Fig. 88 in p. 158.)

The *Lamchepha* observed before we entered the village of Tsumje was at a fork in the mountain road. On it was sprinkled some boiled beans. A Sherpa accompanying us explained that it was called *lamche* or *lamchepha* and it was placed in the road whenever a traveller became ill outside the village in order that the evil spirits would not enter the village. When illness occurred inside the village, it was placed in the street outside the house. Our informant also told us that the *lamche* always consisted of three stones and that it was set up whenever there was illness, because illness was believed to be caused by the death spirit entering a person. The *Lamchepha* could be made either by a man or a woman. The beans and clothing sometimes placed on it were supposed to be of the nature of bribes to induce the death spirit to withdraw.

The Tsumje villagers understood the term *Lamchepha*, but also used the term *tho*. They said they usually set them up at road forks. Since their purpose was to avert evil, anyone could erect them. Apparently the most common occasion for their use was when someone became ill, in which case either the sick person or someone else would set one up. There were four kinds of harmful evil spirits: (1) *Shindre*, (2) *Sondre*, (3) *Nöpa*, and (4) *Hlandre*. The *Shindre* were the evil ghosts of dead persons, and the *Sondre* the jealousies of living persons. Illness was the result of an attack by the *Nöpa*, and the *Hlandre* were evil spirits that haunted roads. Whenever some calamity occurred, a *lama* using the sacred books as a horoscope would determine which evil spirits were responsible. The *Sondre*, or the evil spirit of human jealousy, impressed the writer as the most interesting of all. When this spirit was divined to be the source of trouble, the *lama* would sometimes advise sending a gift of food to the person who was supposed to be jealous. In addition, a *Lamchepha* would be built and some food would be cooked on a fire at the spot. The food would be properly prepared and seasoned, e. g. with chili, pepper, etc., so that it could be eaten. Then the afflicted person would shout, "Jealousy, I will give you this; so do not come again. If you do, I will tell the *lama* and have you killed!"

The last *Lamchepha* we saw is at Majhgaon (C. 75), located where the Buri Gandaki gorges end and the Lowland begins. This consists only of two stones. The villages immediately below the village of Majhgaon are completely Hinduistic in culture.

3. Religious Flags (*Tarchho*, *Tarbuche*, and *Lungda*)

Among the landmarks of religious significance there are no objects so clearly typical of Lamaistic culture as the religious flags. These are of



Fig. 89. Roof-top *Tarchho* (religious banners). At Pisang. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

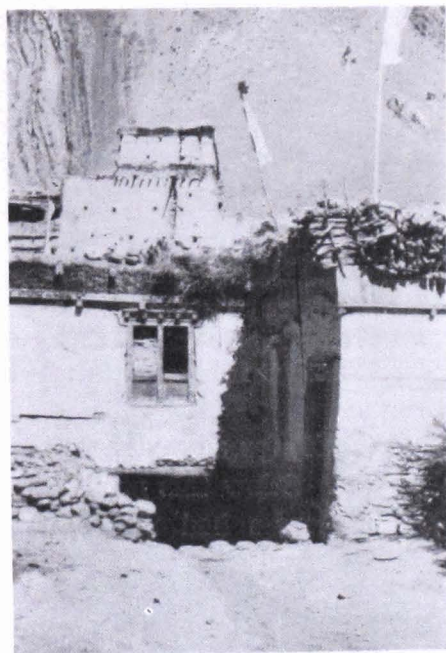


Fig. 90. Roof-top *Tarchho*. A tunnelling road is seen under the building. At Kagbeni. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

three types known as: (1) *tarchho* (also *tharcho*, *tharchho*, *dharcho*, *tarcho*, *dorje*), (2) *tarbuche*, and (3) *lungda* (or *lungtha*). Each type has distinctive features and the variety of its type and local nomenclature is less than the case of stone towers and stone piles. It should be noted that each of the three names contain the Tibetan word for horse, *ta*. The banners consist of three elements: The staff, the banner, and the ornament at the upper extremity, which will be referred to hereafter as the *Shükpa*. Hereafter, also the three type names will be capitalized, when used according to the definitions here given. The names by which they are known locally will be uncapitalized.⁵⁸⁾

The names of the three types of flags differ principally according to their location. Those erected on or near houses are *Tarchho*; Those found at a distance from private buildings or within the inner court of a gompa are *Tarbuche*; and those standing in other places such as at the gate of a village or in locations away from settled areas are *Lungda*.

The geographical distribution of the *Tarchho* may be said to be practically identical in scope with that of the Lamaist religion. In the Buri

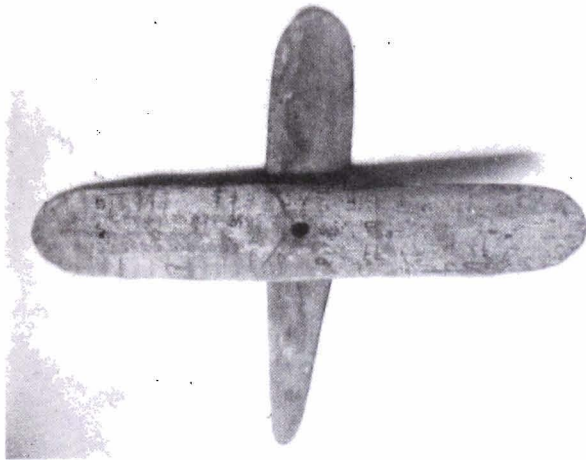


Fig. 91. A wooden propeller with sutra scripts attached to a *Tarchho* pole and turned by wind for the purpose of stopping the rainfall during the repair of a house.

Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21741.

Gandaki valley above Aga (C. 69) (or above Ngyak on the opposite bank), virtually every house had one. Below this point, however, between Philem and Jagāt only some of the houses had *Tarchho*, and below Jagāt there were none except a single instance, as already noted, near the upland vil-

58) In Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet* (p. 410) a *lama* refers to a certain flag as *Da-cha* (*dar-lcog*). This is same with the above-mentioned *tarchho*. Waddell states that the word is clearly a corruption of the Sanskrit *dhvaja* ("banner").

Hermanns states that *dar* means *vermehrten*. P. Matthias Hermanns (1949): *Die Nomaden von Tibet*. s. 51.

Fig. 92. *Tarre*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21738.

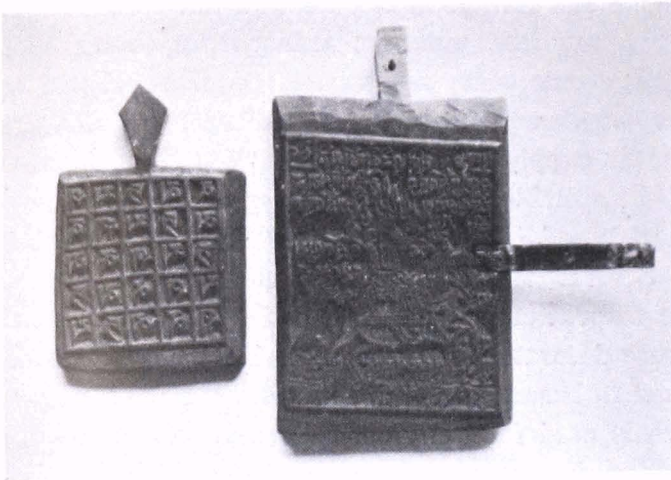
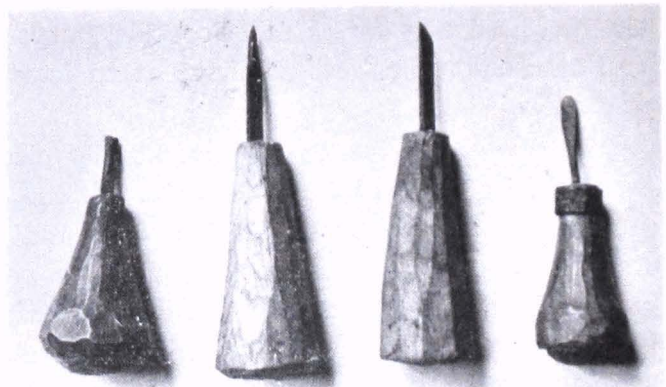


Fig. 93. Printing-blocks (*pharshing*) for *Tarre*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21739.

Fig. 94. Gravers for printing-blocks (*pharzon*). Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21740.



lage of Kasigaon. In the Marsyandi valley, supplementing our own observation with that of the 1952 expedition, we find that Thonje (C. 41) marks the lower limit of the *Tarchho*. In the Kali Gandaki valley, *Tarchho* were everywhere to be seen down to Ghasa (near C. 22). A few were observed on the farm houses near Dana, but further downstream they were totally nonexistent.

In the arid zone, the *Tarchho* are found mostly on the roofs of the flat-roofed dwellings. Often several might be seen on a single building, possibly because one such building houses several families. In other parts of the Highland, there is usually one *Tarchho* on each single-family type gable-roofed dwelling. In short, there tends to be one *Tarchho* per family.

Most *Tarchho* poles are made from conifer trees stripped of their bark, although in the lower regions such as the area near Dana, bamboo poles are used. Bamboo is scarce in the Highland, but it is widely used for making implements and utensils and is in great demand. Thus, for example, below Sama (C. 46-C. 47) we saw the villagers transporting bundles of green bamboo to their village from some downstream source. Again at Tsumje, where bamboo does not grow because of the altitude, the villagers go down into the valley for their supply. Unfortunately, this upland bamboo is far too thin and small to be suitable for *Tarchho* poles.

However, bamboo is widely used in places of worship either as *shide* or simply as decoration. Several of the stone monuments such as the *Risum Gonbo* at Thonje, the *Chorten* at Thilche, the *Thobo* near Bimtakothi, and the *mani* at Tsumje, were decorated with stalks of bamboo. Often, in addition, *shides* were attached to branches of the broad-leaved trees.

Bamboo is a plant which is used for religious worship. However, the writer does not think that there is any special reason other than the fact that bamboo like the conifer trees grows straight and erect, whereas most broad-leaved trees tend to branch and to bend in growth. The latter are, therefore, used only for *shide*. For this purpose, it is not necessary for those branches to be fresh and have green leaves as they do in the Lowland.

The banners on the *Tarchho* are usually pieces of white cloth on which sacred writings are printed. The size of one sample which we brought home with us from Tsumje is 175 cm long and 42 cm wide. The other is somewhat shorter and smaller. The villagers called the larger one a *tarre* (or *tharre*) and the smaller one a *shambū* (or *shambo*). We were told that the *shambū* was placed above *tarre*, but since all the *Tarchho* that we saw had only one banner, the writer is not clear about the distinction between the two. In this discussion, we will simply use the term *Tarre* to refer to either kind.

Sometimes in addition to scriptural inscriptions the *Tarre* may have animal motifs printed on them. It should be noted that the horse was most common. In one of his samples appears a horse carrying three treasures on its back. The same motif is found on the illustrated cards used in the village for the *Thüje Chhembo* festival, which we will describe later. Among the seven different pictures in each set of these festival cards is one showing a horse bearing the three treasures. This is the card representing the god known as *Tacho Rinchen*. It is true that this particular card also shows a yak and a snake, but the *ta-* in the name of the god means "horse." Samples of these cards, known as *Tyasin Nadung*, have been brought back with us and are now in the Ethnological Museum in Tokyo.

In a few exceptional places one may see *Tarre* coloured red as well as white. Thus at Tarangchung (C. 39-C. 40) in the upper Marsyandi valley, we saw *Tarre* with the bottom one-third of which is dyed red. In the villages between it and Thonje (C. 41) we sometimes saw a white *Tarre* with a piece of red cloth attached under it. All these villages are in the region mentioned above as the zone of the most elaborate *Risum Gonbo*. It is here that we find the *Risum Gonbo* with their towers and the *Tarre* of the *Lungda* on them coloured white, red, and black, or sometimes, yellow and green. And it is not far away at Larkya La that we find *Laptse* with red and green *shides*. The use of colour on the *Tarrchho* and the similar use of colour on the stone monuments, the writer believes, are related.

In the villages just mentioned and on up to Thilche, there is another common peculiarity which has to do with the form of the *Shükpa*. The *Shükpa* here is not something separately attached to the top of the flag but consists of the top foliage of the tree which is used as the flag pole. A pine tree stripped of branches and bark is usually used as the flag pole in this region. It will be recalled that this is the kind of pole stuck on the *Thobo* at Dhorzhong (C. 50) in the Buri Gandaki valley (p. 162). The geographical distribution of this practice also corresponds to that of the *Risum Gonbo*.

Our discussion of the *Shükpa* will include those found on the *Tarbuche* as well as the *Tarchho*. There are three kinds of *Shükpa*: (1) those consisting of conifer leaves fastened to the end of the pole, (2) those consisting of the top foliage of conifer trees left on the pole, and (3) those consisting of swords and the like fastened to the pole. Of these, the first type is most common. In general the leaves used are those most easily available in the vicinity. Thus, in most places the foliage of the juniper and cypress are most widely used, especially in the arid zone. There is perhaps another reason for the use of these trees, namely, fragrance of their foliage. Indeed, the junipers and cypresses are locally referred to as "trees of fragrance," and are highly esteemed for their scent. Dr. K. Imanishi of the

1952 expedition tells of meeting some natives in the Marsyandi valley returning from a pilgrimage to Muktinath. They were carrying some junipers home with them as gifts and presented him a branch.

One point worthy of consideration here is the meaning of the term *Shükpa*. *Shükpa* or *shüppa* is the Tibetan word for "wing."

The villagers of Tsumje referred to the trees of the genus *Juniperus* as *shükpa tonbo*, a term which, according to a Sherpa informant, was the same as that used in Tibet (specifically, the Hlása (Lhasa) area). Incidentally, this Sherpa also told us that the Tibetan word for the pine (*Pinus*) was *mödang donbu*, for the fir (*Abies*) *takshin donbu*, and for the larch (*Larix*) *Hheshin donbu*. *Donbu* or *tonbo* is the word for large trees or thick firewood as opposed to small trees or brushwood which are called *shing*. Now, the juniper, which is thus, literally, "the *shükpa* tree," is not called so, the writer feels, because of its wing-shaped leaves, but rather in the sense of "the tree used for the *Shükpa* of the *Tarchho*." It is a custom in the Highland region to name things after their use. Thus *mö* in the Tibetan word for the pine tree means "fire" and throughout the Highland the resinous wood of the pine is still used for torches.

It seems appropriate here to consider the function of the *Tarchho* with respect to Heaven or the concept of communication with Heaven. Perhaps Kunio Yanagida's suggestive idea—the idea that the banners used in village festivals of Japan are intended to serve as markers to show the gods in heaven the site of the festival⁵⁹⁾—can provide us with a clue for understanding the function of the *Tarchho*, which not only is a banner but also has the *Shükpa*, and named after the wings of birds that fly in the sky and made of fragrant juniper leaves, as a means to establish contact with Heaven. Hermanns, writing about the Tibetan nomads of Tshinghai Province, mentions their custom of erecting poles called *Dar po che* or *Dar lcog* by their tents. Their purpose, he indicates, is to serve as a means of intercourse with Heaven.⁶⁰⁾

At Kagbeni we saw a villager, whose house was next to our lodgings, and who is a male house master, replacing the dead juniper leaves of the *Shükpa* of his roof top *Tarchho* with some fresh ones. Beside him on the roof was a fire pan in which some green juniper leaves were smoking, the fragrant smoke rising into the blue sky. Along the edge of our roof were a number of chimney-like projections about 40 cm square. On them were planted some juniper trees which were decorated with strips of cloth, *shide*-style, and with goat skulls. These were *Shükpa* which needed no replace-

59) Kunio Yanagida, (1942): *Festivals of Japan* (in Japanese).

60) Hermanns, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

ment. The scent of conifer trees is used also for religious purposes. When we were shown the Chhunga Phu *gompa* at Tsumje, the family of *lama* accompanied us to the temple, carrying shallow braziers in which various coniferous and rhododendron leaves were burning. They placed these smoking braziers on the altar before they worshipped.

The Tsumje villagers generally subscribed to the often reported belief that each time when the sutra-inscribed *Tarre* on the *Tarchho* fluttered in the wind, they acquired merit equivalent to a recitation of the sutra. This is, of course, similar to the principle of the *mani* (prayer) wheel, but it would be risky to limit ourselves to such an interpretation. As we will note later, the native concepts of the nature of wind and its physical effects differ from ours.

The green leaves of the *Shükpa* soon wither and so have to be replaced. As we saw at Kagbeni and in the case of the *Lungda* on the *Risum Gonbo* at Lho, only men were supposed to do replacing. This was also the case at Tsumje. In Tsumje, however, the villagers seemed to be somewhat lax, because practically all of the *Shükpa* there had turned brown. One of the villagers explained that it was the custom to replace the *Shükpa* once a year. The old leaves were left on so that the top of the pole would not be bare. It was further explained that the *Tarchho* was intended to keep the evil spirits away from the house. Thus it had the same function as the *Tarbuche* and *Lungda*. A roof under repair in Tsumje had two sets of double wind wheels (Sample in EM) attached to the *Tarchho* about half-way up the flagstaff. These, we learned, were called *korlo*. They were propeller-shaped and had sacred writings on them. Their function was same with that of the *mani* wheels, and they were put up temporarily during building operations to check rain. (Fig. 91 in p. 166.)

In Tsumje any male could erect a *Tarchho* and print the *Tarre*. The printing blocks were called *lungdai phar* or *lungdai pharshin* ("printing blocks for *Lungda*") and were used in sets to print the *Tarchho* designs. The sample we brought back to the Ethnological Museum are blocks which were not designed by a lama, but by an artisan who had resided for a long time in a nearby village. All this suggests that the *Tarchho* is not as much respected at Tsumje as it is elsewhere. Also, although this is not peculiar to Tsumje, the *lama* seemed to have little to do with the religious rites connected with the *Tarchho*.

There are places where the *lama* participates. Such a place was Dana in the lower Kali Gandaki valley. The village is in the Hinduistic cultural zone but it had a few houses displaying *Tarchho*—the homes of communicants of the once famous *gompa* of Tukucha. The writer met the *lama* of this *gompa* by chance at the Mahakali shrine in Dana, and found him to

be an intellectual man who claims to have studied Buddhism in Tibet.

The Lamaist families in this area are members of the Takali tribe and according to an informant in Ghasa, the middle and lower classes of farmers constitute the main elements of the Lamaist community. The *Tarchho* is called *dorje* in this area. Once a year the Lamaist families are visited by the *lama* to have their fortunes for the year ahead told. The *lama* learns the ages and birth dates of the family members and makes his predictions after consulting the sacred writings. If the fortune predicted is bad and there is danger of visitations by evil spirits, the *lama* conducts a service on behalf of the family. This service appears to be roughly the standard Lamaist rite for such occasions. The *lama* first makes a *thorma*, a cone-shaped cake of dough, with some barley flour furnished by the family. This is coloured red and is supposed to represent the seat of deity. Bowing before this *thorma*, the *lama* repeats two or three secret words, sounding a bell and a drum from time to time. During the service, the *lama* is served food and tea. After this is over, the *lama* goes outside the house, and utters other secret words which are supposed to bind the family to the *lama's* holy power and to protect it against evil spirits. Finally, the *Tarre* is raised on the *Tarchho*.

There were some houses with *Tarchho* poles on which either the *Shükpa* or the *Tarre* were missing. Whether this was because these houses had good fortunes predicted for them the previous year, the writer does not know. Generally speaking, houses without *Tarre* were relatively numerous in Tsumje, while in the Kagbeni area practically every house displayed a *Tarre*.

The third type of *Shükpa* consisted of swords, which are always mounted vertically with their points upward toward heaven. There are two kinds of swords used; the straight sword and the trident. The typical Tibetan sword is usually straight. In Tsumje, it is known as *thi* or *thigu*. The Sherpas call it *gabti*, *thi*, or *thijun*. The typical curved sword of the Nepalese Lowland, the *kukri*, was referred to in Tsumje as *korben* and distinguished from the *thi*. The contrast between the straight and curved sword types is clearly brought out in the sword displays of the famous Royal Museum at Patan. The two types might well be called the Highland and Lowland types, respectively.

In the Highland swords were apparently worn even by common villagers in past. Today they are regarded only as antiques. At Tsumje swords have not been worn, it appears, for over a generation or two. These ancient weapons are now kept, interestingly enough, in temples. In Tukucha, for example, we visited the *chogang* (Tib., "family temple," "family altar room") of a certain family and saw there a collection of ancient weapons

Fig. 95. Ancient weapons seen in a *chhogang* (worshipping room). At Tukucha. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

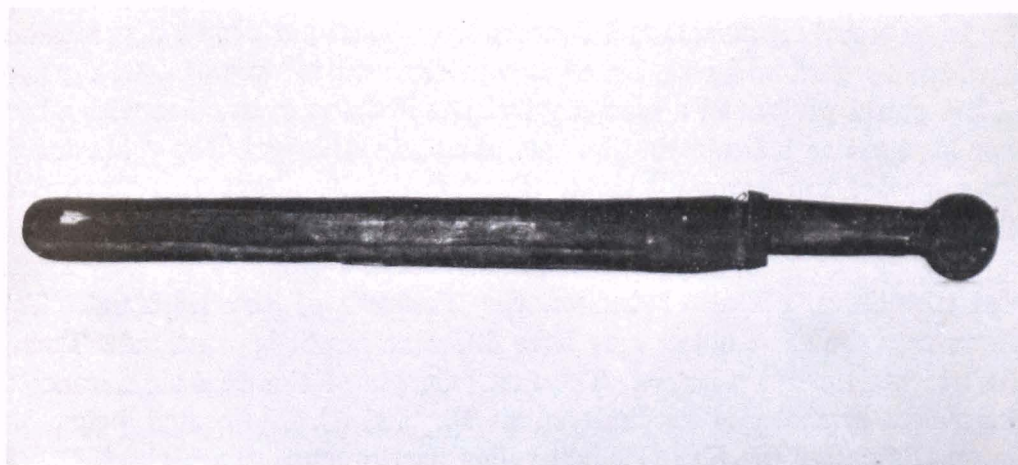
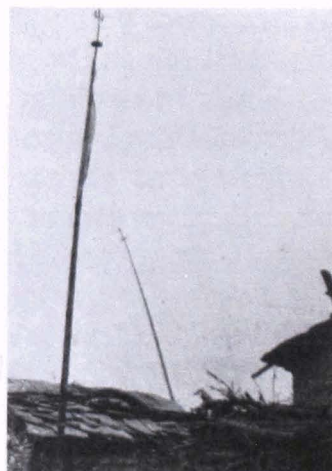


Fig. 96. A Tibetan sword *thi* or *thigu*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21719.

Fig. 97. A *Tarbuche* standing beside *gompa* (Lama temple). Note *katam* (trident) at upper extremity. At Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



displayed above the doorway on the wall facing the altar. This was in an area where the Highland and Lowland cultures overlap; so the collection contained examples of both curved and straight swords. They seemed very old. Among the swords were a short dagger with a triangular blade and a pistol with a tiny barrel about 20 cm long. Ancient swords were also to be seen beside the central image in the Chhunga Phu temple at Tsumje.

Sword *Shükpa* are most frequently found on the *Tarbuche* in the inner courtyards of temples, but occasionally they may be also found on the *Tarchho* of private houses, as for example in one of the settlements in Tsumje village called Shimmushe. This settlement will be described later. However, the first two types of *Shükpa*, which we have already discussed, are by far the most common among the houses.

The use of swords as *Shükpa* suggests that they too are believed to possess sacred power. At a festival the writer observed at Pisang (C. 39) a troupe of traveling players and dancers from Tibet performed a pantomime in which a sword was represented as having magical power. One player with a sword performed a long magical rite in front of another with a hood over his head to indicate that he was blind. In the end, the "blindman" was supposed to recover his sight. (Further details about this festival at Pisang will be given later (pp.184-87).)

The trident, which in the iconography of the Lowland is usually associated with Shiva,⁶¹⁾ is also found on the *Tarbuche* of the Highland. This shows how the same object may have different symbolic uses. At Tsumje the trident is called a *katam*. The first example of the dual significance of the trident symbol was encountered at Phalatei (C. 20) located below the Gorge District of the Kali Gandaki valley northwest of the highest Deorali pass. Here we saw a small trident on the roof ridge of a gable-type slate-roofed house. We were told by the villagers that it had a dual function: (1) as a religious symbol representing the trident of *Mahadeo* (Shiva), and (2) as a means of protecting the house from thunderbolts. Thunder plays an important role in the nature lore of the Highland peoples.

Similarly, on the roof ridge of the main hall of the splendid *gompa* at Tukucha, there is a trident. In the inner courtyard of this temple a tall *Tarbuche* soars skyward, while on the monks' quarters surrounding the court there are two or three *Tarchho*. Thus, the trident as well as the straight sword can be regarded as having two significances. One is that like *Shükpa* they represent communication with Heaven. Its association with thunder is probably suggestive. The other is their function as a means of exorcising evil spirits—a question we have already discussed.

61) See the image of Shiva in Darbar Square, Katmandu. (Fig. 67 in p. 126.)

The unusually high frequency of references to *dru* among the responses to the Rorschach Test the writer made at Tsumje is most significant. *Dru* means "lightning," but it is not a natural phenomenon as we conceive it. It is something with feet and a tail and quasi-human or quasi-animal characteristics. If put in terms familiar to the Japanese their conception is probably something like saying that a lightning flash is ascent of a dragon to heaven. In C. Bell's grammar, the Tibetan word *dorje* is rendered "a sacred thunder-bolt." *Dorje* is the term for *Tarchho* in the Kali Gandaki region. However, the writer feels that to conclude therefore that the *Tarchho* and lightning are necessarily related would be over hasty. Nevertheless, it does seem that lightning has some kind of association with these people's worship of Heaven.⁶²⁾

It might be added here that, even though the *dru* may be conceived of as something akin to the dragon, it does not necessarily follow that there is any connection between this and the worship of snake which constitutes an essential part of the culture of the Lowland. At least in the minds of the inhabitants themselves, there is apparently no relationship whatever. The writer has found only two examples himself. One is the picture of a snake in one of the illustrated cards, *Tyasin Nadung*, used in a Tsumje festival. The snake is clasped in the hand of a three-eyed demon-like god called *Khimdak Rinchen*. This is quite a different thing from the veneration and worship of poisonous snakes. The other example is a snake carved on wood used to put a design on the *thorma*, (a cake of dough) used in the festivals at Tsumje. Here the snake is shown merely as one of many other animals representing evil spirits. (See Fig. 101 in p. 180.)

Turning now to the *Lungda*, the writer will limit his discussion to those already mentioned in our discussion so far. There are certain tendencies with respect to the location of the *Lungda*. In the first place they are found in dangerous places. A typical site is by the bridges. They are found on the suspension bridges spanning large and swift mountain streams, and also frequently seen by the small bridges. They are usually elected on the bridge approach. Sometimes, *shides* hung on the branches of trees, substitute for *Lungda*. Not only are *Lungda* sometimes replaced by *shides*, but there are also many instances where the two forms are combined in what appears to be a transitional form. These consist of strips of cotton cloth printed with sacred texts and hung on tree branches. The cloth banners range from fairly wide ones to thin tape-like strips. Their function

62) It is quite interesting that when Saint Padma Sanbhava entered Tibet through the Himalayas, many devils tried to hinder his travel. Among the weapons and means used by these devils, thunderbolts are frequently stated. And most of the devils are female in sex.

Cf. L. A. Waddell (1939, 2nd ed.): *Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*. pp. 382-84.

is either very much like that of the *Lungda*, or they are thought of as the same thing by the natives. Hence, in our description of the *Lungda* they are included.

The *Lungda* and sutra-inscribed banners are found wherever landscape inspires awe. Waterfalls are an example. The Vacant Shrine that we saw near Dana must have had some relation to the nearby waterfall. Underneath the waterfall there was a *shide*. (See p. 151.) Again by a small waterfall near Bimtakothi (C. 43), there was a *Lungda*. Hot springs are similarly objects of worship as evidenced by the presence of many Vacant Shrines with shides in the vicinity of the hot spring at Tat Pani (C. 21). At Tseme (C. 40) there is a hot spring with shides around it and, in addition, a large inscription—Om Mani Padme Hum—carved on the face of a cliff in colours. A Muktinath, the site of the sacred fire and springs, the main shrine is, as has been already pointed out, that of Hinduism, and the poplar trees outside the shrine grounds are covered with numerous sutra-inscribed banners. Behind the spring, at a place where the sound of a subterranean stream can be heard, we saw no *Lungda* but many stone *mani dokö* lying on the ground. The two other temples in Muktinath are clearly more Lamaistic than Hindu, with stone piles, stone towers, and *Lungda* all around them. Indeed, the main shrine struck us as a lonely Hindu island in the sea of Lamaistic culture.

Large cliffs are also an awe-inspiring natural feature. We have already described an example of one of these (pp. 154-55), where sutra banners were hung on the top branches of trees. On rare occasions *Lungda* were seen on tree tops in the thick forests. We saw our first example of this in a wooded area below the Deorali pass (C. 18-C. 19). We were told by a native that this *Lungda* was there to protect the travelers. The reason was probably because evil spirits such as the *Dui*, mentioned earlier, were supposed to frequent such spots. The porters, whom we hired at Thonje and Bimtakothi, had one of their members carry a kind of portable *Lungda* which was set up each time we reached a camp site. It was a juniper stripped of leaves except at the top. Beneath this *Shükpa* was attached a cluster of sutra inscribed banners.

Dangerous places are, of course, also likely to be places where nature inspires awe. Hence, it is difficult to distinguish between the two. However, it can be said that these two criteria seem to determine the location of *Lungda* and the like. It would not, therefore, be strange to find that the *Lungda* and *shides* are also associated with such awe-inspiring manifestations of nature as the summits of mountain passes or lightning. Like the *Tarchho* and *Tarbuche*, their function seems to be without any question to establish intercourse with the gods, to drive away evil spirits, and to

afford protection against danger. The *Lungda* on the *Risum Gonbo* mounted on a *Kani* and the *Lungda* carried on a journey are charms against the evil spirits and the sutra-inscribed banners at the summit of a pass or on top of a tree suggest intercourse with the heavenly gods.

The *lung* in *Lungda* means "wind" in Tibetan. It is also found in the word "*lungpa*" which means "mountain stream." In both words, reference is made to something that flows. The concept of spirits--both benevolent and evil--being transported by the wind is, of course, universal, but it seems to be held very strongly here. The violent wind is called *lilakpa*. According to our Rorschach Test results many responses suggest belief in the mysterious power of the wind.

4. Nature, Concept of Nature, and Nature Deities

(1) Plants

In the Highland there are very few examples of plants, as such, which are invested with a religious character. Green leaves which are so important as votive offerings to the gods in the Lowland worship are not used at all in this way in the Highland. The only exception will be the use of green leaves with the *Lamchepha*, but this cannot be regarded as having the same significance as offerings of leaves in the Lowland. The reason for the use of fresh conifer foliage in the *Shükpa* seem to be because the conifer



Fig. 98. "Om mani padme hum." carved with coloured letters on a rock surface just above a hot spring. At Tseme. Autumn of 1952. Photo. by S. Takebushi

fers are fragrant and are straight and tall and the foliage used is located at the topmost extremity of the tree. If these requirements are satisfied, substitutes are acceptable. Thus the fragrance that the juniper provides can be supplied by any other coniferous trees, and the foliage can be replaced altogether by a sword. Since the trees on which the sutra-banners are hung should be tall and straight, the conifers are favoured, but at the Deorali Pass deciduous broad-leaved trees are also used. Indeed, the supports need not be living trees at all. Thus, we have *Tarchho* poles made of trees stripped of their bark or, in certain localities, of cut bamboo.

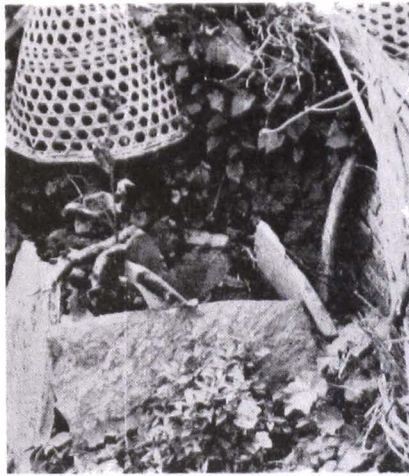


Fig. 99. A medical plant *manu* (*Inula racemosa* Hooker). At Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

In the Highland there are many local names for plants, but generally speaking, plant varieties are only loosely and roughly classified. This is in contrast to the Lowland where the people, using Nepali names, appear to distinguish carefully one plant from another. The Highlanders use such terms as *Marpo-Mendo* (Tib., "red flowers") and *Serpo-Mendo* (Tib., "yellow flowers") to designate several varieties of plants. At Tsumje, we were told that some of the villagers learned the names of quite a number of plants, but this was because the village was frequently visited by an *amji* (Tib., "doctor") from Tibet, who would have them collect certain grasses and shrubs for medicinal purposes. Botanical education, however, was limited to only a few of the villagers.

The only plant about which any special concern was seen is a herb called *Manu*. This herb, a large-leaved plant, belongs to the family of *Compositae* and has the scientific name *Inula racemosa* Hooker f. Like the *Turshi* we saw in the Lowland, the *Manu* is carefully cultivated under woven bamboo shelters in the upper Buri Gandaki villages. They were re-

lately rare, and we saw only a few examples. When Mr. Sasuke Nakao, the writer's colleague, attempted to pick a specimen in one village, he was looked at angrily by its owner. At Tsumje we saw some of this *Manu* grown under a bamboo shelter in a tiny plot about six feet square. This plot happened to be near the house of Baru, the old man with whom we stayed, while in Tsumje. There was, we learned, only one other such plot in the entire village. We were told that the plant was a medicinal herb originally brought from Tibet and it would wither, if its flowers were picked, and that, interestingly enough, it would also die, if touched by a woman. However, despite a thorough inquiry, we found no evidence that this plant was an object of worship. It is valued solely as a medicinal herb (its roots apparently supplied an aromatic essence), although actually in this village it is never used for medicinal purposes.

Thus, it appears that in the culture of the Highland the role of plants is relatively insignificant and they are regarded purely from a materialistic point of view. However, the Rorschach Test given at Tsumje revealed that plants as well as animals are regarded as "alive." For example, there were such responses as: "This is a tree growing up between its two parent trees pushing them apart," or "This is a tree root forcing its way into the earth." This point deserves further study.

(2) Animals

The animals associated with religion are much more numerous and varied than in the Lowlands.

The fauna one finds on the *mani dokö* of the *Möndan* include many kinds of birds and beasts. These, moreover, are often given semi-human form and represent either gods or evil spirits. Similar animal forms are also to be seen in the animal masks at the Chhunga Phu temple at Tsumje. In this village the general term for mask is *ba*, but this particular kind of mask is called *rüta* (or *ruta*). When a sick person is about to die, several people under the direction of a *lama* perform a dance in the dying person's presence wearing these masks. This is supposed to familiarize the dying person with the terrifying faces of evil spirits so that he would not be intimidated by them after death. The dancers are usually members of the family who have had some religious instruction.

Among the religious paraphernalia we collected at Tsumje there is an object known as the *sambar* (see Figs. 100 & 101). This is a sort of mould used to impress a design on the girdle of kneaded *tsampa* dough (parched wheat, the staple food of the Tibetans) that is wrapped around the *thorma*, the cone-shaped cake of dough (already described) used in Lamaist religious rites. The mould is a thick, oblong piece of wood on which are carved

various designs. It is thinly coated with butter and pressed against the *tsampa* dough to transfer the design. There are, we were told, eight different *sambar* designs, the choice of which is determined by divination.

The designs have a charming primitiveness about them. They include figures of gods and evil spirits, pictures of Lamaist religious implements, divination symbols, and astrological signs. The figures of the gods are all

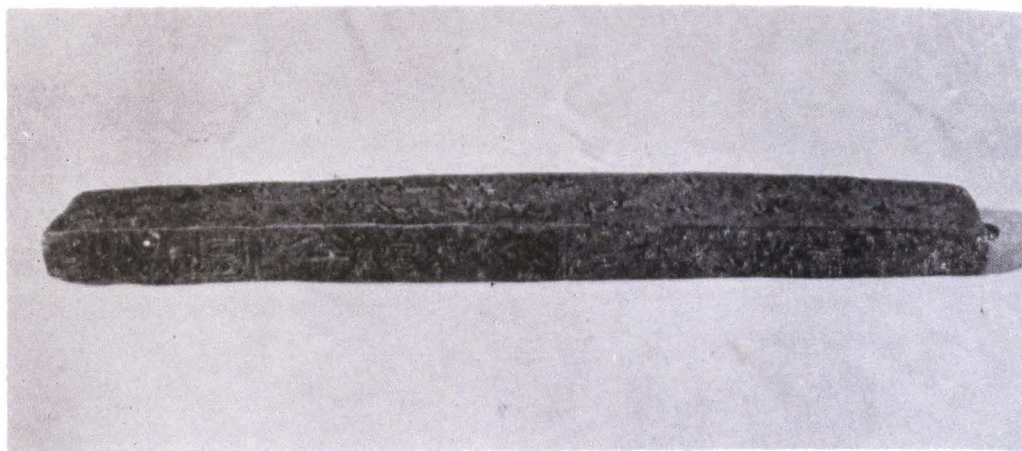


Fig. 100. *Sambar*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21722.

Column I

II

III

IV

V

VI

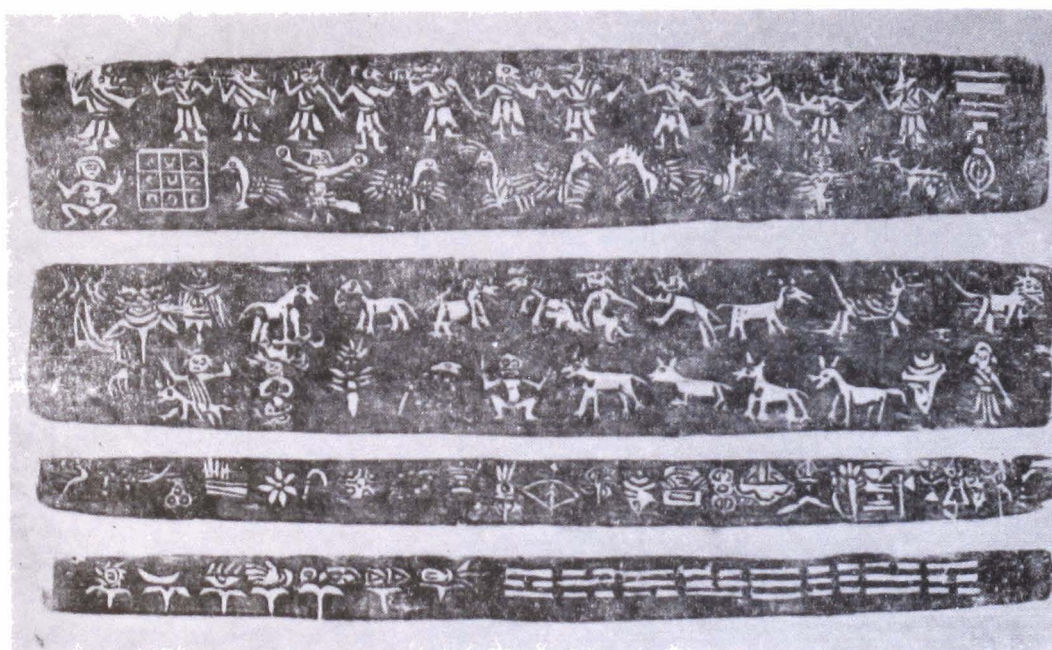


Fig. 101. Designs carved on *sambar*. Column I: all gods; II: all devils; a lama bell is seen at the right end; III and IV: all are devils; V: all are lama's utensils; VI: signs of the days of the week in the left half, and the signs of the divination of date in the right half. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum.

anthropomorphic, while those of evil spirits are zoomorphic and include birds, snakes, and insects, as well as beasts. Thus, with the exception of domesticated animals, the tendency is to regard all animals as symbols of evil spirits.

Finally, let us consider some festivals held in the spring in the villages of the Highland to drive away evil spirits. Here we find the animal masks of the type used in the *rüta* described above. In some places traveling performers seem to use them in the rites.

The spring festival at Tsumje is called the *Nara Tsam Drumchhö*. (*Drumchhö* is Tibetan for "festival.") It is held once a year "from the *Tshe chönga* to the *Tshe chobgye* of the *Dawa Shipa*," i. e., from the fifteenth day to the eighteenth day of the fourth month of the Tibetan calendar.⁶³) This corresponds to May 27-30 according to the solar calendar. This particular festival is not held at the village *gompa* but within one of the three *tsosum*⁶⁴) of the village, the site being rotated each year. Each *tsosum* has an open space called a *nara nyertsan* where tents are put up for this festival.

This festival is an ancient one and is intended to purify the village. The ceremony at the festival consists of a worship service conducted by the *lama* and a dance performed by fourteen male members of the village. (Women are not allowed to participate in this dance.) The other villagers put on their best clothes and come to watch the dancers who may be any male villager who has a certain amount of Lamaist training. The dance music is played by a hand drum (*dalü*), bells (*thrübu*), and horns (*thogun*). The lama's function is to invite all the evil spirits to a feast after which they are driven out of the village.

Since our information comes only from account by the villagers, a detailed description of the ceremonies is not possible. The following three implements, however, are used in the proceedings: (1) a horn called a *mikang* made of human bone with which the evil spirits are summoned (Fig. 105), (2) a *thorma* with which to feed them, and (3) a sling called *hrurdho chimi guti* (Figs. 106 and 107) with which to cast them out.

(1) *Mikang*. This horn is about 30 cm long and is made from a human thigh-bone. *Mi* means "human" or "man," while *kang* or *kangba* denotes "leg." The sample that we brought home with us is, according to the villagers, of extremely ancient make. When blown, it gives forth a weird

63) June 18, 1953, was the sixth day of the fifth month of the Tibetan calendar in Tsumje. Calculated on the basis of thirty days for each Tibetan calendar month, the differential between the Tibetan and the solar calendar's dates should be about forty-two days. This will be the figure used hereafter.

64) Separate clan-settlements within the village are called *tsosum*. See p. 239.

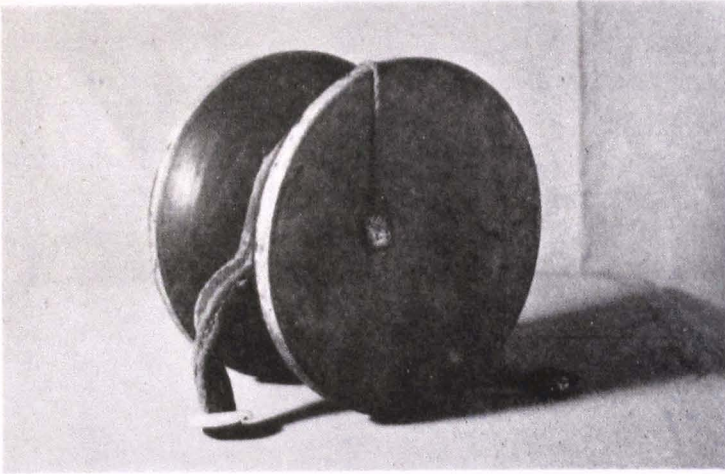


Fig. 102. *Dalu* (Sherpa dialect: *damaru*), hand-drum. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21721.

Fig. 103. *Phumba*, a utensil for worshipping. Filled with sacred water, this jar is put on the right-hand side (seen from the god) of the *thorma*. After finishing the rite, the lama blesses the visitors with *tshebung* and then with sacred water, sprinkling it from his hand. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21723



Fig. 104. *Tshebung*, a utensil for worshipping. It is put on the left-hand side (seen from the god) of the *thorma*. See the explanation of *phumba*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21724.

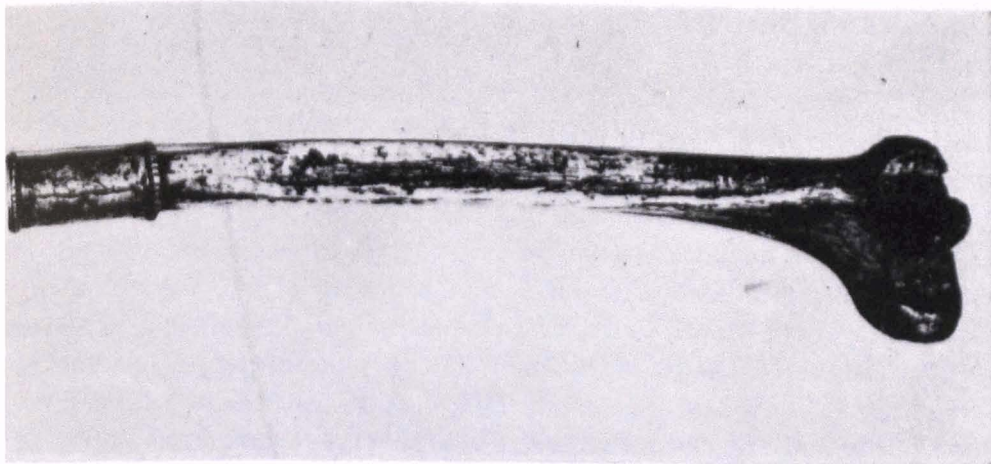


Fig. 105. *Mikang*, a horn made of human thigh-bone. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21720

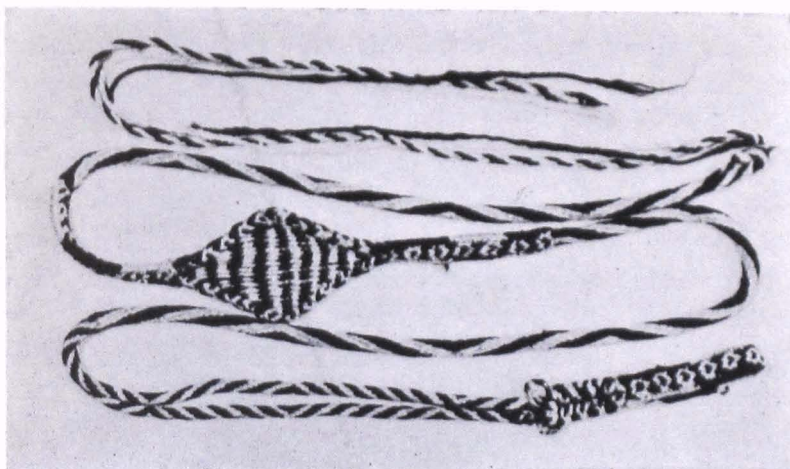


Fig. 106. *hrurdho chimi guti*, a sling. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21725.

Fig. 107. Wielding a sling *hrurdho*. At Tsumje. July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



sound like the distant baying of a wolf. This is supposed to summon the gods and evil spirits.

(2) *Thorma*. This has already been described. At Tsumje there is another word, *ombo*, used to refer to something similar to the *thorma*. The writer was not able, however, to learn how these two words differ or what kind of *thorma* was used during this festival. In general, *thorma* are made from *tsampa* or flour made from wheat, barley, or buckwheat. It is interesting to note that the invited gods and evil spirits are feasted with this food which is the staple among the peoples of the Tibetan culture zone.

(3) *Hrurdho chimi guti*. *Hrurdho* is the general word for the stone-throwing slings used in this area. They are usually made of plaited goat or yak hair and are about two meters long. One end of the sling has a loop through which the index finger of one hand is thrust. The other end is grasped by the same hand. A stone is placed in the pocket of the sling and whirled around. When one end of the sling is released, the stone flies through the air with terrific speed. The sling is now used mainly to drive away birds and monkeys from the fields, but apparently at one time it was used as a weapon of war. This kind of *hrurdho* was also observed to have been used by a young Gurung boy in the Buri Gandaki Gorge District.

The sling used by the *lama* in the festival was, however, a special kind called *hrurdho chimi guti* or "nine-eyed sling." The pocket of this sling has nine strips woven of black hair.⁶⁵) At the end of the *Nara Tsam Drumchhö* the evil spirits which have been trapped within the *thorma* by some magic words of the *lama* are evicted from the village, when the *lama* places the *thorma* in this sling and casts it away.

According to the villagers of Tsumje, the *Nara Tsam* in the name of the festival refers to the gods and evil spirits. *Nara* is related to *Narak*, a Buddhist term for Hades, but in Tsumje all the deities depicted in the *thangka* (the painted religious scroll in Tibet) in the village *gompa* are called *naratsam*. Some of these deities have the faces of birds or animals. Unfortunately, we were unable to confirm whether or not the *rüta* masks are used at the time of this festival.

The spring festival we observed at Pisang (C. 39) on May 25 struck us. It is a counterpart of the *Nara Tsam* festival of Tsumje. The dates and duration were roughly the same: May 25 was the last day of a four-day celebration. The two festivals were, however, somewhat different in content. Although what the writer saw was only a portion, let him describe his first-hand observation of the Pisang festival.

65) In Lamaistic culture, the even numbers are thought to be unlucky, while the odd numbers bring good luck.

Since the yaks we used to carry our baggages were not to go below Pisang, it was necessary for us to recruit some porters in this village. However, because of the festival we were only able to hire seven porters. (Most of them were waiting around to offer their services. They were the proletariat of the villages in this area—a study of whom might throw light on an interesting sociological problem. Their background and that of the itinerant performers who participated in the festival may be related.) Accordingly, we decided to stay until the following night in the area. Leaving our camp below the village a little after 3 p. m., the writer went up to the village to watch the festival. It was being held in a small open square in the middle of a thickly clustered group of Tibetan-type flat-roofed houses. Practically the entire population of the village—young and old, male and female—was assembled here to watch the dancing of a group of travelling performers. The outhor's arrival drew the attention of the villagers from the dancers. When he gave five rupees to the dancers, they thanked him and put the money in a grain measure placed beside a pile of corn in the centre of the square. Others would contribute half-rupee coins from time to time, but his was practically the only large contribution. Sometimes a cigarette would be tossed in to the dancers. The dancers included men and women of all ages and some children. They looked like one large family. Their costumes were generally Tibetan in style, but there were all sorts of variations. Their headgears included an archaic crown-like item called *ngothong*, coloured turbans, Gurkha military hats, and Tibetan hats (*shade tshiring*). On their feet they wore the Tibetan boot (*thezong*) or Western-style black shoes, if they were not barefooted. They also wore masks made of cardboard representing supernatural beings such as bird goblins as well as human faces. Their design resembled that of the *rüta* masks. One mask was the comically coloured face of an old woman.

The performance included dancing, group singing, solo singing, dramatic dialogues, and clownish antics which were presented both simultaneously and separately. The previously mentioned sword show representing the curing of a blind person was one of the numbers presented (cf. p. 174). Most of the "acts," dances and skits were short, lasting only about a minute, so that the show moved fast and was full of variety. Occasional musical accompaniments were furnished by tom-toms and hand drums. The rhythmic quality of the songs sung to accompaniment was far more dynamic than the slow and monotonous tempo of the hums heard in the Hinduistic zone.

The audience around the square and on the roofs watched the performance in complete absorption. In the intervals between the numbers the performers would drink wine from a container placed in the centre of the



Fig. 108. *Phakchen* festival at Pisang.—1. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 109. *Phakchen* festival at Pisang.—2. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

"stage." A few of the spectators were also drinking. The writer noticed some mothers giving some strong wine to their unweaned babies. About 4:30 p. m., while the dancing was still in progress, he returned to the camp.

From one of our porters (who originally came from Shigatse in Tibet but was settled in this village some two or three years before), the writer learned that this festival was called the *Phakchen* festival, that the spectators were all Pisang villagers, and that the performers were known as *showa*, or sometimes, *mana* and were professionals who come annually from the Hlasa, Shigatse, or Gyantse area of Tibet. Our interpreter, who was unfriendly toward Tibetan culture, declared, "Those travelling performers call themselves *lama*, but they are no more than beggars who travel from village to village. Today's event was not a festival. The performers came here and the villagers had merely gathered to enjoy the show." Later the writer was told by a Sherpa that there were two kinds of travelling performers, the *maniya* or *maniwa* and the *deakar*. The former were those who put on their performance at a specific place in the village, while the latter were those who went begging from door to door. *Mana*, *maniya*, and *maniwa* are probably related terms, meaning "*mani* people."⁶⁶⁾

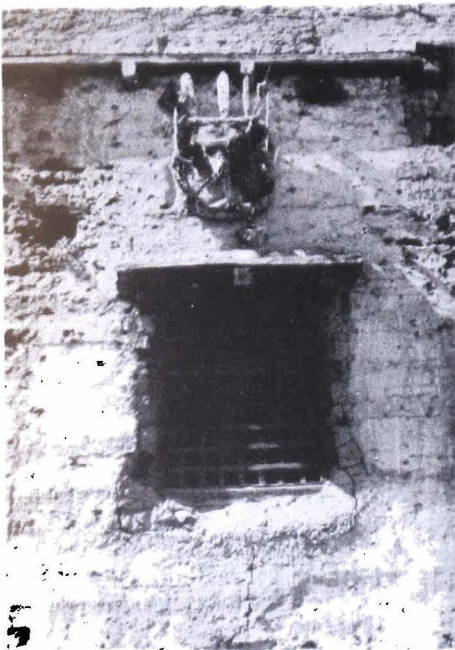


Fig. 110. A deer skull with *ngothong* (crown). At Kagbeni. April, 1953. Photo. by. Kawakita

66) Kawaguchi in his work already cited describes a kind of fancy cress procession which concludes the great Buddhist ceremony called *Cho-en joe* at Hlasa. The *rita* representing various animals and the costumes representing folk customs which appear in this procession are clearly same as those observed in the festivals and ceremonies we have described.

At Kagbeni (C. 33) there are no festivals of the kind we have been describing. There is a public house in this village used by the villagers as a common meeting place, but it is not a specifically religious facility. It cannot be used by the outsiders without permission of the villagers. But the name of this building is called *nyertsang* as in the case of Tsumje, and a skull symbol of deer was observed outside the room (see Fig. 110 and p. 63). We also saw a man and wife team of traveling musicians from Tibet in this village. They sang lively rhythmic songs to the accompaniment of a *thaminye*, a Tibetan lute. These are probably to be classed as *deakar* according to the Sherpa's classification. There was nothing to connect their activity with a festival to exorcise the evil spirits, and if they were only traveling performers, their counterparts could also be found in the Lowland. The latter would, however, use a lute of Lowland design which is different from the *thaminye*.

A Sherpa named Hlakpa, a man of religious bent, showed us a thangka one day and explained it to the writer. On the thangka there is a bird-faced figure resembling the crow goblin. This, he said, is called a *Kyüng-nak* or *Chhaküing Garuda*, but he did not say it a god (*hlatso*). The only animal figure that seemed to command some reverence is *Sengdongma*, a female lion deity. In general, it might be said that in the Highland the animals are mostly represented as manifestations of evil spirits. Of course, there are exceptions. One of these is the bird called the *hlapcha*, which at

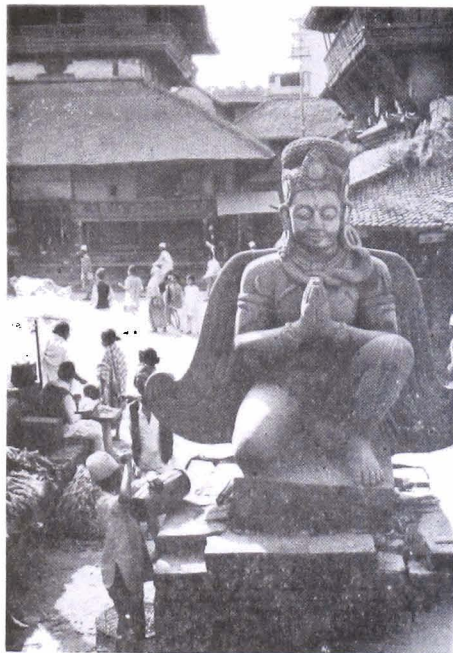


Fig. 111. Garuda found in Katmandu. March, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

Tsumje is regarded, as its name suggests, as a sort of messenger of the gods. It is a small green bird that lives in the mountains.

Domestic animals, however, are distinguished from wild animals in that they are not associated with evil. The horse and the yak, for example, are found on three of the seven cards called *Tyasin Nadung* (already referred

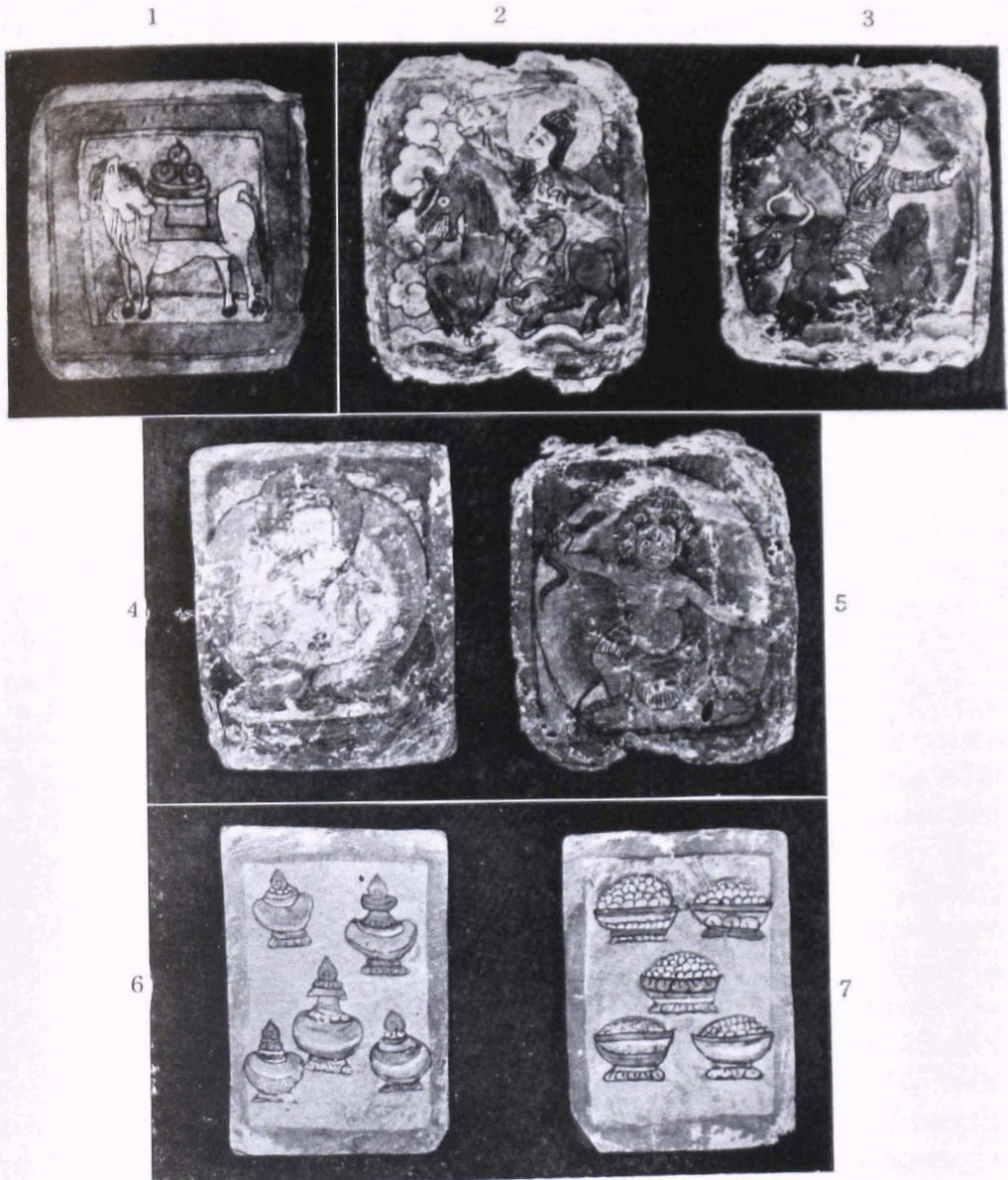


Fig. 112. *Tyasin Nadung*, the cards for a rite called *Thüje Chhembo* (that is Avalokita). No. 1: *Tacho Rinchen*, 2: *Makpön Rinchen*, 3: *Yakpo Rinchen*, 4: *Tshürmo Rinchen*, 5: *Khimdak Rinchen*, 6: *Khorlo Rinchen*, 7: *Nurba Rinchen*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21731.

to), used in the *Thüje Chhembo* ceremonies at Tsumje. *Thüje Chhembo*⁶⁷⁾ is the name of a god with four hands in whose name services for the dead are performed in households where death has occurred or where a rich man wishes to have memorial prayers said for a dead relative. These services may be held by individual families without the assistance of a *lama*. They may be conducted by any layman who has had some religious training. The *Tyasin Nadung* cards are illustrations of seven different deities. One bears the picture of a horse bearing the three sacred treasures, and is called *Tacho Rinchen*. We have already referred to this before. Another has a male figure holding a sword and a rope sitting astride a yak (Tib., *ya*), and is called *Yakpo Rinchen*. The third, known as *Makpön Rinchen*, shows a female figure holding a sword mounted on another horse. This is the goddess of battle, who come rushing to the scene, when there is fighting. The other cards are the *Khimdak Rinchen*, showing a three-eyed demon-like figure grasping a snake in his hand; the *Tshürmo Rinchen*, with the picture of copulating male and female deity; the *Khorlo Rinchen*, represented by five roundish ceremonial utensils resembling the ceremonial utensil called the *tshebung* (Fig. 104 in p. 182); and the *Nurbu Rinchen*, which as a picture again of five vessels containing food. The domesticated animals shown on these cards may not be representative of deities themselves, but they are at least not shown as demons. Domesticated animals are apparently like human, something to be protected from the evil spirits and are not used as their symbols. At Tsumje, when there comes news of an animal epidemic in a neighbouring village, the villagers immediately put up paper



Fig. 113. *Khorhung*, a printed charm for defending epidemics of domesticated animals. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21737.

67) Following Waddell, T'ugs-rje-ch'en-po is a Tibetan name of Avalokita. L. A. Waddell (2nd ed., 1939): *Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*. p. 356.

charms called *khör-hung* on the animal shelters. These are supposed to ward off calamity. The *khör-hung* are made of white paper on which is printed the figure of an ox and in the centre of which is printed a magical inscription from the sutras.

We might supplement this discussion of domestic animals with a note on animal sacrifices in the Highland. The Highland custom of chicken sacrifice, which we noted in connection with our discussion of the *dopata*, (pp. 123-24 and p. 114), is not practiced east of Sama (C. 46-C. 47). This we learned from a porter we hired at Namru (C. 47-C. 48). We did not find the custom practiced at Tsumje. Thus, it would appear to be limited to the upper Marsyandi valley.

The only other example of animal sacrifice that we observed in the Highland was the sacrifice of goats at the village of Sangda far to the west (cf. p. 153). Throughout the Highland, however, we saw offerings of goat, sheep, and yak horns at various *Chorten*, *Möndan* and *Laptse*. The eastern-most limit of this practice, as far as we could observe directly, was the Larkya La pass where we saw yak horns on a *Laptse*. Though we did not check this particular phenomenon very carefully, it is possible that the practice might actually extend even further east. At Tsumje, however, it is sure that there is no evidence of this practice. We have no data which indicates whether the offerings of horns represent actual sacrifices of animals or whether the horns are offered only when an animal happened to die.

At Tsumje the meat of cattle, the *zō* (a cross between the cattle and the yak), sheep and goats are used as food. (The yak is not raised here). However, we were told that such meat was only available, when an animal happened to die. This, it seemed, was not because of any religious taboo, but because the villagers were poor and could not afford to slaughter their animals for food. To be sure, sick or otherwise disabled animals are killed and eaten, but, when this happens, there is no religious rite involved. During our stay in Tsumje, there was an occasion when an animal met with accidental death. Once a villager's ox wandered into the precinct of a neighbouring village and died there. The meat, in this instance, was divided equally between the owner and the other village. Sheep are often gored by oxen and, if the injury is bad, the victim is usually slaughtered. Once a sheep which looked like to be saved was brought to us for medical treatment. When we would buy chicken or sheep from the villagers for food, they pretended to abhor the idea of taking life, but inwardly seemed to be pleased with the chance to sell their livestock at a good price.

We have discussed the use of domestic animals for sacrifice and food. The writer's general impression is that the practice of animal sacrifice is strong in the west and becomes weaker as one goes eastward. He feels

that this phenomenon, when considered with other data which he will discuss later, provides us with another significant datum in the exploration of the pre-Lamaist native religious tradition of the mountain region.

(3) Aweful Nature and Nature Deities

The god called *Dui*, which we have seen symbolized by black colour on the *Risum Gonbo*, is identified at Thonje (C. 41) with the evil spirit of the forest (p. 156). On the way up to the Larkya La we learned from a Bhotean youth that the evil spirit called *Dhui* lives in the mountains. Hlakpa, our Sherpa, told us that the black devil of the *Risum Gonbo* was known as *Dhui*. At Tsumje, the villagers told us that black colour on the *Risum Gonbo* represented the angry aspect of the triune deity and was called *Channa Dorje* (p. 160). On the thangka we saw at Tsumje, there was a picture of a bisexual god called *Channa Dorje Yab-yum* (*Yab-yum* means "father and mother," or "husband and wife."), who was supposed to have a black skin. According to Hlakpa, this was an extremely violent deity, who appears after some one has died.

On the same thangka there was a picture of another deity, which Hlakpa identified as a *hlatso* (god) named *Zadui*. He was a grotesque figure with four hands and eyes all over his body. As Hlakpa explained it, the *Dui* was not a *hlatso* but an evil spirit representing the violent forces of nature which human strength was powerless to resist. The *Zadui Hlatso* was the opposite number of the *Dui*, the evil spirit, whom it controlled and repelled. It has the power to control the torrential rains, the snow, and other natural forces. When a natural disaster struck, people would summon a *lama*, who through bibliomancy using a book called a *Mope* or *Tsipe* would determine whether or not the causes of calamity was the *Dui*. If this was the case, the *lama* would make a *thorma* representing the *Zadui Hlatso* in order to counteract the power of the *Dui*. The *lamas* have books for each of the various gods, but the book identified with the worship of *Zadui*—a book called the *Kangsu*—is supposed to embody special powers. According to Hlakpa, if a person revered this book and withdrew from human society and from the sight of a woman's face for three years, while he worshipped with this book, this would acquire divine powers. He would be able, for instance, to immobilize a person walking down a distant road or to control the snow and the rain. In a village called Kyarok near Solo Gumbu,⁶¹ Hlakpa claimed, there was such a person, who was known as *Lama Hlakpa*.

68) This is a village, also known as Namche Bazaar, located in the homeland of the Sherpas in the western foothills of Mt. Everest.

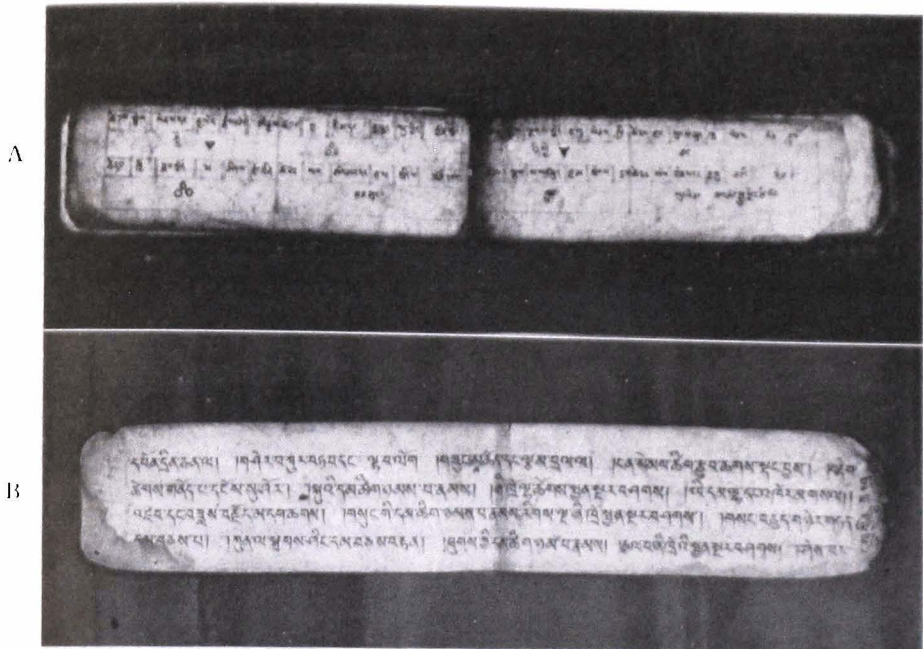


Fig. 114. *Tsipe* (A) and *Mupe* (B). *Tsipe* is a divination book of man's fortune. *Mupe* is a divination book of sickness. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. A: 21726, B: 21727.

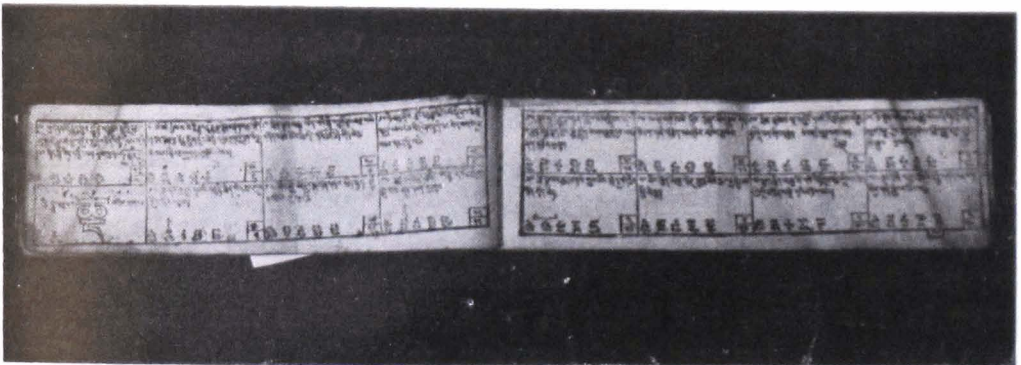


Fig. 115. *Dado*, calendar. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21728.

While we are discussing the *Dui*, let us describe the funeral customs at Tsumje. When a villager dies, his family immediately summon a *lama*. The *lama* brings a divination book called the *Tsipe*. There are two kinds of divination: the *Sonzi Korwa* and the *Shitsi Korwa*. The former concerns the fortunes of the living, while the latter of the dead. In this instance the *Tsipe* is used for the *Shitsi Korwa*. The divination might prescribe one of four ways of disposing of the corpse: (1) water funeral (*Top chlu la du*,

or throwing in the river), (2) earth funeral (*Top sa la du*, interment in the ground), (3) fire funeral (*Top me la du*, or cremation of the body), and bird funeral (*Top chha la du*, or giving to the birds).⁶⁹⁾

If it is determined that the dead person is destined to become a god, an image inscribed with his name is made and kept either in the house or in the temple. However, if he is found to have been possessed by the evil spirits, the following ritual is performed to free his body from their grasp. The *lama* makes an effigy called *mik pi ten* to represent the dead person's body. The effigy is made by attaching arms and legs to a *khurma*, a small bamboo basket used at planting time. Inside the *khurma*, rice, wheat or barley is placed, and the effigy is dressed in the dead man's clothes. A piece of paper on which is written a passage from the sutras is then placed within the *khurma*. After a prayer, the *lama* removes the paper, burns it, and mixes the ashes with some *tsampa*. This he hides himself in some secret place. As for the *mik pi ten*, the *lama* takes the clothes with him and the rest are brought to the place where the evil spirits are supposed to dwell. If, for example, the evil spirit is a *Hlandre*, the effigy is left on a road.

There are four kinds of evil spirits: the *Dui*, the *Tsen*, the *Lū* and the *Hlandre*. The *Dui* lives in the forest and the *Tsen* in the large rocks. The *Lū* may be found anywhere, while the *Hlandre* haunts the roads. As we have seen in the *Lamchepha*, the Tsumje villagers also believe in four kinds of evil spirits that menace the living persons. Only one, the *Hlandre*, is common to both groups. (Cf. p. 164.)

From the account given above, we see that the use of food to lure the evil spirits, the use of magic words from the sutras to free the victims of evil spirits, and, finally, the offering of food to appease the evil spirits are all features common to the exorcistic rites of Lamaism. We have also seen that the *Dui* is symbolic of the violent forces of nature, conceived of as living in the forest, and black in colour. Can it be that this evil spirit has a history antedating that of Lamaism, and, when brought into Lamaism, it was given a place in the pantheon as *Channa Dorje Yab-yum* and

69) The writer did not actually see any of these methods being carried out, while he was in Tsumje, but he did witness a bird funeral near Muktinath. The shrouded corpse of a young girl who had died in a nearby village was carried in an upright position on a bier made of wooden poles. Behind the bier was a procession of many villagers playing some musical instruments. The funeral party took the body down into a valley bottom where it was left with two men who appeared to be cutting the body. In the sky above he saw birds flying about. These birds resembled kites rather than vultures. On another occasion, at Pokhara, he saw vultures pecking at a corpse which had been abandoned in the river.

so on?⁷⁰⁾ The people try to escape the power of the *Dui* by enlisting the aid of the *Zadui* and the *lama*, but, as we see from Hlakpa's story, there is also the concept of a superman who is able to control the forces represented by the *Dui*. It might also be noted here that, though the *Dui* is black, its blackness conveys a feeling that is entirely different from that of the black gods of Hinduism, *Mahadeo* and *Mahakali*.

The second evil spirit is *Tsen*, to which we have referred to in our discussion of the *Risum Gonbo*, when we mentioned a villager of *Thonje* (C. 41) as saying that the red colour on the *Risum Gonbo* symbolized *Tsen* who was a god in contrast to *Dui* who was an evil spirit. At Tsumje, it will be recalled, the red of the *Risum Gonbo* was explained as the aspect of laughter (white representing silence, and black anger). The god identified with this colour is called not *Tsen* but *Jambiyān*.

The writer cannot say, however, that the name *Tsen* was not known at all at Tsumje. Each of the three *tsosum* which make up the village of Tsumje constitute a separate patrilineal clan settlement. The name of the *tsosum*, Kangring, Prangar, and Shimmushe, are also names of the respective clans. Each *tsosum* has its own tutelary deity, the name of whom it

70) According to Mr. Taktser, elder brother of the Dalai Lama, in Tibet one generally worships the patron god of one's native district *Kye-hla* and the patron god of one's residential village *Yul-hla*. *Tshen* and *Ekazati*, patron gods of Tsumje, are said to be a kind of monster, while the *Dūi* is said to be a kind of devil.

Following Waddell (op. cit.): "Devils (bDud), all male, black in colour, and most malignant. (The 'Dre are especially virulent.) These are the ghosts of the persecutors of Lamaism, and cannot be appeased without sacrifice of pig. (p. 369)

"The *Black Devils*.—Then the Guru (Saint Padma Sambhava), proceeding onwards, reached *gNam-gyi-shug-mthon-glang-sgrom*, where he opened the magic circle or *Mandala* of the Five Families (of the Buddhas) for seven days, after which all the commanders of the host of *bDud*-Devil offered their life-essence and so were subjected. (p. 383)

"Goblins or Ghosts (*Tsan*), all male, red in colour. These are usually the vindictive ghosts of Lamas, discontented priests; and they are vindictive. They especially haunt the temples. (p. 369)

"*E-ka-dsa-ti*.—When the Guru reached *gNam-t'an-mk'ar-nag*, the white fiendess of that place showered thunderbolts upon him, without, however, harming him. The Guru retaliated by melting her snow-dwelling into a lake; and the discomfited fury fled into the lake *T'an-dpal-mo-dpal*, which the Guru then caused to boil. But though her flesh boiled off her bones, still she did not emerge; so the Guru threw in his thunderbolt, piercing her right eye. Then came she forth and offered up to him her life-essence, and was thereon named *Gans-dkar-sha-med-rDo-rje-sPyan-rgcig-ma*, or "The Snow-white, Fleshless, One-eyed Ogress of the Vajra." (p. 382)

"The twelve furies called *T'an-ma* have already been referred to and figured in connection with St. Padma-sambhava's visit. They are divided into the three groups of the four great she-devils, the four great injurers, and the four great medicine-females, of which the last are relatively mild, though all are placed under the control of *Ekajati*, a fiendess of the Indian *Kālī* type, who rides on the thunder-clouds." (p. 371)

is most reluctant to reveal to the outsiders. For this reason, though the writer records them here, anyone who might visit this area in the future must be very careful about using them. The patron deity of Shimmushe is called *Ekazati*. This god is supposed to have given two eyes to men but himself has but one eye in the middle of his forehead. His image is to be seen in the thangka owned by the lama of the village. (See footnote 70.) The *Prangar* deity is called *Pangzen Gyalpo*. Tradition has it that the ancestors of this *tsosum* came originally from Tibet and were accompanied at that time by this god. The name *Prangar* (or *Pangar*) is also given to a high peak northwest of the Larkya La and to another peak north of Namru. The clan deity of Kangring is known as *Chhutshen Gyalpo*. This god is said to be the descendant of the god *Tshen* (or *Tsen*), and is supposed to be the red rock located near a deep mountain ravine on the boundary of Tsumje and its neighbouring village of Khar. Its colour and that associated with *Tsen* are same. (See footnote 70.)

Mr. H. W. Tilman's account of the Langtang Himal, which adjoins the Ganesh Himal in the east, contains some data too important to be overlooked. A Lama-Tamang village called Langtang, embraced by the Langtang Himal, is located along a valley. Way up the Langtang, perhaps by 7 or 8 miles, there is a place called Langsisa, where a big red rock is found. They have a legend about it.

"Like many out-of-the-way places it was originally the home of the gods, those happy beings, to whom, with their ready means of locomotion, remoteness was of little account. But at a more recent date the beauties of the valley were revealed to mortals in a way reminiscent of that other story—'Saul to look for donkeys, and by God, he found a kingdom'. In this case the missing animal was, of course, a yak which its owner, a very holy man, tracked up the Langtang. The spoor was not difficult to follow, for at Syabrubensi and at Syarpagaon the beast left on a rock the imprint of a foot which is visible to this day. The lama caught his yak at a place called Langsisa, seven or eight miles above Langtang village where, having fulfilled its appointed task, it promptly died. The lama, with less regard for sentiment than for money's worth unfeelingly skinned it and spread the skin on a rock to dry; but the yak had the last laugh; for the skin stuck and remains there to this day, as a big reddish coloured rock at Langsisa plainly testifies."⁷¹⁾ Mr. Tilman may be, therefore, right to explain *Langsisa* as "the place where a yak died" in Tibetan. The red rock in this legend seems to have some relations with the red rock in Tsumje.

The religion of Tsumje presents a picture of superficially dominant

71) H. W. Tilman, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36

Lamaism co-existing with the clan and household beliefs which it has not entirely assimilated or integrated. Leaving detailed discussion for later, one point may be worthy of note here. In the Marsyandi valley, where the *Risum Gonbo* are most highly developed and where the people are predominantly Lama-Gurungs *Tsen* is one of the gods of the *Risum Gonbo*. On the other hand, in the Shiar Khola valley, where the *Risum Gonbo* have decayed and the people are of the Tibetan Bhotea stock, *Tsen* is no longer a *Risum Gonbo* god, but has become one of the evil spirits or survives only as the ancestor of the secret god of the clan. This might support a thesis that, when Lamaism become dominant, the ancient gods degrade. This thesis might also serve to explain the fact that *Ekazati*, one of the clan gods, occupies an inferior position in the Lamaist thangka.

The idea that *Tsen* and *Chhutshen* are red rocks or that they reside in them may throw some light on the attitudes of the Highland peoples toward rocks in general. The fact that *gompa*, and various religious stone monuments are usually built on the giant rocks should probably be considered in this connection. Rocks are very prominently represented in the responses to the Rorschach test given at Tsumje. Since the natural environment in this area is one in which lofty rock formations are to be seen everywhere, this kind of response may perhaps be regarded as only natural. However, the writer noticed that the responses occasionally referred specifically to "red rocks." While the stones are known as *dho* or *do*, the names for large rocks include *donga*, *phungdo*, *tra*, *thak*, and *pra*.

Large rocks sometimes have caves or grottoes in them, which are known as *phu*. That these *phu* have a special significance in culture is well noted in Tibetan travel accounts. The writer refers to the fact that it is not an uncommon thing for religious ascetics in Lamaistic cultures to retire to a cave in order to practice asceticism. Although there are no caves at Tsumje, they are quite numerous in the upper Kali Gandaki valley where one can see rows and rows of artificial caves hollowed out of the relatively soft stratified rock in the precipices. Located halfway up the face of these cliffs, they look like the remains of cave villages. A Muktinath priest told us that these caves were probably occupied by holy men and priests long ago when there were no temples or inhabitants in the area. They were not, he assured us, burial places. About a thousand meters up the mountain west of Kagbeni there is a cave dug out of a hard rock on the giant precipice. The villagers called it Zimbu Phu⁷²⁾ and told us that the cave was dug long ago as a refuge for the villagers in time of war. We are not sure how reliable these explanations are, but

72) *Zimbu* (Tib.) for wild onion.

it is probably true that most of the man-made *phu* in the arid zone were used by the religious ascetics. In view of the vast number of caves, it is quite likely that not all of these ascetics were unusual worthies like Mila Repa.

In the wet zone we saw practically no caves. The only things that might be called caves are some rock shelters for the use of travellers in the remoter regions. However, as in the case of the Chhunga Phu temple of Tsumje, the word *Phu* did appear occasionally in the names of temples.

The Tsumje villagers know the mountains of the Ganesh Himal range facing the village by the name of *Lungbu*, and the mountains stretching north therefrom to the Tibetan border by the name of *Kangdang*. The Sringi Himal behind the village is called *Chhamle*. According to them, the Lungbu mountains are the parents and the Kangdang mountains the brothers and sisters. However, generally speaking, the practice of giving names to the mountains is not very common in the Highland. In most cases, names are given to the areas which include both mountains and adjacent valleys. For example, the mountain peak behind the settlement of Kho near Sangda is called *Kho*, while a neighbouring peak known as *Kho Chung* ("Little Kho"). Near Manang (C. 37-C. 38) we pointed to the third peak of Annapurna and asked a native its name. We were told that it is called *Manangge Khan*, which means "the mountain of Manang."

However, it cannot be said that the mountains do not have religious associations. Mt. Manaslu is known by the villager of Sama as Kan Bungen. In 1953 our mountain climbing expedition visited the *gompa* of this village and was asked by the *lama* not to disturb the treasure at the summit of Kan Bungen. In the Highland there are two terms for mountain; *kan* (also *kān*, *kang*, *khan*) and *ri*. The former term refers to the higher, snow-covered mountains, the latter to all others, i. e., low mountains in general. *Ri* may also mean the mountain pastures. The two terms may sometimes be combined in a single word, *kangri*, which is the generic term for the mountains. The avalanches on the *kan* contribute to the fear and awe in which the higher mountains are held. One day while we were at Tsumje, a spectacular avalanche occurred on Lungbu. The story that "something white had skimmed over the mountain" was speedily circulated with great anxiety among the villagers that day. The Japanese expedition which attempted to climb Mt. Manaslu in the spring of 1954 was prevented from climbing because of the stubborn opposition of the villagers of Sama. One of the major reasons for their opposition was the fact that part of their village *gompa* had been destroyed by an avalanche the previous winter. This event they attributed to the violation of the sacred *kan* by the expedition of the preceding year.

5. Worship, Magic, Festivals

Let us begin with a description of the various festival (called *drumchhö*) at Tsumje. In this village it is the general rule that only the *lama* and no private family or individual may conduct religious rites. In reality, however, there are many kinds of worship services that the writer cannot believe that the lama presides over them all. Whatever the case may be, the following is the calendar of religious observances as given us by the villagers:

(a) *Sangye Mala (Drumchhö)*

This festival takes place between the sixth and the fifteenth day of the third month in the Tibetan year. *Sangye Mala* is supposed to be the name of the first *lama* of the Shimmushe *tsosum* of this village. (*Sangye* means "holy priest.") Shimmushe is claimed to be the oldest of the three *tsosum* of Tsumje and has its own clan temple or *gompa* called Lungsang. This particular festival, however, is not held at the Lungsang *gompa* but at the *Chhunga Phu* temple. It is the first festival of the year. Tradition tells that the body of the *Sangye* wrapped in rich cloth is still enshrined in Chhunga Phu. He is worshipped as a god by the people of the three *tsosum*. Members of the three *tsosum* only participate in this festival, although people from neighbouring villages may come as spectators. Only males are allowed to assist the *lama* in the festival ceremonies.

There is another Tsumje festival called the *Sangye Opame kyi Drumchhö*, which is held in honour of another saint called *Sangye Opame*, and this the writer will describe later. This saint like *Sangye Mala* is also enshrined in mummy form in Chhunga Phu. We were in Tsumje at the time of the second festival, and were allowed to see the mummy of this saint. It looked like an ordinary, life-sized metal status of a sitting Buddha.

However, it is not unlikely that the images of both saints do actually contain their mummies inside. Kawaguchi in his work which has already been cited describes the custom of preserving the bodies of revered prelates by dehydrating their corpses with a kind of salt and later applying some sort of covering to make them into Buddhist idols.⁷³⁾

(b) *Nara Tsam (Drumchhö)*

This having been already described will be omitted. (See pp. 181-84.)

(c) *Do Yab-yom*

Yab-yom is a word signifying plural number, but in this case the reference is to the books of the Lamaist canon, which include the famous *Köngyur* (Kanjur) and the *Töngyur* (Tanjur). The festival takes place between the tenth and fourteenth days of the Tibetan fifth month. During

73) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 52-54.

the first four days the canon is read and worshipped in the homes and in the temples. On the fifth day, all the males of the village assemble at the Chhunga Phu temple bringing with them all copies of the canon in the village. These and the *Yab-yom* of the temple are distributed one volume apiece to the men, who form a procession and parade through the village with the *lama* joining in. On this day the main streets of the village are all blocked off for the occasion. The festival ends when the procession returns to the temple. Each participant takes his copy of the sacred books home with him. Women do not take part in this festival. The religious education purpose of the festival as well as purification of the village is obvious.

The *Yab-yom* are stored in one of the two halls of the Chhunga Phu temple containing the images of the *Sangye*. When the writer visited the hall of the *Sangye Opame* statue, he saw the bookshelves for the sacred books standing in rows on the left hand side from the image. In the dimly lit central portion of the same hall was a wooden stand (Tib., *kangsum*) on which was placed a pair of *thorma*. He could not distinguish their colour, however. On the walls there were many buddhist paintings, many of which were of copulating buddhas.

(d) *Sangye Opame (kyi Drumchho)*

Sangye Opame is apparently the Tibetan version of the Buddha of Infinite Light or Amitābha Tathāgata in Skt. who is widely worshipped in Tibet. To the villagers of Tsumje, however, the *Sangye Opame* is a *lama* who came from Tibet long ago, and who, in their words "sits with *Sangye Mala*, preserved as a mummy just as he was when he died, naked and with his eyes still wide open." According to the villagers, it was this *lama* who gave Tsumje and its three *tsosum* their names. We were also told that the Chhunga Phu temple was built originally to house the remains of this saint and that he was worshipped more than *Sangye Mala*.

The *Sangye Opame kyi Drumchhö* is celebrated, we were told, on the fifth (sixth?) day of the *Do Yab-yom* festival as above described. It is on this occasion only that the villagers are permitted to see the image.

(e) *Trukpa Tshe Shi*

The name of this festival means the "fourth day of the sixth month" (Tibetan calendar) and is "the festival that marks the mid-years." It is also held at the Chhunga Phu temple. On this occasion the images of many gods are made of cereals (*thorma* made with *tsampa*?). This largest image is that of the principal deity of the temple before which the *lama* conducts a prayer service. Many villagers come to the temple to worship, contribute some money, and receive one of the smaller images to take home. This festival is held because "just as it would be disastrous for a house-

hold to lose its chief," so would it be a calamity if the principal deity should desert the company of the gods. The name of the principal deity is apparently known only to the *lama*. This observance, the writer learned, was introduced from Tibet fifteen years ago.

(f) *Gaja Doja*

This observance takes place on the eighth day of the eighth month of the Tibetan year. Its name refers to two forms of worship: *gaja* the Indian form, which calls for sacrifices to the gods; and *doja*, the Tibetan form, which does not entail sacrificial offerings. Tibetan practice instead requires the offering of such products of the village as wheat, potatoes, butter (Tib., *mar*), Tibetan beer (Tib., *chhang*) and *tsampa* to gods of the *gompa*. Although the rites are called *gaja-doja*, apparently only the *doja* is performed. One male representative of each house goes to the Chhunga Phu temple to take the offering. It is evidently not a group affair and the *lama* does not participate. The festival, in short, consists merely of the performance of a prescribed ritual, and, one suspects, part of its purpose is to give training in religious etiquette.

Comparing the agricultural and the religious calendars with each other (see p. 306 about the detail of agricultural calendar in Tsumje), we find that the *Sangye Mala* falls just before buckwheat planting time, the *Nara Tsam* comes about a half month before the barley harvest, the *Do Yab-yom* and *Sagye Opame* coincide with the barley harvest, *Trukpa Tshe Shi* falls immediately before the wheat harvest and the *Gaja Doja* immediately precedes the busiest farming season, that of wheat and barley planting. It is worthy of note that the festivals all come in the same half of the year in which the planting and harvesting are done.

To this discussion of agriculture, a note about planting day might be added. Planting days vary from one family (*nangzang*) to another. Each *nangzang* does its planting on an "auspicious day" which is determined by consulting an almanac called the *Karpe* or *Dado*. This *Dado* provides information on the festive days, auspicious days, and agricultural days for the whole year. It originates, we were told, in Hlasa, but is written exclusively by *lamas* who reside in Solo Gumbu, the homeland of the Sherpas, and is printed at Katmandu, from whence it is distributed. Not all of the villagers have a copy. Those who do not have the almanac go to the families who possess one and have their planting day determined.

We have already noted the planting day customs observed at Sangda (p. 154), where, it will be recalled, the entire village turns out en masse for planting. But it is not known whether the work of sowing is confined to male members or not. At Tsumje, the planting is done only by men, it being thought improper for women to do this work. At Kagbeni (C. 33)

also only men do the plowing, while the planting is entrusted only to the male heads of families. Women are permitted only to move earth and dig furrows. Thus there is a strong possibility that the banning of female participation in planting is a general custom in the Highland.⁷⁰ In the Lowland, on the other hand, we encountered evidence that woman do the planting. At Tat Pani (C. 21), for example, we saw a woman planting maize while a man preceded her with a plough. Again, at Dana (C. 21 C. 22), Mr. Nakao asked a villager for specimens of the seed grain they used. He was told that none were available because the women had all gone to work in the fields. It seems that in this village it was the custom for women to have charge of the seeds. Unfortunately, we are unable to report whether the planting of the seeds was exclusively a woman's job or whether this was the general custom in the Lowland, since it was not planting season when we passed through.

Returning again to the religious life at Tsumje, we note that the *lama* officiates directly or indirectly at all of the festivals described. There are, in addition to these, a number of other irregular occasions when the *lama* plays an important role. The *lama's* conduct of the divination and his exorcistic rites on the occasion of death in a family has already been described (pp. 193-94). He is also called upon by families of means to perform memorial service for deceased persons on their death anniversaries. This



Fig. 116. *Tsatsa*, memorial thorma made of mud mixed with the powder of the dead's bone. *Tsatsa* are found in a temple or a chorten. At Sama? Photo. by S. Takebushi

74) Contradictory observations are stated by Bell. C. Bell (1928): *The People of Tibet*. p. 62 and p. 42.

service, which is held annually for four successive years, is called *Dünche*. Again for this service the lama makes a pyramidal *thorma* (called a *thorma ñtham*), which he colours and leaves with the family as a memento of the dead person. On this day the family invites fellow villagers to attend and serves them small *thorma* which the lama has made half of rice and half of wheat. These miniature *thorma* are called *tso*, and the entire proceedings accompanying the *Dünche* service is called *tsöpa*.

The previously described *Thüje Chhenbo* is also a memorial service for the soul of a dead person, but does not absolutely require the services of a *lama*. It is a family observance which any member who has had some Lamaist training can conduct. The writer does not know how this service and the *Dünche* service are related.

In addition to these orthodox ceremonials, there are others associated with the worship of clan gods by each *tsosum*. These, we were told, the *lama* pretends to ignore and does not interfere with. The villagers also claim that these clan deities have nothing to do with the *lama*. As explained before, the clan gods are supposed to be secret and are protected by a taboo against divulgence of information concerning them to outsiders.

The worship of the clan gods at Tsumje actually takes place within each *nangzang* (family). The clan deity is enshrined in a room called the *thapsan* ("dining room"), which is found in even the humblest houses. Near the centre of this room there is a square hearth on which a large iron kettle for boiling water rests on a metal spider. The window side of the hearth is called the *hlarel* and is regarded as the sacred place occupied by the god. Sometimes small wooden images of *sangye* or replicas of *chorten* (see Fig. 118) are placed along the *hlarel*. The left side of the hearth looking from the *hlarel* is the seating place for the male members of the *nangzang* with the head of the house occupying the seat closest to the *hlarel*. The right side is occupied by women, among whom the housewife is closest to the *hlarel*. The hearthside opposite the god, and thus the lowest position, is for guests. The writer was told by the villagers that no matter how important a guest may be, neither the master nor the mistress of the house would give up their seats to him. In the *thapsan* of old man Baru's house, where we stayed, the writer was seated next to the old man himself when he visited with the old man.

Worship is conducted by the *shepachemo* (house master) of each family, even in those rare cases when the *shepachemo* happens to be a woman. The clan gods are worshipped whenever it is desired to do so according to need, e. g., when someone is ill. However, there is also a general worship day observed by the entire village. Any Sunday (*Jya Nyima*) or Monday (*Jya Dawa*) during the tenth month (Tibetan) may be chosen for the oc-



Fig. 117. A Hearth in the *thapsan* (dining room). At Tsumje, July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 118. Wooden images of chorten and *khu* (god's image) which are to be put in *hlarel* in usual houses. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21733 and 21734.

casion. For a month in advance of the chosen day, the *shepachemo* of each family sets aside a portion of all food and drink served during the period—wheat, potatoes, *chhang*, butter, etc. These are used as an offering to the god on the day of worship and then eaten. The *shepachemo* is served first and what remains is distributed among the *nyesang* (family member) of the *nangzang*. This ceremony is called *Bumchho*.

For the *Bumchho* there is no religious leader or officiating priest representing the clan or *tsosum* as a whole. Each family conducts its own ceremonies. The Shimmushe clan, however, does occasionally hold a general clan-wide festival called the *Hlapsol*. For this event a *lama* from Gomba Tensin (a nearby village) is called in to officiate. The presence of the *lama* would seem to make this an orthodox Lamaist festival, but Gomba Tensin is a collateral branch of the Shimmushe clan, with whom intermarriage is still prohibited. (See also p. 264 and pp. 217-18.) Thus, in this case, the *lama* of Gomba Tensin may be considered to be acting in the capacity of a clan priest. In view of the fact that Shimmushe seems to be the oldest of the three *tsosum* of Tsumje (see p. 218), the hypothesis might be advanced that the *Hlapsol* is a survival of the time when the clan did have a chief priest representing all its members. It might be mentioned here that in many other respects such as family organization and inter-family relationships there appeared to be differences between Shimmushe and the other two *tsosum*.

Of course, there is always the possibility that the writer's investigations may have overlooked some elements in the makeup of the other two *tsosum* which would show them up more as clan entities. To give one example, when on July 21 the 61-year old wife of the *shepachemo* of one of the Prangar *nangzang* died, to mourn her death not only the members of her *nangzang* but also the entire membership of the Prangar *tsosum* ceased work for a week. As already indicated, this was the time of the wheat harvest, and one of the busiest seasons of the year. What it means to stop work for a week at such a time can be appreciated by anyone who has had farming experience. Yet surprising though it may be, this is what happened.

In our discussion of religious observances at Tsumje we saw that there are the regular Lamaist festivals and the somewhat more privately observed clan festivals. We noted also a clear tendency of excluding women from participation in the former.

Except for the already described *Hlachogen* festival of Sangda and the *Phakchen* festival of Pisang we have almost no data on observances in other villages. The writer will add only some details he observed at Kagbeni (C. 33). (All dates mentioned below are those of the solar calendar.) Among the annual festivals of this village there is one called the *Yartung*. It is

held, we were told, just after the mid-June harvesting of wheat and barley and planting of buckwheat, hence, probably, in the latter part of June. On this occasion men (young men and boys included) not only from Kagbeni but from a dozen other villages in the vicinity assemble on horseback at Muktinath, visit the holy places, and amuse themselves with gambling and other games. This festival lasts a week. Next, in early September there is a festival called *Doghep*, for which all the residents of Kagbeni, dressed in their best clothes, gather at an outdoor site near the village *gompa*. The women dance and the men gamble. In the evening candles are lit. The festival lasts only one day. No *lama* is present.

Just before winter the festival known as *Tengba Chirting* is held at the shrine of a female deity *Mahakali* below Kagbeni. (This has already been described (see p. 127). Finally, there is the *Dashang* festival which was held while we were there on April 29. The men and women of the village assemble at a temple near Kagbeni, the women carrying candles and the men carrying Buddhist images which they bring from their homes. The festival consists of competitive showing of the images. They are graded from fine to poor and lined up according to their rating. The lama then appears and conducts a worship service. We did not actually attend the festival itself, but on the afternoon of the festival the man at whose house we were staying brought down from the *chogang* on the second story a fairly large Buddhist image and carried it out. The role of the men in this festival seemed to be confined to carrying the images to the festival site. The main participants, apparently, were women. Each of the four Kagbeni festivals just outlined are, we were told, closely connected with agriculture.

The Kagbeni religious observances in general impress us as having the following special features: 1) the role of the *lama* is much less prominent than at Tsumje, 2) exclusion of women from religious observances is considerably weakened, 3) the tendency for holding festivals after dark, and 4) the tendency for men to indulge in gambling at these festivals. On the last score, the competitive exhibition of images at the *Dashang* festival might be considered a form of gambling, but a gambling element is unmistakable in the practice at the *Tengba Chirting* festival of placing prize money in a hole and shooting for it with bows and arrows. The first three features may be attributed to the penetration of Hinduistic influences beyond the gorges of the Kali Gandaki. We cannot, however, offer any explanation for this association of gambling with religion, and would welcome any suggestions on this point. Gambling as such appears to be widespread among the inhabitants of Nepal's mountain region, and we saw Western-style card games being played in the most remote and unlikely places.

Let us return again to our Tsumje material and take up the subject of

magic, on which we have a great deal of data. Even in the informations we have presented thus far, however, the superstitious character of Lamaistic culture has been amply illustrated. The writer refers the reader, for example, to the superstition about odd numbers being lucky and even numbers being unlucky and to all other references to numbers in this article. Since certain superstitions about numbers are found in any culture, this may not be particularly significant. The Tsumje villagers were particularly superstitious about odd and even numbers. One of the two rosaries (Tib., *thangna*) that we obtained in this village has 103 beads, while the other, a cheap glass one, has 106 beads: 97 black beads (*thangna*) and nine red beads (*thangmar*).⁷⁵⁾

Popularity of necklaces of all kinds, cheap or expensive, is a striking feature of both the Highland and Lowland cultures. Among many kinds of necklaces seen in the Lowland, the most common ones are those made of red coral beads. Occasionally we saw necklaces and earrings made of Nepalese gold and silver coins. In the Lowland necklaces are worn almost exclusively by women. Men wearing necklaces are a rare sight. In the Highland, however, both men and women wear necklaces, but the most distinctive ones are worn by men.

The distinctive Highland necklace worn by men is called *kaka* (or *gaga*) in Tsumje and is made with three beads. The central bead is a cylindrical jade stone called *si*. It is flanked by two coral beads called *churu*. The *si* may range in price, we are told, from 400 to 2000 Nepal rupees for the most expensive ones, while a cheap one costs about 200 rupees.⁷⁶⁾

The *kaka* is believed to be a sort of amulet affording protection against evil spirits. The amulet is thought to be most effective if the middle stone or *si* has nine stripes in it. One with six stripes is considered extremely bad. At Tsumje it was the men who wore the *kaka* exclusively. The women wore the many-beaded necklaces which were similar to the Lowland variety.

At Aga (C. 69), the last of the predominantly Bhotean villages, we saw some villagers wearing what was a combination of the *kaka* and the Lowland-type necklace. At Philem, the next village to the south, the necklaces had become entirely strings of coral-beads of Lowland type. The people here were mostly Gurungs.

The fact that the distinctive Highland-type necklace has a certain religious significance and that it is worn by the male sex may be pertinent

75) The black beads are called *thangna*, or *thangnak*, *na* or *nak* meaning "black." *Mar* in *thangmar* means "red."

76) The sample secured for the Ethnological Museum is an extremely cheap one in which a shell is used instead of a precious stone.

data in considering the cultural differences between the Lamaistic Highland and the Hinduistic Lowland.

The use of amulets in general is a conspicuous feature of the Lamaistic culture. We have already noted the use of paper charms to protect livestock at Tsumje (pp. 190-91). Similar charms were also used to protect human beings. The *Gyangong Hrunga* (Fig. 119A) is a magic design printed on locally made white paper and pasted on the doorways of each house. The design consists of a male and a female figure joined by a chain with a sacred

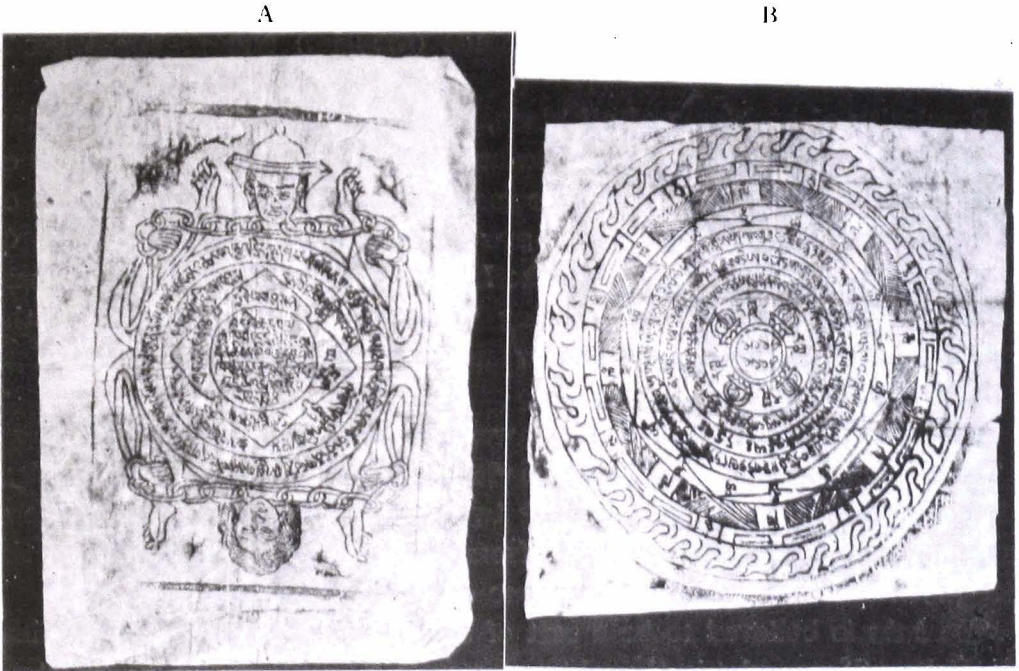


Fig. 119. Printed charms, *Gyangong Hrunga* (A: for defending devils at the door of private house) and *Chhokrung* (B: for travellers). Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21735 and 21736.

inscription in the centre which is supposed to ward off evil spirits.⁷⁷⁾ Amulets for travellers, called *chhokrung*, (Fig. 119 B) are likewise printed on white paper with black ink. There are various kinds and they are folded and carried in a square case which is suspended from the neck. According to one villager these cases may contain about 80 different kinds of sacred inscriptions.⁷⁸⁾

Speaking of amulets, the sacred images of the mummified prelates of

77) Exactly similar design in the *Gyangong Hrunga* is found in Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet* (op. cit.), p. 570.

78) We often saw similar amulet cases worn by the Gurungs of the gorge region. In the Lowland we also saw them worn by Gurkha soldiers. This was perhaps only natural, since the Gurkhas are mostly from the mountain regions.

Tsumje, *Sangye Opame* and *Sangye Mala*, are themselves amulets, in a sense, for the entire village. When the crops are bad or in other times of trouble, the villagers carry these divine *hla* (god) from the Chhunga Phu temple on their shoulders and parade through the village streets. However, the villagers told the writer like this: "Lately the two *sangye* are not very effective in warding off evils. The reason is that the wheat shoots, which had always grown in the hands of the *sangye*, died about three years ago. When we anxiously asked the *lama* about this, he told us that this was a bad omen and that some calamity was impending. Eventually, he said, a more serious disaster would occur and the *sangye* would disappear. Even now the protecting deities of this village are about to depart because the power of the evil spirits is so great that the gods are unable to resist it." This extreme disaster was divined, the writer was told, by the *lama* from a sacred book called the *Namik Lungden*. This book was supposed to have come down from heaven in Tibet and has been widely distributed throughout Tibet and Nepal. The writer was shown a copy, which, it was claimed, came to the village about three years before. He found it to be a thin bound book, long and narrow in shape.

The fact that sexual symbols such as the phallus and the combined figures of a man and a woman are believed to have the magical power to repel evil spirits has been already noted. We saw the phallus used for its magical effect on the *dopata* (p. 123) and on the eaves of pagodas (p. 158).



Fig. 120. Images of buddhas carved on the *mani dokö* (stone scripture) put on a *Möndan*. At Thonje. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

Examples of the combined male and female motif have been seen on the amulets, on the *mani dokö*, on the thangka, and on the cards used in a Tsumje festival. These bi-sexual deities have various names, but except for the *Channa Dorje Yab-yum*, the fearful and violent god, we have not recorded the names.⁷⁹⁾ On the same thangka as *Channa Dorje Yab-yum* is another combined male and female god known as *Gonbo Tsepame Yab-yum*, who is supposed to save men from misfortune.

The identification of *Channa Dorje* with Vajra, his violent nature, and his black colour suggests the possibility, as does the phallus also, of a link with the Hindu god, Shiva. Another possible link between the Highland and Lowland religions is suggested by the carvings of combined male and female figures found among the carved images of deities on the diagonal roof-trusses under the eaves of a Hindu temple at Darbar Square in Katmandu. According to Landon the townspeople of Katmandu believe that these carvings on the roof-trusses have the power to protect against lightning.⁸⁰⁾ This, the writer believes, is closely related to the exorcistic powers attributed to the combined male-female symbol.

6. The *Lama* and the *Gompa*

(1) Gods, Saints, Priests, Laymen

At Tsumje gods are called *hla* or *khu*. The Sherpas use the terms *hla*, *hlatso*, *ku*, *kudung*. Gods represented by images are most commonly referred to as *khu* both at Tsumje and by the Sherpas. The *sangye* or saint-priests are almost indistinguishable from the gods. The writer's impression is that the *sangye* at least tend to be thought of as persons who had once really existed. The *Sangye Opame* is an example. It appears also that a clear distinction cannot be made between a *sangye* and a *lama*. A *sangye* is apparently a *lama* who has attained the highest degree of holiness. There are of course various degrees of rank among the *lamas*, but we have no material specifically on this subject. The above remarks are merely impressions received during our Highland sojourn.

According to our Tsumje notes, there are the following religious ranks among the villagers: (1) *lama*, (2) *umje*, (3) *tawa*, and (4) *chhoepa*. The *umje*, the highest ranking laymen, were three in number. Whether by chance or not, there was one in each of the three *tsosum*. The *umje* of the Kangring clan, a man of about forty-eight, was the head (*shepachemo*) of the original family (*tshong*). The *umje* in the Prangar clan was a forty-six-year old uncle of the *shepachemo* of a certain family, and was the only

79) At Tsumje these deities are vulgarly known as *Sangye phomo*.

80) P. Landon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 194.

bachelor of the three. The Shimmushe *umje* was also the *shepachemo* of a *nangzang* and was seventy-six years old. There were, we were told, about ten *tawa* and fifteen or sixteen *chhoepa* in the village. These ranks determined status at religious events and were conferred by the *gompa*. There was only one nun in the village, but she apparently could not recite the sutras. There was no special layman's ranks for women.

The nun was the twenty-three-year old daughter of Khimjung Topgyal, a member of the Kangring *tsosum*. The *lama* of the Prembo temple in this village was her uncle. At the time of her birth, the uncle, after reading her fortune, declared that she would die if she should ever marry. It was therefore decided that at an early age she would become a nun. She lived at the Prembo temple with her uncle, visiting her father's home from time to time. She would often come to visit us, a somewhat pitiful figure with her hair cut short in a manner unlike other young girls and apparently not knowing what to do with her youthful self. On the other hand, she was given two milk cows and five sheep by her *lama* uncle who was also supplying her with clothes, food and money; so she was pretty well off materially.

The writer's earlier references to laymen who had received some Lamaist training were to this group of people. As in the case of the girl just mentioned, some of these religious laymen were practically forced to take up religious training. Moral coercion could also be used to prevent a person from taking religious training. The writer was told of an actual case of a strong-minded girl objecting to her parent's choice of a husband threatened to cut her hair and become a nun. She even declared that if she were blocked she might commit suicide. It appears from this instance that parents are in a position to decide whether or not a religious career should or should not be taken up, especially in the case of a girl.

However, a career of a *lama* or a lay *lama* is not always chosen as a result of outside pressure. Certain types of people, the writer believes, choose this calling because of religious aspirations. The three *umje* in this village were all persons sincerely devoted to their faith and who were so motivated.

(2) Religious Education

At Tsumje a person's religious life begins at birth when his fortune is divined for him by the *lama*. His name, particularly if he is a male, is likely to be a Lamaistic one. The name is chosen some time between the ages of two and thirteen by his parents or by the *lama*, who chooses it from the sacred book called *Tsipe*, which we have already mentioned. If no name is given him during this period, he theoretically remains nameless

for life. Actually, however, all the villagers appeared to have names. In the Kagbeni area, two names are given, a real name and a religious name, but at Tsumje there is only one name for each person. There is no family name and the personal name of family master *shepachemo* substitutes the name of his family (*nangzang*). This is also the practice at Sangda.

Names such as Da Dorje, Karma Topgyal, Hlandup have a strong religious flavour. While these names are very common, there is a larger group of names, which are very informal and sound like nicknames taken over directly as real names. For example, the words *puchima* or *phuchima* and *pharwa* meaning "youngest" and "middle" (son or brother), respectively, are frequently used as names. Apparently to avoid confusion, one person may be called Puchi; another, Puchima; a third, Gyelung Puchima; and a fourth, Kimjung Puchima. They all mean "the youngest," but they are used even by a person who has become old. The same is true in the case of Pharwa. An eldest or only son frequently has the word *pu* (or *phu*), which simply means "son," in his name. There were such examples as Dako Pu or Barme Pu, but no plain Pus. The writer would estimate that about half of the names used by the villagers are names which are derived from epithets and which have been spontaneously given to individuals by other villagers and which through usage have become their personal names.

If a male child displays any religious aspirations, he is sent to the *lama*, if there is one, or to the home of lay lama in the village, and he learns to read religious texts. He also learns to copy the scriptures using a *changshing* (Fig. 121), which is a long narrow board of white wood with a grip on one hand and which serves as a desk when laid across the lap. After the child has grown and has completed a considerable amount of religious training, he goes to a *lama* and asks to be ordained.

The *lama* first reviews the candidate's qualifications, taking into consideration his family background and position in his clan and village. The candidate is put through a series of tests. He is made to prostrate himself before the altar as many as two thousand times. He is then required to count the beads of a rosary while reciting the sutras. Again this must be repeated more than a thousand times. A further ordeal is rubbing of one hand grasping a handful of wheat grains against the wrist of the other hand several hundred or several thousand times. If these tests are successfully passed and the candidate's piety is judged sufficiently strong, he is admitted to lamahood. Only those thus qualified can conduct Lamaistic rites using the *dalu* (hand-drum) and other religious instruments. If the neophyte desires to take further training, he enters a monastery for advanced studies.

Since the training is so rigorous, it would seem that self-motivation of

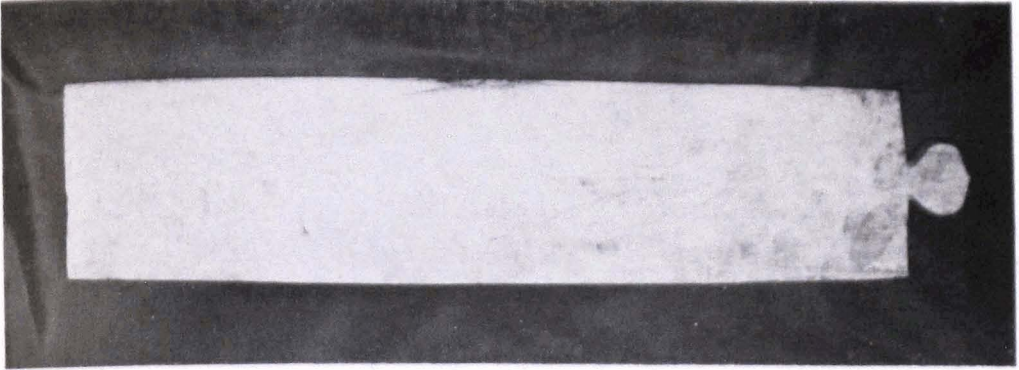


Fig. 121. *Changshing*, a portable desk. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21729.

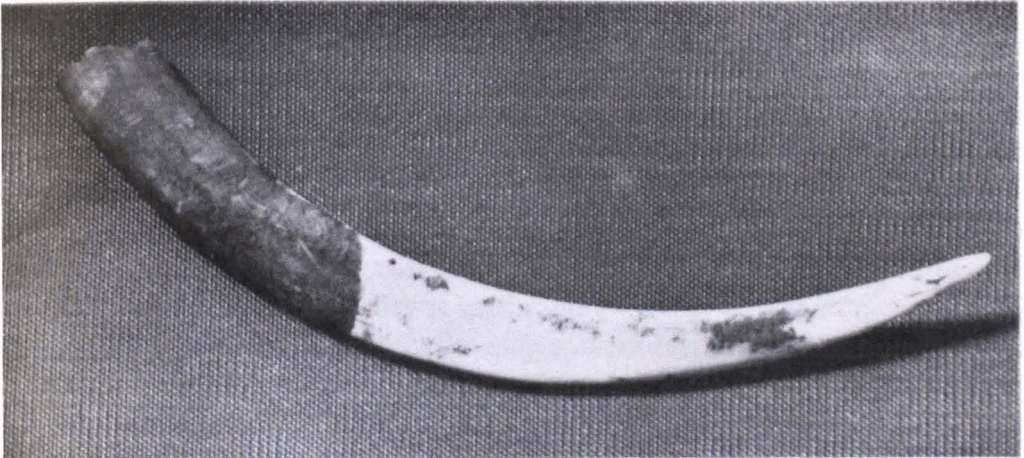


Fig. 122. Bookmark *lachia* made of a fang of muskdeer. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21730.



Fig. 123. Reading the sutra. At Sama. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

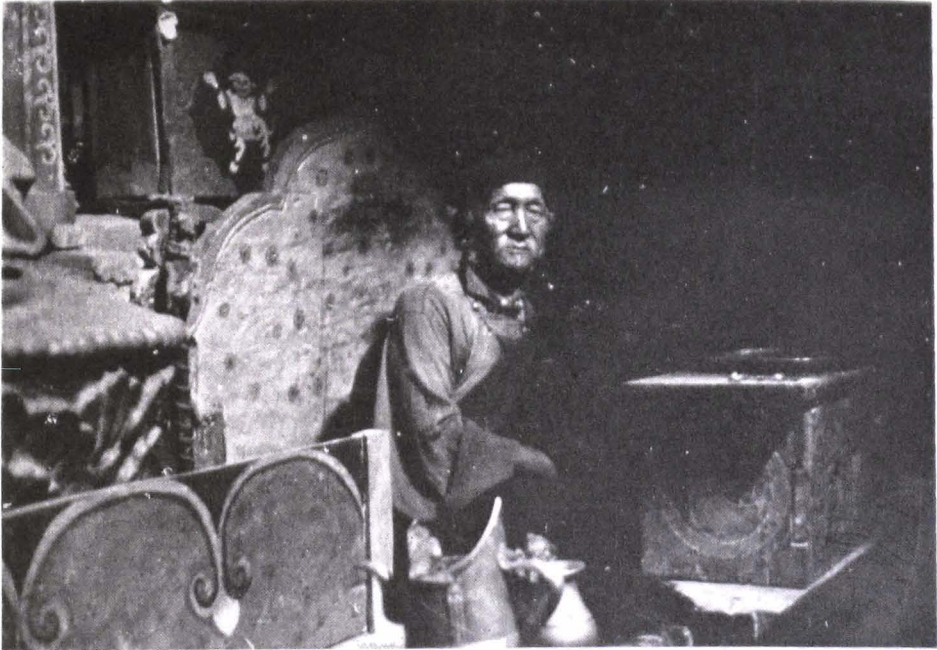


Fig. 124. Chief Lama at Sama. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

the aspirant to the status of a *lama* or *unje* would be very important. Hlakpa, our Sherpa guide, would often speak of his religious aspirations. He told us that if he should succeed in climbing Manaslu with the Japanese expedition this time he was planning to return home by way of Darjeeling and try to become a *lama*.

Besides the special training for aspirants for lamahood just described, the writer would include under religious education the two festivals, the *Do Yab-yom* and the *Gaja-Doja* which, he believes, are designed to give religious training to the male villagers at large.

(3) The Functions of the Lama

This topic has been dealt with sufficiently in the course of this article; so the writer will limit himself here to two or three additional notes.

The *lama* officiates not only at the ceremonies attending the birth of a child but also at marriage ceremonies. In Tsumje, his role in this ceremony is relatively simple. Weddings are held in the daytime. If the groom's house has an altar room (*chhogang*), the *lama* comes to the house. Otherwise, the groom and his party go to the *gompa*. Early in the morning of the wedding day the *lama* begins the ceremony by reading an appropriate sutra and conducts a worship service. At this time he makes two *thorma* out of *tsampa*. When this is done, the groom is told that he can go to his bride's home. Thereupon, the members of the two *nangzang*

involved have a lengthy exchange of courtesies. In short, there is a wedding reception but no formal ceremony. The bride does not participate in any religious ceremony at all. Here again in an example of male superiority in religious matters.

The *lama's* role in funeral and memorial services has already been described (pp. 193-94 and pp. 202-03). His function as the dispenser of magic in times of calamity has also been touched upon (p. 164, pp. 171-72, p. 179, p. 181, p. 192 and p. 209). His responsibility in cases affecting the security of the village (*yūl*) or the clan (*tsosum*) is great, but in cases of individual misfortune, such as illness, he may simply be called upon to divine the causes of the trouble by consulting the divination book called the *Mupe* (Fig. 114B in p. 193) and prescribe remedies. Sometimes, these functions of the *lama* are performed by the *umje*, *tawa*, and *chhoepa*.

The *lama* not only protects against natural calamities but also against dangers of human origin. For example, a Lama-Gurung of Braga (C. 37-C. 38), explaining the marked difference in the customs of the Gurung people who live on opposite sides of the Great Himalaya, told us the following story:

"Long ago," he said, "the people in our northern valley were being harassed by robbers who came over the southern mountain (he was referring to the Annapurna mountains). At that time there was a *lama* in our northern valley, who by some device made it impossible for the robbers to cross the mountains. By the same token, we were unable to get out. Hence, though we are all Gurungs, our customs differ on opposite sides of the mountains."

This idea that the *lama* can act against man-caused misfortunes probably reflects the widespread belief that all human actions are ultimately caused by some superhuman spirit. The writer has already mentioned how human jealousy is attributed to an evil spirit called the *Sondre* (p. 164). Let us relate another example of this belief, which surprised us no end. Noting that the infant mortality at Tsumje was quite high, the writer inquired as to its causes and found out that many children were killed by falls during sleep. Since the people in this village usually live on the second story of their houses using the ground floor for storage and for housing their animals, frequency of such accidents is understandable. However, the natives would often attribute a death caused by this kind of accident to the jealousy of some person and would set up a *Lamchepha* to exorcise the spirit of jealousy.

The phenomenon of jealousy, as we observed it at Tsumje, may provide interesting insights for an understanding of the life of the Tibetan people. The family of the old man, Baru, with whom we stayed, is one of the

wealthiest in the village. The writer frequently had his son-in-law Da Dorje in for interviews. After each interview, Baru would insist on inviting him to the *thapsan* for food and drink. Our interpreter, observing this, commented, "Baru knows that Da Dorje is jealous of him. That is why he entertains Da Dorje so insistently so that he would have no time to indulge in jealousy." The writer had the feeling himself that this was the true situation.

Baru has a nephew, oldest son of one of Baru's younger sisters and he is a *lama* of Prembo temple. This nephew was described to us by Baru's eldest son as follows:

He is a very bad man, making trouble everywhere. He aspires to be a *lama* and is acting as a sort of acolyte and secretary to the *lama* who is the local district chief, but he is not yet a *lama*. He is jealous of our family, and used to come frequently to importune us for food, wine, and money. He is a vicious drinker and once stabbed me in the thigh with a dagger when he was drunk. He is responsible for driving away the real *lama* of our village temple. He is in conspiracy with the district chief *lama* to extort money particularly from our family.

The *lama* mentioned here as having been driven out used to live in a place called Khim Sanba above the village. After being expelled by the above-mentioned nephew of Baru, he went to live at Braga (C. 37-C. 38) far in the west, and is appealing his treatment to the district chief. This displaced *lama* is also, it appears, a son-in-law of old man Baru and the uncle of this "bad man". It would seem that kinship is no barrier to jealousy and enmity.⁸¹⁾

In the Tsumje area, evidently, there is no restriction against a *lama* taking a wife. Indeed, we were told, the *lama* who is the district chief has two wives. It is probably because this is a region where the old-sect Lamaism prevails. On the basis of observations at Tsumje, Sangda (C. 32) and Sama (C. 46-C. 47), it would appear that polyandry is practiced throughout the Highland, while polygyny is rare. In the Lowland, on the other hand, the opposite seems to be true.

(4) The Lama and Local Government

About the lama subba, refer pp. 68-69.

(5) Temples and Shrines

The geographical location of the Lamaist temple (*gompa*) in the High-

81) Refer also to pp. 268-70 and pp. 275-77. The writer visited Prembo temple and the lamasery near it and made inquiries, but the people did not seem willing to divulge such matters to an outsider. Likewise the people of the village would not discuss the situation; so he is unable to report the inside circumstances.

land has already been dealt with. Here let us look at the position of the *gompa* in the community in which it is located, using Tsumje as a case study.

At Tsumje the word *gompa* is pronounced *gomba*. There are four *gomba* in the village (Tib. *yūl*). Their names are: (1) Chhunga Phu, (2) Prembo, (3) Lungsang, and (4) Brajā. In addition to the *gomba* there exist throughout the Highland of Nepal and in Tibet a kind of chapel or shrine belonging to individual families. These are called *chhogang* or *chogang*.⁸²⁾ However, not all families have *chhogang* by any means; they are limited to a few wealthy families. In Tsumje, the family of old man Baru of the Kangring clan was the only one who possessed a *chhogang*.

Of the four Tsumje *gompa*, the Lungsang temple is supposed to be the oldest. It is not known when it was built. This temple is now the clan temple of Shimmushe *tsosum*. According to the villagers, the temple was built long ago by the people of Shimmushe themselves, when they realized the lack of a temple reflected on the prestige of the village. It was not apparently built at the instigation of a great *lama*. The first *lama* who occupied the temple is still well remembered. His name was Chhungbo Gyupa. He was a resident of the village and was supposed to be the ancestor of the Puchi family, one of eight *nangzang* at present in Shimmushe. His descendants multiplied (this would indicate that this *lama* was also a married man) and one of them set up a branch family in the neighbouring village of Gomba Tensin. In later generations, however, the direct line of this original *lama* died out and a new *lama* was brought in from the Kam district of Tibet. It is his descendant who was the *lama* of this temple, until he quarreled with the *Septu Lama's* secretary (and at the same time the *lama's* nephew) and was forced to flee to Braga. (Refer p. 216, pp. 268-70 and pp. 275-77.) This *lama* had not been a resident of the *tsosum*, but had actually lived at a place called Khim Sanba upstream from Tsumje. It also seems that this *lama* was not only the priest of Lungsang temple but also of the Chhunga Phu and Brajā temples. On the other hand the people of Shimmushe, in spite of the fact that they had brought in the Kam line of *lamas* for their clan temple, apparently still give strong support to the *lama* of Gomba Tensin and invite him to officiate at their clan festival, the *Hlapsol*, which we described previously (p. 205). Also, we were told that if the *lama* of Gomba Tensin should die, each *nangzang* in Shimmushe was supposed to contribute one rupee a piece to Gomba Tensin. The reason for this support was, according to the people of the *tsosum*, "because the *lama* of Gomba Tensin is descended from our *tsosum*." Gomba

82) *Chhogang* is the same as *chhokhang*; *khang* or *khangba* is Tibetan for "house."

Tensin is not only the name of a temple but also of a temple community made up of several families. These are all descendants of the original *lama*. Hence, as mentioned previously, intermarriage between the people of Shimmushe and this community is absolutely prohibited.

Next to Lungsang in seniority is Chhunga Phu temple, which was built jointly by the people of all three *tsosum*. The Prembo temple was built subsequently by a *lama* from Kyerong Dzong⁸³⁾ at his own expense. The Brajā temple was built jointly by the people of the Kangring and Prangar clans and serves as the clan temple of both *tsosum*.

The histories of these four temples are based on the accounts given the writer by the villagers. These accounts are simple and have the ring of truth. However, the story that *Sangye Mala* was the first *lama* of Shimmushe and the claim that Chhunga Phu was built to house the remains of *Sangye Opame* are, the writer feels, less trustworthy. (Refer pp. 199-200.) In any case, the histories of the temples suggest that Shimmushe is a much older *tsosum* than Kangring and Prangar. Even today Tsumje is divided for tax purposes into two units—Topa Gaon and Mepa Gaon, instead of three. The former unit comprises Kangring and Prangar, while the latter includes only Shimmushe. Moreover, the ancestral house of Prangar as well as its clan deity, *Pangzen Gyalpo* are believed to have come out of Tibet. By contrast, the clan god of Shimmushe, *Ekazati*, seems to be a deity with a much more hoary tradition.

The temple most used by the villagers is Chhunga Phu, which houses the sacred images of the two *Sangye*. All of the regular annual festivals of the village are held at this *gomba*. The other temples are also used, of course, but more as clan temples.

The clan temples, Lungsang and Brajā, are located near their respective *tsosum* but Chhunga Phu and Prembo, which belong not to any clan but to the village (*yūl*) as a whole, are located on high cliffs overlooking the village. At Prembo temple there was a detached house occupied by the parents of the aforementioned secretary to the *Septu Lama*. It was the Prembo *lama* who escorted the writer to Chhunga Phu, probably because the regular *lama* of that temple—the *lama* also of Lungsang—had been driven out. Above these temples were fields of wheat and buckwheat, with some scattered houses, and what appeared to be a monastery. This, we learned, was a monastic settlement called *Mandema*. It was within the village limits of Tsumje, but belonged to none of the *tsosum*. As if there was something secret about it, the villagers would give us no further information about this settlement.

83) A large village in Tibet located on the eastern slope of the Ganesh Himal, i.e., the opposite side from the Shiar Khola valley.

(6) Offerings and the Maintenance of Temples

The clan temples, Lungsang and Brajā, are each cared for by two persons chosen each year from the *tsosum* concerned. These caretakers are called *nyerwa*.

Each temple and its *lama* may expect labour service from the remaining villagers. For example, the aforementioned secretary-*lama* seemed to be always calling on the villagers for work on new additions or repairs to the temples. Each *tsosum* had its nominal chief official called *kanjen*, and these *kanjen* had to be the most diligent on occasions of service for the temple. Even in the busiest times, they would be present when repair work on the Prembo temple was required. One of the duties of the *kanjen* was to assume responsibility for work on all community projects. They would check on any villager not reporting for work on a community project and levy fines on him. These fines would be accumulated and contributed to the temple. Any work requested by the *lama* would be considered a community project. On July 14, in the midst of the busy wheat harvesting season, many of the villagers were giving their services and working at Prembo temple.

We cannot go into the details of the inheritance system here (refer pp. 296-98), but the working of this system provided the temples with an excellent opportunity to collect donations. Generally speaking, all wealth that was not handed down by a father or grandfather directly to a male heir had to be contributed to the temple or paid to it in the form of fees for memorial services.

However, the *gomba* and the *lama* also have a more stable source of income, namely, land. The leasing of land, both by the temple and by private individuals, is called *shejin*. The *gomba* is a *shejin* landlord leasing land without cultivating any part itself. It receives one-half of the crop as rent for its land. The villagers were extremely close-mouthed about anything pertaining to the *gomba's* position as landlord and no concrete information could be obtained. It is certain, however, that the *gomba* does not own all of the land in the village and there appears to be a definite relationship between the size of the *gomba's* holdings and the inheritance system described above.

Even though the Tsumje area is in a region where a *lama* has the office of *subba*, the *subba-lama* does not use the village *lama* as his tax agent, but appoints his own local deputy tax collector. This will be discussed further on another occasion (pp. 302-04).

7. Religions other than Hinduism and Lamaism

It is the writer's belief that in the mountain zone there once existed

ancient religious traditions distinct from both Hinduism and Lamaism, but he was not able to find any clear evidence for this belief. Many of the traditions have in all probability become intermixed with those of the two great religions mentioned. It would be, of course, a difficult matter to try to define explicitly the orthodox form of either Hinduism or Lamaism. Nevertheless, it is possible to sense the degree of orthodoxy or correctness of any given example. Looking from this point of view at the mountain zone of the Himalayas where Hinduistic forms give way to Lamaistic forms, it is possible to say that there are other religious traditions coexisting with elements of the two major religions. These "other traditions" may be those which have not been assimilated by the two major religions, or those which, if assimilated, still retain some of their original characteristics.

As we have seen (pp. 90-91), there is a strong possibility that the probably shamanistic religion called *Jangri* or *Jhankri* still exists among the mountain zone peoples, such as the Gurung, Magar, Tamang, and Takali. The term *Jagaral*, which we heard in the Katunje hills, may be a reference to a *Jangri* priest (p. 149). The writer does not know what relationship the Bon religion of Tibet has to Jangrism, but if it is a fact that this religion is practiced, as we have noted, at Chharkabhotgaon, it deserves consideration in this context because of the proximity of that area to the region covered in our survey. We are told that in the Bon religion animal sacrifice is practiced, while it is prohibited in orthodox Lamaism. If this is so, we may conclude that the upper Kali Gandaki and upper Marsyandi valleys where there is evidence that animal sacrifice is practiced (in contrast to the Shiar Khola valley to the east which is also in the same Lamaistic zone) are areas where ancient religious traditions have not been completely displaced by Lamaism.

The *Risum Gonbo* may be worth examining from this point of view. These may represent a situation where the worship of three Buddhist deities—Avalokitesvara, Manjusri, and Vajra, was transformed as it was brought out to the Nepalese frontiers of the Lamaist zone into the worship of *Dui*, *Tsen*, and *Kunjo Sunbo*. On the other hand, it is also possible to explain the deities of the *Risum Gonbo* as very ancient local gods the worship of which was superseded by Lamaism and modified by the newer religion. On the basis of the data we have collected and described, the writer feels that the latter explanation is the most probable.

Finally, judging from the fact that the worship of clan gods is still today carried on separately from Lamaist worship, it appears that it antedates Lamaism.

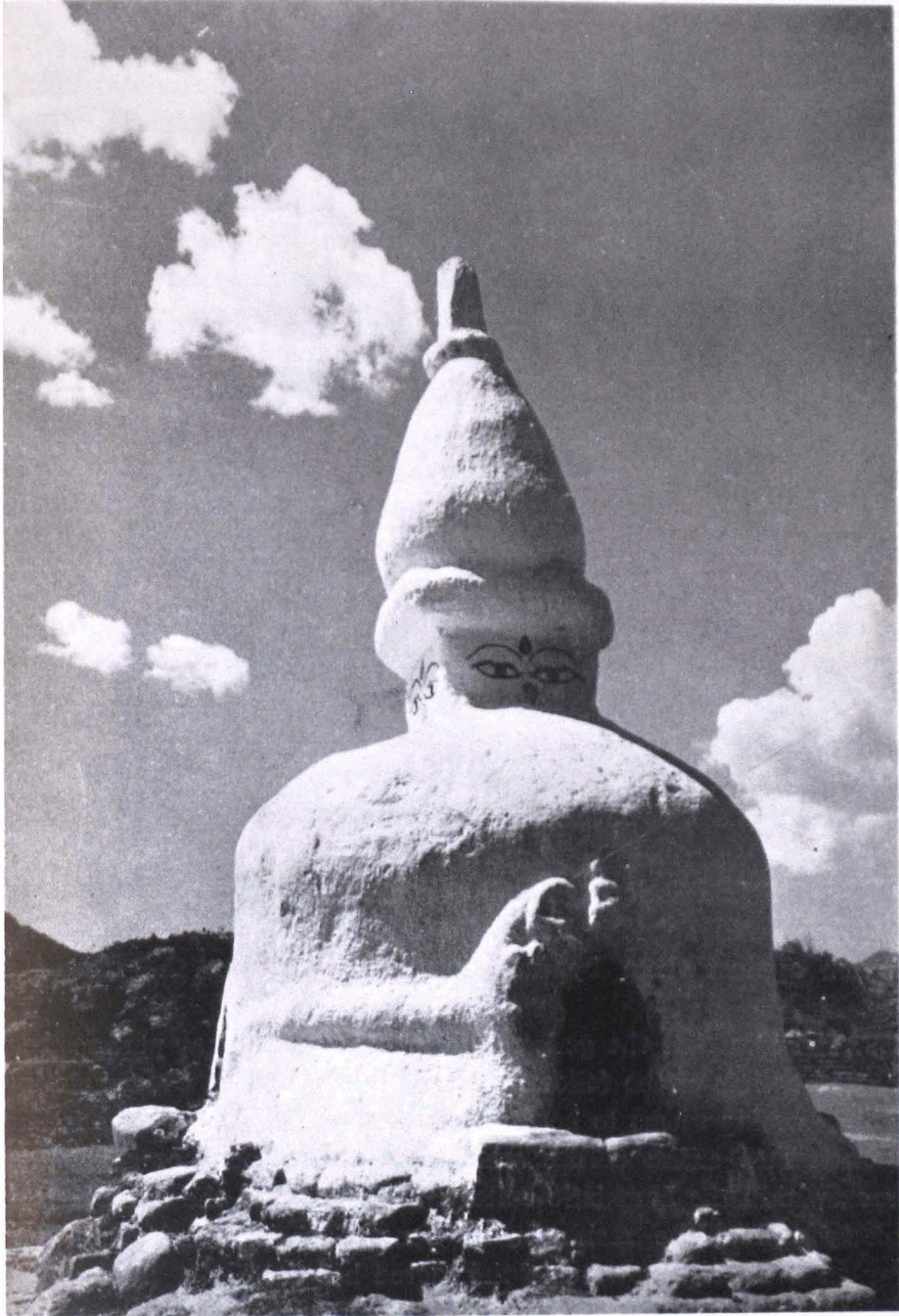


Fig. 125. A small Nepalese type stupa. At Dharamtoli. March, 1953.
Photo. by J. Kawakita

8. Contrasts and Geographical Distribution

(1) Contrasts

The Hinduistic culture of the Lowland and the Lamaistic culture of the Highland have without question many common aspects. They are similar, in the first place, in that religion plays such an all pervasive part in each culture. Another feature common to both cultures is the close connection between religious faith and concern for one's welfare here on earth. It is obvious, for example, how the desire to be cured of disease and the hope of good crops are tied in with religious observances. Since there have been long years of cultural intercourse between the two regions, it is only natural that there has been a great deal of mutual cultural exchange. Nevertheless, the Hinduistic culture on the one hand and the Lamaistic culture on the other have unique features and represent distinct culture types. These culture types, moreover, are often sharply contrasting. This contrast is clearly impressed on anyone who traverses the Himalayas from south to north. Unfortunately since the writer's materials on the Hinduistic region are so scanty and his learning is so shallow, he is not able to make a thoroughgoing comparative analysis. However, as mere impressions, he suggests the following points of contrast.

(1) Whereas in the religious practices of the Hinduistic Lowland plants figure conspicuously, they play almost no religious role in the Lamaistic Highland. Animals, however, tend to figure more strongly in the latter zone.

(2) In the Lamaistic Highland, one is struck by the attitude the people have toward evil spirits. Especially striking is their tendency to seek protection against them by magical means invoking the aid of sacred deities.

(3) The idea that the gods reside in high places may perhaps be found among the beliefs of the followers of Hinduism, but an overwhelming part of Hindu worship seems to be directed toward deities of the earth-mother type or toward snake deities which live underground or near water. In contrast, within the Lamaistic culture zone there is the concept that only loathsome evil spirits reside on or beneath the ground, and there is a strong drive to seek or worship the sacred heights.

(4) The relative position of men and women in religious matters seems to be completely reversed in the two cultures. In the Hinduistic culture, female deities are prominent, and women are not only permitted to participate in religious ceremonies, but sometimes are the only participants. In the Lamaistic culture, on the other hand, there is a strong tendency to limit female participation in religious affairs. Especially in Lamaist cere-

monials is this conspicuous. There are of course Lamaist nuns, but at Tsumje women were not even permitted to take part in the printing of amulets.

This relative position of male and female obtains, however, only with respect to religious matters. As far as general social position and rights are concerned, the situation is different. Generally speaking, in the Tibetan-type culture, women may be said to have a relatively important voice in affairs.

(2) Geographical Distribution

If we use the numerous shrines, *rotipin*, *choutāra*, and *thāti* that we observed as indices of Hinduistic culture and plot their distribution on a map, the result is as shown in Fig. 126. The shrine of the female deity *Sitalamai* has been omitted because her worshippers appear to be Lamaists as well as Hindu believers. The shrine of the goddess *Banadevi* has also

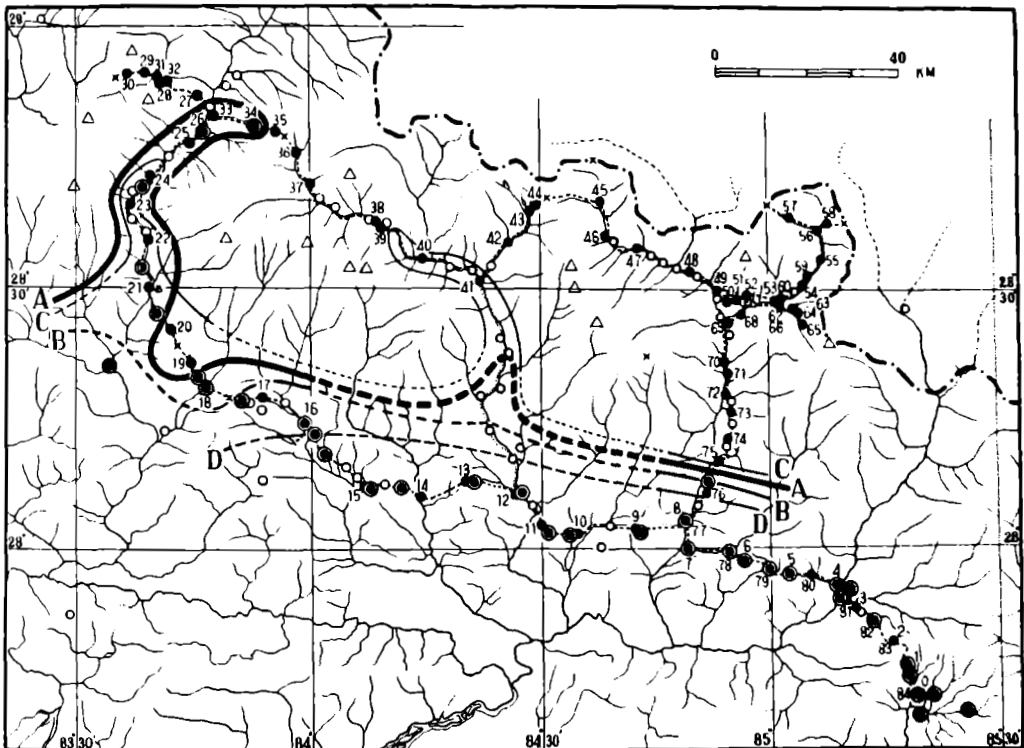


Fig. 126. Distribution of indices of Hinduistic culture.

Notes: A. Northern limit of Hindu shrines. Shrines dedicated to *Sitalamai* and *Banadevi* omitted. The symbol, ●, indicates places where only shrines are noticed. (Relative size disregarded).

B. Northern limit of *rotipin*.

C. Northern limit of *choutāra*. Those in salient parts are not typical as *choutāras*.

D. Northern limit of *thāti*.

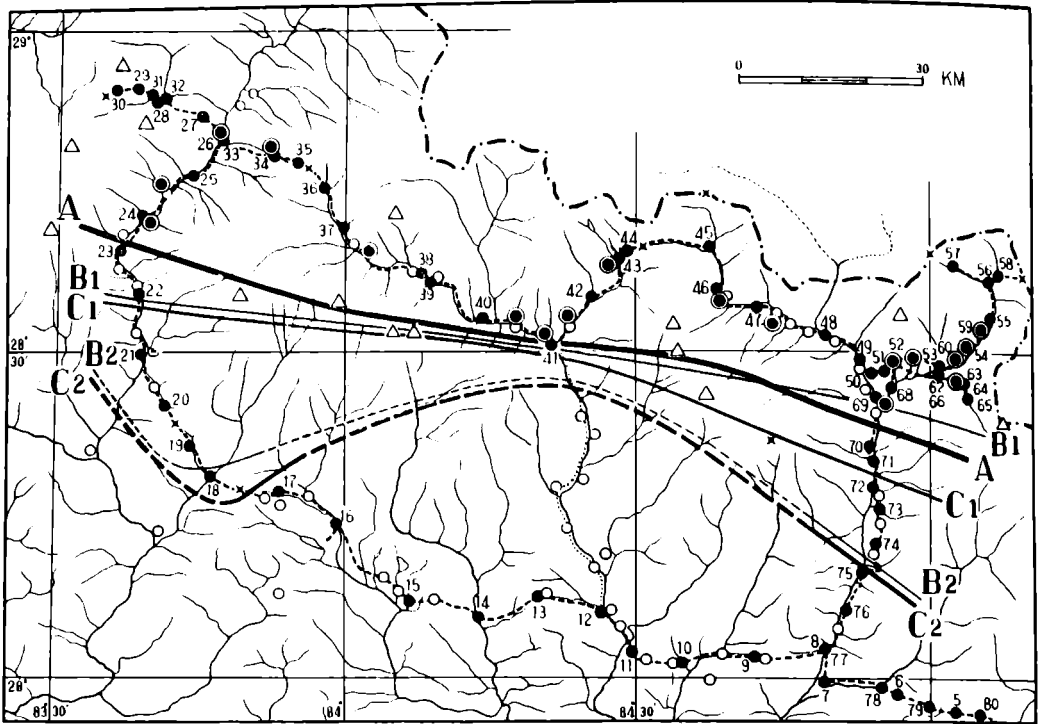


Fig. 127. Distribution of indices of Lamaistic culture.

Notes: A. Southern limit of Lamaist temples. \odot indicates location of temples noticed.

B1. Southern limit of area where *Tarchho*, *Tarbuche*, and *Lungda* predominate.

B2. Absolute southern limit of the same.

C1. Southern limit of area where Lamaistic stone monuments (*Chorten*, *Möndan*, *Laptse*, *Risum Gonbo*, and *Thobo*) predominate.

C2. Absolute southern limit of the same.

been left out because it too did not seem truly Hinduistic.

Similarly if the *gompa*, the *Tarchho*, *Tarbuche*, and *Lungda*, and the various Lamaistic stone monuments (excluding the *Kani*, *Lamchepha*, and the Vacant Shrines) are considered indices of Lamaistic culture and plotted on the map, the result is as seen in Fig. 127.

On the basis of these two maps, we can say that the Gorge District of the Kali Gandaki valley tends to be a transitional zone between the two culture spheres. However, in the corresponding region of the Marsyandi valley and especially that of the Buri Gandaki, it is to be noted that the indices of both cultures tend to become fewer. This is probably associated with the relative difficulty of communication through these valleys. In the order of ease of communication the Kali Gandaki valley comes first, the Marsyandi is next, and the Buri Gandaki is the last. Unfortunately,

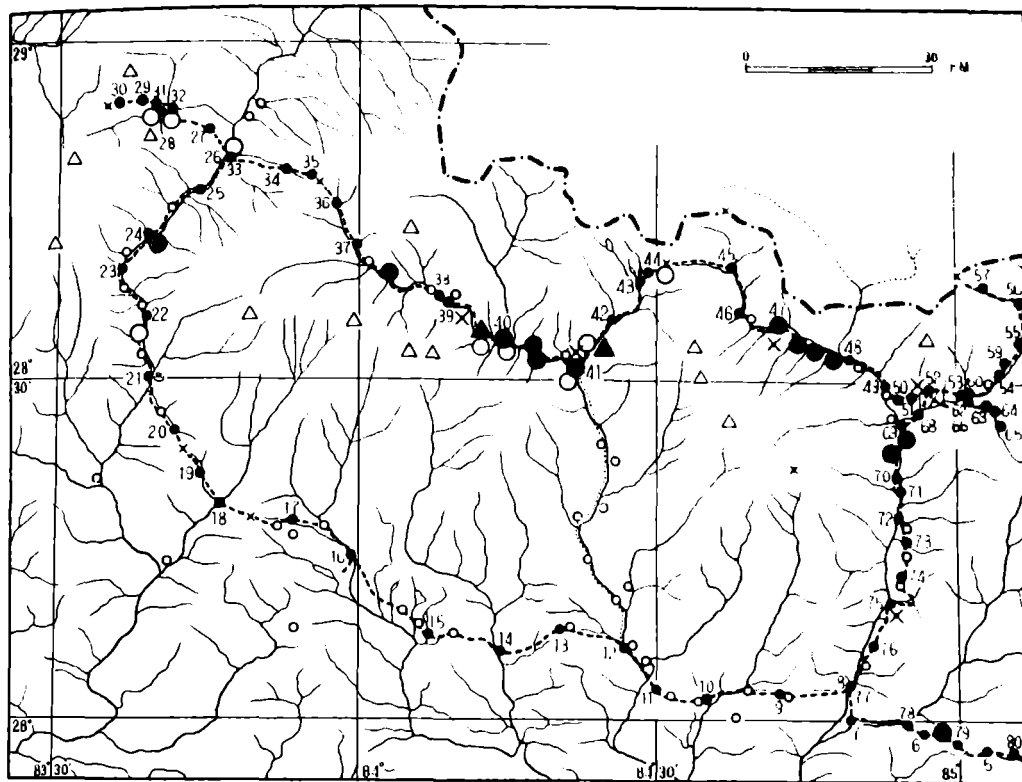


Fig. 128. Distribution of indices of uncertain religious identification.

Notes: ● *Risum Gonbo*.

○ Stone monuments (*Laptse, Mōndan, Chorten, vacant shrines, etc.*) in the Lamaistic territory but with sacrificial offerings of animals, horns, or chickens.

× *Lamchepha*.

⊙ Places where existence of Jangri was established.

▲ *Dopata*.

data is lacking for a real picture of the religious culture of these Gorge Districts, which appear so vacant on our maps. In Fig. 128 the writer has shown the distribution of objects and sites which could not be labeled either Hinduistic or Lamaistic and which suggest a possible link with traditional religious tendencies indigenous to the mountain zone and belonging to neither of the two major religions. The choice of the items for inclusion in this map may, of course, have been biased and arbitrary, and there is wide room for disagreement concerning them. For example, although we were told at Tsumje that the *Risum Gombo* is widely worshipped in Tibet as the image of three Lamaist deities, the writer has chosen to include them in the indefinite category. At the same time, there is also room for doubt concerning some of the things labelled Lamaistic. Are the *Tarchho* and the stone monuments, for example, really things that came in with

Lamaism or not? As for the animal sacrifices, it can perhaps also be argued that since the practice is conspicuously prevalent in the Hinduistic Lowland, it may be regarded as having been propagated from that direction. The one item that is most likely to be an indigenous product of the mountain region is Jangrism and it is possible that the *Lamchepha* and the deer skull symbol may have been originally associated with this tradition. In any case it is to be noted that the distribution of these items in the indefinite category shows concentrations in the transition zones between the spheres of the two major religions.

If the transition zones are disregarded and a single line of demarcation were to be drawn between the Hinduistic and Lamaistic spheres, it should, the writer thinks, intersect the following three points: A point in the Kali Gandaki valley between Dana and Ghasa, a point in the Marsyandi valley south of Thonje, and a point south of Jagāt in the Buri Gandaki valley.

It should be noted here that, while as pointed out before, this line corresponds roughly with the line of that barrier to communications, the Great Himalaya Range, it cannot be simply concluded that communications alone were responsible for the distribution pattern of the two types of culture. It is the writer's feeling that, oddly enough, the elevation of the terrain has also exerted a certain influence. As he has noted earlier, various indices of the Highland-type religion were encountered in the high altitude region between Pokhara and the valley of the Kali Gandaki. A similar phenomenon was observed in the Buri Gandaki valley as we crossed the transition zone. The altitudes of the demarcation points mentioned above are roughly as follows: Dana-Ghasa—1420–1960 meters, south of Thonje—about 1800 meters, south of Jagāt—about 1300 meters. In this connection, the writer will also point out that the Katmandu basin is located on high ground near the great divide between two of Nepal's great rivers and that, although it is considerably south of the Great Himalaya, it has remained a stronghold of Nepalese Baddhism like an island in the midst of a sea of Hinduism. The number of Lamaist pilgrims whom its Boddhnath and Swayambhunath temples attract from Tibet is considerable.

This odd phenomenon, namely, the apparent relationship between altitude above sea level and the distribution pattern of religions, can perhaps be explained as follows. Altitude is one of the determinants of climatic conditions and hence directly influences the productive industries as well as the consumption patterns—in short, the economic life—of an agricultural-pastoral society. At the same time the religious culture which a people hand down from generation to generation and nurture is to a certain extent influenced by their material culture. Even if we consider the

simple formal aspects, it is clearly impossible to build, for example, an ideal *choutāra* in a place where the peepul does not grow, and one would hardly expect *thorma* to be made where the ingredients for the *tsampa*—wheat and barley—are not grown.

However, has this boundary line between the two great religious cultures always been stationary since ancient times? There is no clear evidence on this question, but the writer's feeling is that the tendency during the past two or three centuries has been for the Hinduistic culture to expand northward at the expense of the Lamaistic. The religious history of the Takali people, for example, suggests this. Landon also, in his work already cited, takes a generally similar view. He says that both the Hindu religion and the caste system as well is tending to grow in Nepal at time passes. We must not rule out the possibility that several of the Hindu shrines located near the line of demarcation were once Buddhist temples in the not too distant past.

There is finally one more interesting problem, namely the nature and degree of antagonism between the Hinduistic culture and the Lamaistic culture. Unfortunately, however, because of the meagerness of the materials available on this problem at the present time, we must set this problem aside.

PART II. A SURVEY OF TSUMJE, A BHOTEA VILLAGE

Chapter I. ITS POSITION AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The two maps (Figs. 129 and 130) shown here indicate the position of Tsumje, a Bhottea village, the object of the writer's community survey of over 40 days. The Shiar Khola valley shown in the map becomes a very deep ravine down from the point where the village of Chhogang (about 3150 m) is situated. The point is in the middle reaches of the valley. The valley finally joins the main stream of the Buri Gandaki river. The part of the valley down from the confluence to a point just above Philem forms also a very deep ravine.

Meanwhile, the part of the valley from Chhogang to its source forms, according to Mr. Nakao, a wide U-shaped valley bottom. Adjoining the Tibetan boundary are two mountain passes under 5000 meters high—the Thaple pass (about 4900 m) and the Mura Dajen pass (about 4850 m).

In view of these geographical features, at the points upstream Chhogang, transportation of freight across the boundary line is done by pack animals, while at the points downstream by man-power.

Chhogang is at a vantage point in the trade route between Tibet and

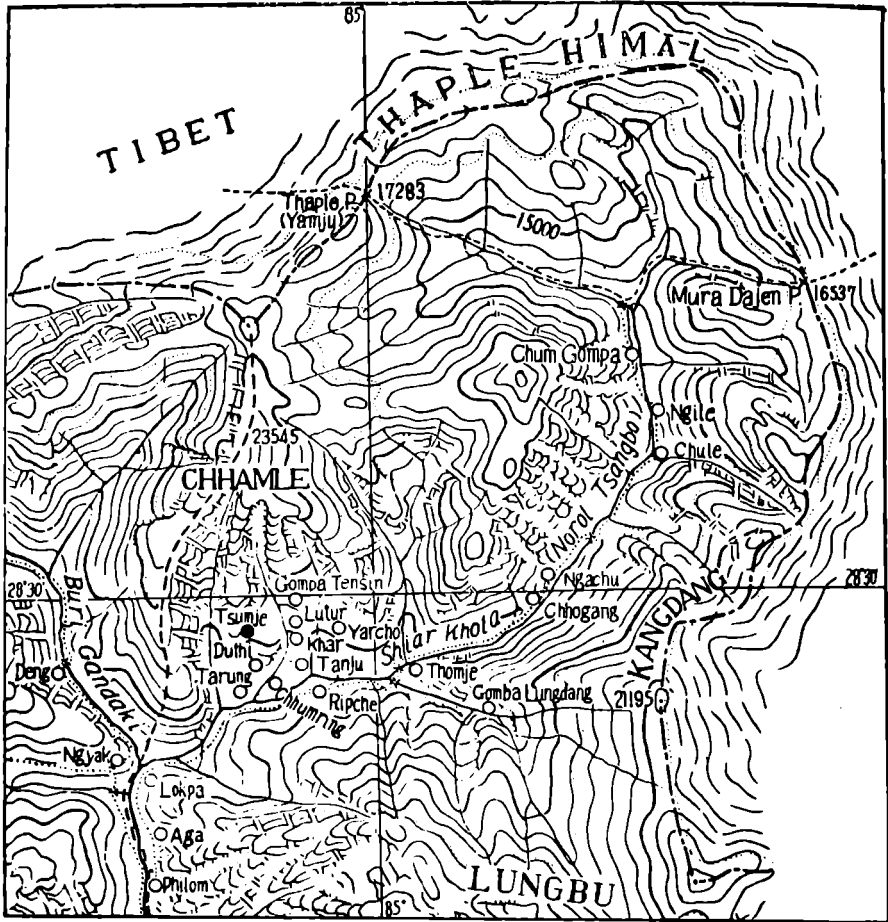


Fig. 129. Vicinity of Tsumje.

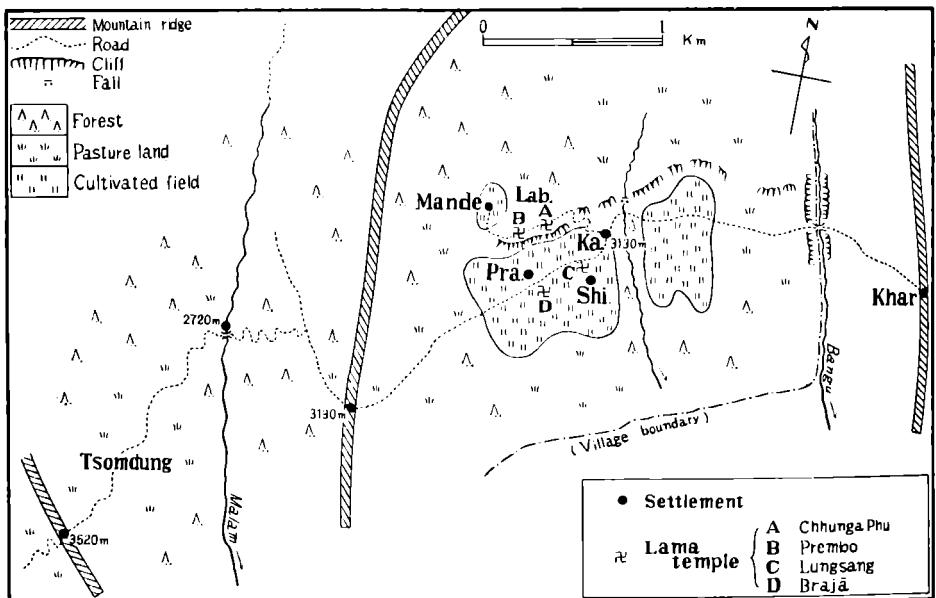


Fig. 130. Sketch-map of Tsumje.



Fig. 131. The highest peak of Ganesh Himal (*Lungbu*, right-hand side) and *Kangdang* peaks (left-hand side) viewed from Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 132. The villages of Yarcho and Khar, viewed from Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 133. A clan-settlement Shimmushe viewed from Kangring. At Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

the Lowland of Nepal, and it monopolizes the profits of the commerce carried on in the valley district.

North of the area lying between Chhogang and the confluence is Mt. Sringi Himal (called *Chhamle* by the villagers) and south of it Mt. Ganesh Himal (called *Lungbu* by the villagers). Both of them have glaciers near their summits and are over 7000 meters high. The bottom of the valley is about 2000 meters high at a point directly below Tsumje. The precipitant slopes of over 5000 meters high are seen in the north and south of the valley. There are many cliffs on the slopes which defy ascent, but at some points the sloping becomes a little gentle so that there are some narrow lots of land admitting of human habitation. Tsumje is situated on one of those gently sloping lots of land in the southern slope. Situated at roughly the same altitude as this village are Khar, Gomba Tensin, Lutur and Yarcho. A settlement called Kangring in Tsumje is situated at a point 3130 m high.

Below Tsumje but high above the valley bottom are situated such villages as Tarung, Chhumring and Tanju on the gently sloping lots. These villages are faintly visible from Tsumje. A cliff-like slope runs from these villages, reaching at the valley bottom. On the southern slope there are thus a fairly large number of villages. But on the northern slope only a single village called Ripche is visible on a flat spot.

A road goes down from Chhogang by way of Thomje and Ripche off the cliffs, along the southern bank of the valley. There is another road that goes from Thomje (about 2550 m) on the southern slope through two or three villages up to Tsumje and the main stream of the Buri Gandaki, crossing the 3520 m high mountain pass. The road on the southern bank is a difficult one to traverse, but it is the most important road that goes through the valley district. It takes nearly one day to go to Tsumje on foot from this road.

The eastern boundary of the village of Tsumje is formed by a deep ravine called Bangu, beyond which lies a village called Khar. The Tsumje village is bound in the south by a *chorten*, beyond which lies the village of Duthi. In the west, the village extends to a 3520 m high mountain pass, which lies beyond Tsomdung, one of the main pastures of the village. In the north, the village extends up to the Sringi Himal. The northern boundary is bound by the pastures.

In the central part of Tsumje there are three settlements of the village—Kangring, Prangar and Shimmushe. Surrounding these settlements lie the fields, pasture and forests successively. The three settlements are situated about 100 meters apart from one another. They are on a slightly elevated ground surrounded by the wheat fields. They are typical Type C clustered settlements, two-storied, ridged-roofed and stone-walled, and their houses are built in close approximation on the slopes. On a close survey, it will be found that a considerable number of these houses have a small open space in front of the southern side of the house. The space is used as a place of work.

Besides these settlements, there are scattered farm barns, though small in number, near the fields. Everywhere near the settlements stand *chorten* and *mani*.

On a huge rock near the centre of the three settlements stands the Lungsang temple with a golden spire. One can instantly recognize that this is a gompa.

Behind the fields and settlements rise the precipices, upon which stand the Chhunga Phu and Prembo temples. Beside the Prembo temple live a group of lamas. The area on the precipices is called Mande or Mandema, where wheat and buckwheat are cultivated on a small scale. In the area lying above the Prembo temple are a lamasery and a family of lama. According to the villagers, Mande is a settlement of lamaseries. But because of the circumstances to be described later, no accurate information was available concerning Mande.

It appears that Mande is at the upper limit of cultivation in this district. It is estimated that Mande is situated at a point about 3450 m high.

In addition to wheat, buckwheat is cultivated in a considerable quantity.

All the villages including Tsumje in the drainage basin of the Shiar Khola are the "lebensraum" of the Bhotéas. The farthest limits of the "lebensraum" are Lokpa (2120 m high, on a mountain flank near the confluence of Shiar Khola) and Aga (2180 m, situated farther south of Lokpa and separated by the precipices).

Philem, lying south of Aga, is at a low point only about 1500 m high above the sea level. It is surprising how suddenly the landscape are switched at Philem from the Tibetan to the low Nepalese scene. At Philem the main crops are *kodo* (Nep., African millet) and *makai* (Nep., Indian maize). Bananas and *Euphorbia* trees also are seen around the farm houses. Few *Tarchho* flag poles are seen. The costume of the inhabitants is similar to that of the Gurungs living in the Lowland. The male inhabitants do not wear Tibetan clothes, but wear the Nepal-style caps and a kind of clothes with two crossed straps hanging from the shoulders supporting the apron-like trousers. They always carry a blanket which they use to shield themselves from cold and rain. (See also p. 80.) Ear-rings as large as the gold coin are attached to the women's ears. The Nepali language is spoken. Of about 30 houses there, only one is inhabited by Bhotéas, according to the villager, and the rest, except seven houses inhabited by iron-smiths, are inhabited by Gurungs.

But the drainage area of the main stream of the Buri Gandaki, up from the confluence, is the territory of Lama-Gurungs, so that no difference in landscape is perceived between the Bhotéa-inhabited area in the Shiar Khola drainage and the Lama-Gurung-inhabited area in the main stream drainage.

Tsumje is situated at the outskirts of the area of distribution of the Bhotéas.

Chapter II. POPULATION

The inhabitants of the village of Tsumje consist of the secular inhabitants of Kangring, Prangar, Shimmushe and lama families living at Mande and the Prembo temples. (These families are called *Labrang* by the villagers.)

There are two lama families. The families have 12 members, of which 5 are males and 7 females. The age of most of them, however, was not ascertained, due to the reasons to be mentioned later.

The object of our study will be confined mainly to the inhabitants of the three settlements. Hereafter the names of the three settlement will be abbreviated as Ka., Pra., and Shi.

At Ka., a family of an iron-smith lives. The family from the Lowland was settled in the village after having lived in the Kutang district in the upper reaches of the Buri Gandaki river. Their features, costumes and imperfect command of the Tibetan language show clearly that the family belongs to the *Kamis*, one of the craft castes. The villagers do not know even the family's name. The family has 6 members, of which 4 are males and 2 females. This family and the lama families will be omitted in our study of the population of the three settlements. (See Table 2.) The total number of the population of the three settlements amounts to 218. Adding to this the 6 members of the iron smith's family and 12 of the lama families, the total number of the village will be 236.

Table 2. Population of Tsumje

	Population			Number of families	Average number of members per family
	male	female	Total		
Ka.	34	26	60	10	6.00
Pra.	44	46	90	18	5.00
Shi.	37	31	68	8	8.50
Total	115	103	218	36	6.06

Note: The members of the iron-smith's and lama families are excluded.

The composition of the population pyramid is shown in Fig. 134. Like the composition of the population of Lingthem, an isolated Lepchan village lying in the Himalaya,⁸⁴⁾ the pyramid presents the tendency of rapid nar-

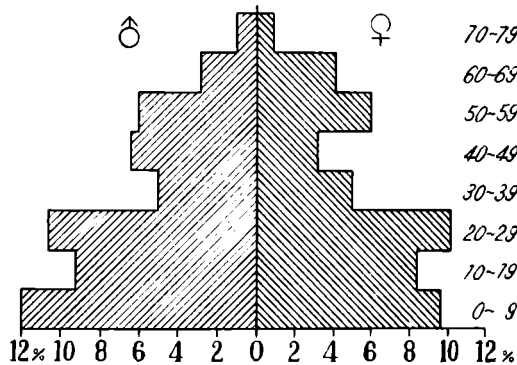


Fig. 134. Population pyramid.

Notes: (1) Except the lama families (two households) and a family of the blacksmith's caste. (2) Total number 218 (male 115, female 103). (3) In June, 1953.

84) G. Gorer (1938): *Himalayan Village*.

rowing in the upper part.⁸⁵⁾ (Lingthem has a population of 176, in which males are 89 and females 87.)

A study will be made concerning the birth of children. A study will be made first concerning the relation between the age of married women who gave birth to children and the number of children, including those who have died. In order to make up for the small number of cases available, those dead mothers whose age can be computed are included. (See Table 3.)

Table 3. The age of mothers and the number of children they bore.

A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
78	4	57	3	48	9	39	2	29	1	19	0
70	2	56	6	45	7	36	2	29	3		
62	3	56	7	42	5	36	0	27	2		
62	3	55	1	40	7	34	4	27	4		
61	3	55	5	40	4	33	4	25	1		
61	3	52	5			30	2	22	0		
61	2	50	0			30	1	22	1		
60	2	50	3			30	3	21	2		
						30	3	21	2		
Average 2.75		3.75		6.40		2.33		1.78		0.00	

Note: A indicates the age of mothers, including the dead whose age is computed, assuming they are alive.

B indicates the number of children including the dead.

There are three cases in which only the age of dead mothers at the time of their death is known. A mother died at 45, leaving four children behind; the second at 43 leaving 2 behind; and the third at 41 leaving 6 behind. There are also 11 cases in which neither the time nor the age of death of the mothers are known.

Taking all those cases into consideration, the total number of the married women who have given birth to children reaches 54. The average number of children per woman is 3.22. Of the number of mothers, those over 40 years old numbered 22, the average number of children borne by them being 4.00. Those over 45 years old numbered 19, the average number of children being 3.79. The average number of children borne by the

85) An accurate computation of the age of the inhabitants was made possible as a result of the custom of computing years according to the 60-year cycle Tibetan calendar made by the combination of the sexagenary cycle with the years of "wood, fire, earth, metal, and water." Hence the accuracy of their memory concerning their age is fairly reliable.

women over 50, particularly by those over 60 is extremely small as compared with the above-mentioned number of children, due to the fact that the older women might have forgotten some of the children they had borne. The age of the mothers when they gave birth to their children is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The age of mothers when they gave birth to their children

Name of Settlement	Ka.	Pra.	Shi.	Total
Age				
15~19	0	1	0	1
20~24	6	5	7	18
25~29	8	14	11	33
30~34	11	7	9	27
35~39	11	10	8	29
40~44	9	1	7	17
45~49	2	0	2	4
50~54	0	2	0	2
Total	47	40	44	131

Table 5. The age of mothers at the time of their giving birth to their first children.

Settlements	Ka.	Pra.	Shi.	Total
Age				
16~17		1		1
18~19				
20~21	2	2	2	6
22~23	2	1	1	4
24~25		4	3	7
26~27	3	2	2	7
28~29		4	1	5
30~31		2		2
32~33	4	1	1	6
34~35			1	1
36~37		2		2
38~39		1		1
40~41	1			1
42~43				
Total	12	20	11	43

Note: Eight dubious cases (Ka.: 1, Pra.: 3, and Shi.: 4) are omitted.

The cases of two women over 50 in Pra. giving birth to children are considered doubtful. (In this connection, attention will be paid to the mode of marriage to be mentioned later.)

The age of women giving birth to their first children is shown in Table 5. In Ka. the average age of 12 such women is 27.8 years old, in Pra. that of 20 women 27.5, and in Shi. that of 11 women 25.7. The total number of such women amounts to 43. The average of 43 at the time of their giving birth to their first children is 27.1. But there is a possibility that this average figure may be higher than the real age at which these women gave birth to their first children, owing to the circumstances attending marriage in this village. An account will be given later concerning these circumstances.

In particular there is room for doubting the high percentage of women over 30 giving birth to their first children. The existence of mothers of advanced age, (inclusive of those dead) may be explained, if we take into account the possibility that the informants might have forgotten the first-born children. In order to check this, it is necessary to ascertain the average age of mothers at the time of their giving birth to their first children, dividing the mothers into several age groups. The result is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. The average age of mothers at the time of their giving birth to their first children, ascertained by dividing the mothers into six age groups according to their current age.

Current age of mothers	Number of women falling in the age group	Average age at birth of first children
20~29	8	23.1
30~39	7	27.1
40~49	7	25.3
50~59	10	28.5
60~69	9	29.4
70~79	2	33.0
Total	43	27.1

The age at the time of their first child-births becomes higher in the age groups higher than 50. There is a big probability that the informants have forgotten some of the first children of the mothers over 50 years old. It is considered, therefore, that the actual age at which the mothers gave birth to their first children may be younger than 27.1, probably about 25-26 years old.

Such an assumption must also be made with regard to the average

number of children per mother. The average number of children borne by five mothers belonging to the 40-49 age group in Table 6 per mother is 6.40. This high figure may probably be due to the fact that it is deduced from a very small number of cases. It is surmised that the actual figure would be about 4.

An account will hereby be presented concerning the death rate. It was possible to collect 49 cases in which the age or time of death was ascertainable. Of the number, 27 are cases in which both the age and time of death are fairly accurately ascertainable, while 21 are cases in which the margin of error is considered to be $\pm 2-5$ years.

To judge from these cases, the number of those who were dead 10 years previous to the time of this survey numbered 30; those dead 11-20 years previous to the survey numbered 11; those dead 21-30 years previous to the survey numbered 4; and those dead 31-40 years previous to the survey numbered 3. This shows that the memory concerning those dead earlier is fading.

According to Table 7, memory seems to fade fast of those who died young and old. But they retained their memory longest of those who died in the age 30-39. This is a point worthy of attention. Judging from this, the people remember most reliably those who died in the past 10 years. It may be of little significance to compute the death rate from a very small number of examples. But an attempt will be made.

Table 7. Death statistics—time and age of death.

Age of death	Time of death	0~10	11~20	21~30	31~40	Total
		Years ago	Years ago	Years ago	Years ago	
0~9		14	4		1	19
10~19		2				2
20~29		5	1	2		8
30~39		1	3	2	2	8
40~49		5	3			8
50~59		2				2
≥ 60		1				1
Total		30	11	4	3	48

Infants' death rate is high. Of the 19 cases of infants under 10 years old, 16 are infants under 5 years old. Of the 16 cases, 5 are infants one year old, and 6 under one year old. The villagers themselves admit of high infants' death rate. According to them, some infants died as a result of fall from the first floor, and the cause of its fall is sometimes attributed

to the jealousy of other people. (See also p. 215.)

According to the villagers, if a mother cannot give enough milk to her child, she must give cow's milk to it by sucking milk and then pouring it into the child's mouth. Or, if in such a case her sister or other near relatives who can give their own milk lives in the neighbourhood, the mother asks them to give milk to her own child. (In the category of near relatives are included the husband's sisters.) From about a month after birth, the babies are fed on thin flour gruel. In spite of the cold climate, the babies are clothed thinly, and exposed to coldness.

Old Baru, about whom an account will be given later, used to hold his eldest son's baby in his arms and fondle him. But sometimes, when he is engaged in husking wheat or some other jobs in the open working space in front of his house, he let the baby lie near him with its hips bared. Such a treatment of the baby is not without significance, for, once the writer observed, a dog chained nearby licked up the excretions of the baby.

An examination of the death statistics shown above will reveal two or three characteristics in each age group, if the examination is made to divide the dead into males and females.

Of the 19 dead under 9 years old, 12 are males and 7 females. Of the 10 dead between 15 and 29, 7 are females and 3 are males. This may not be a precarious tendency often found in the statistics compiled from a very small number of cases. It is likely that women in the age group of 15 to 29 are more highly exposed to death than men due to puerperal fever and other women's ailments. A man called Tshiring who lived next to the writer's quarters in the village stated that his wife died at 41 after giving birth to a female baby, her youngest daughter. There may be some other women among the 5 dead in the age group of 40 to 45 who might have died of such illness. However, of the 19 dead above 30 years old, 10 are males and 9 females, the ratio being almost equal. In total, of the 48 dead, 25 are males and 23 females.

These figures give us a hint that the death rate is fairly high, while the birth rate is not so high, and that on the whole the number of population remains almost stationary. But in a community such as Tsumje, there occur sudden periodic fluctuations in the number of population. This is clearly shown in the population pyramid shown above.

Infants' death rate is high, particularly that of male infants. The death rate among women who can bear children is also high. This fact, together with the existence of some old unmarried women, may be a factor serving to recover the balance between the number of males and that of females, and function as a check upon the increase in the birth rate.

Chapter III. FAMILY

Figs. 135, 136, 137 and 145 shows the composition of families and their pedigrees at Ka., Pra., Shi., and Labrang.⁸⁶⁾ (An account concerning the lama families at Labrang will be given elsewhere.) As has already been pointed out in Part I, each of the three settlements are made up of a patri-clan,⁸⁷⁾ which is called *tsosum*. The *tsosum* is made up of several families, called *nangzang*. In the case of Ka. the *tsosum* is composed of 10 families; Pra, 18; and Shi, 8.

The member of each family is headed by the master of the household, called *shepachemo*. The family members are called *nyesang*. The name of the master of the household is used to denote the name of the *nangzang*.⁸⁸⁾ The average number of members of each family is shown in Table 2. The

Table 8. Size of family.

Number of member	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	13	14	Total
Number of families	2	3	7	4	6	7	4		1		1	1	36

Table 9. Number of families according to their members' generations.

Generations	Number of families		
	A	B	C
0		1	1
1	2	7	19
2	21	23	15
3	13	5	1
Total	36	36	36

Note: A: includes both males and females
 B: includes only males
 C: includes only males over 15 years old

86) Hereinafter, each *nangzang* (family) will be numbered like Ka. 5, Pra. 4, or Shi. 8. See the pedigree charts.

87) This term was borrowed from Mr. G. P. Murdock's book. Refer to p. 255.

88) Someone state that they have their names of clan instead of familial surname. "Noch heute gibt es keine Familiennamen, sondern man verwendet die Namen der Geschlechtsverbände (Clans) in Verbindung mit den Rufnamen, z. B. Tschamri Solo, Konsa Arabtan, wobei der erste Bestandteil der Name des Geschlechtsverbandes ist." (Robert Bleichsteiner (1937): *Die Gelbe Kirche*, ss. 13-14). Ekvall says that the Amdo Tibetans have only individual names. They have no surname, but instead sometimes they use names of settlement, clan or nicknames. On the contact zone with the Chinese, they adopt Chinese surnames, in some cases, and in which cases sometimes all the villagers use same surname. (R. B. Ekvall (1939): *Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border*.)

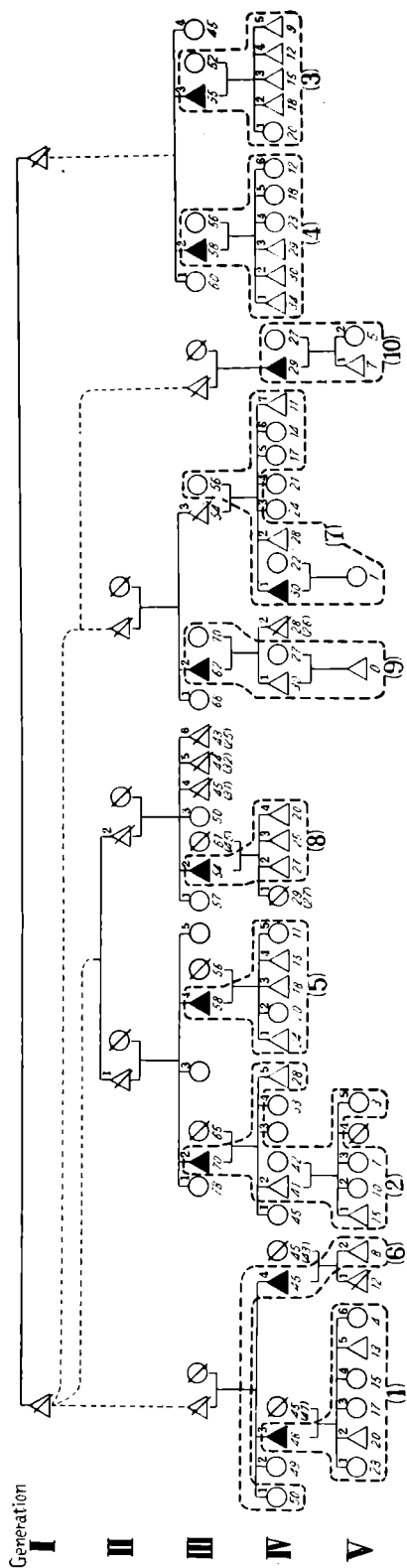


Fig. 135. Genealogy of Kangring

- Notes: (1) Enclosure with thick dotted line shows a family.
 (2) Δ : male, \circ : female, Δ and \circ : the dead.
 (3) \blacktriangle : household master. (\bullet : the case of woman.)
 (4) The name of a family is represented by the proper name of the present household master.
 The number of each family is the same as used in the present article.
 (5) Each number above the sign of each member shows one's order of seniority among his siblings.
 (6) Each number written by oblique letter is one's current age, including the cases of the dead, in 1953. The number in the parenthesis is one's age at the time of his death.
 (7) The family numbers with names of the household masters are as follows in the case of

Kangring:
 1. Tshiring, 2. Baru, 3. Kimjung Puchima, 4. Kimjung Topgyal, 5. Tshiring Angdöi, 6. Hlandup, 7. Gurbu Pu, 8. Tshiring Gyalbo, 9. Nurbu Thunlup, 10. Toga Pu.

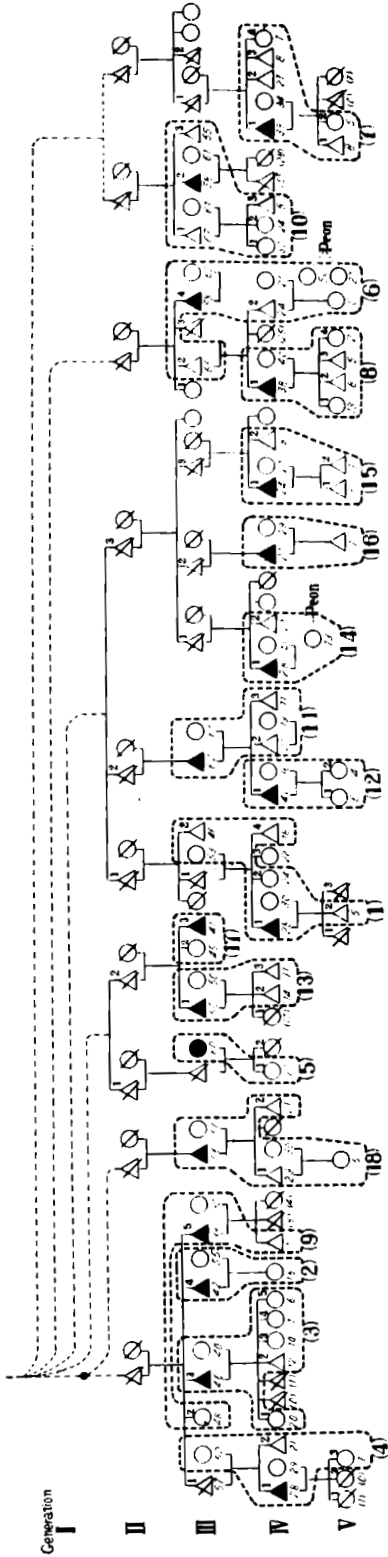


Fig. 136. Genealogy of Prangar.

Notes: (1) Most of the notes are same as used in the case of Kangring (Fig. 135).

(2) The family numbers with names of the household masters are as follows:

- 1. Dako Pu, 2. Tshota Sinḍn, 3. Chhumbel, 4. Lumbe Pu, 5. Kartok, 6. Gyelung Puchima, 7. Tshang Gompu, 8. Dorje, 9. Puchima, 10. Khimbe Pharwa, 11. Kale, 12. Lamu Puchima, 13. Minjur, 14. Tshirin Dorje, 15. Barme Pu, 16. Wak Pu, 17. Pemba, 18. Tshirin Tandup.

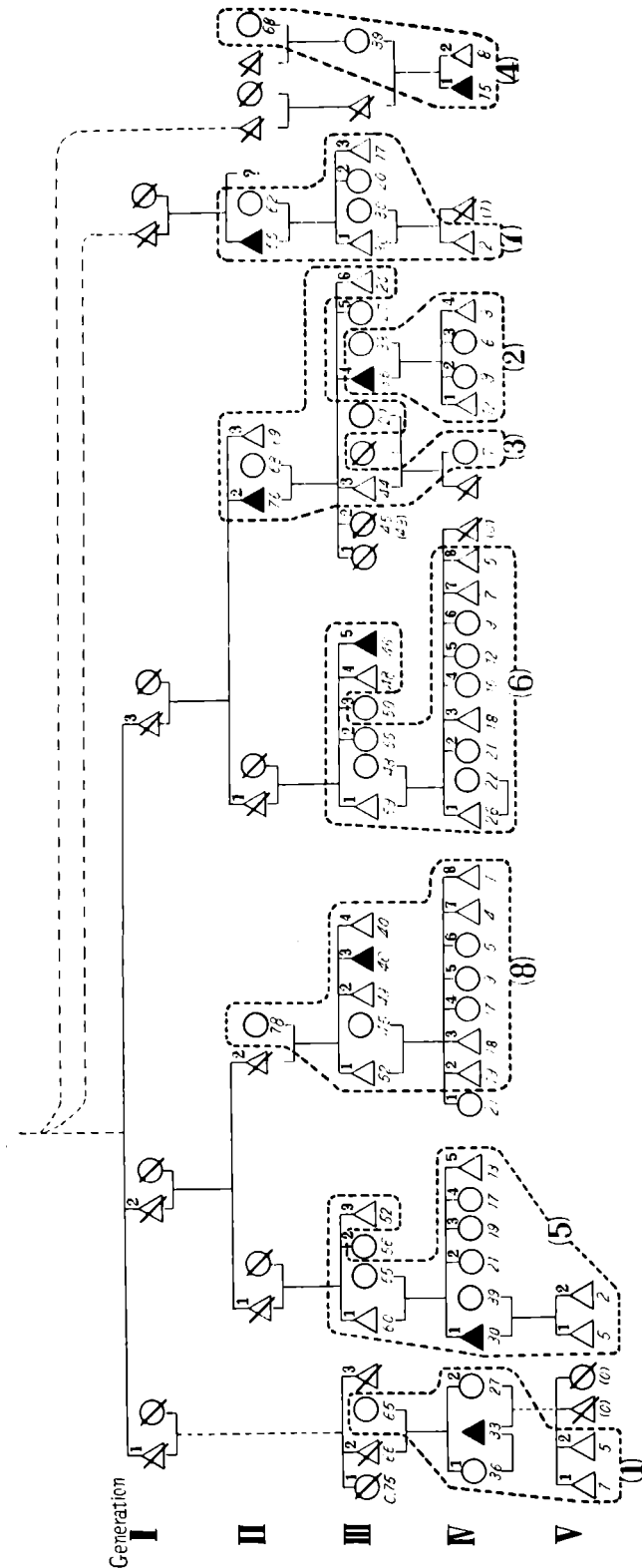


Fig. 137. Genealogy of Shimmushe.

Notes: (1) Most of the notes are same as used in the case of Kangring (Fig. 135).

(2) The family numbers with names of the household masters are as follows:

- 1. Gyalzhen, 2. Da Dorje, 3. Pharwa, 4. Barne Pu, 5. Halu Pu, 6. Puchi, 7. Tshang Tile, 8. Karma Topgyal.

actual size of families is shown in Table 8. The number of families divided according to the generation of the members is shown in Table 9.

This table shows that the families with two generations are predominant. This fact indicates a tendency of splitting a family into two, when a young male member grows old. Hence the small number of the two-generation families, numbering 15, in C, as compared with the one-generation families, in C, numbering 19. The number of the two-generation families will be further reduced to 10, when only those two-generation families composed of male members above 25 years old are counted.

As to the number of married couples in a family, 7 families have no couple in them, 20 have a couple, and 9 have two. Those families with a couple are, therefore, predominant.

Of the 9 families with two couples, 8 are the families with two couples—that of the father and his spouse and that of the eldest son and his spouse. The remaining one family is a family with two couples—that of the elder brother and his spouse and that of the younger brother and his spouse.

The case is different at Shi. as compared with Ka. and Pra.. The average number of members per family at Shi., as already pointed out, is higher than that at Ka. and Pra., reaching 8.50. As to the existence of members of different generations in a family, of the 8 families at Shi., 6 are families with members belonging to three different generations in a family, and four of them are families which have two married couples.

It has already been pointed out in Part I (pp. 217-18 and p. 205) that Shi. is apparently the oldest settlement of the three tsosums, and that in the matter of religion it has characteristics different from those of the other two. Attention should also be paid to the following points.

The most prominent person in a nangzang is the master of the household. (According to a Sherpa, the master of the household is not called, in his native place of Solo Gumbu, *shepochemo*, but called *khöchhepo*). According to the villagers, any male child is a potential candidate for the position of the master of the household, if he is strong and clever enough and can contribute toward the welfare of his nangzang. Of the 36 families, the masters are all male, except one family, which consists of females only.

Classified according to age group, those occupying the position of the head of family do not exceed two-thirds of the whole male members, even in an age group consisting of those above 30 years old. This is shown in Table 10.

The youngest head of family is a boy of 15 years old called Barme Pu (Shi. 4). His father died when he was still a child, and he succeeded his father. His mother and grandmother on the maternal side live with him.

The average age of the male masters of family is about 44. But in

Table 10. Age of male household masters.

Age	(A) Number of males	(B) Number of house masters	Percentage of (B) among (A)
0~9	26		0
10~19	20	1	5
20~29	23	6	26
30~39	11	7	64
40~49	14	8	57
50~59	13	9	69
60~69	6	2	33
70~79	2	2	100
Total	115	35	30

Note: A female house master is omitted.

fact some of them are very young and others very old. Of the 19 families which have male members above 15 years old belonging to one generation, 12 are the families which have one male above 15 each, who is, of course, a shepachemo. Of the remaining 7 families, 4 are headed by the elder of two brothers; 2 by the eldest of three brothers; and one by the second eldest of three brothers.

Of the 15 families with male members above 15 years old belonging to two different generations, 13 are headed by those belonging to the generation of fathers, and two by those belonging to the generation of sons. Of the 13 families headed by those belonging to the father's generation, 9 are families without fathers' brothers as family members. As to the remaining four families having father's brothers as family members, the first has as the family head the elder brother of the two, the younger one being not the shepachemo of the house; a second has two brothers, among whom the elder brother is an ordinary member, the younger being master of the house; the third has three brothers, among whom the third brother occupies the status of family master; and in a fourth case, the family head is the third brother among four brothers.

The two families headed by those belonging to the son's generation are headed by the elder of two brothers.

The only family having male members above 15 years old belonging to three different generations is that of Baru (Ka. 2). Baru, the head of his family, is 70 years old.

The case that those who belong to the fathers' generation occupy the status of household master is overwhelming in number in the composition of nangzangs. In the cases of the household master who belong to the son's generation, even oldest among them is 30 years old. In this connection, it

is likely that the position of master of family is not given to a young man because he is young, not because his father is still alive.

Each of the families Shi. 3, Pra. 6 and Pra. 12 has established a branch family headed by a son. (Family Shi. 3 is said to have been split into two—those of the father and son, and both the father's and son's nangzangs are now living in the same house, using different kitchens and rooms.) Chances are not, therefore, so rare for a son to become the head of a nangzang, while his father is still alive.

In nine cases out of the thirteen where more than two brothers live in the same house, the elder brother is the head of the household. However, this custom of the elder brother occupying the position of the head of the household is not so generally established as may be inferred from the above. Table 11 clearly suggests that in the case of young men, the order of seniority is upheld in selecting the head of the household, that is, the eldest son is invariably chosen as head of the household. But, when the head of the household grows older, the position is generally relegated from the eldest son to his younger brother.

Table 11. Selection of household masters and order of seniority among the brothers who live together within a family.

Order of seniority	I	II	III	IV
Case number				
1	76	69		
2	67	58	55	
3	65	58		
4	59	48	46	
5	52	49	46	40
6	33	27	8	
7	30	28	11	
8	30	13		
9	28	21		
10	28	21		
11	28	18		
12	24	9		
13	15	8		

Notes: The figures indicate age, and thick numbers are those of household masters.

There arises a problem suggested by the table. This is that there is a case in which a 52-year old man has relegated his position to his third brother. There is another case in which a 76-year old man is still staying as head of the household.

Taking into consideration the opinion expressed by a villager in this respect, about which an account has already been given (p. 243), the problem may be considered in the following vein. The qualification of the head of the household requires that he must have the strength and ability to support and develop his nangzang. In other words, the status of head of the household is not an ascribed one but achieved one. Age, seniority and difference in generations may be considered only incidental factors in the selection of the head. They are important so far as these factors go in parallel with his ability. A man's seniority is of little consideration for making him the head of the household.

In this connection, a look into the personality of the old people who still retain the position of the head will be of interest. Such old men are found in Pharwa of Shi. 3 and Baru of Ka. 2. Baru has a 41-year old son and his children. But he is still the head. An account will be given later concerning the influence Baru and Pharwa wield in the village.

The writer became acquainted with Baru to know his personality pretty well. He has great influence in the village *yūl*. His is not the original family (*tshong*) at Ka., but he is now far richer than the original family, and perhaps richest in the whole *yūl*. It seems that he has amassed fortune by commercial activities as well as by farming. In July, when the busy farming season set in, it was only his family among others at Ka. that employed a number of farm hands for harvesting wheat. Those farm hands consist of young girls in the village and several other girls from Ngile in the upper reaches of the Shiar Khola, a spot of one day's trip on foot. The latter stayed in his house for many days. The girls sang songs while binding the wheat stalks at night on the ground floor which is used as a barn. It is in this season to hear young girls sing in the village.

There was a pretty one among the Ngile girls. It appeared that the 70-year old Baru had intimate relations with the girl one night. The next morning he whispered to the writer that he slept with the girl the previous night and that he found her a very nice girl.

The villagers used to behave like servants to the members of the writer's party, because they heard that the members are great *sayabs*. (In their minds they were supercilious.) But Baru never took such an attitude, though he paid us respect. Like the Tibetan-acculturated inhabitants in other districts, the other villagers except this man used to smile flatteringly and ask us for cigarettes, medicine, empty bottles, and anything else we happened to have. But he never asked for such things until urged by us to accept. In this respect Dako Pu, about whom an account will be given later, was like him.

This proud old man had a very strong physical structure. (See the pho-



Fig. 138. An old man Baru with a horn (*khalin*) for religious use. Horn is collapsible. At Tsumje. July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 139. The household master of the *tshong* (original family) of the Kangring clan standing in front of the entrance of his house in the second story. At Kangring, Tsumje. June, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

tograph of Fig. 138.) When the weather was fine, he would husk wheat with a flail (Tib. *gyabri*). Sometimes he was seen ploughing in the field, using a pair of oxen and a boy. Or he would make bamboo baskets together with our porters, sitting in the open working space (Tib. *ildo*). He was also seen pleasantly engaged in doing transaction with a trader whom he allowed to stay in his house. He would take good care of his grandson. Thus physically and mentally he was full of energy. It seems that an old man can retain the position of the household head, if he is an exceptionally energetic and capable man.

Meanwhile, a comparatively young man, if he is a capable man, can become the head of the household in spite of aged candidates for the position. The writer has not a very good example illustrating this point. But the case of Dako Pu, of Pra. 1, may be considered such a case. He is 28 years old, but he is the head of a household, although his uncle, 46 years old, lives in the same house. The uncle is an unmarried man, a religious fanatic and a man with shaven head. The reason of his celibacy is said to be religious. He tried to sell to the writer Buddhist scriptures and other Buddhist accessories in his possession at exorbitant prices, when the writer began to collect local folk art objects. His personality shows the reason why Dako Pu, not the uncle, became the head. In spite of his young age, Dako Pu is a very self-possessed, prudent and clever man. It seems that he is relied upon by the villagers in village affairs. He is now in the position of *kanjen*, equivalent to that of a village master. (An account will be given concerning the *kanjen* in pp. 302-04.) He was the most reliable informant in the writer's interviews with the local inhabitants.

Chapter IV. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAMILY AND CLAN

In principle the members of a family reside in one house. Also when a girl marries, she moves as a rule to the husband's house. The nangzangs residing in the same tsosum may be traced, as shown in the pedigrees, of a common ancestor through the paternal lineage. In fact, as Dako Pu stated, the lineage of the tsosums can be traced back with accuracy only to the grandfather. In the case of Pra., Sinön (Pra. 2) had three brothers as ancestors, from whom all other nangzangs descended.

Judging from the recent branching-out of the nangzangs which the writer was able to trace, it seems probable that the tsosums are descended from a common ancestor through the paternal lineage. It was stated that the nangzangs belonging to the same tsosum are in the relation of *phazang*. The expression "His house is a *phazang* of mine," was often heard.

The nangzangs are divided into original families and branch families,

and in each *tsosum* there is only one original family, which is called *tshong*. The *tshong* is considered the most ancient family in the *tsosum*. The names of Kangring, Prangar and Shimmushe, each of which is a *tsosum*, were originally the names of the original families there. The contemporary *tshong* are, therefore, direct descendants of the original families. Tshiring (Ka. 1), Tshota Sinön (Pra. 2) and Gyalzhen (Shi. 1) are the *tshong* of Ka., Pra., and Shi., respectively.

Besides the relation between the *tshong* and other families, there exists generally a relative distinction between the original families and branch families. In this relationship, the original family is called *trongning*. (The word corresponding to the branch family has not been ascertained.)

Examples will be given to illustrate this relationship, showing the relations between father, son, elder brother and younger brother. In the following father will be abbreviated as (Fa), son as (So), elder brother as (EBr) and younger brother as (YBr) (see Fig. 140).⁸⁹⁾

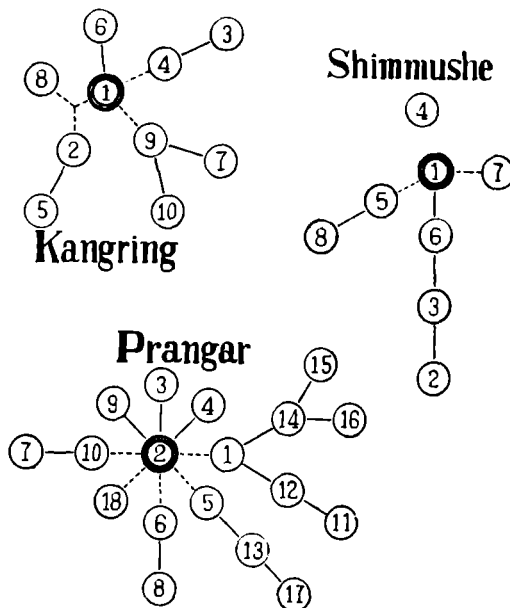


Fig. 140. Bifurcation of family lineage.

- Notes: (1) Double circle is *tshong* family in each clan.
 (2) —: direction of family branching.
 (3) ---: same, but the cases in which the villagers could not trace back actual kin relations.
 (4) The memory of family branching was completely lost in the case of Shimmushe No. 4.
 (5) The numbers are the family numbers used in the present article.

89) Hereinafter the relationship between the relatives is indicated by abbreviation in English. Order of birth among the brothers is indicated by E (elder) and Y (younger). The third son, for example, is abbreviated as 3So.

At Kangring, Ka. 6 (YBr) is a branch of Ka. 1 (EBr), and Ka. 5 (YBr) is a branch of Ka. 2 (EBr). Ka. 10 was branched from Ka. 9 in very old times. Then Ka. 7 (YBr) was branched from Ka. 9 (EBr). Ka. 3 (YBr) branched from Ka. 4 (EBr).

Thus, as a rule, the original families are headed by elder brothers, while the branch families are headed by younger brothers.

Other examples of branching from elder brothers' houses into younger brothers' are Pra. 5 → Pra. 13 → Pra. 17; Pra. 1 → Pra. 11; Pra. 14 → Pra. 16; Pra. 14 → Pra. 15; Pra. 10 → Pra. 7; Shi. 5 → Shi. 8; Shi. 6 → Shi. 3 → Shi. 2.

There is of course exceptions to the rule. Tshota Sinön (Pra. 2), which is the *tshong* at Pra. is the case in point. He is the third son out of four brothers. It was stated that, while the father of the four brothers ruled the *nangzang*, the second son (Pra. 3) established a branch family, and after the father died, the first son (Fa of Pra. 4) became the head of the household, but soon he died. As the son of the first son (Lumbe Pu, now 28 years old), was still very young at the time of his father's death, Sinön, the third son, inherited the house. The fourth son also established a branch family. As will be stated later, there is room for doubt on the above explanation (see pp. 251-52 and pp. 283-84).

In the case of Pra. 11 and Pra. 12, the first son had been in charge of family affairs of both Pra. 11 and 12. When the father (now Pra. 11) grew old, he handed the household over to the first son, retiring from public life and establishing a branch family with his other children. The family thus established by the father is Pra. 11, and the original house (Pra. 12) is now occupied by the first son. So it is said that Pra. 12 is the original family and Pra. 11 is a branch family.

Also in the case of Shi. 5, the position of the head of the family has already been relegated to the son, although the father is still alive and no branch family has been set up. The father has a farm in the village of Tarung lying below Tsumje, and he often goes to Tarung and works there. So his first son, Halu Pu, is acting as head of the household. Therefore, the father was its former head. The case may show a transitory stage in which the father migrate to another village, and establish a branch family.

Examples of establishing a branch family through the process EBr → YBr numbered 14, while only one example can be cited illustrating the process YBr → EBr. The process 1So → Fa is illustrated by one example only. There is also a dubious case of the process 1So → Fa. The process 1So → Fa will be in the due course of time turned into the process EBr → YBr.

In this connection a question will be raised, whether the first son's son can inherit the original *nangzang*, considering that there is a tendency of

the position of the head of the household falling in the hands of the second or the third son, when the first grows old. In considering this question, the practice of polyandry, about which an account will be given later, should be taken into consideration.

In order to answer this question the relationship between different groups of original and branch families must be clarified side by side with the branching of original families into branch families. But unfortunately such relationship cannot be traced with accuracy, because it dates back to very old times. Such a statement as "The grandfather of Tshiring Gyalbo (Ka. 8) was the younger brother of the father of Baru (Ka. 2)" could be obtained from an informant. But usually he could not tell which was the original family. In this statement, moreover, the memory of the informant seemed to have skipped over one generation.

As to the relationship between the relatives dating back to old times, no informants could give accurate information. For instance, as to (Pra. 6 and Pra. 8), and (Pra. 7 and Pra. 10), they say that the families had relations with other families, but they could not tell exactly what kind of relations they had. They could only vaguely say that some particular family had close relations with some other particular families. In the case of Shi., for example, they say "the relationship between Shi. 1, 2, 3 and 6, and those between Shi. 5 and 8 are closely akin to each other." In fact we can accept reliability of the statement in most part only where we can check the genealogical tree. (Refer to Figs. 136 and 137.) However, in the case of the former, they showed, on the other hand, the relations as shown in the genealogical tree, following which all the four families has derived from three brothers. Among these brothers, the two statements agree about existence of the eldest and the third, whereas the time of branching of the second brother might be anteceded another one or two generations before. Among such fragmentary pieces of information, the names of a few dead men, who were well remembered even by young informants, were sometimes told, "The father of Kale (Pra. 11, 62 years old) was called Hrik Samden."

As to the time of the establishment of branch families, the writer was able to obtain fairly reliable information concerning Pra. from Dako Pu. According to him, the third son inherited in the case of the *tshong* family (Pra. 2), from which three branch families were set up by the other three sons. (See Fig. 149 in p. 283.) The time of the establishment of the first son's branch family was earliest, a little time just before the birth of Dako Pu, who is 28 years old, it was stated by him. Supposing that it was set up about 30 years ago, the father of the four brothers must have been alive then. At that time the present head of the family of Pra. 2 must

have been 13 years old, and the first son who established the branch family must have been 28 years old. It must be about this time that the first son's son, the present head of the family of Pra. 4, must have been born. (In this point discrepancy is found in the explanation by a villager, as already said. (See p. 250.)

Then about 20 years ago, the fourth son, then 20 years old, established a family of his own, separating from the original family which included the second son (then 27 years old) and the third son (then 23 years old). The fourth son is the present head of the family of Pra. 9. The wife of the fourth son is nine years younger than her husband. Twenty years ago, she was only 11 years old, and it is considered that she was not married then. Attention should be paid to the fact that in the family of the fourth son is now included his unmarried elder sister, now 48 years old, then 29 years old.

Eleven years ago, the second son established a branch family, separating from the original family of Pra. 2 with the third son. At that time the third son was 32 years old. It is not known whether his father was still alive then, and it is not known whether the third son was then the head of the original family or not. But it is known that the third son was married then. But what looked strange was that his wife was 13 years older than he. (His wife was 45 years old at that time.) There was no male child to the couple, and this means that there was no successor to the *tshong's* family. There was only a female child, then aged 8. (This child is now 18 years old.) His wife was then already past the age of conception. This curious situation in the *tshong's* family is also observed in the case of Shimmushe's *tshong*.

The second son who established the branch family was 36 years old then, and his eldest daughter was 10, and his third son was one or two, his first and second sons having died at infancy. (See Fig. 136.)

Pra. 16 and Pra. 15 are the branch families that were separated from Pra. 14, 30 and 26 years ago, respectively. Before the separation there lived three brothers in Pra. 14. The second and the third sons established branch families. All of these brothers are now dead. The age of the brothers at the time of the separation is not known. But it is known that the separation took place, when the first male child of the second son and that of the third son were one year old. This first boy of the second son and the first boy of the third son are now heads of the families Pra. 16 and Pra. 15, respectively.

Nine years ago, the father of Pra. 12 retired from public life and established a branch family, taking his second son and others along with him. At that time the father was 54, and the first son who succeeded Pra.

12 was then aged 32. The first son has no male child now, his offsprings being all female.

It was 12 years ago that the second son of Shi. 3 established a branch family of Shi. 2. At that time the father was 65, and was the head of family, and he still is. The first son was then 33, and the second son who established the branch family was then 25, and he had then his first son, who was aged one.

Judging from the above, branching is generally made by the sons separating themselves from their father's household, irrespective of whether the father was still alive or not, though there was a case in which a father retired from public life and established a branch family himself, bequeathing the original household to his son (almost invariably the eldest son) who was over 30 and capable. As a rule, those who establish branch families are younger brothers. Exceptions to this rule are only seen in the *tshong* families. Whether this is incidental or not is not certain. Five cases out of seven indicate that those sons who establish branch families do so within one or two years from the birth of their first sons. Attention should be paid to the remaining two cases in which the youngest brother each of whom established a branch family had no child then and took fairly old unmarried sisters (one aged 29 and the other aged 28) along with them. (Refer to pp. 280-82.)

Concerning branching of families and marriage, a villager stated: "When there are more than two brothers in a family, the one who is not the head of the family establishes a branch family, when he marries. When he remains single, he can stay in the family, helping the head of the family. Whether he is an elder brother or younger of the head of family does not matter."

Even in recent years, a considerable number of branch families have been established. A villager stated: "There is many a case in which a father builds one or two separate houses in preparation for branching of his family. These houses may be built years before. So there may not be an actual increase in the number of houses at the time of branching." There are cases in which two families—an original family and a branch family—live in the same building, but in separate quarters. Such cases have already been mentioned. (Refer to p. 245.)

It is an indisputable fact that many branch families have been established in recent years. But the villagers say that the number of *nangzang* in each *tsosum* has been roughly static since olden days. If in fact branching of families were continued with such a rate, the settlement would be now teeming with houses as well as people.

There are, therefore, high probabilities that there have been no less

nangzang that have become extinct than the newly established branch families. The villagers say that there have been no *nangzang* that have become extinct. But the writer found at least a case illustrating this. The wife of Minjur (head of Pra. 13) came from Kangring, and after her marriage with Minjur, her old family became extinct. Dako Pu had to admit reluctantly this fact as the result of the writer's inquiry into this woman's parents' family at Kangring.

There were three other cases in which the villagers could not point out the parents' families of married women in the village, although the writer could not obtain concrete evidence of extinction of these families. As to intermarriage among the *tsosums* at Tsumje, the villagers could give a definite answer, as a rule, as to the parents' families of the married women as well as the women's kin status in their parents' families. (See section on intermarriage.) There is no reason, therefore, why they cannot give the names of the parents' families of these three women. There are deserted and abandoned houses with dilapidated stone walls at Kangring. These houses may have been once the abodes of now-extinct families.

Even now there are some families on the verge of extinction. For instance, the family of Pemba (Pra. 17), separated from the family of Minjur, consists of only himself and his unmarried elder sister. Pemba, now 41 years, is still single, and so unless he adopts a child, his family is doomed to extinction. The family of Pra. 5, the original family of Minjur, consists of an old woman called Kartok, who is the only female household master in the village, and her daughter. Unless this daughter marries a man who is willing to live in her own house, this family will become extinct.

Thus, at each *tsosum* the splitting and multiplication of *nangzang* are constantly in progress, while at the same time *nangzang* are becoming extinct with no less rapidity as the result of which the number of *nangzangs* remain static.

In this connection attention should be paid to the fact that in spite of the difference in the number of families in each *tsosum* noticeable difference is not perceived in the number of population of each *tsosum*. (See Table 2.) Pra. has the largest number of families, the second and third being Ka. and Shi. As to the average number of members per family, Shi. stands first, with Ka. and then Pra. to follow. The average number of members per family at Shi. amounts to 8.50, and this is due to the fact that there comparatively few branch families are established. This is shown by the pedigrees.

One of the elements that give unity to the *nangzangs* and solidify them into a *tsosum* (clan) is religion. An account has already been given in Part I concerning the religious aspect of the clan. (See pp. 195-96 and pp. 203-05.)

According to Mr. Murdock, a clan must have the following three conditions;⁹⁰⁾ (1) a unilinear rule of descent, (2) residential unity, and (3) actual social integration. Also a positive group sentiment must be present in a clan. In particular a married-in member should be recognized as a member of the unified clan. Each of the Tsumje *tsosum* fulfils the conditions of a clan defined by Murdock. According to his classification of clans, the Tsumje *tsosums* fall into the category of patri-clan. As these three clans make up a community called Tsumje, each clan should fall not in the category of clan-community but in that of clan-barrio.

It is not known how this type of clan is different in the case of the Lama-Gurungs. According to Mr. Gorer,⁹¹⁾ there exists a *ptso* system among the Lama-aculturated Lepchas. But as the families belonging to the same *ptso* are scattered among different settlements, the condition of residential unity mentioned above is not fulfilled in this case. Gorer speculates that the families belonging to the same *ptso* were once gathered in one settlement. Except one *ptso* made up of 11 families, every one of 12 *ptsos* is composed of less than five families, sometimes of three, and even one. The average number of members per family amounted to only 4.9

This system of *ptso* has been cited as an example to be compared with other systems in the outlying districts under Tibetan acculturation.

Chapter V. MARRIAGE

1. Sexual Behaviours

Generally speaking, intercourse between the sexes is made openly in the Highland. It appears that the people admit such intercourse.

The Sherpas who accompanied the writer's party soon became very good friends with the villagers during their stay in the village of Tsumje. The young girl who had had intimate relations with Old Baru soon became the object of amorous conquest of the Sherpas. A certain Sherpa named H finally won her. Hard-working H now got up late in the morning, looking very sleepy. On the morning of the party's departure from Tsumje, a considerable delay was caused as a result of the Sherpas' unwillingness to depart. A Sherpa called A, who had been H's rival, assumed an honest and straightforward attitude toward H since he gave her up, and even had helped H to win her. On the morning of departure, A got drunk at Old Baru's *thapsan*, ostensibly to allow H to be with the girl as long as possible.

90) G. P. Murdock (1949): *Social Structure*. pp. 68-74.

91) Gorer: *op. cit.*

As for H, he told us that he would stay two hours more, under the pretext that he had not yet bought the butter which he was told to buy. The party started, leaving H behind.

Most of the porters were villagers of Tsumje, among whom was Dako Pu, who held the position of *kanjen*. The writer saw Da Dorje, another *kanjen*, whispering something to Dako Pu and others. When the party had advanced about half a day, the Tsumje porters went on strike, and refused to advance farther. Most of them stayed overnight at the spot. Those who were advancing, including the writer himself, were not informed of the strike, and went farther, wondering at the delay of the porters. Those in advance spent the night at a rock cave. Early next morning, the porters headed by A overtook us, looking as if nothing had happened. At noon that day, H, looking worn-out and breathing heavily overtook the party. This incident is characteristic of the Sherpas, and of the villagers. It was not only A who assisted H in his amorous adventure, but also Da Dorje. It was this Da Dorje who directed the porters' strike to prevent the party from going far on the first pay of the party's march. He thus had hoped to help H in his love-making.

As a matter of fact, H was so infatuated with the girl that he would stay permanently in the village disregarding everything except her. Out of pure sympathy, the villagers lent assistance to H.

It is interesting to note such an aspect of the Tibetan-aculturated people who are very calculative people. They are not at all promiscuous in sexual relations, but they attach importance to the spiritual side of love-making.

According to Dako Pu, the village children—both male and female—obtain sexual knowledge at 8 years of age on the average. Boys generally start thinking about sex at this age when they see copulation of cattle on the meadow. They obtain sexual knowledge from older friends. Boys between the ages of 8 to 13 take their girls out to the meadows or the forest. Girls generally have the first menstruation, when they reach 13 or 14 years of age. Sometimes girls of this age become pregnant. Girls' knowledge on sex is also obtained by witnessing copulation of cattle on the meadow. Generally they experience the first sexual intercourse upon compulsion by their boy friends. The second step in the sexual behaviour of boys is taught by their sister-in-law (i. e. elder brother's wife), when they reach the ages between 14 and 16. Sometimes the boys are taught sexual affairs by their brides.

2. Engagement and Marriage Ceremony

After a boy had sexual relations with a girl at the meadow or forest

and found that they were in love with each other, one of them, usually the boy, would tell his father that they would like to marry. There are many marriages that take place in such a way.

There is another way of marriage in which the father of a boy and the father of a girl make a promise of marriage. As a token of engagement, the father of the proposing party goes to see the father of the proposed party, and when the marriage contract is made, they drink wine at the house of the proposed party. After that, the father of the proposed party goes to the house of the proposing party, where they drink wine again.

After the engagement the boy's parents will advise him to go to the house of the bride-to-be and stay there for two or three days. When the boy comes, the parents of the girl entreat her to sleep with the boy. Thus in two or three days after the engagement is made, *de facto* marriage relations are established. Sometimes it takes about a month until marriage is consummated.

Sometimes the girl will refuse to sleep with the bridegroom-to-be. Then the girl's parents will bear strong pressure upon her to sleep with him. But when the girl has no intention of marrying, she will refuse to have sexual relations even though she is forced to lie in bed with the man. And in some cases, she threatens her parents, telling that she would become a nun or kill herself. Thus there are cases in which marriage is called off as a result of refusal on the part of the girl.

Marriage is called *ningdung gyawa*, the bridegroom *makpa*, and the bride *nama*. (The wife is *pime*).

The role of lama priests at a marriage ceremony has already been pointed out in pp. 214-15. Early on the day of marriage, the bridegroom, if he is an inhabitant at Kangring, will go to the *chhogang* in the house of Old Baru. If the bridegroom is an inhabitant at Pra., or Shi., he will go to the temple of Gomba Tensin.

After being purified by a Lama priest, the *makpa* goes to the house of the bride, where a drinking and dancing party will be held and participated by more than two dozen guests from among the bridegroom's and bride's relatives and friends. The dancing is begun by the bridegroom's party, after which the bride's party begin dancing, and this is repeated till late at night. The drinking and dancing party will sometimes continue for three days, during which the guests will stay in the houses of the bride's tsosum. Then all the participants go to the bridegroom's house, where a party of the same nature will be repeated.

The *nama* moves into the bridegroom's house after that. On the 12th day after the marriage ceremony, the *makpa* and *nama* go together to the *nama's* parents' house, where they stay for a week. (This is called *tuk*.)

After this, the *nama* lives in the house of the *makpa*, becoming one of the family members (*nyesang*). She does not adopt any other new name or surname after the marriage. In fact they have no family names.

3. Ratio of Married People

The classification of the married women according to the age groups is shown in Table 12. In the classification all women who once had husbands are listed as married, irrespective of whether they are divorced or their husbands are dead. All the unmarried women in the list are those who have never had a married life.

Table 12. Number of married women classified according to the age groups.

Ages	Married	Unmarried	Total
0~4		7	7
5~9		14	14
10~14		8	8
15~19	1	9	10
20~24	4	12	16
25~29	6		6
30~34	6	1	7
35~39	4		4
40~44	3		3
45~49	2	2	4
50~54	5	2	7
55~59	5	1	6
60~64	6		6
65~69	3		3
70~74	1		1
75~79	1		1
Total	47	56	103

Note: (1) The list includes all women living in the three settlements in the village.
 (2) Among married women are included those whose husbands are dead, or who were divorced.

The table shows most of the women married between the ages of 20 and 24. The existence of six spinsters over 30 years old cannot be overlooked, because in a small community such as Tsumje where the number of adult female members is limited, they occupy a considerable percentage, i. e., 14.3 % of the total of 42 women over 30 years old.

In the case of men, there is no one married under 19 years of age. A majority of men married between 25-29. The percentage of unmarried

Table 13. Ratio of the married men as classified according to the age groups, and to the household masters and non-household masters.

Age	Married			Unmarried			Total
	Household masters	Non-household masters	Total	Household masters	Non-household masters	Total	
0~4					9	9	9
5~9					17	17	17
10~14					9	9	9
15~19				1	10	11	11
20~24	2	2	4		7	7	11
25~29	4	2	6		6	6	12
30~34	4	2	6		2	2	8
35~39	3		3				3
40~44	2	2	4	1	1	2	6
45~49	3		3	2	3	5	8
50~54	2	1	3		1	1	4
55~59	7	1	8		1	1	9
60~64	2	1	3				3
65~69		1	1		2	2	3
70~74	1		1				1
75~79	1		1				1
Total	31	12	43	4	68	72	115

Note: (1) The list includes all men living in the three settlements in the village.
 (2) Among the married men are included those whose spouses are dead.

men among those considerably advanced in age is higher than that of women of the same age groups.

Out of the total of 35 men over 40 years old, 11 are unmarried. (31.4%). The more prominent fact is that there is a great difference in the ratio of married men between the household masters and the non-household masters. Out of the total of 35 household masters, the number of those who have no spouses is 4, the percentage of those who have spouses amounting to 88.6%. Out of the total of 80 non-household masters, the number of those who have spouses is 12, and the percentage of those who have spouses 15.0%. Those non-household masters over 20 years old amount to 35, out of whom 12 are married. (34.3%). As a whole the ratio of married men is very low. Meanwhile, the ratio of married men among the household masters is overwhelmingly high.

As a cause of celibacy, Dako Pu cited a religious reason in the case

of his uncle who is now 46 years old. There are some other unmarried men who stay single on account of a religious reason. But poverty is one of the most important causes of celibacy. The fact that there are many unmarried men at Shi. is due to poverty. One of the reasons for the existence of unmarried women is that some of them have lost chances of marriage, so he says.

4. Difference in Age Between the Husband and Wife

Table 14 shows a list of difference in age between the husband and wife, and that the husband is older than his wife or the wife is older than the husband. One of the most conspicuous trends suggested by the list is that there are 24 cases in which the husbands are older than their spouses and 18 cases in which the wives are older than their husbands, the ratio between them being 4:3. Another prominent feature is that there is sometimes a very wide divergence in age between the husband and wife. This feature is common to all *tsosums*.

There is a case in which the husband (Pra. 14) is 28 years old and the wife 50. Upon inquiry, it was found that the wife, who is the elder sister of Puchi (Shi. 6), had married a man at Tarung, who died without child. Her present husband once married a girl, who eloped. The couple married four years ago. The old wife married the young husband, because she is rich and it was not good for her to stay single. It was stated that the couple have no sexual relations. But the popular existence of such a wide divergence in age between the husband and wife cannot be attributed to such kind of special circumstances only.

In order to account for the existence of such a wide divergence in age between the husband and wife, the existence of the practice of fraternal polyandry may be taken into account. It will be supposed that in such a practice the elder brother tends to be older than the wife and the younger brother to be younger than the wife and as a result a wide divergence in age will appear. In this case the elder brother must tend to be older than the wife as compared with the younger brother's case. But as is shown on Table 15, a tendency is seen in case of the first sons (or eldest brothers) that they are slightly older than their wives, but no remarkable divergence in age appears as compared with the younger sons.

The above will be of some help in the elucidation of the practice of an avuncular polyandry. An account will be given later concerning the practice.

5. Marital Area

Figs. 141, 142 and 143 show marital relations between Ka., Pra. and Shi., and the neighbouring villages, including inter-tsosum marriage within

Table 14. Divergence in age between the husband and wife.

Divergence in Age	Number of cases			
	Ka.	Pra.	Shi.	Total
+23			1	1
+11			1	1
+10				
+ 9		1		1
+ 8	1		1	2
+ 7		1	1	2
+ 6		2		2
+ 5	1		1	2
+ 4		1	1	2
+ 3	3	1	1	5
+ 2	3	1		4
+ 1		1	1	2
0	1	1	1	3
- 1	1	5		6
- 2	1	2		3
- 3		1		1
- 4		1		1
- 5				
- 6				
- 7	1		1	2
- 8	1	1		2
- 9			1	1
-10				
-11				
-13		1		1
-22		1		1
Total	13	21	11	45

- Note: (1) The list includes all cases in which divergence in age between the husband and wife is ascertainable, irrespective of whether they are living or dead.
- (2) + denotes that the husband is older than the wife by the number of years indicated after the mark. - denotes that the wife is older than the husband by the number of years indicated after the mark.
- (3) A case is omitted in which a husband has two wives.

Table 15. Divergence in age between the husband and wife.
—as classified according to the kin status of husband among brothers—

Divergence in age	Eldest brother					Second brother				Third and fourth brother
	One brother	Two brothers	Three brothers	Four brothers	Total	Two brothers	Three brothers	Four brothers	Total	
+23			1		1					
+11			1		1					
+10										
+9										1
+8			1		1		1		1	
+7				2	2					
+6			1		1			1	1	
+5		2			2					
+4			1	1	2					
+3		3			3	1	1		2	
+2	1	1			2	1	1		2	
+1	1	1			2					
0		2			2	1			1	
-1	1	3	1		5	1			1	
-2		2			2	1			1	
-3							1		1	
-4										1
-5										
-6										
-7	1			1	2					
-8	1	1			2					
-9		1			1					
-10										
-11										
-13										1
-22		1			1					
Total	5	17	6	4	32	5	4	1	10	3

Note: (1) The signs are same with the case of Table 14.

Tsumje. The number of the cases amounts to 92 of which 58 are in-marriages and 34 out-marriages. The cases include most of the women whose status is traceable in the pedigrees already shown. Those women who are dead and whose age is unknown are also included. Also in the list is included a man who married and moved into the family of his bride.

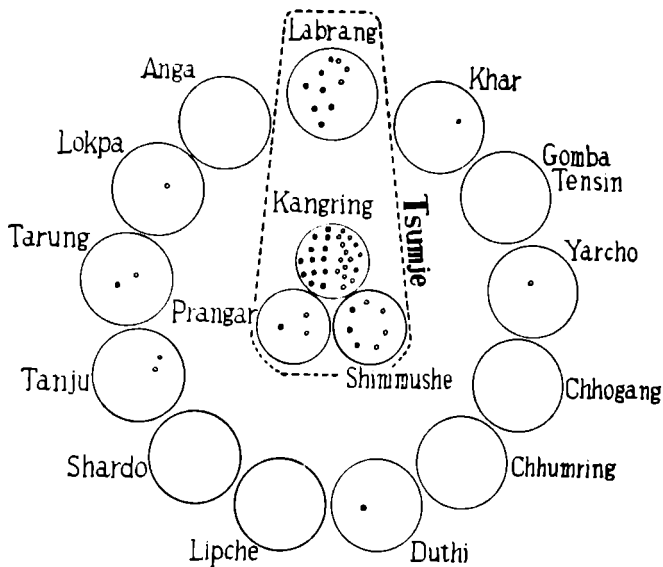


Fig. 141. Marriage sphere of Kangring.

- Notes: (1) ● : in-marriage into Kangring.
 (2) ○ : out-marriage from Kangring.
 (3) One case from Kangring into Prangar is the one from an already extinct family in Kangring.

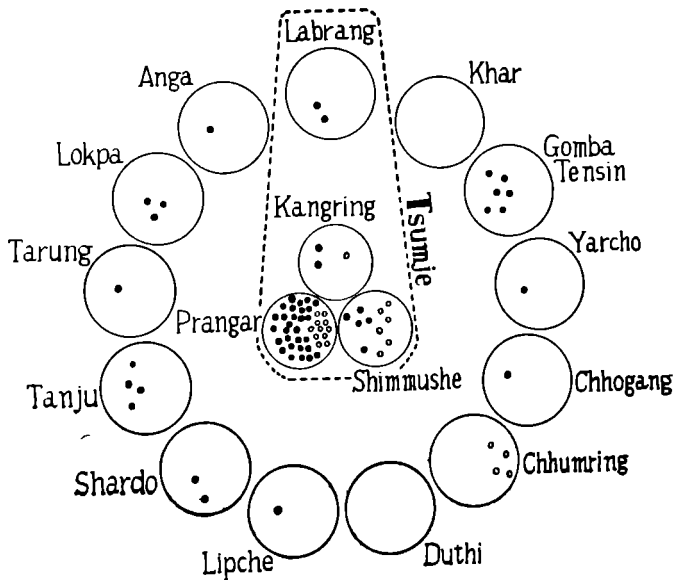


Fig. 142. Marriage sphere of Prangar.

- Notes: (1) ● : in-marriage into Prangar.
 (2) ○ : out-marriage from Prangar.
 (3) Three cases from Prangar into Shimmushe are the ones from already extinct (?) families in Prangar.
 (4) One cases of in-marriage from Shimmushe is a re-marriage after her husband in Tarung died.

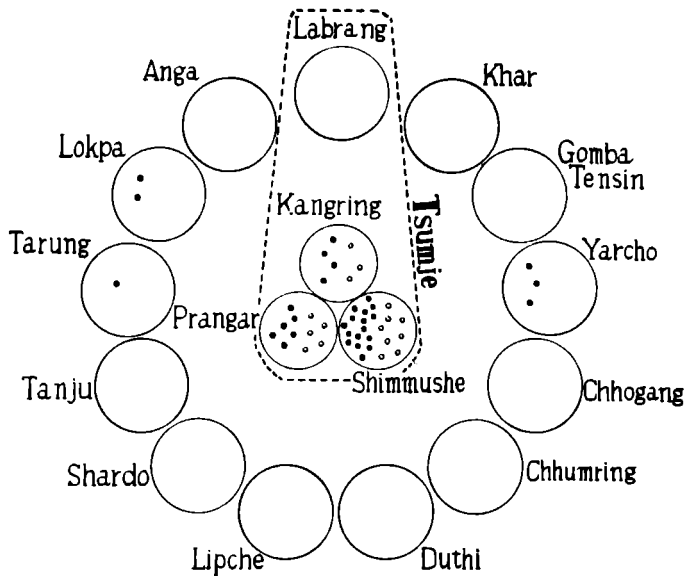


Fig. 143. Marriage sphere of Shimmushe.

Notes: (1) ●: in-marriage into Shimmushe.

(2) ○: out-marriage from Shimmushe.

(3) One case of out-marriage into Prangar is the one from an already extinct (?) family in Shimmushe.

(4) One case of in-marriage from Yarcho is really not a marriage but the mother accompanied her daughter, when the latter married into Shimmushe.

(5) Only one case of in-marriage from Lokpa is not a woman but a man.

There is also a women who moved into the family of her daughter's husband.

The comparatively small number of out-marriages as compared with that of in-marriages is probably partly due to the fact that there are some who made out-marriages but whose existence is forgotten by the villagers either because their out-marriages were made long ago or they are dead. Nevertheless, a question will arise as to difference in the ratio between in-marriages and out-marriages from tsosum to tsosum.

According to the villagers, one of the most strict rules in inter-marriage is prohibition of intermarriage between a man and a woman belonging to the same tsosum. In other word marriage within the same *phazang* is forbidden. Also no marriage is allowed between the members of Shimmushe and those belonging to Gomba Tensin, who are believed to have descended from the inhabitants of Shimmushe. In fact, no instance of marriage between them has been found. Such a kind of clan exogamy is also imposed upon the Lama families at Tsumje. They live in the vicinity of Mandema and are called Labrang.

An excommunicated lama priest of the Lungsang temple, the patron temple of Shimmushe, was also a member of Labrang. He is the younger brother of the lama priest of the Prembo temple. An account has already been given concerning the excommunicated priest in Part I (p. 216). (See Fig. 145.)

As a matter of fact, no instance of intermarriage was found to have been made between the Shi. inhabitants and those of the Labrang. There may exist a ban on intermarriage between them. But unfortunately no reliable information was obtained on this point from the villagers.

The marital sphere is confined within the area lying one-day's trip from Tsumje. Incidentally the downmost limit of the sphere coincides with the farthest limit of the Bhotea territory, i.e. at Aga (or spelled Anga). In other word, most of the villages lying within the one-day's trip has relation with one of the three Tsumje tsosum through intermarriage between their inhabitants. (Refer also to pp. 97-99 about the intermarriage among the Highlanders.)

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Tsumje villagers have the idea that the Ripche villagers have the custom of giving poison to travelers and robbing them, and, the Tsumje villagers advised the writer's party not to visit the Ripche village and never to stay there overnight. This was no invention on the part of the Tsumje villagers in order to make the party stay in their village. Because they were not very anxious to have the party stay in their village, when our party was looking for a likely village to stay in at the outset of our community survey. But it was impossible to learn concrete cases of the reported atrocities of the Ripche villagers. The Tsumje villagers were firmly believed in the nefarious character of the Ripche villagers. In spite of it, a case was found in which a Ripche woman married a man of a family at Pra.

A glance at the three charts shown above will make clear that Pra. has the largest marital sphere followed by Ka. and then Shi.

Except in Labrang, the percentage of intermarriage within the Tsumje community is 75.0% at Shi., 35.7 % at Ka., and 35.0 % at Pra.. Shi. has a strong tendency to practise intermarriage within the community. If Labrang is taken together, the percentage will become 75.0 % at Shi., 71.4 % at Ka., and 40.0 % at Pra. Pra. has the strongest tendency to make intermarriage with those outside the community.

The fact that, while there is only a few cases of intermarriage between the Ka. and Pra. people, there are a great deal between the people of Shi. and those of the other two tsosums, may have something to do with the fact that Ka. and Pra. constitute a unit in taxation while Shi. another. It should also be taken into account that Shi. is the oldest tsosum among the three.

(Refer p, 218 and p. 205.)

Seen as a whole, the number of in-marriages is far larger than that of out-marriages. But in the case of Ka. the ratio between them is fairly well-balanced, while in the case of Pra. the number of in-marriages is overwhelmingly large. In this connection it may deserve consideration that at Pra. the establishment of branch families is carried on with vigour, and that Pra. has some reclaimable waste land in the west.

The number of intermarriages among three tsosums amounts to 21. The numbers of in-marriages and out-marriages between any two of the three cancel each other. Meanwhile, the numbers of in- and out-marriages between Tsumje and other villages do not cancel each other. That is, except in Labrang, the number of in-marriages from those villages outside the community is 28, while that of out-marriages is 10. Even if Labrang is included, the ratio between in-marriages and out-marriages is 37:13. In both cases, the percentage of out-marriages against in-marriages is about 35%. It is possible to suppose in this connection that the existence of some of those who made out-marriages with men of the outside community has been forgotten. But this supposition will not account all. So it will be concluded that Tsumje is a village where the number of in-marriages as a rule exceeds that of out-marriages. But if each tsozum is examined minutely in this connection, it will be found that Ka. is an exception with six persons sent out and two received. The great number of excess in in-marriages is only attributable to the practise in Pra. and Shi.. The total number of out-marriages of Pra. and Shi. amounts to only four, all of which are marriages with the Chhumring village inhabitants.

In a small community, particularly in a small clan, it is quite probable that large fluctuations occur in the ratio between the men and women, and that between the men and women of marriageable age in particular. At Tsumje there is a tendency of counterbalancing in the numbers of in- and out-marriages between the clans (clan-barrio). The unbalance between in- and out-marriages is found in inter-community relations. These facts may be only incidental. But it would not be amiss to try further researches on this point.

6. Polyandry (Fraternal Polyandry and Avuncular Polyandry)

It was only on the very day the writer left the village that he found some facts relating to polyandry in the village, for the villagers were extremely cautious to conceal them. The writer was successful to make their family trees clear. Having found contradictions in their statement, he continued to ask them further until he was given the answer: "It has been customary in the village to share a wife among the brothers."

"But in case she is originally the oldest brother's wife, his younger brothers are allowed to have sexual relation with her, while with the wife originally belonging to one of the younger brothers the older is never permitted to have the same relation. There were found, therefore, many cases in which three or four brothers shared a wife among themselves. Nevertheless, the government has forbidden more than two brothers to have a common wife, though they allow two brothers to share her."

The writer shall now state here several cases in which the practice of sharing a wife among the brothers. (See the pedigrees in Figs. 135, 136 and 137.)

1. Shi. 8, the case of (Karma Topgyal):

The head of family is the third of four brothers. The wife, who is the first daughter of Baru (Ka. 2), had married the first brother of the four, but she is now often considered by the villagers as the third brother's wife.

2. Shi. 6, the case of (Puchi):

This is also a case in which the woman is the first brother's wife and was actually so at first, but when the writer asked her age, the informant gave him the same age as that of the second brother's wife and admitted that now she also belongs to the second brother. As a matter of fact, she seems to have become the second brother's wife.

3. Pra. 6, the case of (Gyelung Puchima):

In this case also the wife of the head of the family was originally the eldest brother's wife but now she is understood by the villagers to belong to the younger brother, who is the head of the family now.

Although these examples may not be too many, at least the following points are certain: First a girl marries the eldest brother, and then she begins to have sexual relations with all the rest of the brothers as they grow to their marital appropriate age. As mentioned before (p. 256), she usually begins to give sexual instruction to her husband's younger brothers, when they become fourteen to sixteen. The villagers regard a wife to belong to eldest brother and then to the younger ones as the eldest gets old. It seems that the wife is publicly understood as someone's wife but not as their common wife with whom all the brothers have promiscuous relations. This seems, however, to be only a matter of relative importance of the husband but not a strict rule. It is suspected that the wife must perhaps be handed over at the same time when the right of leadership in the family is handed over from elder to younger. In this connection we must recall wide difference in the marriage rate between the family head and the non-family head, which we have already seen (p. 259).

The fact in these three cases that the wives are all younger than the

eldest brothers (i. e. the oldest husbands) of the family may not be accidental. For, if the wives were five years older than the eldest brothers, the age gap between the wives and the youngest brothers would be, in the cases in question, seventeen, eighteen, and twelve. And when the youngest brother is fifteen, the elder brothers' wives must be respectively thirty-two, thirty-three, and twenty-seven. In case there are unmarried old brothers, the possibility of the existence of the fraternal polyandry among these brothers must be great. When we consider the cases of the eleven unmarried above forty years old, of which the writer has stated before, in relation to this question, the eight men out of the eleven are not the family heads. The number of these men is as follows:

Ka. : None; Pra. : 4; Shi. : 7.

As is clear in the above table, the distribution of the unmarried who are not the family heads seems to be concentrated in Shi. Six out of these are included in the three cases discussed in the previous page. In other word, in Shi. the tendency of dividing the household is least among the three *tsosums*, the number of per family members is largest, the old-aged bachelors are most numerous, and the custom of fraternal polyandry is subsequently most popular. A villager told the writer why in Shimushe there were many unmarried men. The reason is simply because they are poor. Then, is it possible to explain the existence of fraternal polyandry in Shi., if it is true, by the following?:

'poverty → difficulty of dividing the family → fraternal polyandry.' The geographical characteristics of Shi. must be also taken in account to answer this question.

The inter-marriage relations between the family members of Baru (Ka. 2) and his younger brother Tshiring Angdöi (Ka. 5) on one hand, and those of the lama families of Labrang on the other hand, offer an interesting example. Fig. 145 illustrates them. Unfortunately the writer's investigation failed to discover detailed materials clarifying the family line of the lamas (for the reason which will be related later), and such important items as the ages of the family members are lacking, though the writer is pretty sure about their lineage relations.

The first surprising thing in this diagram is that between the lama families and the Baru brothers' there have been during the past two generations three girls who married out and also three girls who married in, making six altogether. (Tshiring Angdöi has already been separated from the Barus.) Therefore:

A. The wife of Baru's oldest son is his MoBrDa (i. e. cross-cousin), and at the same time his FaSiDa (meaning another kind of cross-cousin).

B. Baru's first sister married the man of Shi. 8 (the mother of the

present family head), and his second sister the nun at Labrang, and all these women are said to be still alive though the age of the latter sister were not obtained. Since she was born, as the writer was told, some time between the births of the eldest sister and the second brother, namely of seventy eight and of fifty eight years old, her age must be somewhere 64 \pm 4 or 74 \pm 2. On the other hand, among the Labrang families except for the mother of the present head of Labrang 1 there can be found no other person applicable for this case. Hence comes the diagram. But if we suppose her age to be 64, she must have been 8 when she gave birth to her first child. Therefore, if it was not probable, she is likely to be older, perhaps 74 \pm 2. When we suppose her position in relation to the family to be correct, Wi of the head of Lab. 1 is his MoYSi.

C. The most surprising thing is the fact that the younger brother of the head of Lab. 1 and the head of Lab. 2 who is the eldest son of Lab. 1 are sharing a wife with each other. They are, in fact, uncle and nephew or father's brother and son, sharing a wife who is the second daughter of Baru. But this information did not come to us directly from the villagers, who, as a matter of fact, stated two different stories. Even such a comparatively reliable informant like Dako Pu designated the uncle as her husband at one time and the nephew at another. And as for the relation between the two families they were generally reticent. Consequently, we could not even obtain the ages of those three persons, though fortunately



Fig. 144. The family of hereditary lama. At Prembo temple, Tsumje, July, 1953. Photo, by J. Kawakita

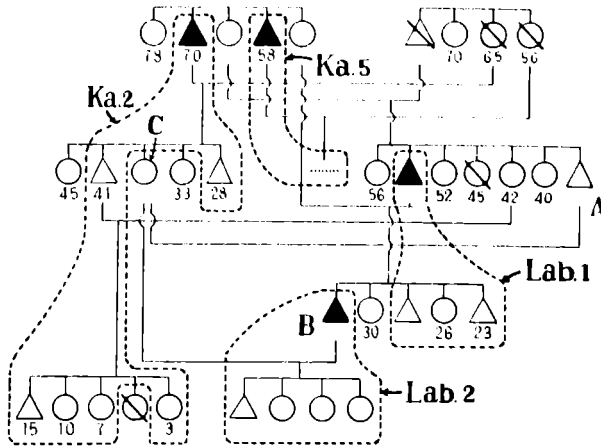


Fig. 145. Intermarriages between two family lineages including a chamadung marriage.

- Notes: (1) Each thick dotted circle shows a family, excluding in-married women.
 (2) ▲: household master.
 (3) The number under each sign of member is current age in 1953, including the cases of the dead.
 (4) The uncle, son and their wife in the *chamadung* marriage is shown respectively by A, B and C.

enough we could find out their seniority among the brothers and sisters. As YBr of Lab. 1 is younger at least than his sister who is 40, he must be 38 or a little younger than that. On the other hand, 1So of Lab. 1 is the son of a father who is supposed to be 54-44 and has a younger sister of 26 and a younger brother older than she. He is, therefore, very likely to be about 30 or a little older than that. Considering the matter in this way, the most natural conclusion is either that the father is 54 and 1So 30-34 or that he is 50 and 1So 30. And as 2Da of Baru is between her brother aged 41 and her sister aged 33, she will be 37 ± 2 . And the relation between uncle and his Wi is MoBrDa and at the same time FaSiDa. In the same manner the relation between the nephew and the Wi is Mo-BrDa, FaMoBrDa, and at the same time FaFaSiDa.

The writer of this report has found in a recent report by H.R.H. Prince Peter⁹²⁾ that there is observed in Tibet a matrimonial custom called *cha-ma-dung* (cha-ma-gDung), in which a father's generation and the son's share a common wife. When the writer was in this Tibetan village, the custom of chamadung and even that of fraternal polyandry were inten-

92) H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1954): "The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia: Its work in the Himalayas," *Himalayan Journal*. Vol. XVIII, p. 162.

tionally concealed by the villagers. **He did** not know therefore by what term they called this custom. **Nevertheless**, as the above example is exactly a case of chamadung, he **will** call it by this name and try to explain it in his own terms.

When we examine **this** example, taking the villagers' explanations also into consideration, **it was** made clear that **Wi** belonged first to the uncle (who was older than his nephew) as we had suspected in the beginning. And it is **worth** noticing that the wife's age is between those of the uncle and the nephew, when we recall the tendency that in the above-mentioned cases of fraternal polyandry a wife is usually younger than at least the oldest brother and accordingly her age is between those of the oldest and the youngest. In this connection the following fact must be recalled. When we examine the age difference between the husband and wife, we can notice a considerable spreading out of the age difference which extends between plus and minus, even in the case of the eldest brothers.

7. Writer's Own Views on Polyandry, Particularly of Chamadung

The writer will state his several hypothetical views. That is,

(1) A wife can belong to any set of plural husbands, who are close each other in their relative ages, if she follows the following orders: The oldest brother in the father's generation → the second brother → the third brother, etc. → the oldest brother in the son's generation → the second brother in the son's generation → the third brother, etc., in the son's generation; the same in the grandson's generation. In this case she is permitted to have sexual relations with anyone along with her first husband,

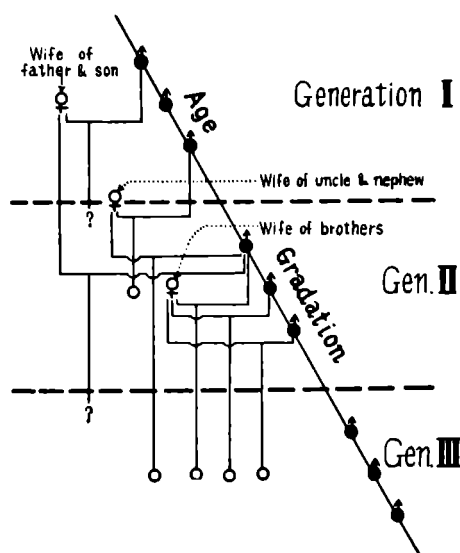


Fig. 146. A schematic figure which interpretes the Tibetan polyandry system.

if he belongs to the above-mentioned series and younger than the first husband. Indeed, the chamadung marriage sometimes takes even the form of paternal polyandry in which a father and his real son have a common wife, if the wife is not the son's real mother.

"In case the mother of a family dies, either the father or the son takes a new spouse, who becomes at the same time the wife of the other male members of the family without infringing the law of the country."⁹³⁾ Fig. 146 is to show this in a diagram. It shows that the average age difference between the two brothers in a successive order in the 63 cases picked up from the genealogical charts is 6.9. The most frequent age difference is 3, and the next mode of frequency is found in 7-8 years,

Table 16. Age difference between youngest uncle and oldest nephew and their living conditions.

No. of case	Age difference	Age of uncle	Age of nephew	Living together or not	Family number
1	0	8	8	0	Pra. 7
2	4	9	5	0	Pra. 15
3	8	20	12	×	Shi. 3 & 2
4	8	13	5	0	Shi. 5
5	11	39	28	×	Pra. 9 & 4
6	13	28	15	0	Ka. 2
7	13	18	5	0	Pra. 1
8	15	17	2	0	Shi. 7
9	16	43	27		Ka. 8
10	16	24	8	×	Pra. 6 & 8
11	17	58	41	×	Ka. 5 & 2
12	18	46	28	0	Pra. 1
13	20	58	38	×	Pra. 6 & 8
14	20	46	26	0	Shi. 6
15	21	55	34	×	Ka. 3 & 4
16	21	40	19	0	Shi. 8
17	22	52	30	0	Shi. 5
18	25	45	20	×	Ka. 6 & 1
19	25	69	44	0	Shi. 3
20	27	41	14	×	Pra. 17 & 13
21	47	55	8	0	Pra. 10

Note: (1) Thick letters stand for the ages in which chamadung is liable to take place in the present or past.

(2) Figure underlined with _____ is the supposed ages of those who are dead.

Table 16 shows the age differences between the youngest brothers in the father's generation and their nephews who are the oldest among their own generation, whose ages are known, and who are mostly the oldest sons of the oldest brothers in the father's generation. They are, in other words, those who are most liable to form the relation of *chamadung* each other. In this table it is supposed that the relation of *chamadung* tends most often to take place in either case, when the nephew's age is larger than 15 years old or the case when the age difference is below 15. Such cases are indicated by the thick letters in the table. Only in the case between the smallest son of Baru and the oldest son of Baru's own oldest son the thick letters are doubled. And it is only with the case of Baru's youngest son and his oldest son's oldest son that such an uncle and a nephew are living together. As for Baru's youngest son, the villagers' statements made at two different times were varied, for they said first, "He has a wife", which was changed later into "He is engaged and his fiancé is still living with her own family." The average age difference between those pairs of uncle and nephew is 17.5 years in the total of 21 cases. But the case of No. 21 has an unconceivable family structure according to the genealogical table. Omitting this case, the average age difference comes down to 16.0.

(2) When we suppose the schematic relations mentioned above to be true, the sexual relation between a wife and anyone older than her first husband is always prohibited, while she may come down to the younger.

(3) Notwithstanding such undeniable examples of polyandry among them, a wife is always entitled to be the wife of one of her actual husbands. This main husband will be hereafter tentatively called the *accentuated husband* in this article.

(4) In most cases, such an accentuated husband coincides with her first husband, in the first half period of her married life. But as the first husband gets old or one of the other husbands, who are always younger than the first husband, is matured and able enough to take over the leadership of the family, she is permitted to take the younger man as her accentuated husband.

(5) Such a transmission of the status of accentuated husband within a family has the tendency to be parallel with transmission of the right of household mastership. In other words, as a younger man takes over leadership from his senior, at the same time he will take over the status of accentuated husband.

(6) The accepted order of husbandship such as mentioned above seems to follow principally, not some ascribed status such as that of the first-born son and so on, but to the order of seniority: That is to say, the

order of EBr → YBr means rather the order of seniority in relative ages, than the fixed relationship of relative statuses in the same generation. Another order of FaYBr → FaSo means rather the order of seniority in most cases, than any fixed avuncular relationship in different generations. The common denominator of those two relationships is seniority in their natural ages.

(7) Therefore, the wife of FaYBr, whose age is between those of FaYBr and FaSo is also likely to become that of the eldest son and his brothers, a chamadung case creating easily, while, when the age of the wife of the eldest son is between those of the eldest and younger brothers in the same generation, there often occur cases of genuine fraternal polyandry. In short, chamadung and fraternal polyandry are no different marriage customs but similar in their basic principles and supplemental each other.

(8) Both marriage customs are regulated by the same principle that a wife should not belong to husband older than her first husband, but to the younger as they become older. Though they observe this rule rather strictly, the transmission of accentuation toward the younger husbands does not seem to be bound up by any strict regulation. They let the matter take its own course. Accordingly, the order of seniority does not seem to have any deep meaning in itself, but it serves only as a criterion to let such a function be effective so that the wife can be transmitted to the younger ones who will become able in personal ability more and more with passing of time. To prove this, it is necessary in future to study flexibility of the rule a little further. For instance, a wife must be handed down to the younger brothers according to the strict order of age, that is beginning from the eldest, the second, and then the youngest, or that she goes from the eldest directly to the youngest, if the circumstances require.

(9) If this suggestion proves true, it is also supposed that it accounts for the general tendency in which they approve personal ability and mobility, as mentioned previously, in the Tibetan acculturated tribes.

(10) On the other hand, from the negative point of view, it seems that chamadung marriage and a principle of age gradation which underlies it have some relations with their weak consciousness of the hierarchical order of generation (hereinafter, it will be called simply *generation hierarchy*), as they scarcely are capable of tracing their ancestors far back.

(11) In fraternal polyandry there is a tendency that the children are treated as belonging to the eldest brother. But the writer could hardly gather sufficient materials to tell which of the brothers is the actual father of the children. Also the writer could not obtain any materials to show whether or not they could actually distinguish their parentage. As a rule

the eldest brother takes a wife first and marries, while he is very young. In many cases when the younger brothers are not yet old enough to marry, the eldest sons are more likely to be the eldest brother's sons and not that of the youngest. Accordingly, in *chamadung*, there is little possibility that the nominal relation of uncle and nephew makes the actual relation of father and son, if the son is eldest of his brothers. And in the case of *Labrang*, the eldest brother who is probably the eldest son's real father, has a wife but different from the wife of the son in question, who is *WiFaSi* of his son. Therefore, in this case, this *chamadung* example does not mean a marriage between the mother and son.

(12) Are such examples as stated above concerning polyandry acceptable as those of institutional polyandry? The writer hopes the reader to judge himself whether or not the examples are only accidental cases to be found everywhere in the world. In the writer's view, these examples seem to show the existence of marital institution. Some rules of an institution are suggested in those examples. Also the tendency toward polyandry seems to play some important *functions*, woven into the whole system of their life. The fact that the accentuated husband is only one among plural husbands will persuade some readers to consider those cases simply as examples of levirate marriage which is found sometimes among peoples other than the Tibetans. There may be some intimate relationships between levirate marriage in other countries and polyandry among the Tibetans. Even among the Tibetans the following form of levirate was informed by Bleichsteiner:

"Der Sohn darf nach dem Tode des Vaters dessen Ehefrau, wenn sie nicht seine leibliche Mutter ist, der Neffe die des Onkels, der jüngere Bruder die seines verstorbenen älteren Bruders ehelichen, man darf aber keine Frau mit demselben Geschlechtsnamen heiraten" ⁹⁴⁾. Farther comparative study aimed at this point may be fruitful in the future. However, in spite of the existence of an accentuated husband, the younger are admitted to have relations with the wife as spouses, and furthermore they have a chance to become accentuated husbands within the life-time of their seniors, if certain circumstances exist.

Another point to be noted is that the two husbands, uncle and nephew, in this sole example of *chamadung* marriage, are at enmity with each other, as already stated in p. 216. According to information by the Baru's eldest son and others the very uncle had been the legitimate lama of the temples of *Lungsang*, *Prembo* and *Chhunga Phu*, who was driven out by his nephew to his present abode at *Braga* (C. 37-C. 38). And after

94) R. Bleichsteiner (1937): *Die Gelbe Kirche*, ss. 13-14.

this trouble, the nephew has separated his household from that of his own father, without taking care of his parents. Now the parents (Lab. 1) are residing beside the Prembo temple and the son (Lab. 2) at Mandema. This nephew is now a secretary to Mr. Septu Lama and he is afraid of by the villagers because of this status. According to the Barus, he is quite an unmanageable rascal and a man of jealousy, who has sometimes extorted spirits, money, or other goods from Baru's family and has provoked them to quarrel, notwithstanding that Baru's family is the original family of his wife.

In fact, he tried to hinder mutual good understanding between Septu Lama and the Japanese expedition party in 1953. The next example will be sufficient to show these circumstances.

After having left the Sama base-camp, two of our party arrived at Tsumje, and lodged in a room of Baru's house. Several days later the nephew came back to his village Tsumje, accompanying Septu Lama. Septu lama and his followers except him stayed only a night at the Lung-sang temple. At that night, the "bad man," who was with Septu Lama, summoned some villagers and the porters of our party. The questions and answers exchanged were as follows:

"Why have you lent a room to those fellows (i. e. the writer's party)?"
 "We could not refuse their request, because they are the gentlemen who have intimate connections with the Government."

"You must not sell any fuels to such strangers."

However, Septu Lama inserted some words to admit the villagers to sell foods and fuels to our party and get profits.

"It was an abominable conduct that you had told them the names of *nangzangs* in this village!" "No, we have not told them."

He turned to our porters, asking them as follows:

"Why didn't you obey my order issued at Sama that you must abandon the luggages of those fellows on the way?" The porters replied: "But our porters are poverty-stricken so that we cannot make our living without getting the wages by carrying."

Then the "bad man" became silent.

After this incident, he concealed his traces from our eyes within the village, perhaps being afraid of meeting us. He ordered some villagers to spread a rumour that he has gone with Septu Lama to Chhogang. And he got much money by selling spirits, vegetables, sheep and so on secretly, to the writer's party through a girl, who was the daughter of Khimjung Topgyal (Ka. 4) and had been adopted by the father lama of that "bad man" to be expected to become a nun.

This case may be an extraordinary example. But it is also worth

noting that this case is at the same time that of a lama family whose status as a priest is hereditary one. It is unknown at all to the writer that whether the case of chamadung marriage is confined really to this sole example or not. But the following fact is a noteworthy point in relation to the above-mentioned question: These is enumerated as many as 6 cases in which the mother's ages were all above 45 years old (4.6%, see Table 4), in two cases of which they were even older than 50 years old, within 131 of the mother's ages at the time when they gave birth to their children. If we rely on the genealogical trees, the following will become clear: The wife of Pra. 11 bore her eldest son at 19 and she had her youngest son at the age of 50. The stranger case is that of Pra. 10, in which the wife of the eldest brother gave birth to a boy at the age of 53. (In this family the second brother is the household master, and it seems to be a rare case that each of the elder and younger brothers has his wife respectively without dividing their family of orientation into two. The two wives are of the same age incidentally. However, the original villages of the two wives are different, namely Yarcho and Gomba Tensin. The two children of the second brother died. Therefore, a man who is expected to inherit the status of household master after the second brother is no one but the son of the eldest brother. Probably there seems to exist some errors or concealed facts.)

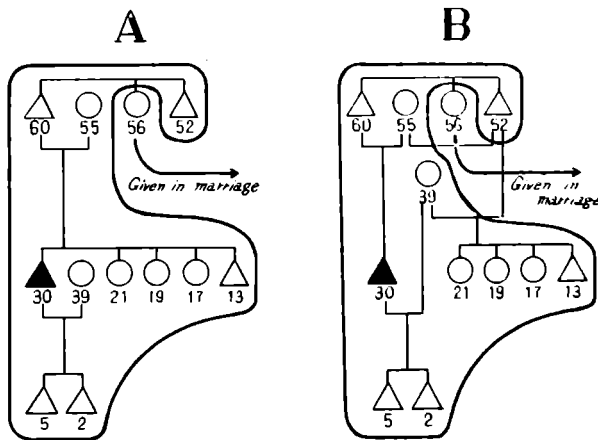


Fig. 147. An example of family organization under the assumption of a chamadung marriage.

Notes: (1) In the case of Shi. 5 Halu Pu.

(2) A: the family organization informed by a villager.

B: the family organization when the writer assumes the existence a chamadung marriage.

(3) The numbers show the current ages in 1953.

(4) According to the villagers, there is no died member within these generations.

(5) The Black triangles are the signs of household master.

If we look for another case in which existence of *chamadung* is conceivable, the family of *Halu Pu* will be that. (See Fig. 147). This family is one of the fewer cases in which the right of household master has been transmitted to the son's generation, in spite of the surviving of his parents and an uncle within the same household. Possibility of the existence of a fraternal polyandry is fairly big, because the wife of his father still lives and her age is 55 years, i.e., between the ages of her nominal husband (60 years old) and the uncle (52 years old). This wife gave birth to her eldest son at 25 and her last child at 42. Some of her children, probably the younger ones, seem to be children by the uncle rather than the nominal father. But she stopped bearing children during the nine years after having given birth to her first child. After that, her pregnancy was so high that she gave birth to four children since the time she was 34 successively with intervals of 2-4 years, until she became 42. On the other hand, the wife of the eldest son is 9 years older than her husband, and her age at the time of her first child-birth was 34.

Those conditions will be, of course, not unconceivable. When we apply the assumption of a *chamadung* relation, however, the following relations, for example, will come under a new light (Fig. 147, B): the father, i.e. the elder brother in the first generation, had his eldest son with actual bond of blood through his wife. Later on, the present wife of the eldest son married into the family, who was expected to be, and actually, a common wife of the uncle and the eldest son. She gave birth to her six children successively, first of whom was a girl. This girl was born when her mother was 18. At that time the eldest son, the youngest of her spouses, was yet only 9 years old, so that actual father of her first son was the uncle who was 31 years old at that time. For the same reason it seems highly probable that actual father had been the uncle until she begot her fourth child at the age of 26, the uncle at 39 and the eldest son at 17. However, the fifth and the last child had the eldest son as their actual father, and at the time, when the fifth child was born, the ages of the uncle, the wife and the eldest son were respectively 47, 34 and 25. The elder four are regarded as members belonging to the same generation with their mother, and the younger two belonging to the next generation.

Supposing that the above-mentioned interpretation is correct, fraternal polyandry between the father and his younger brother (i.e. the uncle) would not contradict with avuncular polyandry as stated above. Under this assumption the uncle seems to have had relations with his elder brother's wife since his youth, but he had not had his wife who put the accent on him until later, judged from the age of his second wife at the time of her first child-birth.

Judging from some points which will be stated later, the following presumption seems to be probable that a wife in chamadung marriage is accepted by an uncle (or even a father) under the anticipation that she will belong in the future to the father's eldest son. This assumption is compatible with the confirmed tendency that the eldest brothers are liable to have their spouses in their early stages, whereas vice versa in the case of younger brothers. Moreover, when these relations are supposed to exist, the possibility that the status of household master is transmitted in a timely order of EBr → YBr → EBr1So, will be conceivable. However, the informant says that the status was transferred from the father to the eldest son directly in this example. The writer cannot confirm it. But the fact that the status of household master was transferred to the eldest son who was still young, may not be of a meaningless disposition. Because lineage is generally succeeded from father to his eldest son in a male line in this village. Whereas, if the uncle in this example inherits the status of household master from his elder brother after the latter becomes old and the period during which the uncle holds the status is so long that the third inheritor is not the eldest son of the eldest brother but the youngest son whose actual father is not the eldest brother but the younger brother, then the principle that usually an eldest son should become the inheritor of his father's family will be neglected, and also because of it some discord may spring up among them. The example of the Labrang family is suggestive, in which a conflict took place between an uncle and a nephew resultating split of a family into two. The early inheritance of the status of household master in this Shi. 5 family will deserve notice in this connection.

Suppose that the explanation of the relations in Shi. 5 is correct. Then another thought will occur: the second son, who is an actual son of the common wife between the uncle and the eldest son, will violate the incest taboo, if he has sexual relations with wife of his eldest brother, i. e. his actual mother. He cannot have, therefore, fraternal polyandry in this case. Incest between the mother and her son is practically unconceivable in this case. This possibility happens however, theoretically. In the case of chamadung marriage, therefore, it will be desirable to divide the households of the younger sons, who are actually the sons of their eldest brother's wife, from that of their eldest brother. (See pp. 281-85.)

The rate of chamadung marriages will be lesser than that of fraternal polyandry. With regard to this form of marriage, however, the following two questions which were already referred to will become understandable to some extent.

- (1) The lags of age between the nominal husbands and their wives

are widely divergent, not only toward the direction that the age of the husband is older than his wife but also towards the other direction that the seniority between the both is reversed. Not a few wives who are considerably older than their husbands are found even in the cases of the eldest son.

(2) Despite existence of a liberal atmosphere for sexual relations even in their immatured ages, women at the time of their first child-birth are not so young contrary to expectation, if the genealogical pedigrees are correct. In connection with this point, the information obtained from an informant that generally the ages of women at marriage begin at 17 or 18 may not be so unreliable. In the above-mentioned case of Fig. 147 in Shi. 5, for example, we find that, when the eldest son's wife married, she was still younger and soon begot her first child.

8. Celibacy, Divorce and Extraordinary Marriage

Concerning male celibacy, we have found that most of them lived a polyandrous life. Among the five examples of spinsters who are above 45, one is a peon about whom something will be stated later. The other four have such noticeable characteristics in common as follows (Ka. 6, Pra. 9, Pra. 17, and Shi. 6):

(1) In each of those cases, the siblings of the spinsters, especially brothers, are many. (In the case of Ka. 6, male 2, female 2; in Pra. 9, male 4, female 1; in Pra. 17, male 2, female 1; in Shi. 6, male 3, female 2).

(2) The spinsters are the eldest sisters in the two cases where there are sisters. In the viewpoint of seniority throughout all the siblings, they are generally older among their siblings. (The first in the four in Ka. 6; the second in the five in Pra. 9; the second in the three in Pra 17; the second in the five in Shi. 6).

(3) In each of the three cases out of four, the spinster is cohabiting with her youngest brother who is the household master of the family, and whose family was separated from his elder brother's family. In the last case of the four, the spinster and her youngest brother did not separate their family from the elder brother's, and in this case not the elder brothers but the youngest brother is the household master. Those spinsters are respectively 5, 9, 4, and 9 years older than their youngest brother.

(4) In two cases the youngest brothers are bachelor, and the other two are married. Particularly in the case of Pra. 17, the household master, who is the youngest brother, separated his family from his elder brother's family, although he was a bachelor at the time of branching, and he is still unmarried, living only with his elder sister, a spinster. Furthermore, in one of the cases in which the youngest brother was married he estab-

lished his new household when he was 20 with his eldest sister who was 29 years old. This case is that of Pra. 9, and the time order of branching was second in the three cases in which the three brothers separated their own families from the original *tshong* family, as already stated (see p. 250, pp. 251-52, p. 253 and pp. 283-84).

(5) Except only for one case the spinsters' brothers do not have older wives than themselves; in the case of Ka. 6, the eldest brother is 3 years older than his wife and the youngest brother is of the same age with his wife; in Pra. 9, the eldest brother is 7 years older and the second brother is 6 years older, but with the exception of the third brother, who is the present head of this *tshong* family (Pra. 2), being 13 years younger than his wife, and the youngest fourth brother, again, is 9 years older; in Pra. 13 (the elder brother of Pra. 17), he is of the same age with his wife; in Shi. 6, the eldest son is 11 years older.

The writer would like to add other two more pieces of information: the only unmarried women whose age is between 25 and 44 years old is EBrDa of that strange family Khimbe Pharwa (Pra. 10). She is now thirty years old and also the oldest of her sisters and her brother. Her family includes a bachelor, her father's younger brother. Secondly, the daughter of 23 years old, of Khimjung Topgyal (Ka. 4), became a nun so as to remain a spinster, as pointed out in Part I (see p. 211 and p. 276). And again in this case she is the oldest among the three sisters.

What kind of conclusion can be drawn from the state of things mentioned above? (1) The possibility that she is married with her youngest brother is not acceptable, because they are not only in the relation of *phazang* to each other but also one of the members of a same *nangzang* (family), and if married, it means to violate the incest taboo. As for proximity of their blood relations there are the following cases: she and he are most distant from each other among their siblings in their ages and relative orders of seniority. If their actual parents are not same, then the four cases of mutual relations shown in Fig. 148 will be imaginable logically. The relationship of her youngest brother with her is: her MoSo or FaBrSo in A; in B, it is MoSo or FaMoSoSo; in C, FaBrSo; and in D, FaMoSoSo.

(2) There is also possibility that the life of celibacy is requested for them by the outsiders. This presumption will meet the kinship taboo which prohibits the marriage between the two of the same *phazang*. If the elimination of such possibility that the eldest daughter may get her husband from the outside and by doing so she may plan to inherit her *nangzang*, is the purpose of this kind of custom, why she should not marry out? In fact, the out-marrying of the first daughter is more frequently done in order to avoid becoming a spinster. It will remain as a question

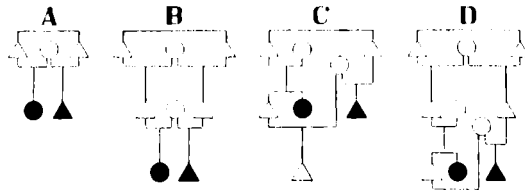


Fig. 148. Possible cases of kin relations between a sister and a brother when either of their parents is not common to them.

why her youngest brother is liable to be chosen as her cohabitant. On the other hand, the fact that the eldest daughter is liable to be separated from her original family with her immature youngest brother, is suggestive, when we consider that it will contribute to avoid frictions in the right of house wife, which seems to be very strong according to the reports of some explorers in Tibet. In other words, when we recognize the tendency that the accentuation of husband is transferred side by side with transference of the right of household master in the polyandrous family, such a tendency means at the same time liability of a close combination between the right of the household master and that of house wife. The woman who copes with the wife of the household master for the right of housewifery will be the eldest sister, whose age is close to that of the wife.

Since polyandry is recognized among them, surplus women must be found there as a matter of course. But the reason why they should, or are liable to, be the eldest sisters who live with their youngest brothers is unknown to the writer. With solution of this question, we can expect the entire understanding of the Tibetan polyandrous system. Nevertheless, rules or regularities in the happening of spinsters who are related with the polyandry necessarily, will afford an indirect proof of the polyandry as an *institution*.

A case of extraordinary marriage is found in Shi. 1, which adopted a bridegroom from the outside, i. e., the village of Lokpa. This is the sole case in which two sisters have a common husband. The village informant explained: "He married the younger sister, because his first wife, the elder sister, gave birth to no child." But this polygyny was, no doubt, the relation expected since adoption of the bridegroom. It was not the case of sororate, in which one marries his wife's younger sister after having divorced his wife, but he had two wives at the same time. When interviewed, Dako Pu and his friends always identified, without hesitation, a wife as belonging to some one, even though she was a common wife of plural husbands. But in this case Dako Pu showed slight hesitation to answer and identified the sisters as his wives. It is worth noticing that the age of the husband was between those of the elder and younger sisters.

It must be noticed again that this only case of husband marrying into another family⁹⁵⁾ was of the *tshong* family in Shimmushe, for, according to the villagers, "That family had no male heir." But in the case of Pra. 5, there were two women in the family, a woman, as head of family and her daughter, though she did not marry a man who could eventually become the heir. In the case of Pra. 17, the head of family is a bachelor of 41 years old, and he lives with his elder sister, a spinster. It is, therefore, natural that his family should eventually die out unless he had taken a wife long ago. Pra. 12 was the case in which the wife of 36 years of age has not given birth to a son yet. In Pra. 14, as the husband has an old wife, there is no hope of having a son. As long as the younger brother of the husband has no son, their family will become extinct. Therefore this *tshong* family alone seems to be an exceptional case in such matrilineal sisters polygyny, which aims at securing an heir to avoid complete extinction of the family.

But the case in Pra. 2, which was also of a *tshong* family is in contradiction with the case previously mentioned. In general the eldest son is heir of a family, but there are two exceptional cases here. In one of these the eldest son of a *tshong* family set up a branch family. Though

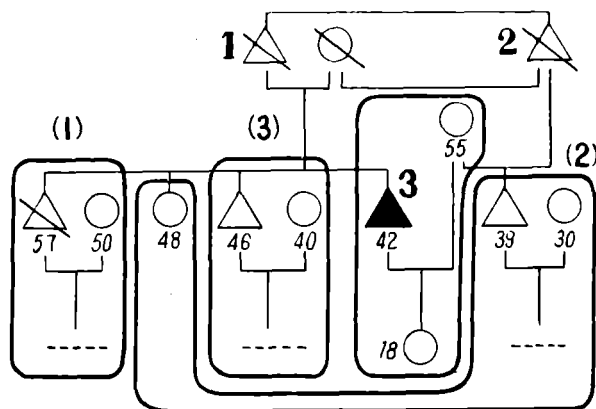


Fig. 149. A supposition which explains the inheritance of household master's status and housewife in the *tshong*'s family of Prangar.

- Notes: (1) Thick numbers are the timely order of transition of the status of household master in the *tshong* family.
 (2) The numbers in the parenthesis are the timely order of family branchings from the *tshong* family.
 (3) ▲: The present household master of the *tshong* family.
 (4) The number below the sign of each member is one's current age, including the case of the dead, in 1953.

95) The marriage in which a husband marries into a family is generally called "Mar Pa" in Tibet. (Shen Tsung-Lien & Liu Shen-Chi (1953): *Tibet and the Tibetans*. p. 142.)

this eldest son died rather young, he had a son and the second brother also had a son. But it was the third son who succeeded the *tshong* family, and when he had found that he would not have a son (for his wife was already 45 and had only a daughter at that time), he had his elder brother, the second brother, start a branch family. Whether or not one had a son, therefore, it did not provide him with qualification of becoming the successor of a family (see also p. 250 and pp. 251-52). The fact that in the case of Ka. 1 the eldest son was the successor shows that it was not the rule in the case of the successor of *tshong* that the eldest son was avoided. In short, their family relations puzzle us much. If the writer gives full play to his imagination to explain this case, with the aid of his supposition on *chamadung* by which he explained why the elder sister remained single, he will have Fig. 149, which means "that, if the eldest son wants to succeed the family, he must accept the *chamadung* wife who once belonged to his uncle, the ex-head of the family after his real father. But, when he declines the uncle's wife, the only thing he can do is to establish a branch family. If we suppose that the second son also gives up his right, the third son is naturally the only descendant in a direct line of his father. If the fourth son succeeds after his actual father who is also his elder brother's uncle, the line of this family will not go to the orthogenetic descendants, but it will follow the series of: father → uncle → uncle's son. It was to avoid this for the fourth son to have set up a branch family at the age of 20 with his elder sister. If this supposition is true, the uncle's wife must have given birth at the age of 16 to her first child who was the first son. In this case also, it is supposed that the eldest son has no possibility to succeed after his father but the headship of the family is succeeded from father → uncle → father's younger son. In this manner there is seen an adjustment between the principle of direct male line and that of household mastership." (In this connection, see a section on property system in pp. 296-98.)

This explanation supposes the marital rule that one who wants headship of a family must necessarily accept the wife common to his seniors. When he declines this, it means that he must have another wife and set up a branch family. If we suppose here *chamadung* (Fig. 147, pp. 277-79) to be existing in the case of Shi. 5, as in the case of the *tshong* family mentioned above, it proves that the eldest son succeeded headship of the house, even though he lived with his father as well as his uncle, because he consented to accept the uncle's wife. If the uncle is satisfied only with the wife common to his elder brother, without having a *chamadung* wife, there is no problem. All of the children are recognized as the elder brother's children, as we have seen in the case of Shi. 6, 8 and Pra. 6.

And, so far as the mother is concerned, she is the actual mother to all children. In case of *chamadung*, the children sometimes happen to have different parents in one generation. In the case of Pra. 6, in which the eldest brother (Pra. 8) set up a branch family, separating himself from the original family of his father and uncle, it is clear that the uncle accepted the wife of the father, but he does not seem to have *chamadung* relations to his nephew, the father's eldest son. Accordingly, even though the second son succeeds headship of the family, it does not mean that the father's family line shifts to another one coming from other parents. This explanation shows us that whether or not one accepts his senior's wife as his own depends mainly on his choice. Even the eldest son of the *tshong* family is, therefore, admitted to establish a branch family, when he declines to marry his uncle's wife. It may be interpreted in the way that they are really accepting such a cultural norm as to respect others' liberty and also to claim their own.

Divorce and remarriage are noticed only in the case of Pra. 14 upon which the writer have already touched. (See p. 260.) And remarriage after a wife's death was seen in the case of Shi. 3. In the former case, we must pay attention to the following facts: the husband and wife were both deuterogamists; the husband was robbed of his former wife; he was head of a household; the wife was too old to continue her married life. According to the villagers she was so rich that she remarried without remaining single in order to keep holding her fortunes. Concerning this matter, the reader is requested to refer to a section on property (pp. 296-98). One of the cases in which an uncle was robbed of his wife by his nephew was that of Labrang of which the writer have already reported. As these are the materials the writer could gather from villagers by chance, he suspects there must be more cases of divorce, remarriage, and struggle for getting a wife.

Chapter VI. KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

1. Intermarriage among Relatives

Phunghya is a general term for relatives. The term seems to include not only the relatives in the *phazang*, but those in the mother's line, and also affinal relatives. But the writer could not quite understand how far the term goes. When the writer asked a villager about the extent of the taboo against consanguineous marriage as it related to *phunghya*, old Baru, who was standing nearby, exclaimed vehemently, "No *phunghya* would ever think of marrying each other. If there were, they'd be the same as dogs!" This cry prevented the villagers from answering to the writer's question

Table 17. The cases of intermarriage between the near relatives.

Family number	Position of husband	Kin-relation of wife to husband from the husband's side
Ka. 2	1So	MoBrDa
Ka. 5	Head	BrWiSi
Ka. 9	1So	FaSiDa
Shi. 3	1So	SiHuBrDa
Shi. 8	EBr	MoBrDa
Lab. 1	Head	MoSi
Lab. 1	YBr	MoBrDa, FaSiDa, BrSoWi
Lab. 2	Head	MoBrDa, FaMoBrDa, FaFaSiDa, FaBrWi

Note: (1) Head: the head of a family.

(2) Position of husband is the relation of a husband to the head of the family.

what kinds of *phunghya* they were prohibited or preferred to marry.

Out of some 30 matrimonial cases between three *tsosums* and Labrang, the writer will select 8 cases in which kinship relation between the husband and wife is clearly known from their genealogy and show them in Table 17. (The head of the husband's household is marked "Head". The table shows wife's relation to the husband's from the husband's side.)

The nearest kin relation in intermarriage was the case between Hu and MoSi who had been found in the strange lama families. But even in this case, they observed the taboo that those who are of the same *phazang* are prohibited to marry. It was between the two groups of families, i.e., the lama families of Labrang and Ka. 2, that had the closest marriage relations. In addition to this, there were two more cases of the same kind. One was between Pra. 16 and Shi. 3; they exchanged each one of their woman within two generations. The other was Shi. 8; both the father and son married daughters of Ka. 2.

These cases show a tendency toward cross-cousin marriage. Above all it attracts our attention that marriage between MoBrDa are more predominant than that between FaSiDa. So that the statements by Sir J.G. Frazer about the Tibetans and the Lepchas as well as the Bhotiyas in Almora District, U.P., are not contradictory with these examples in Tsumje. He says that in either of them, the cross-cousin marriage is permissible. Especially in the case of MoBrDa, it is rather preferred, while the case of FaSiDa is a little prohibitive, and the case of FaBrDa is decidedly prohibited.⁹⁶⁾ Paul Benedict also puts stress on the Cross-cousin marriage

96) Sir James George Frazer (1919): *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*. Vol. II, p. 129 & 134.

among the Tibetans from the viewpoint of kinship terminology.⁹⁷⁾

2. Kinship Terminology⁹⁸⁾

We could not collect accurate and satisfactory data on this subject, because we had not enough time to devote ourselves to it. The informants' statements were often contradictory. Of these data the writer will pick up only those which seem accurate and show them in Fig. 150. In Fig. 150, the term of reference is shown, when Ego is a male, which sometimes is abbreviated **Rf.** The term of address is abbreviated as **Ad.**

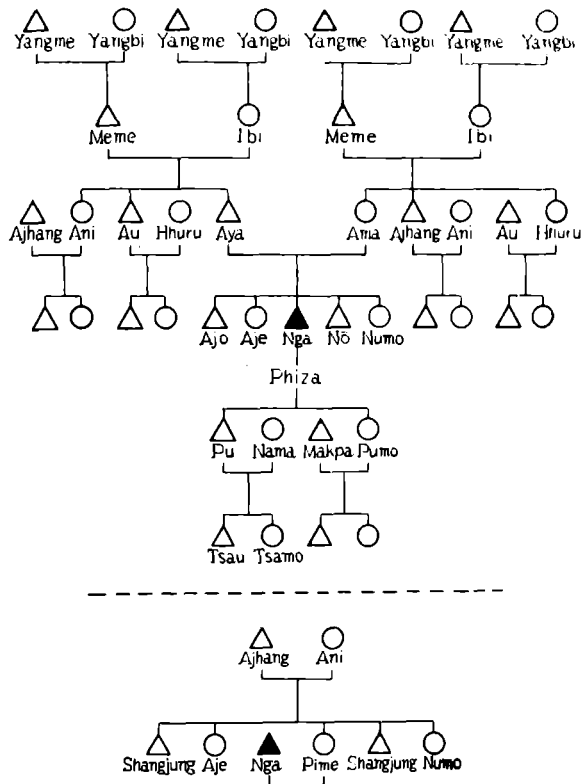


Fig. 150. Kinship terms in Tsumje.

(1) Primary Relatives

Father is *aya*, mother *ama*. These words are common in Ad. (The Sherpas call father *papa* and mother *ama*.) Besides them the writer learned a word *ava* which, he suspects, means the father or the father and

97) Paul K. Benedict (1942); "Tibetan and Chinese Kinship Terms", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 317-18.

98) Refer Benedict's excellent paper. *Op. cit.* pp. 313-37.

father's brother. But when he asked the villagers further to explain this word, their answer was that the use of this word was heard in other villages and they disapproved its being used in their village. EBr is *ajo* (*acho*), YBr *nō*, ESi *aje* and YSi *numu* (*numo*; *nomu*). (The Sherpas call EBr *acho*, YBr *anga*, ESi *acha*, and YSi *numo*.) When the younger addresses the elder, *la* which implies respect for the elder is added, for instance, "*ajo la*", "*aje la*" and so on. When the younger is addressed by the elder, he is called by name. There are some definite words to indicate brothers in order of age, such as *chojo* (*chojho*) for the eldest, *pharwa* for the second or generally for the middle, and *pu chima* for the youngest. The appellations are used not only Ad., but for those belonging to the different generations, and also belonging to other families, as is often the case with *chojo*. The appellations such as *pharwa* and *pu chima* have a tendency toward being recognized as their given names, as already stated in p. 212. The eldest sister is called *aje*, the second *aje pharwa*, (when she is younger than Ego, she is called *pumo pharwa*) and the youngest *pumo chima* in case of three.

Children are generally called *phiza* (*puiza*). Those belonging to other families are called *phiza* frequently. When one wants to discriminate his own child from others, he calls it *ngai phiza* which means 'my child'. Sons are *pu* (*phu*) and daughters *pumo*. The eldest son is *chojo*, the second *pharwa*, and the youngest *pu chhunga*. When three are arranged in the order of age, the eldest daughter is *aje*, the second *pumo pharwa*, and the youngest *pumo chhunga*. The wife is called *pime* by her husband. For the Ad. he accosts his wife by her name. And also she is sometimes addressed with "*(phiza kyī) ama*" which means a mother (of a child).

(2) Secondary Relatives

Grandfathers, FaFa and MoFa, are both *meme*. (This means a family in place of *nangzang* in Sangda (C. 32). It seems to have the same meaning in Lho (C. 47).) Grandmothers, both of FaMo and MoMo, are called *ibi*. *Meme* and *ibi* are also used for Ad. (We have heard that the Sherpas called FaFa and FaMo as well as MoFa *gaga*, and MoMo *ama gaga*.) FaBr is *au* whether he is younger or older than his father. There are some words to indicate *au* in the order of age, such as *au*, *au pharwa*, and *au chhima*. These are also used for Ad., but the *au* who is younger than Fa is sometimes is addressed with his own name. FaSi is generally called *ani*. In the order of age from the elder to the younger, they are called *ani chhemo*, *ani pharwa* and *ani chhima*. They are sometimes addressed by their own names with the suffix *ani*.

MoBr is called *ajhang*. According to seniority they are *ajhang* (eldest), *ajhang pharwa* (middle), *ajhang chhima* (youngest), and so on. MoSi is called

hhuru. Again according to seniority they are *hhuru chhumu*, *hhuru pharwa*, *hhuru chhima*, and so on. This term is used in such a combination as "her proper name + *hhuru*" in address.

To take the example of the eldest brother's children, BrSo is called *chojo ko pu*, and BrDa *chojo ko pumo*. But they are also called simply *pu*, *pumo*, etc. as in case of Ego's own children. In address *pu* and *pumo* are also frequently used along with the proper name. These terms are also said to be applied to SiSo and SiDa in the same manner. Ego's SoSo is called *tsau*, and SoDa *tsamo* (or *tsamu*).

Ego's 1BrWi is *hhuru* or *chojo ko pime*. But it is unknown whether or not the term *hhuru* is used for Ego's 2BrWi. It is highly probable that this term is used for Ego's elder brother's wife. In address *hhuru* or the proper name is used for EBrWi. Ego's SiHu is *makpa*. But the term *makpa* generally designate a bridegroom. They use, therefore, such a descriptive term as *aje kyi makpa* (elder sister's husband) for a specific bridegroom. SoWi is *nama*. And this term is also applied to a bride generally. When he calls his son's wife he calls her by her proper name or adds *nama* to it. DaHu is also *makpa*. In the simple use of the term, it often means DaHu. When he is addressed, his proper name is used.

WiFa is *ajhang* and WiMo *ani*. WiBr is *shangjung*. WiSi is said to be *ngai pime kyi phung*, a descriptive expression which means "my wife's kinsman". In address the terms *ajo* and *aje* for his elders and the terms *nō* and *numo* for his youngers are applied, as in cases for his own siblings. Such an honorific expression as "*Shangjung la!*" for his older WiBr is also used in address.

(3) Tertiary Relatives

With regard to Ego's tertiary relatives, the term *yangme* for great grandfather and the term *yangbi* for great grandmother are applied, regardless the father's or mother's side. FaBrWi is *hhuru*, and FaSiHu *ajhang*. MoBrWi is *ani* and MoSiHu *au*. As for the question how to call the children's generation of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, and MoSi, answers were contradictory. Dako Pu gave such descriptive terms as *au ge pu* (uncle's son), *ani kyi pu* (aunt's son), *ajhang pu* (uncle's son), *hhuru ge pumo* (aunt's daughter), etc. However, in addressing the son or daughter of FaBr and MoBr, a villager used *tsau* and *tsamu* which were also applied to Ego's grand children. Another villager informed that FaSiSo was *ajhang shangjung*, and FaSiDa *hhuru*. In this case FaSiHu is of course *ajhang*.

Generally coincided statements of the villagers were obtained concerning the terms to address the children of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, and MoSi, which were the same as those of Ego's sibling, i. e. *ajo*, *aje*, *no*, *numo*, *chojo*, and

so on. These terms are sometimes used as terms of reference. These are, however, also applied to a wife's sibling belonging to the same generation as Ego's, in the same manner. At the same time, the terms *phiza*, *pu* and *pumo* are sometimes used as terms of reference for those relatives who belong to the same generation as that of Ego's children. To indicate kinship, such a descriptive term as *au kyi chojo kyi pumo* which literally means the "uncle's eldest son's daughter" is used. And to address such a person his proper name or simply by *pu*, *pumo*, etc. is used. Anyway, the two terms, *meme* and *tsau* are related in a way worth noticing to the rules of their inherited property which will be stated later.

(4) General Features

Now, the writer turns to point out some remarkable characters in kinship terminology. First, indication of sex is clear in almost all the terms. Next, indication of seniority is also noticeable. Viz. the prefix *a-* for the elder and *no-* for the younger are employed for Ego's siblings and these are more frequently used than the terms to indicate sex. Sometimes such terms as *chhojo*, *pharwa*, and *puchima* are used not only for his siblings but for those belonging to the same generation as his as terms of reference as well as of address. The prefix *a-* is included in seven elementary terms, i. e., *ajo*, *aje*, *aya*, *ama*, *au*, *ani*, and *ajhang*, which means those older than Ego, but which include both the father's and the Ego's generations. An honorific term *la* is frequently used for Ego's elders in address. For Ego's youngers, on the other hand, their proper names are frequently used without the honorific *la*. These facts show the importance of expressing the relative order of age.

The two pairs of the words, *au* and *hhuru*, and *ajhang* and *ani*, are always used for calling the couples. But the application of the terms in relation to Ego, is reversed according to their parental lines, that is to say, the term *au* is used for FaBr, MoSiHu; the term *ani*, for FaSi and MoBrWi; the term *ajhang*, for FaSiHu and MoBr; the term *hhuru*, for FaBrWi and MoSi. *Ajhang* is applied also to WiFa, and *ani* to WiMo. Namely, all the secondary and tertiary relatives of parents' generation except the parents themselves are termed by classificatory terms.

However, the only exceptional term which does not have the prefix *a-* among the terms which designate those relatives, older than Ego, except those for the grandparents and great-grandparents, is the term *hhuru*. This is suggestive. *Hhuru* is used not only for FaBrWi and MoSi, but for EBrWi. (It may also be used for FaSiDa or MoBrDa, but definite information to confirm it is lacking.) Unlike the other seven kinship terms which have the prefix *a-*, the three statuses designated by the term are distri-

buted from parents' generation to Ego's. In the cases of the other seven classificatory terms mentioned above, the statuses designated by each term are confined to one generation in each case.

Among these three kinds of relation in which the term *hhuru* is applied, the one between Ego and MoSi is the case in which marriage is permissible as exemplified in the table showing marriages among near relatives (Table 17). In this case, she is MoYSi. And so far as chamadung marriage is recognized, the marriage between Ego and FaBrWi must be also allowed, and indeed FaBrWi is also called *hhuru*. The last case of *hhuru*'s status, i. e. EBrWi, corresponds to the wife of a fraternal polyandry. If Ego coincides with the eldest brother, then his *hhuru* FaBrWi is permitted to become Ego's wife at the same time, which is a case of chamadung marriage. Thus in all the cases of *hhuru*, she is always allowed to be a potential or actual wife of Ego, regardless of the generation which she belongs to. Thus some correspondent relations between kinship terminology and social organization are found out. Can we say that the three women, FaSi, MoBrWi and WiMo, commonly called by the term *ani*, are prohibited to marry Ego? FaSi lives within the same clan with Ego and the relation between both is that of *phazang* to each other. The marriage is, therefore, prohibited as incest taboo, and we cannot find any example throughout the genealogical trees. However, a case of cross-cousin marriage between Ego and FaSiDa is found. Therefore, the limits of incest taboo will be found between FaSi and FaSiDa. Marriage between Ego and MoBrWi or WiMo cannot be found in Table 17. Both MoBrWi and WiMo have no biological kin relation with Ego and also are not members of the same clan A which is Ego's but belong to clan B. They are born in the clan C (which may coincide with the clan A in some cases) and marry into clan B. Thus she should live in clan B. So far as the rule of coresidence is imposed on them, she cannot marry Ego. When she was born in clan A and joined clan B, the rule of incest taboo prevent her to marry Ego. Thus in cases of *ani*, she cannot marry Ego. Whether MoSiDa is marriageable with Ego or not is unknown to the writer.

Chapter VII. PROPERTY—ITS OWNERSHIP, LENDING AND LEASING, AND ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION

With regard to property the writer could obtain only scanty data. The reason of failure was shortage of time and the attitude of the villagers who used to refuse to talk about it and to show documents concerning them.

1. Land

The forest and pasture lands are said to belong to the state, so that

they are not the individual property. If someone changes his pasture land under use from for example A to B, any other villager can use A. As for the lands for fire wood or building wood, there is nothing to regulate their personal use. It is, however, only between the individuals and there exist some regulations between Tsumje and its neighbouring villages; this problem of village territory of Tsumje has already been described (p. 231). For instance, the meat of a cow which had belonged to a Tsumje villager and died after straying into the territory of an adjacent village, was shared in halves between the owner and the people of the adjacent village. (See p. 191.)

The cultivated land are, however, usually owned by individual families and temples. They belong to some particular member of some particular family. It is doubtful whether someone's cultivated fields are restricted within the territory of his village. For example, Nurbu Thunlup, the head of Ka. 9, who recently made his son manage his fields within the village territory, now goes out to cultivate his fields located within the territory of the Tarung village, spending much of his time there. Khimjung Gangto Puchima, 3So of Ka. 4, 29 years old, also has his fields within the territory of another village outside Tsumje and goes there, with his brothers, to work, sometimes overnight.

In addition to this private ownership of cultivated fields, there exists a system of land leasing, which is called *shejin*. If A who is poor borrows money from B who is rich, and if it amounts to the sum beyond A's paying ability, A will beg B to lend him a part of B's land for cultivation under the condition that half of the crops will be shared with B and the borrowed money will be paid out of the crops which A will get from the field. In another case, A gives B his cultivated field as a security for borrowing. If A cannot pay the money back to B during the next three years, the land goes to B, the lender. The lamaseries in the neighbourhood also have land and practice *shejin* (land leasing). They take half of the crops from the land. But the lama family in Mande is observed by the writer to be working in the field surrounding the lamasery. They are not necessarily enjoying unproductive privileges of landowner.

As for lending and borrowing of agricultural tools, the borrower pays fees to the lender. When he is too poor to pay it in money, he pay it by his labour for a few days. The *ildo* also, which is a yard for drying and threshing wheat and barley after the harvest, is borrowed by the poor who does not have it. If the period is only for a day, it is free. If it is longer than several days, he assists the lender's work during a few days, whenever the latter wants. In such a manner, their ideas of economy, in private ownership and lending and borrowing, are well developed.

2. Domesticated animals

Concerning the domesticated animals, their most important movable property, a tendency toward private ownership is quite noticeable. The animals do not belong to each family but to each member of the family, at least to adult member regardless the sex. Moreover, sometimes even immature individual of either sex has his or her own animals. This is an undoubtful fact deduced from the writer's interviews with many villagers. The table shows the cases (Table 18).

There are several kinds of animals, and, therefore, we cannot evaluate their property in animal unless we use some common scale to measure the values of all kinds of animals. The writer adopts here the animal unit, a scale which has been used sometimes by the agricultural specialist. The writer define the animal unit: 1 animal unit=1 ox=1 cow=1 zō=5 sheep=5 goats=100 fowls. (Originally the animal unit was determined in consideration of the amount of fodder consumption and produced manure by each kind of domesticated animal.⁹⁹) To use it for measuring values of animal property is not, the writer believes, so inadequate.) In the above-mentioned cases, some calves will be included. However, all the recorded cases are here dealt with as adults. (See the last column in Table 18.)

According to the results of such kind of processing, comparisons of some cases are as follows: In comparing the animal property of the household master with that of other members of the family, the former has 6.8 animal units per capita in the average of 8 cases, whereas the latter has 3.4 per capita in the average of 20 cases. The value, however, is largely divergent within each category. The largest and smallest values in the cases of household master are 16.2 and 2.2 respectively. Those of the non-household master are 12.6 and 0.0 (four members) respectively. 5.21 animal units per capita are owned in the cases of 20 men, and 2.15 animal units per capita in those of 8 women. In these cases too, the divergences of values are remarkable. But the values of those owned by women do not exceed 5.0 animal units. If we consider the age stratification, any clear relation is hardly found between age seniority and the amount of animal property in either sex.

The whole animal property of each family is identical with the animals owned by all the members of the family. It is, however, hardly estimated from the table. In the case of Ka. 4, they are ca. 6.6 animal units, except those of the wife and two daughters (both of the two daughters are under 20 years old). However, the first daughter, staying still in this family but already adopted by her uncle lama to become a nun, owns 3 animal units

99) See, for instance, L. Buck (1937): *Land Utilization in China*.

Table 18. Animals owned by individuals.

No.	Nq. of family	Relationship with family master	Sex	Age	Animals	Animal unit
1	Ka. 1	1Da	♀	23	Cow 1, Sheep 6.	2.2
2	" 1	1So	♂	21	Sheep 21.	4.2
3	" 2	1So	♂	41	Cow 10, Sheep & Goat 13.	12.6
4	" 2	hired labourer	♂	45	None	none
5	" 3	Da	♀	20	None	none
6	" 4	Ego	♂	58	Cow 1, Ox for plowing 2.	3.0
7	" 4	1So	♂	34	None	none
8	" 4	2So	♂	30	Sheep 3.	0.6
9	" 4	3So	♂	29	Fowl 3.	0.03
10	" 4	1Da	♀	23	Milking cow 2, Sheep 5.	3.0
11	" 5	Ego	♂	58	Zōmo 4, Cow 5, Sheep 10.	11.0
12	" 5	1So	♂	24	Ox 4, Cow 1, Sheep 1.	5.2
13	" 5	3So	♂	15	Zōmo 5, Ox 2, Cow 2, Sheep 13.	11.6
14	" 6	Ego	♂	45	Ox 2, Cow 4, Sheep 2.	6.4
15	" 6	Si	♀	50	Zōmo 4, Calf of Zōmo 1.	5.0
16	" 7	Wi	♀	22	Zō 2.	2.0
17	" 7	4Da	♀	14	Zō 2.	2.0
18	" 8	Ego	♂	54	Ox 1, Sheep 8.	2.6
19	Pra. 1	Wi	♀	30	Ox 1.	1.0
20	" 1	FaYBr	♂	46	None	none
21	" 4	YBr	♂	21	Cow 5.	5.0
22	" 6	Ego	♂	58	Sheep 16.	3.2
23	" 7	Ego	♂	33	Ox 1, Sheep 6.	2.2
24	Shi. 1	Ego	♂	33	Ox 3, Cow 4, Sheep 10.	9.0
25	" 2	1So	♂	12	Ox 2.	2.0
26	" 3	3So	♂	20	Ox 4, Cow 4, Goat 7.	9.4
27	" 4	Mo	♀	39	Ox 1, Cow 1.	2.0
28	" 6	Ego	♂	46	Ox 3, Cow 6, Sheep 20, Goat 16.	16.2

Note: (1) Animals simply expressed by the term zō are the cases where sex is unknown. Bulls are included in "Ox".

(2) Fowls are owned by many people, but information is limited to No. 9.

which have been given her by her uncle, a lama of the Prembo lamasery. When these 3 animal units are deducted from the total of 6.6, only 3.6 remain in the family Ka. 4. On the other hand, there is a tendency that females have fewer animals, as mentioned above. The total animal units in this family, accordingly, amount only 6 or so. However, the family Ka. 5 has at least 27.8 animal units which are the sum of the possessions of 1So and 3So. Besides these two members, this family includes another man

and two women. Therefore, the total of the animals owned by each member will exceed 30 animal units. Thus the difference in the amount of animal property in various families seems to be remarkable. In the case of the Baru family which is regarded to be very rich by the villagers, the animals owned by his eldest son amount to 12.6. In Pharwa's family, who is also said to be very rich, the animals owned by his youngest son alone were valued at 9.4.

3. Immovable Property (Buildings)

At Tsomdung, the most important pasture belonging to this community, which is located far away, the villagers who have bovine animals depasture their cattles and *zo's* throughout the grazing season, and go sometimes for watching their own animals for several days. They feed their sheep, goats and some bovines, which are in the milking period or used for cultivation, within their own stalls, and in that case the village boys bring them out every morning to the near-by pastures surrounding the settlements and again bring them back to their houses in the evening. The households that have this kind of cattles i.e. cattle and *zo's* fitted to pasturing in the distant pasture, Tsomdung, are said to amount to about 30% of the total households in the community. Some of them own a kind of watching huts *lē* in Tsomdung. These *lē's* too belong to the individuals. In the case of Prangar, the families who have *lē's* are: Chhumbel (Pra. 3), Puchima (Pra. 9) and Kale (Pra. 11), each of whom has a *lē*; and another *lē* is owned in common by Sinön (Pra. 2) and Lumbe Pu (Pra. 4). Among the five families who own four *lē's* in all, the four except Kale are brothers, who have separated their households in recent years.

The mill, *chhuta*, belongs to the individual. In order to process their staple food, *tsampa*, they need water-mills to grind the grains. They have a kind of stony hand-mill *lakor*, but it is not efficient enough. Generally speaking, the water-mill is in general use in the Highland as well as in the Lowland. It is such a type of mill in which the wheel rotates horizontally. In a torrent lying between Khar and Yarcho, there are four water-mills all of which belong to the Khar villagers. Three of them are owned by individuals, and the last is a common property of some two villagers. The Tsumje villagers use those mills. Besides them, the villagers use another mill in the village, which is on the Malam river. This is Puchi's (Shi. 6). When they use those mills, they pay some fees to the owners.

Of course their most important immovable properties are their own houses. In their tongue, a village or community is *yül*, while a settlement is *tsosum*. The term *tsosum* seems, however, rather to designate a clan as

a social group which is actually a clustered settlement in this district. When they express a settlement itself which consists of houses, the term *lungba* is also employed. Their residences are not tents i. e. *kur*, but structures. A house in this sense is *khim*. The term *khangba* (or *kangba*) is employed to designate a house. But this term is more frequently used to denote a chamber or a room, as in the case of *chhogang* (a ritual room with Buddha's image).

The room for cooking and dining is called *thapsan*. The sleeping room is *zimjhun*, the sitting room and at the same time the room for visitors is *drongang*, the storage for grains, a *zö*, and the stable *ra* or *gotha*. But in the poor house one room is used as the *thapsan*, *zimjhun* and so on.

4. Inheritance of Property

Property is called *Küsha* (or *güjha*). When the writer asked them the categories to classify their property, he found three kinds of *küsha* which are suggestive for understanding of their idea on property. (1) The property created by the owner is called *ngarang shembi küsha*. (2) that made by the grandfather is called *meme shembi küsha*. (3) that made by the father is called *aya shembi küsha*. The words *ngarang*, *aya* and *meme* mean "myself", "father" and "grandfather", respectively; and the word *shembi* means "created" or "gained".

The following was mainly obtained from a villager. But the writer had not sufficient time to check them whether they were correct or not, but the reliability of those data lies in the fact that the informant was the eldest son of Baru, who was frank and honest in interviews. In order to avoid confusion, the present male household master will be expressed by the term Ego, and the signs Fa, Da, etc. will be used to show the relationships of other relatives with Ego.

(1) In a *nangzang* (family), Ego is responsible to take care of all properties which belong to the members of the family, during the period when he can manage *nangzang*. After this period, one of his sons inherits the right of house keeping. In this case the inheritor must be the best worker and good-natured man among the members of his *nangzang*; whether he is the eldest or youngest son does not matter. Accordingly, the ownership of property and the right of house management are separated from each other.

(2) After the death of Ego, all the property of Ego's Fa is inherited by Ego's 1So. Thus the line of inheritance is from the grandfather to the eldest of his grandson. At the same time, Ego's all properties, movable and immovable, are equally divided among So. When there is only one So, he is entitled to inherit all.

In dividing the immovable property such as cultivated land, it is di-

vided into equal portions and the rooms are divided by those entitled to inherit. The movable property is equally divided after assessment. On the occasion of assessment, not only all brothers concerned but the chief of the *tsosum* are present. When a trouble arises out of assessment, they appeal to the central Government, which will dispatch an official to settle the dispute. Septu Lama, who is a subba, does not involve himself in such affairs. It often arises in connection with inheritance of property that all inheritors can not take food until after assessment is over. (Mr. Nakao informed the writer that in 1952 he came upon a scene, supposedly that of assessment in the upper reaches of the Buri Gandaki River.)

When Ego dies, and if their house belongs to Fa, all So except 1So must leave the house.

(3) If 1So left his *nangzang* (perhaps left the village), while Ego was still alive, 1So cannot obtain any portion of property on the death of Ego. But if 1SoSo stay in the village, they will get the right of inheritance in place of 1So, that is to say, they will get, besides all property of Fa, that portion of dead Ego's property together with 1SoBr.

(4) When Ego with two So dies, and one of the So also dies leaving his wife and children behind, the surviving wife and children will inherit Ego's property equally with the other surviving So. In such a case, they are always dealt with as one unit, whether they are (wife only), (wife and sons) or (sons only).

(5) When Ego, whose wife and children died, passed away, Br and WiBr gather together and sell property under the supervision of the chief of the *tsosum*. The money raised by the sale is put in the custody of Br and WiBr. The money will be donated for religious purposes, such as worshipping rites, donation etc. in the name of the deceased. The local lamasery is always the beneficiary in such a case.

Those who are in the same position as this Ego are sometimes liable to donate money for religious activities, while still alive. When such an Ego had a daughter who had been married into another family, she is called to witness the sale of her deceased father and is entitled to buy anything she likes.

(6) In case Ego dies leaving only Wi behind, Br and WiBr gather together and witness disposal of the deceased's property together with Wi and the chief of the *tsosum*. Half of the property is given to Wi as subsistence and the remaining half is used in the manner mentioned in (5) for the purpose of praying happiness of the deceased in his after-life. In this case, too, if Ego had Da, she is called to witness disposal of the property and is entitled to buy anything she likes.

(7) In case Ego dies leaving Wi and unmarried Da, the deceased's

property is divided into three parts: One for Wi, another for Da and the rest to be used in the manner mentioned in (5) and (6) in the name of the deceased. If this Ego had two Da, his property will be divided into four, and one-fourths will be donated for the religious purposes. If in this case there are two Da with Wi already dead, the property will be divided into three, each of the Da receiving one-thirds and the remaining one-third spent in the name of the deceased.

When there are only female inheritors, the property will be divided by the number of:

(Number of Wi and Da)+1 (for religious use)

(8) Suppose Ego is survived by two So, two Da and one Wi, his property falls into the three categories: The house, farm land, and movables. In this case, the house goes to two So. Of the cattle, if there are 28 cows, 8 will go to Wi, 6 to each of So, and 4 to each of Da. Other movables, after assessment, will be equally divided among the five. As to the farm land, if there are 16 lots, 6 will go to the deceased's wife, 3 to each of So and 2 to each of Da.

Thus it is customary to divide the farm land among Wi, So and Da in the ratio of 6:3:2, and cattle 4:3:2. In this case Wi and Da may stay at any brother's if they like. Ordinarily they stay with 1So's. As a matter of fact, on the part of So too, they take care of only those Wi and Da if they prefer. When 1So is rich and other So, Da and Wi cannot support themselves, 1So will support them.

When Wi dies, her farm land and movables are equally divided between two So. But they cannot get them unconditionally: They can sell them only to their *phazang* members and they must use the money obtained by the sale in the manner mentioned in (5), or if they want to retain them, they must donate the sum of money equivalent to the inherited property of the religious use.

When one of two unmarried Da dies, her possession, if she is the 1Da, goes to 1So, and if she is 2Da, her possession goes to 2So. In either case, So must use the money equivalent to the inherited property for the religious rites in the name of the deceased. The same is true in the case of the death of Wi.

(9) Except the properties of Ego and Fa, So cannot inherit any property without donating the sum of money equivalent to the inherited property.

5. The Writer's Views on Inheritance

One of the most important point in the matter of property is: "By whom was it made?" The villagers invariably put emphasis on this point.

This may be due to the independence of individuals in Tibetan-aculturated society. A point worthy of notice is that all kinds of property are regarded to be made by the males. This is quite in accordance with the rule that no property, once inherited by females, is never again inherited by men gratuitously.

Also the fact that the three categories of property are confined to Ego, Fa and FaFa is noteworthy. In fact, as it is very rare that FaFaFa is contemporaneous with Ego, this classification of property may be said to be very adequate. Meanwhile, the fact is worthy of notice that their memory goes back only so far as the generation of FaFa, while they believe that they are descendants of the same clannish ancestors.

As to the manner of dividing property in inheritance, it may be dangerous to treat it too theoretically as it is too generalized and diagrammatic. But attention should be directed to the fact that a clear distinction is drawn between inheritance from FaFa and that from Fa.

Inheritance from FaFa to the grandson assures that the first brother of Ego's generation should inherit the property. This tendency toward a kind of primogeniture will support the idea of orthodox genealogy in the *nangzang* and the *tsosum*.

Meanwhile, Fa's property is, as a rule, divided equally among the males of Ego's generation. If we recognize that the financial basis is of importance in making branch families, the principle of equal distribution of property may be said to promote tendency of establishing branch families in this village. In any way, it is worthy of notice that there is such a connection between *meme* (grandfather) and *tsau* (grandson). If there were no such connection between grandfather and grandchild, the consciousness of blood-relationship concentrated in original family in the clan would be jeopardized. But if there were no principle that would stipulate an equal distribution of property from *aya* (father) to plural *pu* (sons), branching of family would be discouraged and a stable authoritarian familism accompanied with primogeniture will appear. In such a case, ownership would become closely connected with the right of management of property by the household master. In such a case, there will appear an order of *generation hierarchy*, which is constructed upon gaps in generation. Because the right of household master combined with the right of ownership of household property is handed down from the oldest one in a generation directly to the oldest one in the next generation. The form of marriage called "chamadung", which is based upon "the principle of age gradation" but neglect "the principle of generation hierarchy", would never be accepted. Fraternal polyandry would never become a reality, as the right of the master of the household could be transferred to the younger broth-

ers hand in hand with the accentuation of husband. Thus this plurality in the inheritance of property, based upon division between ownership and the right of management seems to be in accord with the marriage and family system.

If part of Ego's property that will be given to So is confined to the property Ego has created by himself, not including the property inherited from FaFa and Fa, Ego's accumulation of property made after his inheritance will have a great bearing upon possibility of creating branch families by 2So and other younger sons.

What is clear is that Ego's own property is distributed at his death not only to So but also to Wi and Da. It is also clear that the property, or at least the amount of money equal to the property, is used for maintenance of the gumpa and religious services.

There is possibility of Da leaving the *tsosum* by marriage and Wi marrying again. What will become of their property thus inherited? The writer knows one case. A rich woman married a man in another village. After the man had died, she came to this village and married another man. The reason of her re-marriage was that she wanted to preserve her property. This case shows that a woman can marry again, taking her possessions with her. Of course the property such as farm land cannot be brought along.

The point that a woman's property must be bought by members of the clan after her death shows that a principle is in operation to bind the clan close together, in spite of the strong tendency toward private ownership.

6. Rich and Poor People

As a whole their standard of living is low. But they are different from family to family. There is a fairly great difference between the rich and poor people. A look at the table showing the number of cattle held by each family will convince us of this. Baru (Ka. 2) and Pharwa (Shi. 3) are rich people according to the standard of the villagers. Tshiring Angdöi (Ka. 5) is also a rich man. Each of their households seems to have more than 30 animal-units, while the poor people have less than 5. Those who have *lê* (a shack for shepherds) and a water-mill may be considered rich.

It appears that there are great vicissitudes in the economic status among the people. Luck seems to have great influence. For instance, in a family where there were many female inheritors after the death of the father, the family's property will decrease as they leave the family. The fact that branching of family is in progress may have some influence upon the economic conditions of the family. On the other hand, the talent of

the head of family seems to have great influence in this matter.

The fact that they are engaged in commerce besides agriculture and animal husbandry will have something to do with the frequency in vicissitudes of families. In commerce where luck may play a larger part, individual talent is also of great importance. It should be worthy of notice that in this case unlike in agriculture those who are engaged in commerce are confined to males.

Except in a single case, the head of household is a male. Individual talent is regarded as important as conditions for this status. This shows that there is a close connection between the rise or fall of a family and the talent of its family head.

Anyway it is a matter of interest that there were three female peons in this village: Two (50-year old and 21-year old ones) in Pra. 6 and one (13-year old one) in Pra. 14. They have some bearing upon the ratio of the unmarried women in the village.

In this village, a life-term peon is called the *lamu*, and a temporary one *mela*. The 13 years old girl was *mela*, and the other two were *lamu*. They came from villages not far off from Tsumje. (The 13-year old one came from a village called Langzan in the area lying lower than Shimmushe.) All of them are peons. The two *lamus* came from different villages. Their fathers borrowed money from the father of Gyelung Puchima (Pra. 6). As their fathers died before paying back the debt, they were made slaves.

Meanwhile, a 45-year old man called Thundup who stays at the house of Baru works as a porter for the family of Baru and for another family. He was born in the near-by village called Duthi. Being very poor, he had neither house nor cattle. He is one of the rural wage workers in the Highland of which the author has often mentioned. (See also pp. 97-98 and p. 185.) He is a dull fellow.

It is considered that these peons and rural wage workers came into existence as the result of mishaps and of inferior individual talent. In the case of women, their fortune is greatly influenced by the talent of the head of household to which they belong. Because of these reasons, men and women are forced to leave their native villages and transplanted in other villages to become peons or lowest labourers. This is seen throughout the Highland. The primary cause for their misfortune is economic, direct or indirect. Particularly in the case of female peons, the characteristics of the Tibetan-acclulturated inhabitants who put emphasis on males' individual talent is clearly seen.¹⁰⁰⁾

100) It appears that there were a considerable number of slaves throughout Nepal till the emancipation of slaves in 1924. Landon: *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 163-72.

When much of their happiness depends upon the talent of individuals, particularly that of males, jealousy and envy for other people's good fortune will arise. This fact seems to be in accord with the nature of this type of culture, because once when the status is established, competition as well as jealousy and envy will decrease.

Chapter VIII. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

While individual independence is highly appraised, there is a communal political set-up and integration in the village. First of all, the three *tsosums* that form the clan-barrios are blood-related around the original families (*tshong*). The masters of the original families are regarded with respect by the other clansmen. But not all the original families are rich. An original family at Kangring (Ka. 1) is said to be poor. The village headman is not necessarily the head of the original family. It is also stated that, while the *yül* of Tsumje has a territory, the *tsosum* is not a regional unit having a territory. The main road of the village is not owned by any one of the *tsosums* but are jointly owned. When the road is damaged, the three *tsosums* join their forces in repairing them. The by-lanes through the private farming lands are mended by their owners. In various aspects the *tsosum* is not a community unit.

The Tsumje community has three kinds of officials: *tshota*, *shara* and *kanjen*.

The *kanjen* is the nominal village headman. But in fact the *tshota* occupies the highest status. The *kanjen* is the lowest office holder. The villagers tried every means to prevent us from knowing the existence of the *tshota* and *shara*. In reply to our inquiry as to the office of *kanjen*, the villagers stated as follows:

"The primary duty of the *kanjen* is to collect taxes for the Nepal Government: He has the records of tax-payments, and hands them over to his successor when his term of office expires. The next duty is to mediate disputes in the village. Each *tsosum* is represented by a *kanjen*, and, when an inter-*tsosum* dispute arises, all the *kanjens* get together to deliberate on it. If the dispute is not satisfactorily settled by this method, an appeal will be made directly to the *subba*. If the *subba* cannot satisfactorily settle it, they will appeal it to the Government. The third duty is to direct public works in the village. They see to it that every villager participates in the public works, and if some one fails to come, they will impose fines on them. The fines thus collected are used for the *gomba*. The *kanjens* get no pay."

Thus the *kanjen* has to be a witness to disposal of property in some cases. (See pp. 297-98.) He has also to oversee mending of road and building

and mending of the village *gomba*.

That ill-tempered lama priest of the Prembo temple once ordered the *kanjen* to build a house for the *tawa* (an assistant to the lama), while he was away and staying at Sama, accompanying Septu Lama. (See pp. 275-76.) This kind of work was also regarded as a public work, and the villagers cooperated in spite of the fact that it was a busy agricultural season. The *kanjens* themselves had also to do manual work for this building job. This may show that they enjoyed not much authority.

At present those who are *kanjens* are Da Dorje (Shi. 3, 36 years old), Dako Pu (Pra. 1, 28 years old) and Chhumbel (Pra. 3, 46 years old). Kangring is not represented by any *kanjen*. However much emphasis is put on individuals' talent it seems strange that village headmanship is held by men 28 years old and 36 years old, who execute all kinds of important public affairs.



Fig. 151. Two *kanjens*, Messrs. Da Dorje (left-hand) and Dako Pu. At Tsumje. July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

It is stated that from old in each *tsosum* the position of head of the *tsosum* has been held by all the families in turn. Thus, at Shimmushe, for example, the position is held by each family once in eight years as there are eight *nangzangs* there. The term of office of this post expires every year on the 11th day of Dawa 5, that is to say, the 2nd day of the festival called *Do yab-yom* mentioned in pp. 199-200. The initiation ceremony is held at the Lungsang temple. On this day one man comes from each *nangzang* and

a meeting is held, at which the old *kanjen* hands his office over to the new *kanjen*. Celebrating the occasion, *ara* (spirit) and food are served. When a dispute arises as to who should be elected as the new *kanjen*, everyone present can express his own opinion. But as a rule the people knew their turn very well, and no serious dispute has so far arisen. Some villagers stated that in former days not merely one but many came from each family to this meeting.

The writer once asked Da Dorje to allow the writer to see the records of payments if the *kanjen* had a real controlling power over the community and collected the taxes. He was very much embarrassed, and eventually told the truth. He admitted that the highest authority is held by the man holding the office called *tshota* and that he is the *de facto* village headman.

In the Lowland of Nepal, the village headman is usually called *mukhya*. This word is corruptedly spoken as *muke* at Tsumje. Tshota Sinön, one of the *tshotas* is also called Sinön Muke. (According to the interpreter, the word *tshota* is *kota* in Tibet.)

The taxes are collected by the *tshotas*. When dispute arises in the *tsosum*, it is they who settle it. The *kanjens* receive orders from them. The degree of punishment is decided by the *tshotas*. The *shara* holds a little minor position and his main duty is to impose punishment by whipping and others. It was stated that of the three offices those of *tshotas* and *sharas* are appointed by the *subba* and the *kanjens* are elected by the villagers. The *tshotas*, who are responsible for the collection of taxes, can hold their offices for an indefinitely long period, if they perform their offices skilfully, but otherwise they are replaced every three years.

The *tshotas* at present are: Khimjung Puchima (Ka. 3, 55 years old), Tshota Sinön (Pra. 2, 42 years old), Pharwa (Shi. 3, 76 years old). The *sharas* are: Baru (Ka. 2, 70 years old), Barme pu (Pra. 15, 24 years old), Karma Topgyal (Shi. 8, 46 years old).

The *tshota* has a real controlling power and is an intermediary between the village and the *subba*. He can stay in office for a long time, if he has ability of ruling the villagers. This is the point that differs fundamentally from the post of *kanjen* who is elected by the villagers every year. There is, however, some doubt whether every one of the families can hold the post of *kanjen* in turn, as was stated by the villagers. This doubt arose as the result of our observation of Dako Pu and Da Dorje, both of whom were *kanjens* and had ability of able leaders. It is doubted, if a household master who is younger than 20 years old can successfully perform the function of *kanjen*, at his turn.

Like the post of *tshota*, that of *shara* is of an indefinite term.

With an exception in the case of *kanjens*, each *tsosum* sends one man to

each of these three offices. As to the age of these officeholders, those of *tshotas* are all beyond their prime of life, but as a whole range from 24 to 76.

Considering the fact that Pharwa and Baru, both oldest household masters, and rich and powerful, hold the posts of *tshota* and *shara* respectively, those who are considered suitable for these posts must be household masters who enjoy social influence. The fact that Sinön, master of the original family at Pra., is a *tshota* is quite incidental. If it is right that the ablest and best son succeeds his father, Sinön, who succeeded his father though he was the third son among four brothers and became a *tshong*, must be a very able man.

If the *tshotas* and *sharas* are placed in the order of seniority, their ages in respective status are: (76 — 55 — 42) and (70 — 46 — 24). Judging from this, some leadership and followership among them may have been expected in their appointments.

In any way attention should be directed to the fact that the Tsumje community has a system of council composed of leaders selected from each clan and, that the positions of these leaders are not hereditary in any sense.

Chapter IX. CULTIVATION

There is no flat piece of land in this village. The villagers must have tried very hard to convert every gently sloping lot into arable land. They have made the terraced farm lands which slope down. The terraces are constructed by piling up stone slates abundantly found in the Himalayan district. It is surmised that the farming lands and the grazing pastures were formerly forests in the case of this village. In the Highland it is usual to make the grazing pastures by setting fire to the forests. At Tsomdung, where there are the grazing pastures of the village, were found many stumps of trees half burnt.

The villagers use an axe called *thari* (Fig. 152), and a crescent-shape hatchet called *phalzap* (Fig. 153). This kind of hatchet is often seen in the Lowland, and according to an interpreter it is often seen even in India. The village smith makes them.

But strangely enough, there are no signs of the use of a saw throughout the Highland. In the Lowland large saws are manipulated by two men to saw the hard tropical timber (Fig. 154), and there is no reason to believe that the Tibetan-acclimated people do not know of this. The villagers said that as they do not know how to saw large trees, they do not use a saw. But even the proud old Baru was very desirous of having a Japan-made saw which our party was carrying. The work of cutting the timber and making the faggots is a very onerous one, because of lack of the saw.

The writer will include here a brief note on the agricultural calendar at Tsumje. (All dates given below are in accordance with the Tibetan calendar.) The year is divided into four seasons called *pirka*. *Tombo* includes the first three months; *yarka*, the fourth through sixth; *tonga*, the seventh through ninth; and *gonga*, the tenth through twelfth months.

The principal crop at Tsumje is wheat to which is devoted ninety-ninths of the cultivated acreage. It is sown during the eighth month and harvested in the sixth month of the following year. The rest of the cultivated land is devoted to naked barley and buckwheat, each comprising about five per cent of total sown acreage. The former is sown about the same time as the wheat, but is harvested in the fifth month, a month earlier. Buckwheat is sown in the third month and harvested in the seventh month. Some of the wheat fields are not replanted to wheat after one harvest but is left fallow until the third month of the following year when buckwheat is sown. After this is harvested, wheat or barley is planted. Again immediately after a harvest of barley, a crop of buckwheat may be planted for harvesting the same year. Some buckwheat is planted in fields from which wheat had just been harvested, but this is done only occasionally and the yield is not great. In addition to the above crops a small amount of potatoes is grown. The amount of maize raised is negligible. Since our sojourn in Tsumje was during the fifth and sixth months, the harvest season for the principal crops — wheat, the villagers were extremely busy. However, the busiest season is apparently the eighth month (*Dawa* 8) when the wheat and barley fields are plowed and planted.

The farming land is called *shinga* (or *shingha*), and crops *tondo*. Wheat, occupying about 90 % of the total sown area, is called *nē*. According to a Sherpa, *nē* usually means barley in Tibet, so it is quite the reverse in this village. In the Highland wheat is called *do* at Sangda (C. 32) and *dhō* at Kagbeni, where side by side with an ordinary kind of wheat called *dhomar*, a special and rare kind called *dojung*, which is without beard, is cultivated. At Manang (C. 37-C. 38) it is called *dro*. Wheat is therefore usually called *dro* or *do*.

Meanwhile, barley is called *ūa* in Nep. This word is largely used to denote naked barley. But this word penetrated into the Highland, and at Kagbeni barley is called *ūa* also. There are, however, two kinds of *ūa*: *somne* and *singdo*. Thus there both *nē* and *do* are used to denote barley. At Tarangchung (C. 39-C. 40) naked barley is called *ūa* and husky barley *kuaru*. At Lho black-eared Tibetan barley is called *namo* and white-eared kind *neje*.

Thus as a whole *ūa* (Nep.) has penetrated into the Highland to some extent, and *nē* (Tib.) is in most cases used to denote barley. At Tsumje,



Fig. 152. An ax, *thari*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21713.

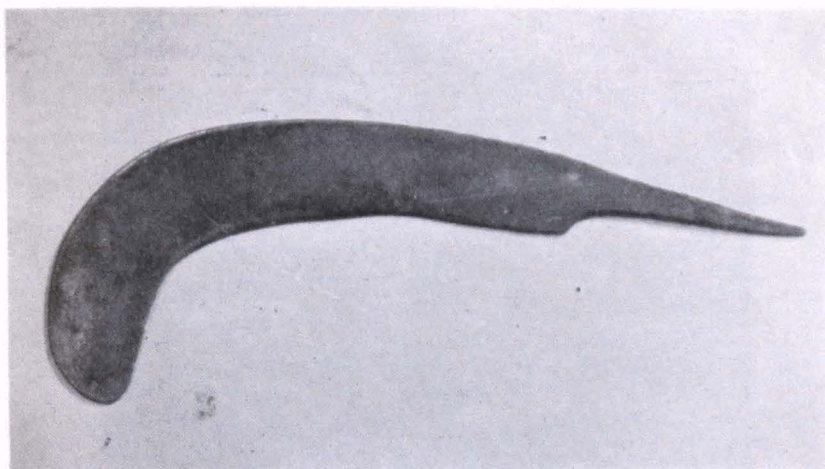


Fig. 153. A hatchet, *phalzap*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21712.



Fig. 154. Sawing tropical hardwood in the Lowland. At Batâr Bazaar. March, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

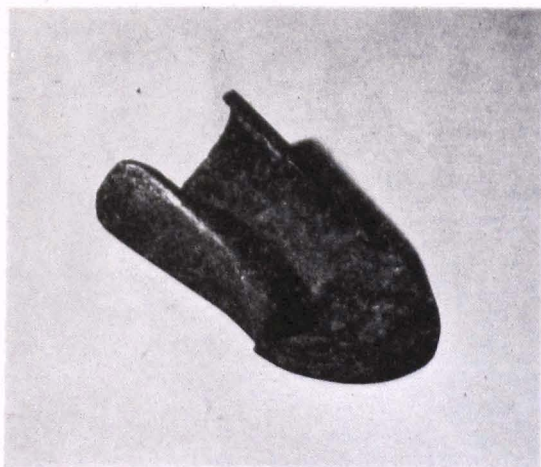


Fig. 155. A Highland type tip (*thongjha*) of plow (*thongba*).
Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21714.

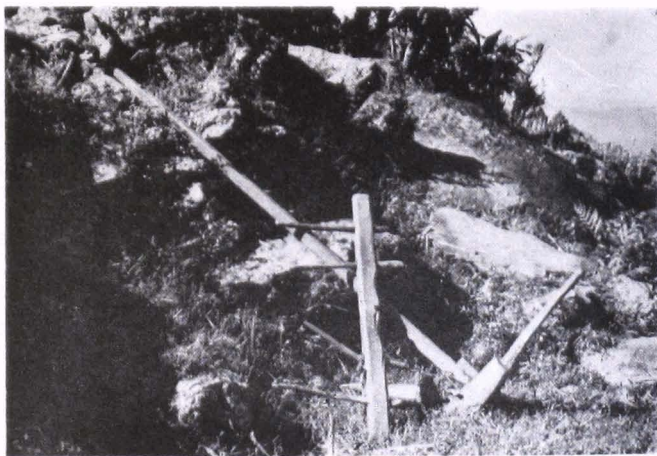


Fig. 156. A Lowland type plow and neckwood. At Majhgaon.
August, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

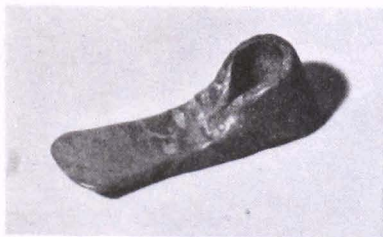


Fig. 157. A hoe, *thoktsi* (left). Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21715.
A hoe for weeding, *kore* (right). Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample
No. 21716.



Fig. 158. Coming back from the work of gathering fallen leaves. At Pisang. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 159. Harvesting wheat with *sora* (sickle). Most hands are women and boys. At Tsumje. July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

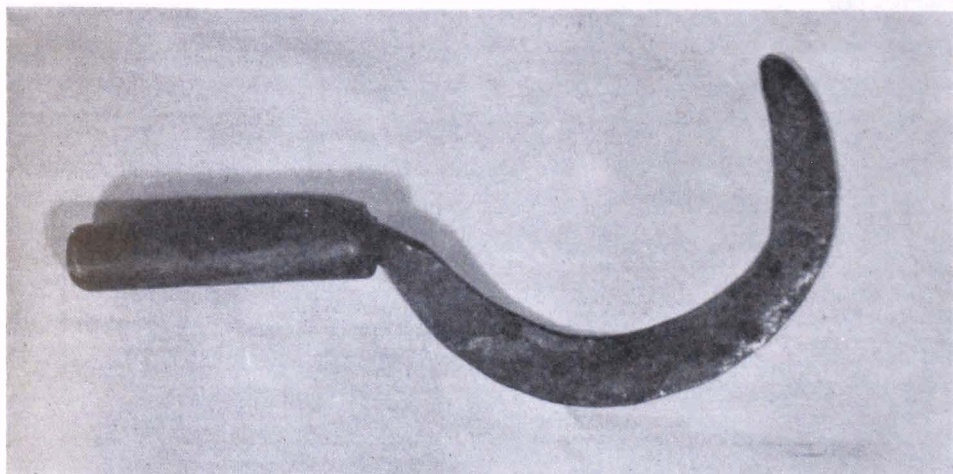


Fig. 160. A small-sized sickle, *sora*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21717.

however, naked barley, occupying about 5% of the total sown area, is called *changdo* which has the suffix denoting wheat.

Buckwheat, occupying about 5% of the total sown area, at Tsumje has two kinds: *gyabra* (*Fagopyrum esculentum*) and *prau* (*F. tataricum*). *Gyabra* is mainly cultivated. These two kinds are known all over the Highland, but they are cultivated at different altitudes. At points below 3500 m, mostly *gyabra* or *gyabre* is cultivated. This kind has no bitter taste. This kind is known as *gyabre* (Tib.) at many points between Kagbeni and Tsumje. *Fagopyrum tataricum* is cultivated at points above 3500 m. For instance, at Sangda (3700 m) this is the main crop. At Kagbeni (2800 m) though the existence of this kind is known, it is not cultivated, because it has a bitter taste, if cultivated at low points. This Highland kind is called *prau* at Tsumje; at Sangda *dhu* and at Kagbeni *thop*. (See also p. 41.)

Only a small quantity of potatoes is cultivated in the village. It is called *shoko* (*shogo*). In Nep. potatoes are called *alu*. This word is known at least as far as Thonzo (C. 40-C. 41) in the upper reaches of the Marsyandi. According to a Sherpa, potatoes are usually referred to as *shoko* in Tib., and at Sama (C. 46-C. 47) *hē*, but the Sherpa himself called them *rhigi*.

Maize is cultivated only on a very limited scale in the village. The village is far above the maize belt. Maize is referred to as *makai* (*makkoi*, *makoi*) in Nep. This word is used throughout the Highland and at Tsumje also the word is used. But Da Dorje says that there is another name for maize other than *makai* and that is *yiye* (Tib.).

Like potatoes maize was originally cultivated in the new continent, and it is therefore comparatively in recent years that they were introduced to this district. (See also p. 13.) But, while there are many native words denoting potatoes, those denoting maize are practically confined to *makai*. It is expected that some interesting fact may be unearthed, if we probe into this problem.

The villagers plow their steep terraced fields with plows driven by two castrated oxen (*kashi*). This manner of plowing is seen both in the Highland and Lowland. But there are slight differences in the shape of the plows. The plow used in the Lowland is long-based and heavy and their iron tips are narrow and pointed, while the plow used in the Highland is short-based, light and their tips are wide and shaped like a cap to fit the wooden-work. (Fig. 155 and Fig. 156.)

These differences are considered to have been the result of different kinds of the soil: in the Lowland the soil is lateritic, while in the Highland it is sandy and light. And much gravel is found mixed with soil. (See Fig. 6.) Moreover, in the Highland the terrain is steep and oxen are small.

There exists neither a transitional zone nor transitional type between

them, and this suggests the standardization of type in material culture. (In the drainage of the Buri Gandaki, Majhgaon (C. 75) is considered to be at the highest point in the Lowland-type. In the Kali Gandaki district, the Lowland type plows are seen used as far as in Lete (C. 22-C. 23). At Kagbeni they use the Highland type plows.)

Another difference is that while in the Lowland a plow is manipulated mostly by one man (or rarely by one woman), it is manipulated by two men at Tsumje, one driving the oxen and the other handling the plow. In the Manangbhot basin, however, a man or particularly a boy uses it. Accordingly this difference is not due to the culture but due to the steepness of topography.

The plow is called *thongba*, the plow tip *tho gja* (*thongjha*), the handle of a plow *thoyu*, the long shaft connecting the plow with the oxen *thongshol*, the neck wood *nyashin*, and the rope around the oxen *nyajap*.

At Sangda, the plow tip is called *tholja*, though the other words such as *thongba*, *nyeshing*, etc., are same, and at Munji (C. 37-C. 38), the plow is called *khuha*. It may be a Gurung term.

Various agricultural implements such as those used to crash the clods and pull up weeds astonished us by crudity. (See Fig. 157.) The writer has no data concerning the use of the harrows after plowing. The writer did not see them use harrows. According to what they said, they use a small hoe (*thoktsi*) for crashing the clods. For sowing they use a bamboo basket in which they put the seeds. This basket is called *phazi*. For cutting weeds they use a special hoe called *kore*. This is very primitive. Mostly they use their hands to pull up the weeds.

Roughly speaking, each family has about 1.8 hectares of arable land which was calculated from the sketching map measured by the writer. How can they root up all the weeds in this comparatively large fields with their simple implements? Some one may surmise that they plow the fields with their plows sometime in the middle of the season with a view to rooting up the weeds. But the wheat and barley fields are never ridged and as the seeds are sown comparatively densely without linear row, there is no way of plowing in the middle of the season.¹⁰¹⁾ For plowing they use the plow, and despite that they live on the steep slope they mostly use their cattle to

101) Among the exhibits at the Museum of Genève (Catalogue de la Collection d'Ethnographie Népalaise du Musée d'Ethnographie de la Ville de Genève, par Mme. Marguerite Lobsiger-Dellenbach, 1954), are found hoes exactly alike Tsumje's *thoktsi* and *kore*. According to the catalogue, Tsumje's *thoktsi* is called *takou* in Newari, and *kadālo* in Nepali, while Tsumje's *kore* is called *koukitcha* in Newari and *choutchecouto* in Nepali. (The above spellings are to pronounce according to French.) *Thoktsi* alone may be said to be of the same linguistic origin as the Newari word.

plow. Therefore, as compared with agriculture in Japan which may be called "the hoe culture", they must be satisfied with very poor hand tools, such as *thoktsi* and *kore*; theirs are "the culture of plow and animal," and the resemblance of these two types of agricultures does not go very far.

In Naudhara in the Lowland, however, a pair of two oxen were seen drawing a wooden harrow, with a man on it to weigh it down, to cultivate the land. In Sangda in the Highland there are wooden harrows called *themdei* (Tib.). Yet these two above-mentioned instances may be a result of the fact that the farm lands of those districts are level, and therefore it is perhaps only natural that no harrow is found in Tsumje.

At the Sangda village, they have a fine weeder which they called *koma*, made of a hook-shaped iron and a wooden handle, and a rake (Tib. *tre*) to spread barnyard manure on the field. In Kagbeni, there are *tres* and spade-shaped hoes, *khotali*, which are far better improved hand instruments than those we saw in Tsumje. For crushing the clods, they have the *thoktsi*, a hoe with an edge of about 5 cm breadth and is very unlike those toy-like things in Tsumje. This well-developed *thoktsi* is also seen used in Manang (C. 37-C. 38). It was the seed-time of buckwheat when we arrived the Manang village, and we could watch them work with hoes, and it was clear they used *thoktsi* for crushing the soil blocks. Those who had *thoktsi* also used three-forked hoes and scops both of which are much improved. It is, however, not easy to tell, because of their unexpected perfection, whether those agricultural instruments were made in the village or were bought in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

Compared with those hand instruments just mentioned of employed in the arid part of the Highland, those found at Tsumje, although it is within the Highland, are much poorer and clumsy.

The most remarkable things about manure is that, while fertiizing in the Lowland is poorly done, that in the Highland is carried intensively. This difference in the degree of fertilizing results in a great difference in the amount of products per acre land. In fact even in Tsumje, a place secluded and hilly, the growth of wheat and barley was surprising. It seems as if the law of Thünen does not apply here.

Manures comes from the stable and barnyard. There are other sources, too. For instance, we saw them burning the straws of barley, after the ears were harvested, to make ash. We found the cattles and sheep grazing on the farm land, where wheat had been reaped and a child was looking after them. On the occasion of such pasturing, dungs of those animals work as manures to the land. But these are of little importance.

Therefore the number of live stock of each family as against the average width of arable land which is ca. 1.8 hectares (measured on the map)

has great importance. The word for stable manure in their language is *lūi*. *Lūi* is dung mixed with trodden hay and dry leaves that have been spread over the floor of the stable beforehand. They carry *lūi* to the farm in a shoulder basket called *tseibu*. It is, however, doubtful whether they use all the hay and dry leaves they have collected as stable manure. They are apparently quite eager in gathering the leaves, like other inhabitants of the Highland. Here and there in the village were conical piles of leaves (mostly of conifer tree). Shades of big rocks are used as piling places for leaves, and in one of these big shades of rocks were seen villagers building platform and carrying there wheat straw to make common store. However, in some farms we saw the leaves almost raw and unlikely to have been put to decay in the stable. Accordingly some parts of the leaves may be put right on the soil.

They harvest with a sickle of moderate size in the shape of a crescent moon called *sora* (or *sōra*). This, like other iron instruments, is made by the blacksmith within the village.

There are two manners in harvesting. In the harvest season for barley, the villagers carried baskets on their shoulders, and they put into them the ears of barley that they plucked with their hands. When the season for wheat came, however, wheat was cut just a little above the root of which the villagers made into bundles as they walked on, and left them lying on the field. At *ildo* at the Barus, village girls were arranging ears of wheat as their night work. When they spread out wheat on *ildo* for drying, they cut the ears off straws in pieces of a few centimeters. According to one of the villagers, they reap the ears only at the beginning of the harvest season, while, as it gets toward the end, they cut the plants near the root.

Those engaged in harvest labour are mostly women and children in groups of about ten people. There was a woman working by herself, and we also saw a group of three girls, singing and plucking the ears. Thus harvested, they carry it home in bamboo baskets called *komba*. Straws are taken to the straw storage usually by women and children.

It is when the harvest season for wheat sets in that the whole village is really in full swing. Then, every hand is called out to the field. Some grow buckwheats where barley has been collected, taking advantage of a short interval between the planting seasons. Tilling with the plow and other kinds of hard labour are done by men.

Harvested wheat is temporarily stored on the floor of the barn. When they get dry enough, being spread on *ildo*, they are put to the thresher (*gyabri*). *Gyabri* is almost exactly the same with what used in Japan in olden times. To take off the chaffs, they put the grains in a large shallow bamboo plate called *loma*, and the work is performed on a mat, *khyele*, which

is also wrought of bamboo. On milling the writer has written already. (See p. 295.) They use a kind of sieve called *tshalo* to sift the grains. *Panga*, a large wooden box, is used to keep the corns. The one the writer saw at the Barus was 50 cm wide, 2 m long, and was as high as his chest.

Chapter X. LABOUR

Let the writer proceed a little further to labour in general of the villagers. Table 19 shows different kinds of labour performed by male and female and children.

Table 19. Kinds of labour as against children and adults of both sexes in Tsunje.

Kind of Labour	Male adult	Female adult	Male child	Female child
Handling of plow	○	×	×	×
Crushing soil block	○	⊙	×	×
Manures-gathering, delivery	—	○		
Seed planting	○	×		
Weeding	○	⊙	○	○
Harvesting	○	○	○	○
Threshing	○	○	○	○
Spinning wool	×	⊙		
Grazing at neighbouring pasture			○	○
Grazing at distant pasture	⊙	○	×	×
Gathering fire wood	⊙	○	○	○
Felling and transportation of wood	⊙	×	×	×
Carrying water	○	○	○	○
Trade	⊙	×	×	×

Note: (1) For additional explanations, cf. from p. 314 to p. 316.

(2) ○ usually by; ⊙ mainly by; — seldom by; × never by.

To handle the plow two men work together, one at the plow, and the other at the reins of the oxen. Women are considered not to sow. Grazing in the neighbourhood is duty of the children between 8 and 15 years old. Those older than 10 carry water, but it is not customary.

The data presented in this table were obtained through interviewing. But most of them have been proved true by observations on various occa-

sions. The fact that handling of the plow is limited to the adult males is probably simply because of hard labour. In the Lowland as well as in the Highland, this job is carried out exclusively by adult men, with only one exception of a woman working with a plow in the Lowland. It may appear rather contradictory that women are not allowed to partake in seed planting, quite a light labour as it is and, as mentioned before, it is certain that there is some religious meaning in it (refer to pp. 201-02). Contrary to this, concerning spinning of wool (wool thread: *tugon*), the data shown in the table and our observations did not always correspond with each other in the Highland under the influence of the Tibetan culture, as they so well did in this village.

It is quite usual in Kagbeni and other western arid districts to see men handling spindles and engaging in spinning. They even take spinning instruments on travel. In fact we saw at the Barus a tradesman who came from Ngile (situated up in the Shiar Khola) working with it. It may be, therefore, that among the Tibetan inhabitants, there is no discrimination of sex in regard to spinning.

The only perceivable difference of male and female is the shape of the spindle. Wooden spindle-whorls on spindles for men are square or triangular (the one brought to Tsumje by tradesman of Ngile proved this too), whereas, those for women always have round spindle-whorls. A very simple one used by women at Tsumje consisted of nothing but a round spindle-shape part (this was called either as *pha* or *pangshing*). Weaving, on the other hand, was solely in charge of women in any part of the Highland. But even this labour is done also by men in Tibet proper, according to the accounts of some explorations.

As has already been mentioned, according to our observation there, reaping is generally done by women and children (p. 313). Transportation of heavy objects, so far as we could witness, was always by male adults. It is for the same reason that felling and transportation of logs is without exception up to the male adults, and appears as a case of division of labour due to inequality of physical abilities between the male and female. However, it is not always the case. The fact that most of the porters at Pisang (C. 39) were women is an obstacle to define this as a general phenomenon. This observation about Pisang, by the way, is in no way incidental, as Tilman's expedition and our expedition in 1952 both prove this fact at Pisang.¹⁰²⁾

Let us review a few important points in connection with our observation of the state of labour at Tsumje.

1. In the division of ages, one older than 8 is regarded worth, so to speak, half a man, and he comes of age at 15. There is, however, no proof

102) See also C. Bell (1928): *The People of Tibet*. pp. 159-60.

to believe that this is kept as a strict rule.

2. There is no apparent differentiation in regard to sex in the labour of children below the age of 15.

3. It is significant to find in relation with the social construction of the village, that grazing at distant pastures, and trade, without exception, are jobs of man.

4. That the kinds of job especially for a grown-up male is very versatile has been suggested in an instance of old Baru, whose daily behavior the writer has already quoted. (See pp. 246-48.) Even in case of the only job in the above table free of adult masculine hands, that is, spinning of wool, it is not uncommon to see adult males at work among the Tibetan inhabitants.

Villagers told us that dressmaking was always done by women and there were no specialists for the job, and this may be true. A few contradictory experiences are that once we saw three men at work on an *ildo*, sitting throughout the day, and mostly sewing clothes, and during the two proceeding days, we met a man mounting thangkas. Besides, those who carry, at the waist, a leather-made thing, *khapshu* for keeping needles (*khap*) are generally males. This is a universal tendency among the Tibetan inhabitants, and not a phenomenon restricted to Tsumje alone. The fact that they, and particularly male adults, perform a variety of jobs must have something to do with their culture and social personality. The lack of such artisan castes as Dami, Sarki, and Kami is anything but fatal to their society. They do not have a specialized and narrow personality of craftsmen in hereditary caste society, but develop versatility. They are not put in a network of the fixed economic and functional statuses of the society, and are not, as is usually the case, dependent on any fixed job. They are far independent individually, and know what it means to stand on one's own.

This does not, however, mean absence of the spirit of mutual help. According to Dako Pu, during the busiest farming season last year, four families of Pra. 1, 3, 5, 7, collaborated in their work. As the Kartoks (Pra. 5) is consisting of women, Prangar dwellers always try to help them. There are such examples in places other than Tsumje. In Kagbeni, during the season of preparation of the field for barley and wheat, a group of about ten people co-operate, to work on farm lands of different families one after another. The family for which these groups work entertain the helping hands with food and liquor. Yet at the harvest season, they hire hands.

Thus, in the Highland, the hiring system in agricultural labour is a more prevalent practice than mutual help. Sometimes, the hiring contract is made between two remote places, and, for example, we met a number of men at the Nisango La who had gone all the way to Manangbhot as agri-



Fig. 161. Boy's labour. Carrying a jar in a basket. At the upper Buri Gandaki. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda



Fig. 162. Driving sheep and goats by shouting and throwing stones on the terminal moraine of glacier. All the animal is carrying salt-packs. At Bimtakothi. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 163. A baby sleeping in the dining room. At Tsumje. July, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 164. Swinging a baby in a cradle in the Lowland. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda



Fig. 165. Transplanting rice seedlings. The hands of this kind of labour are usually dressed-up women. Near Pokhara. June, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda



Fig. 166. A Highlander spinning wool. Note the form of the round spindle-whorl. In the upper Buri Gandaki. 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

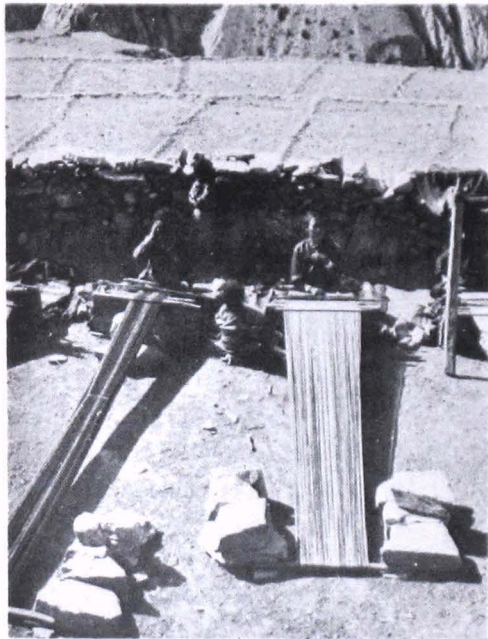


Fig. 167. The Tibetan ladies weaving woolen clothes. Irrigated fields are seen behind. At Sangda. May, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita



Fig. 168. A kind of Tibetan cap, *shade tshiring* (literally splendid hat).
Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21694.

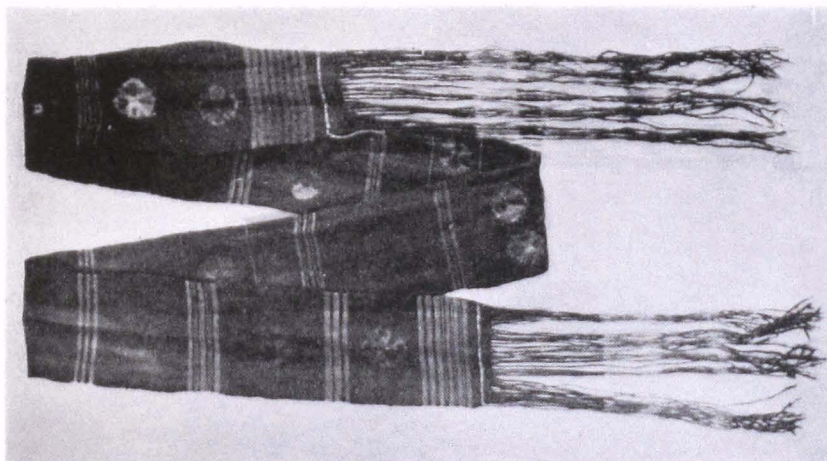


Fig. 169. A girdle, *kara*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21691.



Fig. 170. An inner coat for woman, *tangza*. Photo. by the Ethnological
Museum. Sample No. 21698.

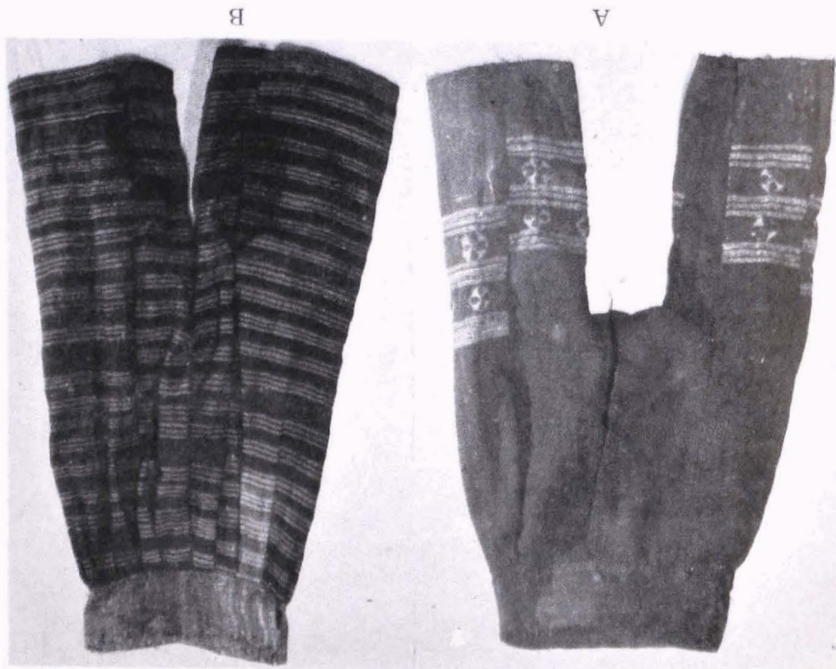


Fig. 171. Trousers or rather pantalets, *torma*, for boys (A) and women (B). Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21693 (A) and 21701 (B).

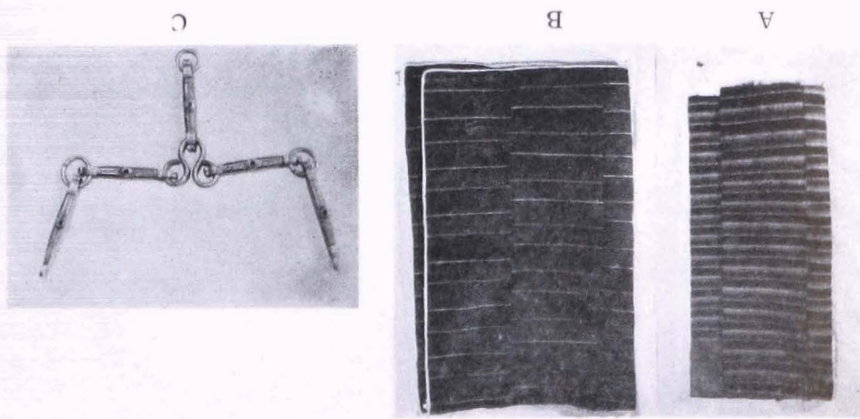


Fig. 172. Waist-cloths, *pangdeng* (A) and *mikthii* (B), and a catch for waist-cloths *ngati genzin* (C). *Pangdeng* is put on in front, *mikthii* behind. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample Nos. 21700 (A), 21699 (B), and 21702 (C).

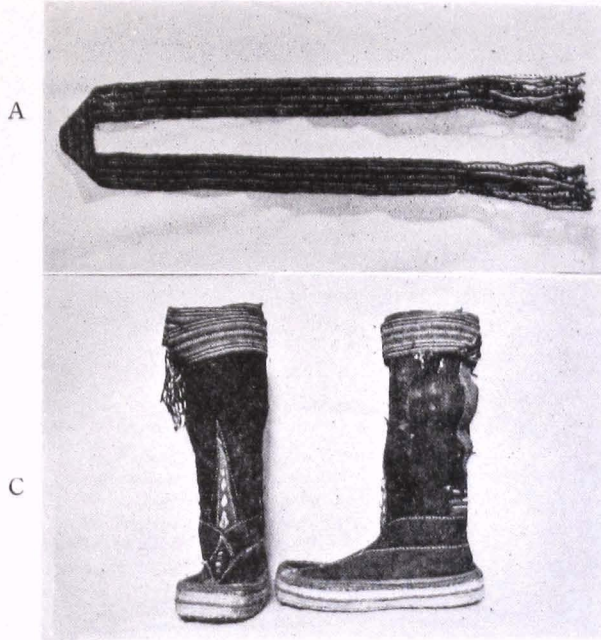


Fig. 173. Tibetan boots, *thezong* (B), wrapped by foot-bands, and foot-bands, *hamdlo* (A). This specimen of *hamdlo* was obtained at Kagbeni. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21704 (A) and 21697 (B).

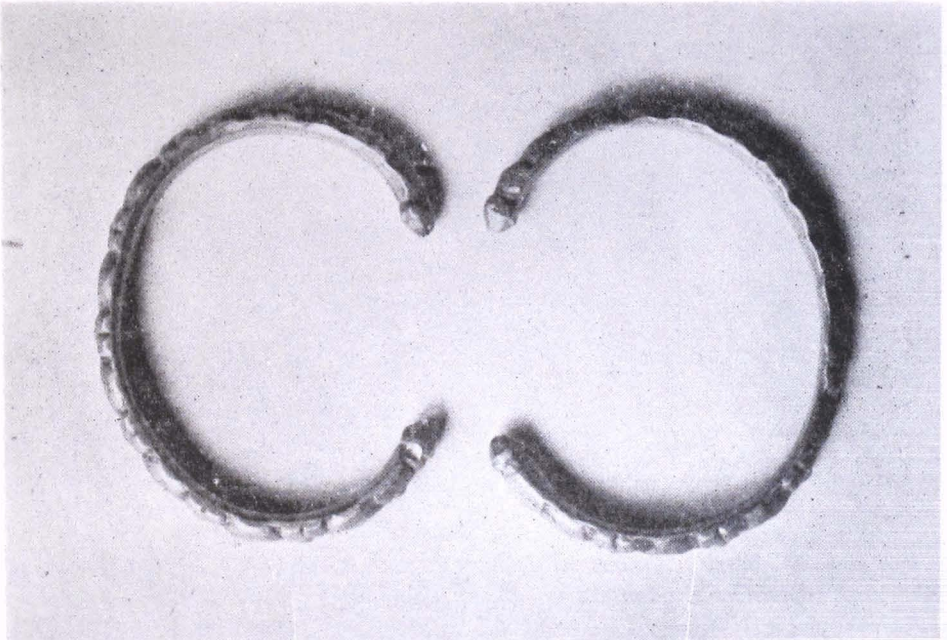


Fig. 174. A pair of cheap metal bangles for women, *sunge pungja*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21703.

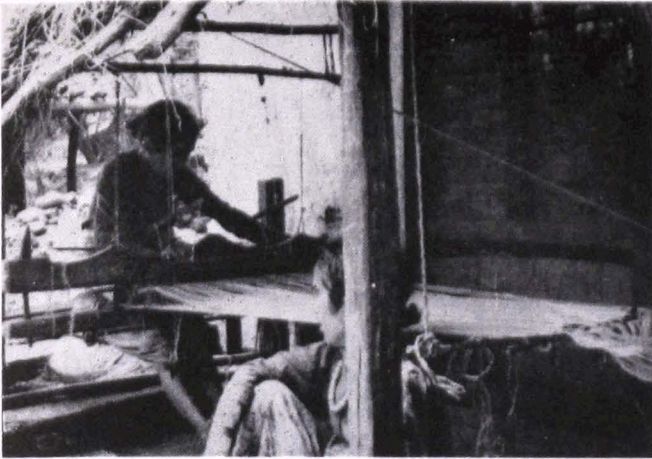


Fig. 175. A scene of weaving cotton clothes in the Lowland. Near Arughat Bazaar. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita.



Fig. 176. Ladies are pounding mortar for grain. At Batār Bazaar, the Lowland. March, 1953. Photo. by T. Yoda

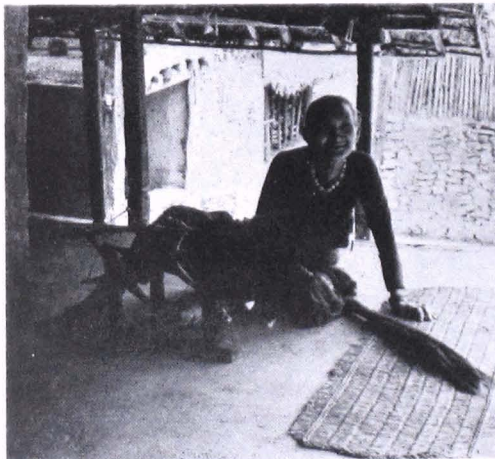


Fig. 177. A *Chharka* (spool) and an old woman. At Luit I Bhanjyang, the Lowland. April, 1953. Photo. by J. Kawakita

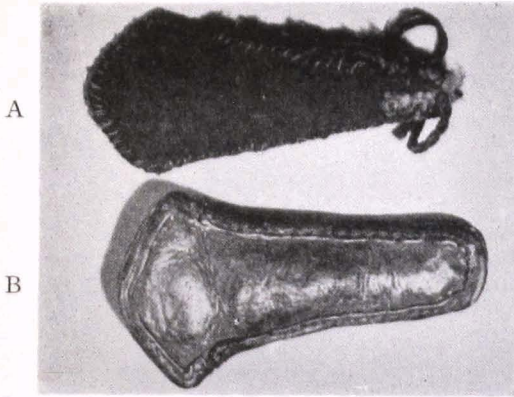


Fig. 178. A pin-cushion, *khapshu* (A), and its leather case (B). Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21707.

Fig. 179. A tobacco-pouch with a steel *mecha* for lighting. Usually a stone is used as a flint and tinders are made of wool or cotton fibre. The *mecha* is usually hung from the waist-band by men. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21709.

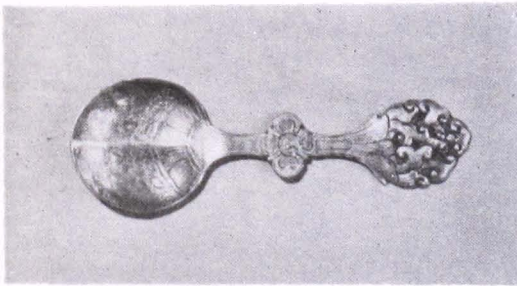
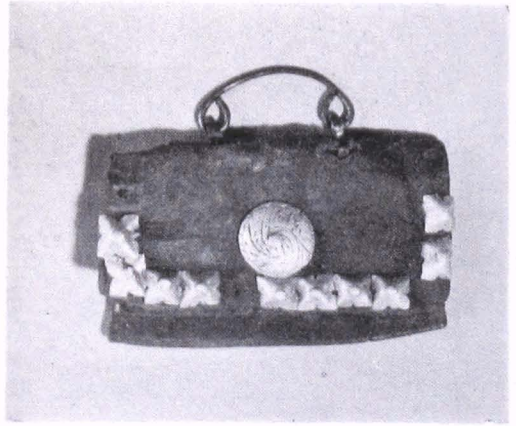
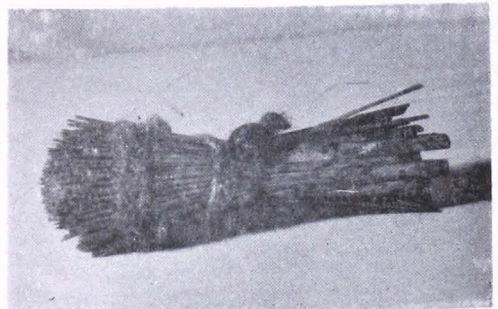


Fig. 180. A spoon, *khimbu*, made of silver is always hung from the waist-band by women. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21688.

Fig. 181. A comb, *phunlo*, made of bamboo. It tells clumsiness of the manual techniques of the Tibetan people. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21708.





B



D



Fig. 182. (A) A wooden bottle for spirits, *phom*. (B) A wooden tea-cup, *phrova* (honorific: *chhushal*) for women. (D) A wooden tea-cup, *phrova* (honorific: *shaga*). (C) A wooden lidded bowl, *khanbor*, for food. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample Nos. (A) 21689, (B) 21685, (D) 21686, (C) 21687.

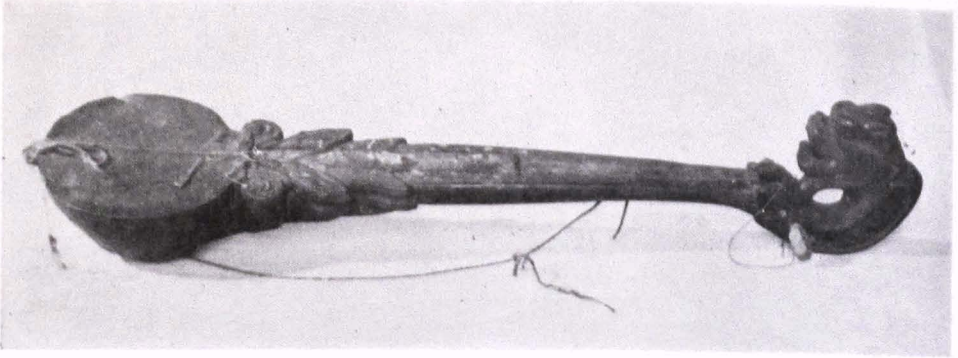


Fig. 183. A Tibetan guitar, *dhamnyan*, *damyan* or *tamnye* (honorific: *chhanghen*).
Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21718.

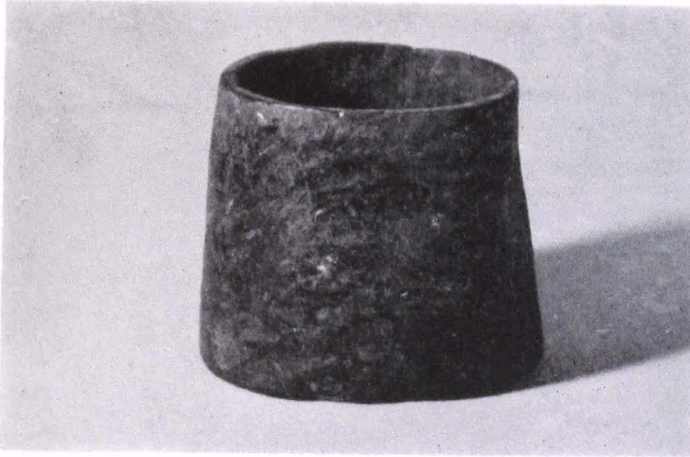


Fig. 184. A dry measure, *pre*. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum.
Sample No. 21710.

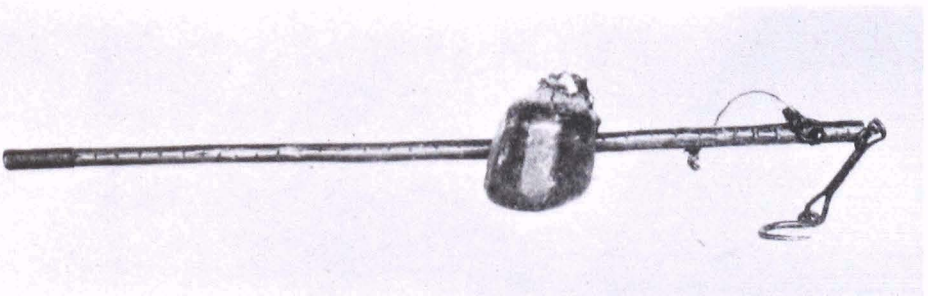


Fig. 185. A steelyard balance, *hshang*, and a stone weight, *hshangdo*, wrapped with
leather. Photo. by the Ethnological Museum. Sample No. 21711.

cultural labourers and were on their way home to Mustang (a place along the upper stream of Kali Gandaki). This is more or less the case also with Tsumje, although here they are more likely to hire people of other villages in busy farming seasons than to leave home to work for others. Hiring is transacted according to convenience of each family, and money is of course one of the important factors. There are hiring engagements sometimes between the people of the same village.

One of the inevitable consequences of versatility of the worker is that there is little possibility of his attaining skillfulness in any particular job. Wooden articles of this village were of two kinds, well-made and poorly made. Clumsy ones were made by the villagers, and unskillfulness with which balance beams and measures are done is almost unbelievable. (See Figs. 185 and 184.) Some of the finer works of wood are teabowl or *phrowa* (honorific appellation is either *shaga* or *chhushal*), wooden bowl (*khanbor*) and wine-bottle (*phom*). The first two were produced by a deceased wood worker who used to live in a neighbouring village, Khar. Whether he was a Bhotia born in this village was unknown. The last one is said to have been bought near Arughat Bazaar in the Lowland. A guitar (*dhamnyan* for which honorific appellation is *chhanghen*) by the hand of Tshirin Angdöi (Ka. 5) was one of the master-pieces among poorer works of the villagers. (Fig. 183.)

Chapter XI. DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, STOCK-RAISING AND LIVE-STOCK PRODUCTS

1. Kinds and Numbers of Domesticated Animals

The total number of domesticated animals in Table 18 (p. 294) amounts to 72 cattle (♀ 46, ♂ 26), 18 *zō*, 134 sheep (of which a few might be goats), and 23 goats. These figures roughly represent the ratio of the sheep, cattle, goat, and *zō* in the whole village.

Calculated in terms of animal-unit (see p. 293), they are 72 cattle, 18 *zō*'s, a little less than 27 sheep and 4.6 goats. Taking 7 heads both of sheep and goats as 1 in terms of animal-unit, there are 19.1 sheep and 3.3 goats. Thus cattle, by all means, come first in importance, followed by *zō*'s and sheep, and goats. There is an average of 6.70 animal units to 8 masters of family; an average of 4.22 animal units to 12 ordinary male members; an average of 2.15 animal units to 8 women. If this is applicable to the whole village, the total animal units in the village will be about 794. Taking into account, however, the number of children and babies, the real number of live-stock within the village will be about 500, which is 14 animal units per family. Besides those mentioned, each family keep chickens, and sometimes dogs and cats.

2. Domesticated Animals—Terminology, Use and Method of Breeding

The generic term for cattle in English is *balang* or *phalang*. The bull is *langbo* or *phe*, and when it is castrated, that is, the ox is the *kashi*, and the cow is *balang*. The calf before it is one year old is *byū*, and two years old and three years old ones are called *yaru* and *chiyama* respectively, and the word *balang* is used for those older. The yak is called *ya*, but none is in this village. The generic name for dzo is *zō*. The female *zō* is either *momzō* or *zōmu* (*zōmo*). Every *zō* found in this village was not male (*zōpa*) but *momzō*. A hybrid between a *momzō* and a bull is called *tolbo* for male, and *tolmo* for female. The generic name for the goat is *ra*, of which a male is a *rabo*, and a female is *ramo*. The generic name of *khyi* means the dog, and the male and female dogs are *khyibo* and *khyimo* respectively. The inclusive name for the hen and cock is *chamo*, and the cock is *chabo* and the hen *chamo*. The he-cat is called *gurbo*, and the she-cat *gurmo*, and the term for the cat is *guri* regardless of sex.

Balang and *momzo* are for milking purposes, and *kashi* is for cultivation. The sum, therefore, of domesticated animals kept for milking is a little more than one half of the total number of animals in terms of animal-unit in the village. This is quite consistent and reasonable in view of the fact that there are a little less than 3 *kashi*'s per family, according to the calculation made above, and that people always put a pair of *kashi*'s to the plow. There is apparently no more need of *kashi* than what they have now. Provided that this proportion of 46 *balang*'s to 26 *kashi*'s hold good throughout the village, and that the birth ratio of male and female calves is 50 to 50, it is doubtless that they either kill or sell some of the male calves. They insist, however, that there are no domestic animals for sale, and that they do not take the trouble of killing domestic animals.

According to the villagers, milking is performed by both sexes. All kinds of domesticated animals, they say, are kept in the same room (or *ra*), except the calves to make milking possible. They consider *momzō* as a superior animal to *balang* in its utility. (Altitude of Tsumje is about 3130 m above sea-level.)

Breeding of cattle is done in the village, and as the writer has already stated, due to the scarcity of *langbo*'s, villagers lend them between each other, and a rent is paid for the use. For the breeding of *momzō*, they borrow *ya* from a nearby village called Chhule Nilo. They sometimes make a *langbo* mate a *momzō*.

It seems true that few sheep and goats are kept for their wool, except some black sheep which are fleeced to make ropes. During the time of our stay, we once witnessed a little bit of black wool aired on a bamboo mat, as the only sign of fleecing in the village. We have scarcely seen them

spinning, and in fact all the *pha*'s (spindles) for spinning wool are for lady's use (p. 315) which are small and do not look very effective. As the writer is going to refer again in the following, they go out to Tibet to obtain wool.

What, then, is the use of the sheep and goats? The villagers remark that they are not for milking. It does not seem possible, however, that they are kept only for not very profitable purposes of selling their fur out in Calcutta (as be mentioned later). Having also in mind the unsolved question of the result of surplus male calves, we may not be incorrect in saying that those animals they either eat or sell. The sheep and goats are bred within the village. The hens are kept solely for domestic purposes, and both chicken and eggs are served at table. Dogs are used to watch over the depastured cattle, but not used for hunting.

There are two ways to rear the cattle, that is, depasturage and stabling. The word for pasture-land is *ri* (which also means a mountain). They mow grass at various places, but there is no definite hay-field nor word to denote it. There are two more words for pasture-land, *dhoksa* and *chhuksa*, which, according to them, mean exactly the same thing. Since, *do*, *chhu* and *sa* respectively stand for stone, water and land, it may be that *dhoksa* is a dry, stony pasture-land, while *chhuksa* is a little damp land. The chief pasture-land is in a neighbourhood called Tsomdung, about half a day's walk from the village. This place, as some of the villagers told the writer, is given mostly for the cows and zōes, and goats and sheep are raised in the stables at home. But the writer himself observed every morning village boys running after the cows and sheep to the grassy lands surrounding the village. This sort of pasturing is sometimes done on farm-fields after the harvest was collected. In these cases, the cattle are taken back to their stables every evening.

At distant pastures, the cattle are depastured for three to four months. The pasturing season range over the length of time from about the middle of May to sometime in September. Pasturing is usually an individual business for each family, and it is only at times that two or three families join hands in the work. Watching of the cattle is, therefore, also taken care of by the individual families. A hut called *lē* is built for watching, where people sometimes stay for several days. (Refer also to p. 295 about the *lē*.) During the pasturing season, salt is given to the milking cow and *momzō*'s once in a while. The cattle in the stable are mostly fed on the green grass and fodder which, by the way, is the only food in winter. A kind of concentrated food for milking cows and *momzō*'s according to one of the villagers, is boiled grain with salt. Another villager says that they give a mixture of flour with water and salt, and sometimes baked wheats.



Fig. 186. A Tibetan in front of a summer milking camp on alpine meadow. At the upper reaches of Shiar Khola. July, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao.



Fig. 187. Summer milking huts, *kharka*. The Great Barrier of Mt. Annapurna I is seen in the background (centre). Near Braga. October, 1952. Photo. by S. Nakao.



Fig. 188. Making butter, *mar*, and cheese, *churbi*. At the upper reaches of Shiar Khola river. July, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao.



Fig. 189. Drying cheese in the sun. At the upper reach of the Shiar Khola. June, 1953. Photo. by S. Nakao.

3. Dairy Products

Milk in their language is *oma*. Milk of *balang* and *momzō*, when it is not to be worked upon, is boiled and added with butter. Dairy products besides raw milk are curd (*sho*), butter (*mār*) and cheese (*churbi*). To get *sho*, they put boiled milk in a large cooking-pot (*sān*) made of copper, and leave it for a day with a bit curd that was prepared beforehand. This process is called *shongyal*. When *sho* is thus obtained, it is put into a wooden, cylindrical case and is stirred with a stick about one thousand times. This being done, boiled water is poured and *mār* congregate. (Fig. 188.) This is taken into another vessel and will gradually harden up, when still more stirring is made.

The remained fluid substance is boiled to separate the protein which will stay at the bottom. This protein is made into *churbi* by being squeezed with hands (Fig. 189) and put out in the air for drying. *Sho* is often served at table without further cooking. *Mār* is frequently taken with vegetables, and is also in common use as cooking oil. *Churbi* is sometimes served or cooked with vegetables. It is doubtless that a good deal of meat along with dairy products are included in their meals. The villagers, therefore, are by no means vegetarian, though agricultural Tibetans they are and quite low the standard of their life may be.

4. Situation at Kagbeni and Others

Some more data are given in the following to show, by comparison, how universal the above statement about Tsumje are in other parts of the Highland. To begin with, words for domesticated animal in Kagbeni (Tib.) are as the following: The generic term for the horse is *ta*. The stallion is called *sep*. The castrated male is *phorta*, and the female horse, or mare is *ghōma*. Horses of one, two, three and four years old are distinguished from each other by different names of *tihu*, *chouha*, *kharka* and *chukchik*, respectively. Castration is performed, while the horse is between two and five years old. Even after castration, the four above listed names showing different stages of growth are applicable regardless of sex, until a horse reaches its maturity. A group of depastured horses is called *tatung*, and when a male, a few females and some colts gather together to make up a group, as is usually the case, it is a *sep-chik-phorie*. The kind of horse introduced from China is called *singda*, that from India *rongda*, and a kind of native small horse is called *pōda*. Words showing differences in the colour of skin are mostly based on Tibetan words for colours. Thus, the red-spotted horse is *domar*, the white horse is *ta karpo*, the black one is *nagpo*, the red one is *marpo*, the grey one is *ngonpo*, and the white-spotted horse with red skin is *ragpa*.

A general name *phungu* is used for the donkey, of which a male is

phoung, and the female *moung*. The names for younger donkeys are the same with those for horses except *phungdu*, which replaces *tihu* for a donkey of one year old. *Tre* is the general name for mules, and male and female are *photre* and *motre* respectively. A mule born by a female donkey and a male horse is *phung tre*, and when the combination is vice versa, it is *ta tre*. A *ta tre* is said to be more useful than a *phung tre*.

Phalang is the general term for the cattle. The bull and ox are *phalang* and *loho*. A cow is also a *phalang*. Young animals, according to the succeeding stages of growth, are called *phib*, *duo*, *shepa* and *thuichik* from the first to the fourth year, respectively. They are fully grown at five, when names for grown-up animal are adopted. There is no specific name for the milking cow.

The yak is generally *ya*. The male animal is *poha*, which is called *ya* when it is castrated. The word *dimo* stands for a female. Names for younger animals from the first to the fourth years are exactly the same as in the case of cattle.

The general name for dzo is *zō*. The male and female animals are *zōpa* and a *mamzō*, respectively. A *zō* born of a female cattle is *phamzō*, and when the mother is yak, it is called *dimzō*. There are more *phamzō* than *dimzō* but they are, as the villagers say, worse in quality, and cheaper in price. They also remarked that *dimzō*'s are better fitted to the high land, while *phamzō*'s are good for a lower district (Kagbeni is at an altitude of 2800 meters). Every *zōpa* here is castrated, but it is said that a *zōpa* has no generative power. A hybrid animal produced by a *mamzō* and a bull is *langdol* and a crossbreed of a *mamzō* and a yak is *toldu*.

The generic term for sheep is *luk*, which means a male sheep at the same time. A male for breeding, a female and a young are a *luk thubu*, a *mamu* and *luktu*, respectively. Goats are generally called *rā*. The words he-goat and she-goat are *yangō* and *rāma*. A castrated male is *rahu*. Those with straight horns are *rahu chhakta* (or *rahu chhak'ya*), and those with curved horns are *rahu yongu*. For some unknown reason, there are few sheep throughout the district along the upper stream of the Kali Gandaki, including Kagbeni, Lete, Dhumpu, Sangda and other, while a comparatively large number of goats are seen. It seems that even in Kagbeni, where wool spinning is quite popular and woolen cloths are woven, the material needed is bought from outside the village. The general term for the dog is *khi* or *ki*, and *poki*, *moki* and *kitu* are for a male dog, a female dog, and a puppy respectively.

It can be rightly inferred from what has preceded that concerning the names of domesticated animal as a whole there is less differentiation in Tsumje than in Kagbeni. The basic vocabulary like *lang*, *ya*, *lu*, *ra*, and

khyi are common to both of these places. The word denoting the cross-bred *zō* of a cattle and a yak, and the word *tol* meaning hybrid of a female *zō* with either a bull or a male yak are likewise used in the two places. *Po* (or *pa*) and *mo* (or *ma*), implying male and female respectively, are also in frequent use in both of them.

It is one of the common features of Tsumje and Kagbeni that young cattle and horses are given special names for the purpose of distinguishing the grown-ups, except for the fact that in the former designations for young animals are used only until they are as old as three, whereas in the latter these names are replaced with names for grown-ups when they are older than four.

It must result from the importance of milking cows that, in the case of cattle, the general name is identical with the word for a cow. In the same way, the term generally used for a yak is identical with a castrated male which, as a beast of burden, plays not a little part in transportation. This is to some extent the case with horses.

What called our attention was that hybrid mules and *zō*'s are designated according to the kind of female parents. Furthermore, if observation of the villagers as to the capacity of a *phamzō* (hybrid with a cow) and a *dimzō* (hybrid with a female yak) that the former is better suited to lower land and the latter to higher land is correct, it follows that in the heredity of quality, that of a female parent is dominant. Whether this is an accepted truth in genetics the point about which the writer would very much like to know opinions of specialists in the field of genetics.

Let us give a sketch of the characteristics of the yaks and *zo*. Kagbeni itself is not particularly highly situated, but it is surrounded by the high mountains, and some yaks are kept there. What follows was told by a worker we hired for using yaks:

"A *zōpa* and a yak can adapt each other to form a team in transportation (this was proved in our travel). A yak does not go away beyond seven or eight miles distant from home, if it is left free. A yak brought from other places can be trained gradually to have this habit, if it is below the age of four. Those older than that will in time return to the place where they were taken from. In a team of yaks, a leader is usually found, which is always a male, no matter that it is castrated or not. A leader has had special training and, therefore, is high-priced. An uncastrated male yak (or a *po*) may sometimes stand still and not move in the middle of the way while engaged in transportation. This is the reason why almost every yak is castrated. When a group of four or five yaks and another group of such are put together, they never mingle with each other for about three years and behave in separate ways. In a group, when a leader starts

to walk, all others follow him. When a leader sets himself to sleep, the rest will do the same until they rise again with the leader. The yaks are kept outdoors throughout the year. They take food three times a day. The first food is taken an hour before the dawn. They fall asleep as the sun begins to shine. When it starts to blow in the morning, it is the time they awake to take the second feed. Thereafter they take another sleep and eat once more in the evening. They sleep at night also. They are fed only twice when they work. They take a good deal of water in winter as the fodder is dry. They can, however, go on for a few days without eating and drinking during the rainy season when there is green grass. At times a bit of mustard oil or molasses is given. This is done in so different ways that frequency ranges from once a month to once a year, or even none at all. Giving of it is proved effective. No sort of concentrated feed is given except salt. (On the occasion of our short trip toward the west of Kagbeni for a little less than two weeks, some salt was given two or three days before the departure. The man in charge told us that no more was going to be given until the end of the trip.)

The yaks sometimes eat even clothes in want of salt. Around Chhark-abhotgaon, apparently enough salt is spontaneously taken with feed outdoors, but in the neighbourhood of Kagbeni, salt must be given.

In time of snowstorm, the yaks move in the direction of wind, and will find a shelter where snow is scarce. They can mostly hold out for a good number of days inside the forest and so on, gnawing at trees. Some calves and weaklings will sometimes die owing to lack of feed in the deep snow.

The *zōpas* differ a great deal from the yaks in that they are kept in the stables. The *zōpas* are available in the downstream of the Kali Gandaki as far as Dāna (1420 m).

We ourselves actually found during our trip that yaks were put to pasture where there was no grass except bushes of juniper. As we were heading for a high mountain pass named Thiye La, we spent an extra day at a camp at a height of 4400 m, since from next we were to be at an altitude where no plant for feed is available, and yaks had had to be fed enough grass. During our travel, yaks were usually depastured on a slope across a small dell, to keep them in an open view from the camping spot. They feed on grass there, jingling bells on their necks, and yet would be often found on an unexpected height the following morning. The work of driving them down, crying loud and sometimes throwing stones from behind to hasten them, is a very hard labour beyond the capacity of unpracticed hands or women.

Tsumje is not very typical of a dwelling place for the Bhotas as it lacks yaks which present a special aspect of Tibetan tableland. On the

back of the village there are heights available to keep the yaks. The absence of the animal is mainly due to inconvenience of traffic, for transportation of loads along precipitous paths depends wholly upon the human shoulders. For this reason, too, there is no *zōpa* as means of transport, and only some *zōmo*'s are kept for milk. As regard depasturing, the villagers do not make use of huts (*kharka*) in the alpine region in summer for milking, as they do near Sama and in the north of Chhogang.

In Sangda the domesticated animals are also privately owned, but, unlike in Tsumje, depasturing is a co-operated work, and each family is to look after the animals in turn. One from each family, and usually a child, fulfill the task. Rotation between the farm lands and pastures has never been observed throughout the Highland but for an exceptional case at Ongre (C. 38), probably owing to scarcity of arable ground on one hand, and abundant pasture lands on the other hand.

Let us touch a little about utilization of milk products in Kagbeni. Supply of milk is made by cows, *mamzo*'s, sheep and goats of which cows are the most important. Any kind of milk in their language is *homa*. Milk is mostly drunk raw, before it turns into curd after a few days. Butter is likewise called *mar* (Nep. *ghi*) here. *Dimar* and *phamar* are words for distinguishing butter made from milk of yaks and that from milk of cows. *Mar* is made by almost the same process as it is done in Tsumje, when boiled milk gets cold, a piece of curd (*shō*) or a little bit of salt is added. The milk is then left until it curdles the next morning, when it is put into a long cylindrical case made of bamboo. It is stirred with a stick, and afterward some cold water is poured into it to separate *mar*. *Mar* thus obtained is heated on a frying-pan to take off water. No more salt is added. The remainder is called *tara* (Nep. *moi*). This liquid substance is processed into cheese in a similar way. After being boiled, it is cooled down to settle the protein at the bottom, which is squeezed with the hand into forms of different size. The word for cheese is *churpi*. Larger one is *thokchur*, while a smaller one is *lakchur*. Remaining liquid (*churku*), after *churpi* has been produced, is thrown away.

To summarize, we have seen that as regard the milk products there is no remarkable difference between the two villages either in the process of production or in the use of words for the products.

Chapter XII. COMMERCE

1. The Unit of Measurement

It is almost amazing to realize that the dwellers of Tsumje, forming an agricultural community in such an out-of-the-way place, still possess that

eagerness for long-distance trade common to all Tibetans. How much have they developed the ideas and methods of measurement, which were indispensable in trade as well as in daily life?

Some units of measurement, according to the villagers, are: the length from one end to the other of outstretched arms is a *dhom*; the distance from elbow to the point of fingers is a *thu*; the longest distance between the point of the thumb and the point of the middle finger is a *tha*, and that between the point of the thumb and the forefinger is a *khi*; the distance between the first and the second joint of a folded forefinger is a *sor*; and the width of a forefinger is a *semmu*.

Measuring of cloth and the like, the villagers told us, is based on *tha*, and seems quite rough and inaccurate. For walking-distance, they have a unit of measurement called *ngaldo*, which, as they say, is the extent that can be covered before a walker with no baggage wants a rest. A *ngaldo* seems to be about two miles, but they claim that it is sometimes less than two miles (probably because it is not a geographical distance but physiological one).

Spatial length of land is measured by *rhingmo*, and the breadth by *thuima*. Yet the standard unit of square we had no way to know. There must have been something for the purpose, since even in a secluded place like Sangda, they have a word *nangma* which, not to speak of accuracy, means a rectangular area of farm land enclosed on all sides with ditches. We were told that there is no definite unit of measurement for extent of pasture-land.

Units of capacity and weight: a *pre* is a unit of a cylindrical dry measure of clumsily carved wood called *pre*, of which one half is a *preze*, and three times as much is a *yatre* (Fig. 184). (In the Lowland of Nepal, such measure is called *mana* in Nepalese.) The measure is made by the villagers, and seems to vary in capacity in different villages. A *phulu* is a unit of weight marked off by a scale on a balance-beam (*hshang*), with a weight of leather-wrapped stone (*hshangdo*) put to it with a string. (Fig. 185.) A *mare* is equal to 6 *phulu*'s, formerly used for weighing butter (Tib. *mār*), and is marked off on the balance-beam by a large scale made at the interval of every six scales. The weight of 1 *mare* is also not always same throughout various places.

Pangba is the unit of measurement for a baggage, specifically a faggot, which can be held between a head and an arm. They call it *pangba chi* (a bundle), *pangba nyi* (two bundles) and so forth. A man is supposed to carry on his shoulder a load which weighs *khurbo chi*. $1/2$ *khurbo* is called *khurbo phe*. Measurement of load carried by the livestock is done by calling it *gyap*, which means the load carried either by one yak or mule, that is a

pair of baggages swung on their sides.

A day's labour is measured as *lē nyima chik* or simply as *nyima*. (*Nyima* means day.) A half of it is called *lē nyima phega*.

As one of the common traits of the Lamaist culture, a considerable development of ideas of calendar is observed, although it is based on the Tibetan calendar. They have a book of calendar called *Dado*. Having no chronometer, however, they can't subdivide a day which they call *nyima*. Dawn is called *nam lang*, morning *nyima shar*, and forenoon *nyima trö*. Noon is called *nyima pheka*, while afternoon *nyima ko*. Evening before the sunset is called *nyima khö*, evening after sunset *nam hrö*, and midnight *numo phe*.

2. Commerce

The villagers told us that the goods they buy from outside the village include fat of sheep and cattles, mutton, wool, salt, *chili* (red-pepper), rice, sugar and soda for washing which is produced in Tibet. Usually, villagers go out of the village to buy them. There are other goods which the merchants bring and sell in the village. They are dyestuffs, tea, coral, appliances, roughly-woven blankets and felt. There is no trade of cloth whatsoever. We were told that the villagers buy clothes, when they go to visit Calcutta.

On the other hand some of the products in the village are exported. They are butter, wheat, barley and a small amount of maize. We are told that they don't sell livestocks. (See also p. 329.) But their commercial activities are not confined to the surplus articles of community. The villagers are right when they say, "We don't have much rice here, because the people at Chhogang monopolize the trade of salt. With salt one can get rice through barter. Thus the Chhogang people are rich." But it is also true that the people in this village are engaged in the barter of salt and rice.

The people living in the neighbourhoods of the village usually go out to do their business in fur (Tib. *pakpa*). The villagers of *Tsumje* also store skins of goats, sheep, cattles and *zö* which they raise in the village and sell them. The skins of leopards (Tib. *zi*) and deer (Tib. *shā*) they actively collect by purchase from outside the village. They also buy and store the musk which they smuggle with. (The Nepalese Government forbids the private trade of musk.) We were told that they carry those goods to Calcutta to buy dyestuff which they sell at Larkya and Chhogang.

In the sixth month of the Tibetan calendar (all references of dates below follow the Tibetan calendar) the trade of salt and rice becomes most active. Usually the sixth, seventh and eighth months are the busiest months of the commercial activities of the villagers.

The main thing for them to do in the eighth month is to go to buy wool in Tibet. In the tenth month they go to buy mutton at Kyeron Dzong and other places in Tibet. Visiting of merchants from outside the village are seen mostly in the ninth and tenth months. Seasonal vicissitudes of activities like these naturally do not allow the villagers to stay on their farms in the eighth month when they are very busy and let them go on commercial expeditions.

The writer asked Da Dorje, "How many people did you employ during the busiest farming season last year?" He answered, "I don't know because I was on a business trip to Katmandu."

The uncle of Dako Pu who, by way of making his pilgrimage to the temple at Katmandu, remained our volunteer porter, to the end of our journey, would turn out to be an errand trader after his pilgrimage. So what a villager told us is true only to a limited extent: "There is no one who specializes in business, and everybody is engaged in farming exclusively. When there are enough farm hands, however, some men may be engaged in trade."

Commerce is called *tshazong druzong*. "To do business" is said *Tshong gyawa yin*. *Tshongba* means "merchant." To raise funds for their business they borrow money from the money-lenders. The rate of interest is said to be 33% a year. On several occasions, however, they organize guilds. *Tshongro* is the name for the organization of this kind. (The suffix *-ro* or *-gro* denotes something organized, or got together, into a body or a collection. *Shing* (a tree), *shingro* (a thicket of tree leaves and branches)). When they want to mean not so much the organization as the each member consisting it, they call it *tshongba tshongro*. The guild consists of several traders who, making a common fund by putting together their money, help each other and distribute their profits according to the proportion of their initial contributions to the fund. Men consisting *tshongro* are called *tshongro thoptshan*. *Thopche* means food, and *thoptshan* denotes "comrades who always sit at table together." Their mutual relations are understood to be fraternal. They call each other, "*Thoptshan la*." (look, brother! (honorific)).

Villagers told us that formerly *tshongro* had usually been organized in every *tsosum*. About 16 years ago, however, things began changing and now forming *tshongro* is a matter of individuals. The change was brought about, they told us, by the fact that it has become harder to run business. The informant's report says that the number of the families which hold trading as an additional occupation is eleven (Ka. 2, 3, 4, 9; Pra. 1. 11, 12; Shi. 2, 3, 6, 8.), reaching a little less than one third of the total number of families. We confirmed that Prangar's three and Shimmushe's four families have formed their own *tshongro* respectively. As to Kangring's we could

not make out. Tracing the genealogy of Prangar, we find that the three families are very near relatives, recently divided through family branching. Shimmushe's families, except Shi. 8, are also closely related. But Kangring's families, provided that the heads of Ka. 3 and Ka. 4. are brothers, are only remotely related. From the report we may say it is true to some extent that a decade ago *tshongro* used to be formed in every *tsosum*. We have, on the other hand, noted a different case. We saw now and then men from other villages coming to visit Baru (Ka. 2) with meat and things and staying for a few days. The writer asked them, "Are they Baru's *thoptshan*?" The villagers only grinned and didn't give the writer any answer. We can assume that *tshongro* is not always formed among the members of the same *tsosum* or in the same village and possibly there are some which are formed by the people living far separate.

The families engaging in business include Baru and Pharwa, two most powerful men as well as some of the richest families of the village. Da Dorje and Dako Pu, who are young *kanjen*, engage in business. Those who do business also include Khimjung Puchima (Ka. 3), who occupies *tshota*'s position, and Karma Topgyal (Shi. 8) who occupies *shara*'s position. Puchi (Shi. 6) possesses the only mill in the village. As a matter of fact we cannot say that the families which hold trading as an additional occupation are always rich. For example, Ka. 4 doesn't look well-off by any means. Some of the officials of the village are not even mentioned among the above list. It is not always so that only the richest engage in business. Nevertheless, it is true that the rich and the influential people discover a frontier in the field of commercial activity, and that some people have become rich by winning the battle on this frontier.

The writer have pointed out that in commerce, as compared with farming, one risks more but has chances to get rich quickly and his personal ability counts more. Presumably the individualism in their culture has close relations with their great attachment to the long-distance commerce and the characteristics of their commercial activities.

It must be noted that the items dealt in this distance commerce are most miscellaneous and its scale is very small. And in reality they not only deal with goods but transport business in addition. The small scale is suited to private adventure. Transport business gives them chances to test their physical strength, which is valued highly. When we considered pasturing, we noted it was done by men but not by women. The same thing can be said here. Transport business requires a strong body and mind, even if in Tibet where it is done by the pack-animals but not by men's shoulders as in this village. Work at the commercial frontier depends upon male strength. (See also pp. 314-15 and p. 335.) Miscellaneousness of the

items of trade accounts for many-sidedness of their, especially men's work. We have observed that one third of the families in this village engage in business. But not one of them specializes in it. Commercial activities in a family doesn't give itself any social status which can be handed down to the posterity. They will engage in commerce at one time and in farming at another. Da Dorje who had found that we gave a porter 4 rupees a day, came to apply for the job. A Sherpa who accompanied us asked him, "Isn't it out of place for you, *kanjen* (a village headman), to apply for a porter's position?" Although once rejected, he and another *kanjen* Dako Pu finally became our porters when we left the village. A man's job is usually thus many-sided, a fact which, the writer believes, contributes to form an independent personality. The tendency of this kind also seems to explain poorness of team-work. They are content with poor collaboration among a few families and *tshongro* is formed with a few men. They don't care for higher and stronger organizations which can be formed. Only two kinds of kin groups, namely clan and family, and the Lamaistic organization, help them out of disorder to some extent. If this tendency prevails among all the Tibetan people, an interesting question will be presented. The Tibetan culture contacts with the Hindu culture, making a contact zone between the two. In the former, people are individualistic and unskillful in managing co-operative organizations. But each individual is vigorous and cheerful. In the case of the latter culture, they are weak and cheerless as individuals. But they are authoritarians and easily subjugated or organized under some authorities. In the case of the Gurungs who live on the contact zone, they are individuals full of vigour, and, nevertheless, able to be organized effectively, as is seen in the Gurkha army. In the same way, the Takali tribesmen on the contact zone are vigorous and cheerful. They are well organized in the commercial activity. In this point, the contact zone, or the marginal zone, may reveal a quite interesting problem to the researchers of human behavior.

We have to trace where the personality of this kind, namely vigour and independent mind, begins to develop in the Tibetan culture. Natural and cultural circumstances around a man while he grows must have a strong influence in forming his personality. First, they told us, social information and practice are given to boys, when they engage in pasturing between 8 and 13 years old. There one learns from his friends how to run stock-raising and acquire social knowledge. When he finishes this period, he starts apprenticeship in trade. Friends from other families teach the girl various social practices before she comes to the age of 13. But she never does much work. After this period she starts to help household work.

It is important to note that they have to fight the desolation of the

severe nature around them. In the pasturage a boy finds around him no friend to speak to. Fog closes the rugged steeps during the summer. Lonely ringing of bells put on the cattle's necks is the only sound which can be heard. Roar and chill of the mountain torrents which he wade must strongly tell something on his young mind. On a fine day he hears echoes of avalanches on the himals. He always has to be ready to meet any emergency. He can't expect to be helped by anybody who is not even aware of his whereabouts. He meets a girl also in the desolate silence of nature. Ordinary minds which are apt to depend upon authority or on limited special skill are scarcely enough. If the people had not a stronger and more independent mind, they would not be able to live amidst the steep mountains and valleys or to gain profit by trade across the precipitous passes yonder. We took our interpreters and porters from the Lowland. Narrow-mindedness and prejudice they showed toward the Bhotea people presented a striking contrast to the latter's disposition. When any attempt to unite such an individualistic Bhotea people is made, their personality and appeal to their individual soul must always be taken into account. Otherwise unification, if ever done, would be very unstable. Functions of Lamaism and other religious behaviours should also be studied from this view-point.

Chapter XIII. CONCLUSION

—The Structure of Tibetan Culture—

Even if he has complete scientific data, assiduously gathered and well-arranged, the researcher's general impressions are of value themselves. It is the belief of the writer that general observation deduced from such data by one who has personally gathered them are also of some value, however subjective and biased his constructions might be, provided that a clear distinction is drawn between descriptions and interpretations. It is in this light, and for the benefit of future explorers who would like to be engaged in survey of the same nature as the writer, that he takes the liberty of presenting hereby his own interpretations deduced from his survey.

Originally central Nepal had been covered with various tribal cultures. Later the two supertribal greater cultural traditions, i. e., the Hindu and Tibetan cultures, have encroached on this hilly country from both sides of the Himalayas, and are still eroding and replacing the tribal cultures. Disorganization of the tribal cultures and their reorganization by the greater cultural traditions are proceeding more remarkably in the western than in the eastern half of Nepal, probably due to the protective effects of the moist forest lands in eastern Nepal.

As far as religion is concerned, the intermediate zone hardly exists between the Hinduistic and Lamaistic areas in central Nepal. Lack of the transitional zone is natural, when we find that there is a great break between the two culture areas. However, the writer feels that another reason lies in the difference of the principles of cultural configuration between these two cultures. People in the intermediate zone must adopt one or the other. Then an intermediate way of life will disappear.

We must know the nature of the principles and pattern of each culture, before we can deduce the above-mentioned hypothetical points of view. Supposing that the Tsumje village is typical of the Highland culture in some way, the following hypothetical points of view of the culture of the *agricultural Tibetans* may be constructed.

Similarities and differences of the nomadic and agricultural Tibetans

We can divide the Tibetan people into two main subtypes according to the kind of land use. One is the *nomadic Tibetans* while the other the *agricultural Tibetans*. The latter are not, however, pure plant growers. As is exemplified in Tsumje, they are engaged much in pastoral industry. Intensive fertilization of the fields with manure, or their diet which includes butter, cheese and other milk products indicate the importance of animal husbandry in their life. In fact, the agricultural Tibetans belong also to a *pastoral* people in a broader sense, not to say *nomadic*. In this sense both the nomadic and agricultural Tibetans are included in a pastoral people.

But similarities between them are not confined to land use and the basic type of productive life. Following Ekvall¹⁰³), the cultural differences between the two are far less than between the Tibetans and the Chinese or between the Tibetans and the Muslims. Of course the differences between the two subtypes of the Tibetan culture is slight as compared with the differences between the Tibetan and the Hindu Cultures.

On the other hand, the sedentary life of the agricultural Tibetans differentiates their cultural configuration from the nomadic Tibetans. Accordingly their culture complex must be analysed following these two lines of basic economy.

Individualism in the pastoral people

Fig. 190 shows a hypothesis on the structure of the culture complex of the agricultural Tibetans.

First of all, the area of the whole Tibetan culture is worth noticing. The almost uniform conditions in their natural environment in the homelands of the Tibetans are a severe climate of coldness, aridity and thin

103) R. B. Ekvall (1939): *Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border*.

they are also accustomed to moving from place to place. They are obliged to be engaged in every kind of labour as an individual. No sort of labour is foreign to the adult male. This lack of taboo or *many-sidedness of labour of each individual*, together with other characteristics in labour, leads to the development of "all-round" personality and a kind of individualism. "All-round" personality means an immatured development of status personality. And these tendencies among them make the Tibetan culture quite different from the caste India or from authoritative familism in China.

Lack of technicians is a weak point in their culture. We have already referred to some awkward utensils made by the Tsumje villagers. Occupational craftsmen from the Hinduistic Lowland seem to be invading Highland of the central Nepal due to these reasons. The Newari artisans in Hlasa is another good example.

On the other hand, their personality and individualism seem to have an intimate relationship with a progressive and generous attitude towards the acceptance of foreign travellers, customs and goods. Because individualism makes a man free from mass control of conservative society. In secret and closed Tibet foreign explorers have been accepted with hospitality. The Tibetans are very eager to know the customs and goods of foreign countries with curiosity. You will find a masquerade designed to imitate various foreign costumes in the procession of the Cho-en Joe festival at Hlasa (see p. 187), or the same kind of idea with this masquerade in the artistic figures made of butter on the day of the Feast of Flowers in Kunbum.¹⁰⁴⁾ In the Dalai Lama's procession, you will hear the musical performance of "God saves the King...", or you will find various Western manufactured goods such as corned beef made in USA, Australian butter, British whisky, sewing-machines, radios, gramophones and disks of recent fashion, or even the rooms of the Western style with European water-closet in the sacred city Hlasa.¹⁰⁵⁾ Bogle reported to Hastings: "The fondness of the Tibetans for everything strange or curious, strengthened by religion, will probably lead many pilgrimages, like the Hadj at Mecca, may in time open a considerable mart for the commodities of Bengal."¹⁰⁶⁾

Democracy of the Tibetans

Individualism brings up a kind of democratic atmosphere as in the modern World. You may be astonished at finding such tendencies in *theo-*

104) E. Huc (1852): *Souvenirs of a Journey through Tartary, Tibet and China during the Years 1844, 1845 and 1846*. 2 vols. (transl. to English). Peking: Lazarist Press. 1931.

105) Heinrich Harrer (1952): *Seven Years in Tibet*. Transl. to Japanese.

106) Cited from S. Cammann (1951): *Trade through the Himalayas: The Early British Attempts to Open Tibet*.

cratic Tibet, because *theocracy* and *democracy* must be two things quite different.

As to the social differences between man and woman in the field of religion, a tendency is clearly seen to prevent women from participating in religious activities of the Lama religion, which is one of the pillars of their society. They are barred from religious activities solely because they are women. Such a tendency is also seen in other religious practices that are less institutional. The supremacy of male in the field of religious activities has close connection with the fact that they have a patri-clan system, marriage is made on the patrilocal principles, and the master of the family is a man. The fact that women have no right of bequeathing property has also something to do with this. (In the right of inheritance women are on a comparatively equal footing with men.) Religious activities are closely related with their social well-being, and in this respect it is worthy of attention that work such as sowing is confined to men.

Except this, there seems to exist little rigid distinction as to the kinds of work to be done by men and women. Men are engaged in almost all kinds of work, and the fact that women are not engaged in as many kinds of work as men seems solely due to their physical difference.

In love-making and sexual intercourse, a free atmosphere is prevalent, and women are almost on an equal footing with men. As to the women's voice in domestic affairs, theirs carry weight as much as men's. According to Abbot Kawaguchi, the mistress of the household has very strong authority, and the husband obeys the wife in domestic matters.¹⁰⁷⁾ Following E. Huc, "The women there enjoy very great liberty. Instead of vegetating prisoners in the depths of their houses, they lead an active and laborious life," and these conditions are same with the Mongolian ladies. "In Tartary, the women lead an independent life enough. They are far from being oppressed and kept in servitude, as with other Asiatic nations. They may come and go at their pleasure, ride out on horseback, and pay each other visits from tent to tent." Whereas the Chinese ladies are bound inside the house, and their status is far lower than men.¹⁰⁸⁾ These differences originate from the differences between the two ways of life: pastoral and agricultural cultures. Even among the Tibetans, the social status of women is apparently higher in the nomadic Tibetans than in the sedentary agricultural Tibetans who are also pastoral¹⁰⁹⁾.

In Tibet, the daily mode of life is same in the fundamental points both

107) Ekai Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 10. See C. Bell (1928): *The People of Tibet*.

108) E. Huc, *op. cit.*

109) R. B. Ekvall, *op. cit.*

in the upper and lower classes. And their social norm affirms that every man has same right as a human being.

“The richest people observe the same diet. The ordinary repast is buttered tea and tsampa, mixed coarsely together with the finger.”¹¹⁰⁾

When an athletic meeting is held at Hlasa, four ministers exchange their luxurious hats with the poor hats of their retainers, symbolizing the equality of rulers and the ruled. At this time, rising excitement and praises of all the attendant crowd were explosive.¹¹¹⁾

Individualism and familism

Individualism leads to individual ownership. In Tsumje, not only movable properties such as animals and other minor goods but also farmlands and buildings are owned not by each household but by each individual, including women. Individualism hinders the establishment of authoritative familism. Most villagers of Tsumje do not remember accurately those who died before their grandfathers' time. It appears that those males who died in the ages between 30 and 39 are most clearly and lastingly retained in the memory of the villagers. The memory of those who died in their infancy and old age is most rapidly lost. This fact suggests that it is generally the men who are in the ages between 30 and 39 who display abilities most fully and that, therefore, the men of this age group are most clearly remembered even after their death. Sometimes, however, even those individuals who died in their advanced ages before the villagers' great grandfathers' time are remembered. Those men are generally men of exceptional talents.

The families centre around the original family. But this original family never holds an authoritative power over the other families of the clan in secular life. The branching of families happens frequently. Meanwhile, it appears that there is a great number of families which become extinct. The birth and death of family lines are thus of very common occurrence, as a result of which there are few families whose lines are continuous through a long time. Therefore families are unstable, and the tendency towards nuclear family is prominent. Precisely because of this, the villagers are free from bothering familism. It is also important that a family is represented by individual name of its family master, having no surnames of their own family. Personal likes and dislikes in human relations are freely expressed, which is also a manifestation of their individualism. For instance, as to which one of the brothers should support his mother, sisters, or kid brothers, personal likes and dislikes play an important part. And

110) E. Huc, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 225.

111) H. Harrer, *op. cit.*

not only the would-be supporter but also the would-be supported express their preference freely. In this connection, it is surmised that a great measure of freedom is allowed for any one who would like to establish a branch family.

Evaluation of individual's talent

In connection with individualism, they evaluate *individual's talent* rather than their ascribed statuses. And talent mobility is noticeable within a family, among families, in community life, and in the Lamaistic hierarchy.

We are accustomed to classify physical strength and mental ability by the term *talent* or *ability*. Whereas the Tibetans do not like to separate these two, evaluating a *synthesized* ability in both physical and mental power. On the other hand, they respect physical power strongly, because hard work in daily life necessitate such evaluation.

In this connection, popularity of gymnastic exercises of all sorts and dancing deserve noticing. This will be found among the other pastoral peoples such as the Mongolians and the Kazaks. It is not, however, popular among the agricultural peoples such as the Chinese and others.

With regard to the tendency that their idea of talent includes both mental ability and physical power, both of which are inseparably integrated as a whole, Mr. Harrer's experience in Kyerong Dzong, Tibet, which is not far from Tsumje, is a fine example. The villagers of Kyerong love athletic meetings as in other parts of Tibet. In an athletic meeting Mr. Harrer joined a running match and became top near the goal. At this moment the second runner caught up and pulled his trouser, by which fowl play the second runner won the game. The spectators didn't reproach the fowl play but laughed at Mr. Harrer's stupidity: The start and goal lines are impartial to all. Whether each individual uses physical power or mental stratagem is not a problem!

Thus estimated, a kind of *talent curve* is made by the writer, and it follows the passage of natural age in each male individual. (See Fig. 191.) In the infant stage, his talent is null. Through development of childhood to adolescence, his talent will be enlarged gradually. And the climax stage of his talent seems to appear in his forties, which is a rather young age as compared with the cases of other agricultural cultures. The climax stage in his mental talent will be reached in rather older age. But that in his physical ability will lie in younger ages. As a result the climax stage of his *synthetic talent* falls on such young age as his forties. After passing the stage of climax talent, his talent curve gradually takes a downward course. In such an explanatory talent curve, the difference of talent from man to man in each stage of natural age is smaller in younger stages,

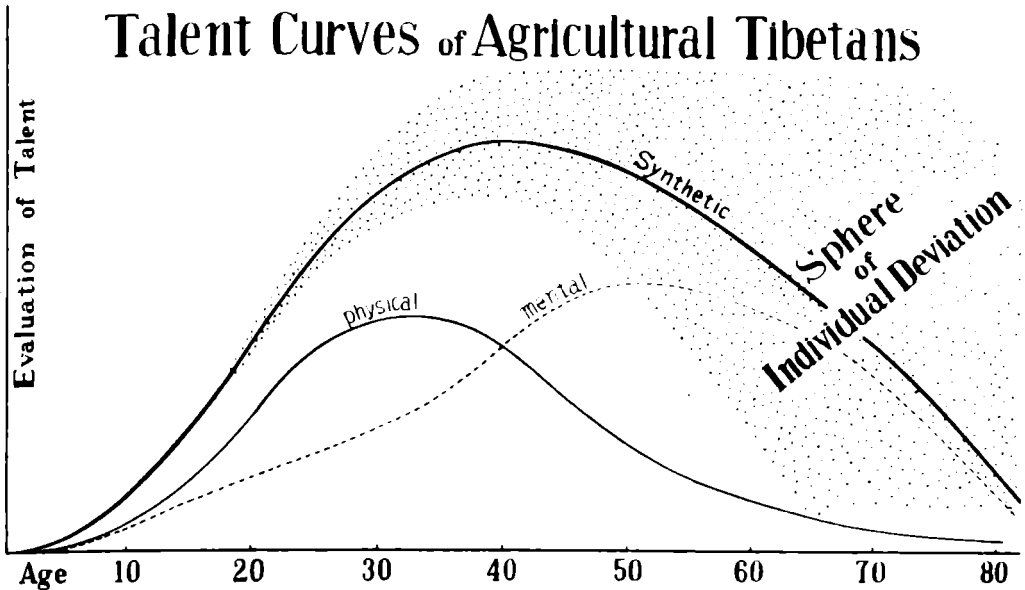


Fig. 191.

becomes larger after attaining the adult stage, and becomes divergent more and more after the stage of climax talent. Some may decline quickly, while others might maintain a high level of talent even through the old-aged stages, as old Baru in Tsumje.

A frontier in the religious institutions

The Tibetan culture charts individual's talent through such a kind of evaluation system. Accordingly, each male can find open frontiers to climb hierarchical ranks in his society. One of the main frontiers is in ecclesiastical organization. E. Huc states about the monastery of Kunbum; "Among the Lamas, you see old men proclaiming, by their low position in the hierarchy, their idleness or incapacity; and on the other hand, mere youths elevated, by their application and their ability, to the highest ranks."¹¹²⁾ The examination system in education which is told by Tsumje villagers, suggests the same principle of "equality of opportunity" and at the same time the appreciation of free will and endeavour. (See p. 212.) It is also noticeable that their training in the religious institutions has a physical side as well as a mental side as is seen in the above-mentioned statement about Tsumje. Following Waddell, preliminary examination to a boy-candidate is to examine whether he is free from deformity or defect in his limbs and faculties in general. If he stammers, or is a cripple in any way, or bent in body, he is rejected.¹¹³⁾

112) *Op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 102.

113) L. A. Waddell (second ed. 1939): *Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism.* pp. 173-74.

A frontier in commercial activities

Another frontier is in making money through commercial activities. About almost inherent attachment to commerce in their character, a description has been given concerning Tsumje. A well-developed idea of lending and borrowing connected with their individualism is at least an important ground of this tendency. But, because of this individualism, they cannot establish commercial organizations on a large scale but engage in more individualistic petty trades. No one of the Tsumje villagers is a professional specialist. Because of this, foreign merchants such as Kashmiri, Indian gosains, Chinese, Newari and Takali merchants have established organized commerce in Tibet. In this point, the Lamaistic institutions such as big lamaseries are a Tibetan form of adaptation to satisfy the necessities of exchange economy in the broader area rather than on the village level. However, the significance of commerce as a cause of ups and downs among them should be noticed, as already discussed.

Fears of downfall

On the other hand, they are always afraid of their downfall. This sensitiveness of downfall in their fortune is not without a causal ground in their culture complex. Above-mentioned individualism itself is an important cause of ups and downs in their social life: Some families always become extinct in a clan. If a household master is able or lucky in business, then the family will prosper. But, if he is dull or falls in sickness, then the family may decline at once. Especially, their love of commercial activities makes their ups and downs frequent. Due to these conditions, some wandering rural labourers are always observed along with women peons through the areas of agricultural Tibetans.

It is surmised that a world where absolute dependence is put on one's own talent may also be a world where fear of destiny outside the control of individual abilities is dominant. In a world, where one's social status is fixed and one's personal liberty is limited by society, one feels less keenly one's personal misfortune and the pressure of destiny because of the kind of social structure. Contrast is very symbolic between the Hindu shrines and Lamaseries. The Hindu shrines are constructed as far as possible in the centre of settlements, while the lamaseries are constructed at places as far removed as possible from the secular world, seeking for solitude.

Magic

Their feeling of luck and fate is rooted so deeply in their minds that they are easily stirred at some omens. But their idea of *fate* is not so pessimistic nor means irretrievable destiny, as found in some authoritarian agricultural cultures. Their feeling of fear towards downfall is another side

of their feeling of reliance on their own abilities as individuals. Therefore, they try to control their fortunes or to avoid ill-lucks, either directly by some kinds of magic or indirectly by invoking powerful gods who will conquer devils. When famous Mila Raspa was blamed by his wretched uncle, his uncle's words to him were as follows: "If you can collect many of your partners, send your army to fight against me! If you cannot recruit your army, use some magic against me!"¹¹⁴ So magic is something to be used as a substitution of army or some weapon, the master of which is not god but man's will.

Confusion of imaginative world with real world

Their ideas in religious world have a hierarchical structure from heaven through man and other animals of lesser values to the bottomless end of hell, reflecting the hierarchical rankings in this world. But in this hierarchy of the spiritual world, mobility is very high as is seen in their real world. The causes of ups and downs in the imaginative world are the individual's endeavours and abilities or lucks and ill-lucks. Anyone, at least any male, can attain a state of a half-priest such as *tawa* and *umje*. A half-priest can attain that of *lama*. A *lama* can attain the height of *sangye* or saint in this real world. The *sangyes* are almost indistinguishable from the gods. In this way, their frontier as individuals is unrestricted towards the immense height of sanctity, if they have personal talent and luck.

As they do not separate mental and physical phases in their value system, they also mix the real world (which is tangible) with the spiritual imaginative world (which is intangible). Therefore, someone can attain the height of sanctity in this *real world*, acquiring supernatural powers such as flying in the air. On the other hand, even the *Sangye Opame* had been a terrestrial man at Tsumje. For this reason Tibet is full of miraculous stories. These characteristics of religious idea are the mainsprings of the Tibetan ecclesiastical organization, i.e. Lamaistic theocracy: divination, Tantrism, asceticism, the hierarchical structure of priesthood, high mobility in this hierarchy due to individual talents (open even to the poorest people) and lucks (transmigration of soul and election of the living Buddhas by divination).

Sedentary life and growth of familial co-operation

Now let us turn our attention to the agricultural basis of this culture. The need of cultivation necessitates sedentary life. Sedentary life enables to accumulate their properties, which in turn make their productive life more efficient. On the other hand, sedentary life enlarges the necessity of

114) Ekai Kawaguchi (1931): *Himalaya San no Hikari* (Light of the Himalayas, Legend of St. Mila Repa).

co-operation in each household. The accumulation of properties and familial co-operation heighten the utility of the leader who is the supervisor of properties in each household. In fact in Tsumje, a male household master has the right of house administration, though each piece of property within a household is owned not by the household master but by each member of the family.

Polyandry

The polyandry system which is so famous about the Tibetans has originated under these conditions. According to Hermanns,¹¹⁵⁾ polyandry is frequently found among the agricultural Tibetans, but it is rare among the nomadic Tibetans. According to C. Bell, some cases of polyandry among the nomadic Tibetans are found among the people who live in the Chantang plain near Hlasa, and other few places. The inhabitants in this part of Chantang are said to be engaged much in commerce.¹¹⁶⁾ Why is it prevalent only among the *agricultural* Tibetans? Half of the necessary conditions for polyandry comes from the pastoral basis of the agricultural Tibetans. Among the Tibetans the idea of *generation hierarchy* is feeble, but the idea of *gradation of natural age* is remarkable. A polyandrous wife comes from another clan, and has brothers as her plural husbands in many cases. But in fewer cases, a set of plural husbands is composed of uncles and nephews. And even paternal polyandry in which a father and his real sons have a common wife, if she is not an actual mother of the sons, is reported by some travellers.¹¹⁷⁾

These three kinds of polyandry have a common denominator. If they put importance on the difference in the generation hierarchy as is the case of Chinese society, then the fraternal relationship will be quite different from the avuncular or paternal relationship in meaning. However, if they give more importance to the gradation of natural age, neglecting generation hierarchy, then the three kinds of relationship mean only one kind of age gradation irrespective of whether they are paternal, avuncular, or fraternal.

The status of *accentuated husband* (see p. 273) in polyandry is not always occupied by a certain brother or an uncle, but moves from an elder to a younger. And usually an accentuated husband coincides with a house-

115) P. Matthias Hermanns (1953): "Polyandrie in Tibet," *Anthropos* XLVIII, ss. 637-41.

116) Sir Charles A. Bell (1928): *The People of Tibet*. pp. 193-94.

117) Other than Prince Peter, see for examples, the following articles: S.C. Das (1902): *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*. Edited by W.W. Rockhill; E. Kawaguchi (1904), *op. cit.*; H. Harrer (1952), *op. cit.*; and others.

hold master. It means that the status of a household mastership also slides from an elder to a younger. And the transmission of the status of household master usually takes place in the forties. Accordingly, the system of polyandry is a device which is to charter an abler younger kinsman as a leader in the household. The principle of talent mobility which is brought up through a pastoral life is penetrating into the polyandrous custom in this way. In relaying the housemastership, the plural husbands will feel a difficulty, if the predecessor and the successor have each their own wives of about the same age. Because the two wives will fight each other. This possibility is easily imagined when we take the Tibetan individualism and a strong right of housewife into consideration.

The other half of the necessary conditions of polyandry comes from the sedentary agricultural basis of the agricultural Tibetans. Usually, the average age of the climax talent among them is so young that the sons of the previous household master are too young to take leadership in the family, when the ability of his father passed the stage of climax talent. Through the device of polyandry, accordingly, the household can get a more matured successor of the previous household master. Polyandry is a device to increase the stability of a household through which they try to avoid the crises of their life. The necessity of such a leader in each household is stronger among the agricultural Tibetans than among the nomadic Tibetans because of the needs of property accumulation and familial co-operation. And by this same reason, even the nomadic Tibetans adopt polyandry, if they have a strong necessity to have an able leader in each household, as in the case of commercial activities.

Integrity and functions of the patri-clan

The writer does not know why the form of patri-clan is predominant among the agricultural Tibetans as in Tsumje. But the need of co-operation accompanied with sedentary life is fulfilled much with the existence of patri-clan settlements, in addition to familial co-operation.¹¹⁸⁾

Integrity of the patri-clan is most clearly manifested by existence of a patron god in each clan, belief in common ancestorship, the original family, and the matrilocal adoption of the bridegroom to keep the line of the original family. It deserves noticing in this connection that a week's mourning was strictly observed on the occasion of the death of an in-married woman by all the members of the clan at Tsumje, even at the busiest season of agriculture. This may be taken as manifestation of group sentiment.

118) Hermanns denies the existence of patri-clan among the nomadic Tibetans in the Amdo district and others. Cf. P. Matthias Hermanns (1949): *Die Nomaden von Tibet*.

There exist various regulations of marriage, each closely entwined with the needs of integration of each clan. It may be possible that special care is taken to keep the balance between the number of in-marriages and out-marriages among the clans within a community.

The property system is also largely governed by the principle of integration of clans and families. Meanwhile, the principle of individualism is most apparent in private ownership. In order to assure a harmonious co-existence of these two principles, a distinction is drawn in the family system between ownership and mastership. The two principles are closely interwoven in inheritance: inheritance by the eldest grandson and equal distribution to all sons. Primogeniture to a grandson is in consonance with the principle of integration of the clan through its emphasis on the continuance of family lineage. The custom of distributing the property equally among the sons, and to some extent to the daughters and wife, is clearly in consonance with the principle of individuals' independence. The daughters, however, have not always the same rights as the sons in inheritance. Particularly as to immovable property such as the dwelling houses, they have no right to inherit. Also the property inherited by the daughters and wife cannot be bequeathed to the male descendants again. The property claimed by no male descendants and the property left by women are disposed of for the religious purposes in the presence of a witness by a representative of the clan. There is also a tendency toward pre-emption to sell immovable property such as land to the same clan members.

Concerning the political organization of community, each clan sends its representatives to the council of community in accordance with the principle of equality. The leaders of the community are, however, selected not because of some ascribed status such as the hereditary *tshong* (original family of a clan), but because of their personal influence or ability. In the field of commerce is seen a tendency in which the commercial association *tshongro* is composed of those belonging to the same clan.

Individualism and co-operation

The clan shows a high integrality. But this principle of integration in clan and family is applied in such a way as not to hamper operation of the principle of individualism, or in some cases to sustain and intensify individualism. Apparently discrepant characters of these two principles play complementary functions with each other reciprocally. It seems to the writer that some travellers express discrepant views because of this. Ekvall states in his book that the Chinese settlement has not only clear unit of family but also the institution of "clan," whereas the settlement of the agricultural Tibetans has no clear organization of "clan" and their family

is an aggregation of men who are far free from restraint as compared with the Chinese family. In spite of this, collective activities cover completely the activities of individual in the Tibetan settlement, while the settlement organization of the Chinese admits moderate *individualism* of the villagers. In other part of his book, he states that among the agricultural Tibetans the despotism of a chief of a tribe is much compelled to be restricted, because of a very strong *individualism* and a disgust against despotism among the Tibetans.¹¹⁹⁾

Sedentary life and attachment to commerce

In such a manner, the needs of co-operation are satisfied through the organization of family and clan. And the community which contains more than one clan plays also the same kind of functions in their life. Mutual aid is not lacking in clan and community. But the highly developed idea of lending and borrowing has developed the custom of hired labour even more intensely. Though their individualism derived from pastoral life seems to be one of the important causes of their attachment to commerce, nomadic life does not enable the accumulation of property except the propagation of animals. Sedentary life among the agricultural Tibetans combined with their individualism promote their desire towards commerce. This may be the most important reason why the Mongols have not so strong impulse to commerce as the Tibetans.

Sedentary life and emergence of the idea of hierarchy

Sedentary life enables the accumulation of property, and due to this reason the differentiation of the rich and the poor is more noticeable among the agricultural Tibetans than among the nomadic Tibetans. Without sedentary life, the idea of hierarchy through the differentiation of the rich and the poor may not have developed to a full extent in Tibet. In this connection, even if the nomadic Tibetans share some common religious ideas about fortune and magic with the agricultural Tibetans, the former could not develop the idea of Buddhist hierarchy and the resultant hierarchical institutions to a full stage of maturity.

Lamaism as an integrative force

Their institution of Lamaism has some close relations with their personality and individualism as already discussed. Meanwhile, it is necessary to put an emphasis upon the needs of co-operative life in connection with Lamaism. As a matter of fact, Lamaism is the only institution which is a pillar in the integration of a vast number of people and areas. Is it only a geographical condition that tends to isolate each area from others be-

119) Ekvall, *op. cit.*

cause of lack of means of communication that hampers the consolidation and integration of a large number of people and areas?

It has been pointed out that each of them as an individual has "guts" and would not easily co-operate with each other. This is the principle of individualism among them. Therefore, one of the factors that acts against integration is this principle that is deeply rooted in their minds. Is it not worthy of attention that Lamaism, which appeals to individual inner mind, has successfully integrated those people who have such a trait?

Lamasery as a means of economic corporation

The writer has already called attention to the well-known hierarchical structure of Lamaism and at the same time to a high talent mobility in this hierarchy. Now the function of the lamasery in secular business must be noted. Poorness of division of labour and difficulty of co-operation, both of which are closely connected with their individualism, are preventing development of the Tibetan economy. In this respect, however, the lamasery plays a supplementary role to some extent. The guild-like aggregations of some special technicians and organized commercial expeditions by larger lamaseries play a supplementary roles against an unprofessional tendency and unorganized petty commerce among the secular population. "Most of the monasteries of the established church grow rich by trading and usury. Indeed, Lāmas are the chief traders and capitalists of the country."¹²⁰⁾ In conclusion, therefore, the acceptance of Buddhism and the establishment of the Tibetan style of socio-religious institutions enabled *enrichment* of the Tibetan culture without modifying the basic cultural pattern.

Culture as an adaptation

The writer has interpreted the structure of the culture which is found among the agricultural Tibetans. In conclusion, the writer's view is to understand their culture as a complex form of adaptation to the land in such an environment as the Tibetan plateau. Fig. 190 suggests that, if they abandon cultivation and become a nomadic people, their culture will deviate to the left-hand side in the figure. In such a case, the individualistic tendency will be strengthened. The idea of hierarchy in their society and religion will be, on the contrary, weakened. Polyandry and attachment to commerce are eliminated or weakened. If they abandon pasturing and becomes a pure agrarian people, the reverse condition will prevail among them. In this case, also, some characteristics of their culture which is situated on the boundary zone between the *pastoral* and *agricultural* in the figure, for example polyandry and the Lamaistic organization, will

120) Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

disappear or be weakened. In some cases the impulse towards commercial activity may be weakened.

Culture pattern in history and geography

Through a long history their mode of adaptation is consolidated in a patternized way of life. In this point, it is not only cumulative effects of history but the geographical size of the Tibetan type of natural environment that has contributed to the establishment of the pattern. Without the vast stretch of a unique and homogeneous Tibetan type of habitat, such a unique culture as the Tibetan, which is *elaborated, enriched* and *patternized*, would never grow and survive. Maintenance of the pattern and enrichment within the pattern will tell the history of this culture. Without the apparatus of this unique culture, what kind of culture can *fill up* such a desolate land as the Tibetan plateau with so many *people*. The Tibetan culture configuration is not an incidental or meaningless historical product but a product of trials and errors towards a goal of adaptation. Be that as it may, the sight of the Shiar Khola valley, in which Tsumje is situated, will not fail to elicit a feeling of wonder at man's indomitable will, so much so that every inch of sloping land there that is tillable is cultivated. Such a feeling of wonder will also be entertained by any one who happens to visit the "twin settlement" of Sangda.

Appendix 1 :

Composition of Ethnic Groups in Various Villages or Settlements

NAME OF VILLAGE	INHABITED BY
Bhaktini (C. 5-C. 6)	Newars.
Katunje (C. 6)	Gurkhas, Tamangs, Thakuris,
Kale Posol (C. 6-C. 7)	Newars.
Arughat Bazaar (C. 8)	Chiefly Newars; also Damais, Sarkis.
Khanchok Phedi (C. 9)	Four Newar families, one Gurung and one Magar family, totaling 6.
Khanchok Dhara (near C. 9)	Chetris and others.
Khanchok Bhanjyang (near C. 9)	Newars.
Mashil (near C. 9)	Brahmans, Chetris.
Sikre (near C. 9)	Brahmans.
Luitel Bhanjyang (C. 10-C. 11)	Mostly Newars.
Bare Pirke (C. 11)	Mostly Newars.
Raines (C. 11-C. 12)	Mostly Brahmans.
Kunchha Barua (C. 13)	Entirely Gurungs.
Kunchha Adha (C. 13)	Entirely Newars.
Sisaghat Bazaar (C. 14)	Six houses, of which 4 owned by Newars, 1 by Gurung and Bhoto.
Rupakot (C. 15)	Mainly Brahmans.
Khudi (C. 15-C. 16)	All kinds of caste.
Sisua (C. 15-C. 16)	Entirely Brahmans.
Argum Pouah (C. 15-C. 16)	Chetris, Brahmans, Gurungs, Newars, Sarkis.
Pokhara (C. 16)	Gurungs in outlying villages and Takalis and Newars in the town.
Baidam (near C. 16)	Brahmans.
Male Patan (near C. 16)	Gurungs.
Phewa Tāl lake, the southern shore of (near C. 16)	Gurungs.
Yangjebashi (C. 16-C. 17)	All kinds of caste.
A settlement at Naudhara (C. 17-C. 18)	Entirely Brahmans.
Lumlei (C. 17-C. 18)	Mainly Brahmans, though are many castes.
Near Bhurumdi (C. 17-C. 18)	Gurungs at high places; Brahmans at low places
Bhurumdi (C. 18)	18 houses. Mainly Takalis, then Newars and then 2 Gurungs, 1 Thakuri.
Near Sudayā (C. 18-C. 19)	2 Gurung settlements on hill-tops.
Ulleri (C. 19)	Magars, Gurungs.
Phalatei (C. 20)	Entirely Magars.
Sikha (C. 20-C. 21)	Mostly Magars, some Takalis, and men of other castes.
Dana (C. 21-C. 22)	Mostly Takalis at the centre of town; entirely Magars at surrounding high places.
Murali Bang (C. 21-C. 22)	Entirely Magars.
A Migratory settlement (C. 22-C. 23)	Entirely Sarkis. 3-4 houses.
Ghasa (C. 22-C. 23)	90% Takalis. Also Magars, Newars and others.

Dhumpu (C. 23)	95% Takalis.
Tukucha (C. 24)	Takalis excepting 3 houses including iron-smith and tailor.
Jomosom (C. 25)	40% Takalis. Bhoteas also. Others are Nepal Lowland people.
Kagbeni (C. 26)	Mainly Bhoteas.
Sangda (C. 32)	Entirely Bhoteas.
Braga (C. 37-C. 38)	Lama-Gurungs.
Pisang (C. 39)	Lama-Gurungs.
Thonje (C. 41)	Mainly Gurungs. Also 7 Takali houses and a Bhotea lama.
Thilche (C. 41-C. 42)	Mostly Gurungs. Bhoteas also.
Sama (C. 46-C. 47)	Mainly Lama-Gurungs.
Lho (C. 47)	25 houses, most of which are of Lama-Gurungs. 2 iron-smiths, 4 Sarkis and 3 Damis.
Hlip (C. 47-C. 48)	Lama-Gurungs.
Nyen (C. 47-C. 48)	Half Magars and half Gurungs.
Shogo (C. 47-C. 48)	Entirely Lama-Gurungs.
Li Dhandra (C. 47-C. 48)	Lama-Gurungs and Gurungs of the Lowland.
Bhartsam (C. 47-C. 48)	Bhotiyas.
Namru (C. 47-C. 48)	Lama-Gurungs and Gurungs of the Lowland.
Prok (downstream C. 48)	Lama-Gurungs; 10% Tamangs.
Basin of Shiar Khola	Bhoteas.
Aga (C. 69)	Bhoteas.
Philem (C. 69-C. 70)	About 30 houses. Mostly Gurungs. One Bhotea house, 7 iron-smiths.
Halchok (C. 72-C. 73)	Gurungs.
Rungje (C. 73)	Cho-Gurungs.
Keronja (C. 73-C. 74)	Gurungs.
Kasigaon (C. 74)	Gurungs.
Majhgaon (C. 75)	Gurungs at mother settlement; Tamangs at one settlement in high place; Brahmans at settlement near valley bottom.
Baseri (C. 76)	Brahmans, Chetris, Magars, Rais.

Appendix 2:

Table of the Intermarriages in TSUMJE

Note:

- (1) *Relationship* means the relationship toward the family-head Ego.
 (2) E: Elder, Y: Younger.
 (3) The number in e. g. 1So, 2Wi, 3Si, etc. means the order of seniority within his or her sons, wives, sisters etc.
 (4) The age enclosed by () means present age of the dead under the assumption that if he or she is living now.
 (5) All the cases of in- and out-marriage in Labrang are those done between Lab. and Ka. or Pra. Therefore those cases of Labrang will be understood with reference to the pedigree of Labrang (Fig. 145 in p. 270).
 (6) *: An adopted bridegroom. **: The mother who accompanied her daughter, when the daughter married in.

No. of family	Relationship	Age	Place of marrying out or into
Ka. 1	ESi	49	→ Yarcho
" 1	Wi	(45)	← Lab.
" 2	ESi	78	→ Shi. 8 (Mo)
" 2	Wi	(65)	← Lab.
" 2	YSi (1)	?	→ Lab.
" 2	YSi (2)	?	→ Lab.
" 2	1Da	45	→ Shi. 8 (EBrWi)
" 2	1SoWi	42	← Lab.
" 2	2Da	?	→ Lab.
" 2	3Da	33	→ Shi. 2 (Wi)
" 3	ESi	60	→ Pra. 5 (Ego)
" 3	Wi	52	← Pra. (?)
" 3	YSi	45	→ Khar
" 4	Wi	56	← Lab.
" 5	Wi	(56)	← Lab.
" 6	Wi	(45)	← Shi. 3 (2Da)
" 7	Mo	56	← Shi. 5 (FaSi)
" 7	Wi	22	← Pra. 1 (Si)
" 7	1Si	24	→ Lokpa
" 7	2Si	21	→ Tanju
" 8	1Si	57	→ Tanju
" 8	Wi	(61)	← Duthi
" 8	2Si	50	→ Tarung
" 9	Si	68	→ Shi. 3 (Wi)
" 9	Wi	70	← Lab.
" 9	SoWi	27	← Shi. 3 (3Da)
" 10	Wi	27	← Tarung

Continued

Pra. 1	Mo	53	← Tanju
" 1	Wi	30	← Lokpa
" 1	2Si	22	→ Ka. 7 (Wi)
" 2	Wi	55	← Gomba Tensin
" 3	Wi	40	← Tanju
" 4	Mo	50	← Gomba Tensin
" 4	Wi	29	← Shardo
" 5	Ego	60	← Ka. 3 (ESi)
" 6	Si	65	→ Shi. 1 (WiMo)
" 6	Wi	62	← Tanju
" 6	EBr2SoWi	25	← Tanju
" 7	Mo	(?)	← Gomba Tensin
" 7	Fa1Si	?	→ Chhumring
" 7	Fa2Si	62	→ Shi. 7 (Wi)
" 7	Wi	34	← Gomba Tensin
" 8	Wi	40	← Lab.
" 9	Wi	30	← Lab.
" 10	Mo	(?)	← Shi. (?)
" 10	EBrWi	61	← Yarcho
" 10	Wi	61	← Gomba Tensin
" 11	Wi	61	← Ripche
" 11	2SoWi	19	← Lokpa
" 12	Wi	36	← Chhogang
" 13	Mo	(?)	← Shi. 1 (WiFaSi)
" 13	Wi	50	← Ka. (original family extincted)
" 14	Mo	(?)	← Gomba Tensin
" 14	Wi	50	← Shi. 6 (Si), (Shi. → Tarung → Pra.)
" 14	1Si	?	→ Chhumring
" 14	2Si	(?)	→ Shi. 3 (1So1Wi?)
" 15	Mo	(?)	← Shardo
" 15	FaSi	?	→ Chhumring
" 15	Wi	21	← Shi. 8 (EBrDa)
" 15	Si	?	→ Chhumring
" 16	Mo	(?)	← Shi. 3 (Da)
" 16	Wi	29	← Tarung
" 18	Wi	57	← Anga
" 18	1SoWi	30	← Lokpa
Shi. 1	WiFaSi	(?)	→ Pra. 13 (Mo)
" 1	WiMo	65	← Pra. 6 (Si)
" 1	Ego*	33	← Lokpa
" 2	Wi	33	← Ka. 2 (3Da)
" 3	Wi	68	← Ka. 9 (Si)

„ 3	1Da	(?)	→ Pra. 16 (Mo)
„ 3	2Da	(45)	→ Ka. 6 (Wi)
„ 3	1So1Wi	(?)	← Pra. 14 (2Si?)
„ 3	1So2Wi	21	← Lokpa
„ 3	3Da	27	→ Ka. 9 (SoWi)
„ 4	Mo	39	← Yarcho
„ 4	MoMo	68	← Yarcho**
„ 5	Mo	55	← Yarcho
„ 5	FaSi	56	→ Ka. 7 (Mo)
„ 5	Wi	39	← Pra. (original family extincted?)
„ 6	1BrWi	48	← Tarung
„ 6	2Si	50	→ Pra. 14 (Wi)
„ 6	1Br1SoWi	22	← Pra. (original family extincted?)
„ 7	Wi	62	← Pra. 7 (FaSi)
„ 7	1SoWi	30	← Pra. (original family extincted?)
„ 8	Mo	78	← Ka. 2 (Si)
„ 8	1BrWi	45	← Ka. 2 (Da)
„ 8	1Br1Da	21	→ Pra. 15 (Wi)

Report on the Result of Rorschach Test

Yosinaru HUZIOKA

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Introduction

This paper describes the result of Rorschach Test of the inhabitants of Tsumje, Nepal, which gives an outline of personality makeup.* The test was performed by Mr. J. Kawakita during the second Japanese Expedition to Nepal Himalaya, 1953. The protocols obtained are 23 male cases and 8 female cases. The village of Tsumje is described in detail by Kawakita in this volume. The inhabitants of Tsumje belong ethnically to the *Bhoteas* (the Tibetans), and have almost the same culture as that of the Tibetans. It was told that Prince Peter** has many protocols of Rorschach Test of the Tibetans, but the concrete results of his survey are not available to the present writer.

Administration of the Test and Subjects' Attitude

The test was begun two weeks after Kawakita's survey had started in Tsumje, and ended three days before his leaving. Daily relation between the

* This paper is the result of a blind interpretation, which was done independently of Mr. Kawakita's paper on culture in this book.

** H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1954): "The third Danish Expedition to Central Asia: its work in the Himalayas" *The Himalayan Journal*, vol. 18, pp. 157-168.

villagers and the tester was satisfactory, and the subjects became well acquainted with the tester so that there were no suspicious attitudes among the people during the test.

As requested by Kawakita, the subjects were gathered by the village headman and others, and it seemed that they came expecting some money when they told something about the pictures which would be shown. Their attitude was generally frank, though there were some girls who were shy. Those who came to be subjects never refused the test. The fees for subjects were one rupee at first, but as the attendance was very small, the fees were raised to two rupees from the fifth subject, and to those who got one rupee before an additional rupee was paid. Kawakita stayed there just at the harvest time, and two rupees meant the same amount of a porter's wage for half a day. Kawakita tried to have an equal number of men and women, boys and girls, but Tibetan women in harvest time are very busy, and that is why female cases were less than those of male.

Kawakita had two interpreters in administering the test: one was a Bengali and highly-sophisticated Brahman who knew English, Nepali and to some extent Tibetan, served the scientific party of the expedition from Katmandu and the other was a Sherpa who was skillful in Tibetan and Nepali and also understood a little English.

Kawakita administered the test with these two interpreters out of doors, in order to show the villagers how the test was done. As this test was performed very simply, they seemed to enjoy the test as a kind of recreation. This was also helpful in avoiding unnecessary precaution or doubt on the part of the villagers. The instruction was given by the Sherpa in Tibetan. Kawakita told the Sherpa that he had to give routine instructions in the same way to every one. When he began the test, Kawakita was able to speak Tibetan a little but was not able to understand it when spoken. And so the response was translated into Nepali by the Sherpa and then into English by the Bengali. At the beginning in some cases, responses were consisted of only one word, through the process of translation. On such occasions, Kawakita cautioned them to give exact translations, so after that responses was translated fully. After testing several cases, Kawakita was able to write down the responses in Tibetan. Then the responses were translated after being written down. The test ended with inquiry, and the subjects talked about the kinds and numbers of their cattle.

During the instruction, the subjects first looked ambiguous about what they were expected to do, but they were motivated and took good rapport when the first responses were written down by the tester. To get as many responses as possible, they were allowed to keep a card for at least three minutes but they did not know about the time limitation, of course. The

cards used were made in Switzerland. Tibetan in the protocol is transcribed into western alphabet according to C. A. Bell: *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*, 2nd. ed. 1919, as far as possible, but as Kawakita could not distinguish *dza* from *dsa*, he wrote *za* in all cases. See Kawakita's report.

The inquiry was precise with location category but not precise enough with determinant. It is natural that many explanations about the contents of the response were given.

Scoring and Scoring Problem

When Kawakita returned to Japan, he left the protocol with the writer, giving the explanation for the administration described above. In scoring the responses we followed Klopfer's* system as far as possible.

Some of the scores of responses were given in administration by Kawakita, and most of his scores were location score. It is regretful that the records of the inquiry are not satisfactory because of the handicap of translation. Scoring determinant was especially difficult. There are few questions about the score of location, since Kawakita has recorded location at administration on the reduced photographs of each one blot. There is no difficulty when we find the key words of the determinant in performance proper in protocol, such as "*mendo marbo*" (red flower), "*thü daarang du*" (monkeys climbing), but such responses are rare. The record of inquiry is written distinctly from that of performance proper with much care and consideration by Kawakita, and the reply to inquiry for the possibility of movement score and colour score are described carefully. In spite of the pains taken by the administrator, it seemed that inquiry was changed to questions such as "Is it alive or not?", "Is it such colour or not?". In the record of inquiry, [living, sitting]** [such colour], [colour concerned], etc. appear very often. For example, we can find "*nya*" (fish), [sitting, living] in card III, "*mukpa*" (cloud) [sitting, such colour] in card I, etc. Towards the cases like these, the writer had to adopt a very careful attitude. Therefore, in this paper, we deal with the determinant score as follows:

Concerning the words such as [living, sitting] we do not give score as M or FM, and we take more distinct words such as [moving], [eating] and [climbing] etc.

Concerning colour responses, those replies like [such colour] and [colour concerned] in the record of inquiry are set aside as a general rule. As it

* B. KLOPFER and D. KELLEY: *The Rorschach Technique* 1946

B. KLOPFER and others: *The Development of Rorschach Technique* I. 1954

** The wording of the responses quoted in this paper are all from the original protocols. [] shows records during inquiry.

is quite difficult to score a colour response as FC or CF, we base our scoring on the point whether the content of response is originally a definite form or an indefinite form.

Concerning other determinants than movement and colour, we can find few records as "black stone" in performance. Therefore we have only three cases of m and disregard k, K, c, C'. Because of these reasons, consideration of the subjects' affective sphere is naturally indefinable.

We have no trouble concerning location, but owing to insufficiency of explanations about content, there are some responses with which we had some difficulty in determining the content category. In this paper, (A), (Ad), (H) and (Hd) are included in A, Ad, H, Hd respectively, and sex response is included in At category.

There is one more scoring problem about the protocols of Tsumje. That is the problem of unit of responses. As shown in the examples of original protocols which will be found at the end of this paper, most of the protocols have a sort of successive development of responses of which independency is doubtful. For this reason, the writer had difficulty in deciding the total number of responses of each protocol. There were some doubts whether or not these responses in the protocols were secondary and artificial as the result of administration through translation. But after talking with Kawakita the writer confirmed the fact that they were given by subjects spontaneously. It is remarkable that there are only five protocols which do not include responses considered to be successively developed. So, this phenomenon is one of the most important factors in the personality interpretation of Tsumje. Therefore it seems proper to classify the phenomena before deciding the total number of responses.

Grouping of Subject

The subjects, thirty-one in all, consisted of eight females and twenty-three males. The females are from fourteen to fifty years of age, and the males are from eleven to fifty-eight. We divide the males into two groups. One consists of those from eleven to twenty-nine years old, the other, from thirty to fifty-eight. The former include twelve males and the latter eleven. For convenience's sake, we indicate these two groups m.~29 (12), m.30~(11) and the group of eight females f.(8). While m.30~(11) include three non-householders, of 41, 45 and 46 years old, m.~29 (12) does not include any householders, therefore we can consider the former as a group of householders. Concerning m.~29 (12), they are all bachelors except one who is 26 years old, and therefore we consider this group of non-householders and bachelors. Concerning f.(8), two of them are married women (22, 30 years

old) and one of them a widow (39 years old), the rest are not married. The average age of male subjects was 32.8, female subjects 27.8 and that of total was 31.5.

Table 1. Age of subjects

Age level		10	20	30	40	50	Range	Mean	Mean	Mean
Number of subject	m. 30~	11		3	5	3	30~58	45.0	} 32.8	} 31.5
	m. ~29	12	4	8			11~29	21.7		
	f.	8	1	4	2	1	14~50	27.8		

Male subjects are divided into two groups, one of which is indicated as m. 30~, and the other is indicated as m. ~29. Female subjects are indicated as f. Indications m. 30~, m. ~29, f. are the same in each following tables.

Patterns of Successively Developed Responses

It is well-known that in the case of young children, some schizophrenics or neurotics, there are some responses, in which it is questionable whether or not each one is completely independent from previous or next responses. From these experiences, we classify tentatively the successively developed responses recorded in the protocols of Tsumje in four patterns. Our process of identifying patterns does not cover the whole of one protocol, but it confines itself to each one record of ten cards.

Pattern a: The sequence of the similar concepts projected to the same blot area, or the same concepts projected on other blot area successively.

No. 27 female age 23; card I 3'45''\

1. *Tombo* (tree) [d6*].
 2. *Kukshin* (big tree) [left d7].
 3. *Pra* (rock) [right d7].
 4. *Khim* (house) [inner area of W, four spaces are windows].
 5. *Shing* (tree) [whole figure of tree, standing] [d1].
- (1, 2, 5: a)

No. 22 female age 14; card VIII 48''

1. *Khyi* (dog) [moving, colour concerned] [left D1].
 2. *Peagal* (langur) [full body, dead, not only sketch] [d1].
 3. *Thü* (monkey) [sitting, dead, colour concerned] [right D1].
- (1, 3: a)

As shown in the examples above, the responses are not the same, and

* All numbering of location in this paper is according to Klopfer (1954)

so we calculate each response separately; namely—the number of responses in the former example is 5, and in the latter 3.

The number of this pattern is m.30~(11):2, m.~29(11):2, f.(8):8.

Pattern b: The sequence of a successive responses, each of which produces one of the various parts of a total figure, and all of which, when lumped together, make up this total figure, whether it is explicitly expressed or implicitly expected.

No. 3 male age 58; Card IV 22''

1. *Chorten ra si du* (like a mane) [d2].
 2. *Gangkha chorten* (total is *chorten*) [W].
 3. *Mi kangba da si du* (like a leg of man) [D2].
- (1, 2: b)

No. 30 male age 20; Card II 8''

1. *Di de barba* (frog).
 2. *Barbii kangba* (frog's leg) [d2, d3].
 3. *Pungbá* (shoulder) [upper lateral small red of D3, Fig. 2,2].
 4. *Ngam chi* (frog's tail) [D1].
 5. *Piáa* (rat).
- (1~4: b)

In the former example, we take the second response as the main W response and the first as additional (d), and the number of responses is 2. In the latter examples, we estimate the first main and give it W, and the 2nd, 3rd and 4th, additional and give them (d, d,) (dd) (D). The number of response is 1.

No. 11 male age 58; card IV 40'

1. *Chorten* [d2].
 2. *Kangba* (two legs of man) [D2].
 3. *Lakpa* (two hands of man) [d1].
 4. *Tu* (female part) [lower top part of D1].
 5. two eyes of man [lateral tiny protrusion of d2].
- (2,~5: b)

In this example, the whole figure of man is not projected on the blot. So, differentiating this from the former two examples, we estimate 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th main, and the number of responses is 5.

Pattern b is found m.30~(11): 15, m.~29(12): 30, f.(8): 16

Pattern c: This pattern can not be clearly distinguished from pattern b as far as it is concerned with the succession of responses. But there seems to be a sort of free association in some of the response-sequence. In this case, we call it pattern c. For example, we have a group of concepts about *chorten* or successive development of rock and wind in this pattern. In the

responses of this pattern, pattern b is seen often, but, when both patterns are concerned with the same figure, we calculated only pattern c, and when two patterns correspond to two different figures, we calculated them separately.

No. 30 male age 20; card VI 8"

1. *Chorten* [W].
2. *Serto* (top part of *chorten*) [d1].
3. *Pumbo la serto* (golden top of the *lama* utensils) [upper lateral protrusion of D1].
4. *Dhandi* (the stone foundation of the *chorten*) [Fig. 6, 6].
5. *Chorten ge kup shau du* [*shau* means final coating of stone wall] (concave part of clay wall on the *chorten*).
6. *Te ne zhung nyi sha du* (inside the *chorten*, some religious treasure are kept) [centre inner area of D1].

(1~6: c)

The scores of responses in this example are as follows;

1. W, 2. (d), 3. dd, 4. (dr), 5. (dr), 6. dr, and main responses are three

No. 30 male age 20; card V 28"

1. *Phungdo, sa ra...* (big stone) [big stone divided into two parts, and wind pass through the cleavage [D2]] [the response extended to the 5th response].
2. *Kangba* (leg) [leg of stone above developed].
3. *Sarka* [devided into two parts].
4. *Lung ju du* [wind blows between two parts of stone].
5. *Lung ju nyi dho de kha phe tu* [the stone is devided into two parts by wind].

(1~5: c)

The scores of responses in this example are:

1. W, 2. (d), 3. —, 4. —, 5. —, and main response is one.

As to the frequency of Pattern c, we find m.30~(11): 3, m.~29(12): 20, f.(8):4, but the writer is not familiar with this kind of pattern. A pattern similar to this was seen in neurotic subjects and young children, but it was rather more tale-like. Group m.~29 (12) has most points in all patterns b, c and d.

Pattern d: Successive secondary organization of responses observed in either performance or inquiry. A typical example can be observed in the records of card VIII.

1. *Pruu nyi du* (two monkeys) [D1] [climbing the flower tree] (note of administrator: "flower tree" has not yet developed at this point).
2. *Tombo. Ya la memdo du. Mendo na sum tombo du* (tree! there is flower upper, there are three of flower trees).

Table 2. Number of patterns of successively developed responses

Cards		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	%	
Pattern a	m. 30~	2		1				1					
	m. ~29	2							1	1			
	f.	8	1	2	1	1			2	1			
	total	12	1	3	1	1		1	3	2		10.3	
Pattern b	m. 30~	15		2	1	6	2	2	1			1	
	m. ~29	30	1	3		5	2	5	4	5	4	1	
	f.	16	1		3	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	
	total	61	2	5	4	12	7	11	6	6	5	3	52.1
Pattern c	m. 30~	3					1	1			1		
	m. ~29	20	2	1	2	1	3	5	1		2	3	
	f.	4				1				1	1	1	
	total	27	2	1	2	2	4	6	1	1	4	4	23.1
Pattern d	m. 30~	3			1					2			
	m. ~29	13			2	1			2	6	2		
	f.	1								1			
	total	17			3	1			2	9	2		14.5
Total		117	5	9	10	16	11	17	10	19	13	7	100

Failure cards are m. 39~: (I. V) (VII. IX), m. ~29: no card, f. :(X),
() is sign of one subject.

As to this example, when organization appears in inquiry, the responses are calculated as two, that of animal and plant, and when organization is made in performance, the number of responses was calculated as one.

The type of the primary organization corresponding to the above examples is as follows:

No. 25 male age 26; 24"

1. *Prü tombo la za de drodu* (monkey is climbing on a tree).

The number of responses is, of course, one.

Pattern d, occurs m. 30~(11): 3, m.~29(12): 13, f.(8): 1.

Almost all successively developed responses having religious content belong to Ob or Arch category and those belonging to other categories are few in number. When we consider each pattern separately, the percentage of such responses is 68% in pattern c, while it is only on 10% level in other patterns; and it is 29% of total number of patterns, of successively developed responses and this percentage is distinctly high while that of the religious responses is 16% of the total number of response (805).

It can be said that successively developed responses more affiliate to religion than the responses which have unity. The frequent occurrence of these patterns of responses means, we may say, peacemeal tension discharges, more self-gratifying than social. Generally, we know that among those who participate considerably in religious life, some do not project a religious concept to the test blot at all. Therefore, in the case of Tsumje, these religious projections show a kind of defense mechanism to protect their insecurity. The feature of the above-mentioned patterns of responses, show the ways of reality orientation and reality testing of these subjects.

Total Number of Responses

The result of calculation of the total number of responses (R) in the manner described above, is that the range of R for 31 protocols is 10-50, and mean and median are 26.0. In this case R is obtained by calculating only main score and omitting additional ones.

The total number of responses from 31 protocols is 805.

Only three subjects failed to produce response and the failed cards are (I, V), (VII, IX), (X). The former two belong to m.30~(11), and the other to f.(8).

Table 3. Total number of response. (calculation only on main score)

R	10	20	30	40	50	Range	Mean	Median	
m. 30~	11	3	5	3		11~35	24.5	26.0	
m. ~29	12	5	4	2	1	10~44	23.0	24.5	
f.	8	3		2	2	1	13~50	32.5	36.5
Total	31	11	9	7	3	1	10~50	26.0	26.0

Variability and Popularity of Responses

The Rorschach response, as well-known, is given usually three scores of location, determinant, and content, and, we can further score on accuracy, popularity, and originality, etc. But when we reconsider the definition of scorable responses, it is obvious that all the skeletons of response are the combination of location and content. Therefore, if we describe all the responses by the location-content combination,* we can get a gross classification of all responses. Table 4 shows location-content combination arranged in order of frequency.

* I am preparing a paper on this important point of location-content combination.

From the fact that D1-A in card VIII appears most frequently in table 4, we know that the inhabitants in Tsumje have similar apperception as the Japanese, Europeans, Americans, and some of the American Indians. But the order of combinations below VIII D1-A shows difference in apperception from ours. For it is expected ordinarily that I W-A, III W-H, D8-H, IV W-Ob (Aob), V W-A, VI W-Ob (Aob), should follow VIII D1-A in the order of frequency. So we have to conclude that an apperception which has a different character is considerably common in Tsumje. Moreover as described in the upper part of the table 4, combination II d1-Arch expresses the popular response in Tsumje, so that table 4 itself shows the characteristics of Tsumje pretty well.

Next, taking the content itself out of location-content combinations of more than 10 in frequency (table 5), popular responses in Tsumje can be decided from this table as follows; VIII D1-quadruped, III D5-fish, X D6-bird, quadruped, III D2-bird, quadruped, II D2-quadruped, II d1-chorten.

Hereupon the number of responses taken as popular responses is 92, only 11.4% of the total responses from 805 in Tsumje. The total number of location-content combinations whose frequency is 1, is 447 and this amounts to 55.6% of the total 805 responses. Concerning the fact that dds responses amount to 21.6%, d responses are 20.8% (table 17), we can estimate that personality in Tsumje has large individual variations. So they are individually isolated, considering their tendency of self-gratification.

The frequency of concepts in table 18 was obtained by calculating the concept once, even when they appear twice in the record of one card. So the frequency is rather small in comparison with the actual number for percentage of each content category (table 17).

If we examine the concepts in the responses (table 18), we shall see:
Human concept H, Hd, (H), (Hd); frequency 79.

The number of the human concept (*mi*) without any specification is 60, 76% in total H frequency. All of the six examples of the specific human

Table 4. Table of frequent location-content combination.

Frequency	Location-content combination
28	VIII D1*-A
18	III D5-A
16	X D6-A
14	III D2-A
11	II D2-A
10	II d1-Arch
8	III D6-A
	X D1-A
	X D10-A
7	IV W-A
	IX D2-A
	X D11-A
6	VII D6-A
	X D4-A
5	I W-A
	I d4-Ad
	I d5-At**
	II d4-Ad
	VI d2-A
	VI d2-Ad

* Numbering of location is according to Klopfer, 1954.

** In the present paper, At includes Sex.

Table 5. Contents of location-content combination, in order of frequency.

Card		Frequency		
VIII	D1-A	monkey (<i>thü, prü, peagal</i> etc.)	18 (+3)*	
		cat (<i>guri</i>)	3	
		dog (<i>khyi</i>)	2	
		leopard (<i>semjen</i>)	2	
		(one of two is <i>semjen</i> [man, like animal])		
		bear (<i>dhemu</i>)	1	
		(<i>prabo</i>) wild animal like dog	1	
		rat (<i>pea</i>)	1	
		* from three W response		
				28
III	D5-A	fish (<i>nya</i>)	16	
		snake	2	
			18	
X	D6-A	bird (<i>chabi, cha</i> etc.)	7	
		deer (<i>sha</i>)	2	
		goat (<i>ridha rage, ra</i>)	2	
		Leopard (<i>semjen</i>)	1	
		monkey (<i>prü</i>)	1	
		ox (<i>langgo</i>)	1	
		dog (<i>khyi</i>)	1	
		fish (<i>nya</i>)	1	
				16
		III	D2-A	bird (<i>chabi, chicken</i> etc.)
monkey (<i>peagal, pregá</i>)	3			
Leopard (<i>semjen</i>)	1			
cat (<i>guri</i>)	1			
crochodile (<i>chhusin</i>)	1			
insect (<i>bu</i>)	1			
	14			
II	D2-A	monkey (<i>prü, thü, etc.</i>)	5	
		Leopard (<i>semjen</i>)	2	
		deer (<i>sha</i>)	1	
		tiger (<i>ta</i>)	1	
		bird (<i>chabi</i>)	2	
			11	
II	d1-Arch	<i>chorten, mane</i>	10	

[besides these, there are 3 *chorten* (d1, S1) and one more *chorten* produced on all black part of the blot]

concept concern lamaism or religion. Hd is more frequent than H, especially in card I, IV, V (table 17).

Animal concept A, Ad, (A), (Ad); frequency 364.

The number of concepts is 39. And of this case, only the concepts about birds take some specification, and those are lumped in the item, "bird" (concepts of bird with some specification are enumerated in the end of the table 18 separately). Concerning monkey, 3 or 4 kinds of Tibetan words, corresponding to macaca and langur, are used. The frequency of bird is 77 (21.2%), and that of monkey is 41 (11.2%), and bird and monkey hold 32.4% of all. The distribution of "bird" is more frequent in card I, II, X than any other cards, and that of "monkey" is most frequent in card IV, VIII. Almost all responses of fish are in III-D5 and *Dru* (lightening (A)) which has religious meaning is most frequent in III. And when bird, monkey, fish and *dru* are taken together, they make a frequency of 148, 40.6%.

Although some may suppose that the animal concept lacks in variety in content, it is, on the contrary, very multifarious compared with the content of Human and Object concepts. In fact, concepts in the animal category are most multifarious among the concepts in all the other categories (table 18). The writer makes the assumption that the personality in Tsumje is stereotyped, not on the basis of high A% but on the basis of the fact that Ob, Arch, N, Pl cannot be said as including multifarious concepts, and that there are many religious concepts in general. As for the A%, range is 23~90%, both mean and median are 50% (table 6). Animal responses express most faithfully the frame of apperception of the subjects as we saw in table 4.

Table 6. Animal responses (A%)

		10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90~								%			Actual number		
		Range	Mean	Median	Range	Mean	Median								
m. 30~	11	3	1	2	2	2	1	26~91	55.7	55.0	5~26	13.5	14.0		
m. ~29	12	1	3	1	6	1		23~63	46.5	50.0	5~16	10.3	9.5		
f.	8	2	2	2	2	2		23~75	48.1	47.5	3~27	15.8	16.0		
Total	31	6	3	4	10	3	4	23~91	50.2	50.0	3~27	12.8	14.0		

Object concept, frequency 45.

As well-known, Object category contains the most multifarious concepts of all categories. In the case of Tsumje, there seems to be multifarious kinds of concepts, but because 32 (71%) concepts are concerned with belief or religion, and the rest is very closely related with daily life, we must conclude that the concepts are not multifarious.

Architecture concept, frequency 55.

In this concept, *chorten*, *gomba*, *mane*, etc. which are the names of tall religious buildings, hold 48 (87%), and this number shows good adjustment of subjects to form quality of the blot and their proper projection, though the form-accuracy level is a little lower than 1.0; in fact, the architecture concepts are many especially in card II and VI (table 17).

Plant concept, frequency 76.

The examples of a somewhat specific concept in Plant category are only 5 (7%), such as *shukpa dombu* etc. and the three concepts such as tree, flower and flower tree which do not have specification amount to 44, 58%.

Nature concept, frequency 52.

The number of concepts, namely 12 mountains (*Kang, kaan*) (high mountain such as Himal) and 5 stones, is 17 (33%). And this category includes a somewhat strange response as shown in Table 7. In these responses, it seemed that only the expanse of the surface of the blot is used in a response, while the form quality of the blot has no effect on it. These responses are 8 given by 4 subjects, so this small number is not of importance when compared to the total number of responses. The writer has never got such responses as these in Japan, except in a very few cases such as "a grassy place" and "a field" projected on card IX-D1 by schizophrenics.

Table 7. Crude and strange responses which were included in Nature category

Card II	<i>Sa tang do</i> [<i>Sa</i> =ground, <i>do</i> =stone] [D3].
Card III	<i>Lungba</i> (village) [near]. Fig. 3, 8. Like a field [a pasture] [D1].
Card VI	<i>Saven ra si du</i> (all kinds of land). [the response develops after the response "pond (D5)"] [upper light grey part of D5]
Card VIII	Village [D1]. <i>Peza</i> (like a plane surface for separating crops). Fig. 8, 2.
Card IX	<i>Ri ga tsira kyawa lung ra si du</i> . [<i>Ri</i> =average mountain not as high as Himal] [<i>tsira</i> =the skirts of mountain] [<i>kyawa</i> , ; a general term of short grass.] [<i>lung</i> =a grass plot]
Card X	<i>Shingha</i> (cultivated field) [something sown in the field]. Fig. 10, 4.

Anatomy concept, frequency 26.

As the Sex concept is included in this category for convenience sake, the genuine anatomy concepts are only 3 examples of 2 Hat and 1 Aat. It is very noticeable that the genuine anatomy concepts hold only 0.4% of 805 responses in all; on the other hand, Sex concepts hold a big percentage in

this category. Sex responses develop on card II D1, d1, and card III D2 etc. sexual intercourse develops on the symmetric form of the blot. In short, it seems that the subjects treat a sexual organ as only a part of the body and do not give it special attention which our culture requires.

Art concept, frequency 4.

Four responses are all religious.

The religious responses which are mentioned in the present paper are calculated independently from the usual content. Only those responses which have meanings that are clearly religious in the concept are calculated. There are many responses which may possibly be calculated as religious if further inquiry is done about the content concept. For example, an elephant can not be found in the region of Tsumje, but inhabitants are acquainted with an elephant through the stone image of a god which has an elephant's face, and usually has a kind of rat in his left hand. Median of percentage of religious response is 15% and of actual number is 4 (table 8).

Table 8. Religious response (%)

	0 ~9 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90~											%			Actual number		
	Range	Mean	Median	Range	Mean	Median											
m. 30~	11	2	3	3	2	1	0~41	12.8	11.0	0~8	2.8	3					
m. ~29	12		1	5	2	1	3	7~47	23.9	19.5	2~14	5.3	4				
f.	8		2	5	1			6~21	13.1	13.5	1~7	4.1	4				
Total	31	2	6	13	5	1	4	6~47	17.2	15.0	0~14	4.2	4				

The number of kinds of concepts described in Table 18 is 150 and accumulated frequency is 697. The accumulated frequency of 16 kinds of concepts, such as *mi*, *chabi*, *chamo*, *pru*, *teagal*, *bumba*, *chorten*, *gomba*, *tombo*, *mendo*, *tombo mendo*, *kaan*, *pra*, *tu* and male part, taken out in the order of frequency from the categories of H, A, Ob, Arch, Pl, N, At, is 314 and that holds 45% of the total frequency.

Manner of approach

The manner of approach of the subjects in Tsumje shows constellation W: 7%, D: 50%, d: 18%, dds: 19% according to the median of each location category (table 9-12). Thus ((W)) D d dds is the expression of the approach. Inspecting each card one by one in order, the weighted point of location category changes as follows, successively: I: d, II: D, d, III: D, IV: d, V: d, VI: dds, VII: D, VIII: D, IX: D, X: D (table 17). This fact indicates

Table 9. Whole response (W%)

		0 ~9 10 20 30 45 60~						%			Actual number		
								Range	Mean	Median	Range	Mean	Median
m. 30~	11	3	5	2	1			0~29	8.2	6.0	0~5	1.3	2
m. ~29	12		2	4	4	1	1	2~60	21.3	19.5	1~6	3.9	4
f.	8	2	4	1		1		0~31	7.4	3.0	0~4	1.3	1
Total	31	5	11	7	5	2	1	0~60	13.1	7.0	0~6	2.4	2

Table 10. Large usual detail response (D%)

		0~29 30~44 45~54 55~64 64~79 80~						%			Actual number		
								Range	Mean	Median	Range	Mean	Median
m. 30~	11	1	4	2	3		1	26~82	49.2	45.0	8~19	11.4	10.0
m. ~29	12	1	3		5	3		23~75	54.9	62.5	4~28	13.2	13.5
f.	8	2	2	2	2			15~57	40.3	42.0	2~23	13.0	13.0
Total	31	4	9	4	10	3	1	15~82	49.1	50.0	3~28	12.5	11.0

Table 11. Small usual detail response (d%)

		0 ~14 15~24 25~34 35~44 45~					%			Actual number			
							Range	Mean	Median	Range	Mean	Median	
m. 30~	11	1	2		5	2	1	0~46	26.8	29.0	0~13	7.4	7.0
m. ~29	12	2	8	2				0~19	10.2	12.0	0~6	2.3	2.0
f.	8		1	3	4			14~31	23.0	24.5	2~13	7.8	8.5
Total	31	3	11	5	9	2	1	0~46	19.4	18.0	0~13	5.4	3.0

Table 12. Small unusual and space response (dds %)

		0 ~9 10~14 15~19 20~24 25~					%			Actual number			
							Range	Mean	Median	Range	Mean	Median	
m. 30~	11	2	2	1	1	2	3	0~38	13.7	19.0	0~13	4.4	4
m. ~29	12	2	2	4	1	1	2	0~42	13.8	12.5	0~11	3.5	2
f.	8			1	1	1	5	14~48	29.3	28.0	2~22	10.5	10
Total	31	4	4	6	3	4	10	0~48	18.2	19.0	0~22	5.6	4

clearly that subjects selected blot areas D or d according to whether the constellation of each blot is separated or massive. This tendency is distinct in the case of m.30~(11) group (table 14), suggesting the direction of develop-

Table 13. Reaction time, range and median

		I		II		III		IV		V	
m. 30~	11	20'' ~ 3'10''	1'23''	10'' ~ 44''	18''**	5'' ~ 1'01''	25''	3'' ~ 1'05''	33''	10'' ~ 1'48''	40''*
m. ~29	12	8'' ~ 4'00''	24''	2'' ~ 1'35''	11''	2'' ~ 1'15''	14''	7'' ~ 3'00''	18''	4'' ~ 3'20''	15''
f.	8	28'' ~ 7'20''	2'15''	8'' ~ 48''	19''	3'' ~ 1'30''	21''	4'' ~ 50''	19''	2'' ~ 1'00''	21''
	31	8'' ~ 7'20''	1'06''	2'' ~ 1'35''	18''	2'' ~ 1'30''	21''	3'' ~ 3'00''	20''	2'' ~ 3'20''	25''
		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X	
m. 30~	11	7'' ~ 1'47''	28''	20'' ~ 1'15''	30''*	6'' ~ 2'23''	25''	14'' ~ 2'55''	40''*	12'' ~ 2'23''	1'03''
m. ~29	12	5'' ~ 1'38''	23''	4'' ~ 1'20''	18''	5'' ~ 40''	11''	9'' ~ 1'13''	20''	2'' ~ 1'17''	18''
f.	8	5'' ~ 55''	9''	8'' ~ 2'50''	21''	3'' ~ 32''	19''	5'' ~ 1'07''	31''	10'' ~ 1'30''	25''
	31	5'' ~ 1'47''	20''	4'' ~ 25'0''	22''	3'' ~ 2'23''	15''	5'' ~ 1'07''	31''	2'' ~ 2'23''	30''

* failure, one each

** record missed, one each

ment of manner of approach in Tsumje. M.~29 (12) group itself takes another way, that D is dominant over all cards except card I: d, and more W responses are produced from a massive blot rather from separated one. In addition to this, the reaction time of m.~29 (12) group is more rapid in comparison with m.~30 (11) group (table 13). Therefore m.~29 (12) group has a short-cut tendency at the expense of form accuracy. In fact table of W responses (table 15), shows that many of W responses tend to fall into F—as compared with usually expected form-accuracy. Added to this, we have already mentioned that m.~29 (12) group has most of the patterns of successively developed responses, and a higher percentage of religious response in median. The female group shows an intermediate feature in its manner of approach with development of dds responses.

It is noteworthy that genuine space responses are only 5 in the total number of responses 805.

Table 14. Manner of approach (actual number)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	%		
React. time ⁺	1'35''*	23''.	24''	31''	55''*	41''	43''*	45''	1'09''*	1'04''	49''		
Resp. time	4'02''	3'30''	3'13''	3'18''	3'20''	3'10''	3'17''	3'06''	3'18''	3'33''	3'23''		
m. 30~	W	3		7	2	4	1				18	6.7	
	D	1	11	27	5		6	14	19	16	27	126	46.8
	d	15	16	5	10	16	10	2	3			77	28.6
	dds	5	6	3	4	8	7	7	1	5	2	48	17.8
	R	24	34	35	26	26	27	24	23	21	29	269	
React. time	50''	29''	21''	31''	43''.	29''	23''	14''	28''	28''	30''		
Resp. time	3'23''	2'54''	2'55''	2'47''	2'53''	3'08''	2'38''	3'02''	3'01''	3'02''	2'58''		
m. ~29	W	7	4	4	9	7	7	2	3	3	1	47	17.0
	D	3	13	22	2	6	11	16	22	22	42	159	57.6
	d	10	3	1	4	4	2	4				28	10.1
	dds	10	2	1	3		15	2	3		6	42	15.2
	R	30	22	28	18	17	35	24	28	25	49	276	
React. time	2'35''	24''	29''	20''	23''	16''	43''	18''	30''	38''*	39''		
Resp. time	5'01''	3'13''	3'16''	3'17''	3'12''	3'11''	3'19''	3'28''	3'20''	3'15''	3'27''		
female	W	3			1	1	2	1	1	1		10	3.8
	D	4	8	20	8	3	7	4	15	11	24	104	40.0
	d	10	12	1	9	10	6	9	4	1		62	23.8
	dds	7	8	5	6	12	13	11	4	12	6	84	32.4
	R	24	28	26	24	26	28	25	24	25	30	260	

+ React. time and Resp. time are mean of each group.

* failure, one each. ° record missed, one each.

The second dominant location of each card is as follows: I: dds, II: dds, III: dds, IV: W, V: dds, VI: D, VII: dds, VIII: dds, IX: dds, X: dds. The dds response takes important place in general, as we have mentioned at the beginning of this section. dds responses, as is well known, show individual differences. The dds response, some examples of which we arrange in Figs. 1-10, are selected mainly because of the absence in Beck's location chart.* Voluntary cutting-off of the blot in the case of massive blot, and voluntary com-

* S. J. BECK: *Rorschach's Test I—Basic processes* 1950.

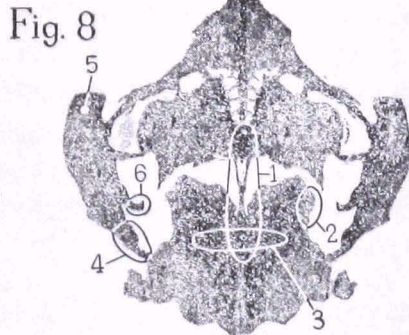
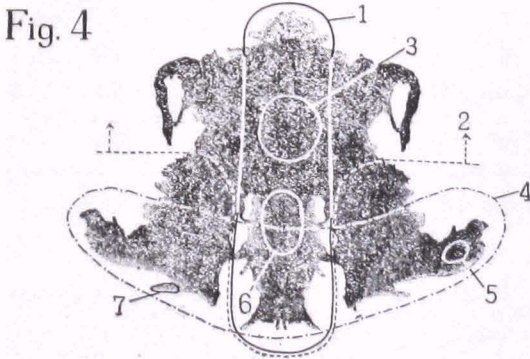
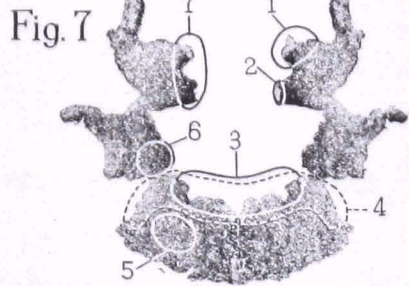
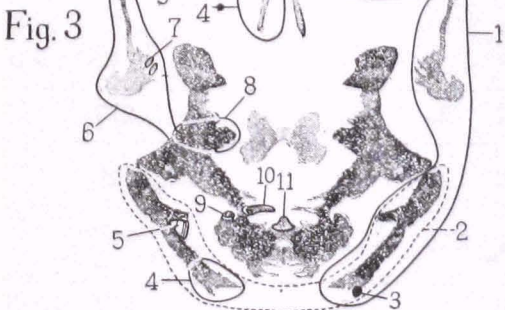
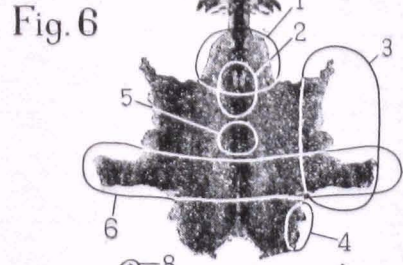
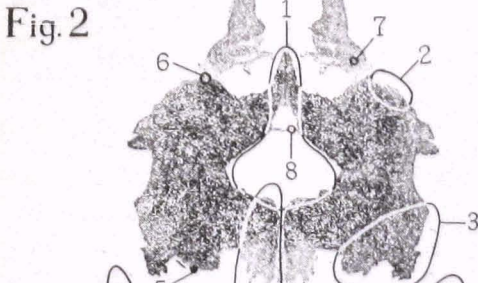
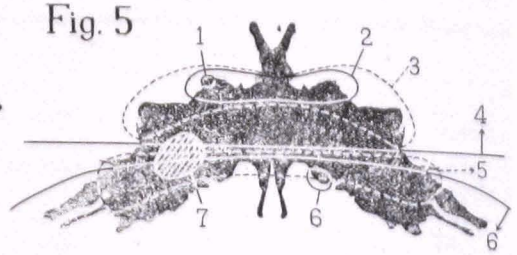
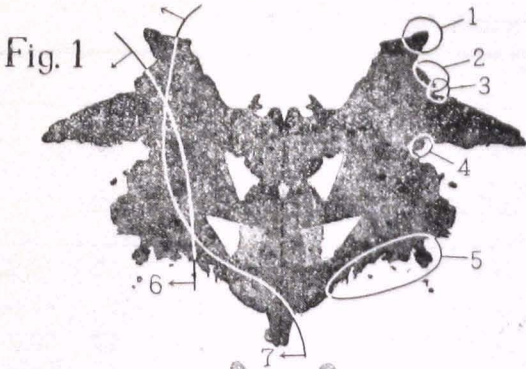


Fig. 1.

1. dog, only head.
2. rhinocerus, head.
3. open mouth of man.
4. *bendrú* (a chicken without feather)
[a kind of bird, half].
5. burning candle pot.
- 6, 7. cloud.

Fig. 2.

1. *chorten*.
2. like a bird. frog's shoulder.
3. down part of *mane*.
4. log of leopard [*zi, kangbā*].
5. a small bird wich lives in the room.
6. small insect.
7. insect.
8. black small bird.

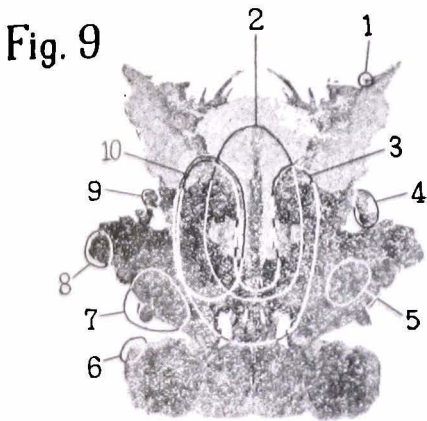


Fig. 9

Fig. 10

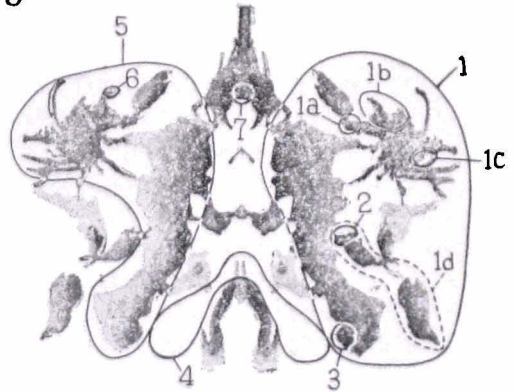


Fig. 3.

1. trunk and branch of tree (*tombô*)
2. cloud
3. hand of cat (*guri chik*)
4. little boy [moving]; M
5. show
6. hand of lightning [*dru*; D6].
7. two legs of bird (*chabi*).
8. village (*lungba*).
9. a plough (*thongba*).
10. snake.
11. mountain.

Fig. 4.

1. great lama.
2. tree.
3. *pumba* (being kept in the *gomba*).
4. foundation of *chorten*.
5. cow.
6. belly (of *lama*), *pumba*.
7. leg of man.

Fig. 5.

1. like a hand of man.
2. waist of a man.
3. fruit tree.
4. mountain.
5. landslide. } developed by the same
6. river. } subject.
7. room.

Fig. 6.

1. round part on the top of *chorten*.
2. writing in the *gomba*.
3. branch of tree, cloud.
4. stone-made wall of *chorten*.
5. inside of belly of *lama*, treasure being kept in the *gomba*.
6. stone foundation of *chorten*.

Fig. 7.

1. riding man going on a horse, forest.
2. head of pig, leg of *dru*.
3. grass.
4. *saven* [all kind of land].
5. cave.
6. cow sleeping, belly of *dru*.
7. mouth of big stone.
8. dog.

Fig. 8.

1. log of wood.
2. *peza* [like a plane surface for separating crops].
3. belt of tibetan gawn [D2].
4. tail of cat } developed by the same
5. ear of cat } subject.
6. leg of man.

Fig. 9.

1. man making *tsamba*.
2. *gomba*.
3. *dru*.
4. *para*, cow, crochodile, cat.
5. *pangu* [crop box].
6. a room.
7. *tsamba*.
8. bird.
9. head of horse.
10. head of chickin.

Fig. 10.

1. cow. 1a. ear 1b. horn. 1c. mouth. 1d. leg. D9: body.
2. hare.
3. monkey, full body.
4. *shingha* [cultivated plant] [some thing sown in the field].
5. flower tree.
6. horse, full body, and man also riding on the horse.
7. mountain.

Table 15. Concepts of W response

°. * designation of m.~29 group and f. group, one each, respectively

Card I	H: a man (<i>mi</i>)° A: butterfly [flying]°, bear (<i>tóm</i>)°c, tortois, insect (<i>bú</i>) elephant**b2 Ob: <i>dhorché</i> [a small worshipping utencil] Pl: tree (<i>tombo</i>)°*b2 N: mountain (<i>kaán</i>)°°2 Cl: cloud (<i>mukpa</i>)°
Card II	H: two men [contact their hand; M]° A: tiger (<i>tá</i>)°c, frog (<i>barbá</i>)°b Arch: <i>chortén</i> °b Cl: black cloud
Card III	A: bird(<i>cnabi</i>)c [in sexual intercourse; FM]°, <i>Teagál</i> d [two, climbing on tree, and eating fruits; FM]° lightning [face to face] (<i>dru</i>)°°2
Card IV	H: man b [in sexual intercourse; M], man (<i>mi</i>) b [wearing tibetan gawn, tie belt, sitting on a stool, legs cross-wise; M]° A: animal°b, elephant b, big bird (<i>chakóe</i>) [flying: FM]°, frog (<i>barbá</i>) b 2. monkey (<i>peagal</i>)° tortois°, Ob: <i>kangsúm</i> [three-legged table for keeping god], <i>dhú</i> [cloth of monastery], <i>bumba</i> °, Arch: <i>chortén</i> b, <i>khami</i> [gate of <i>chorten</i>]°, Pl: tree (<i>tombó</i>)°°* 3db
Card V	A: ox (<i>langó</i>)°, a small bird (<i>jajung</i>) [flying; FM]° moth (<i>shoble</i>)b [dl; hand, d2; leg, d3 mouth]° Ob: cloth of monastery°c N: stone°° 2c (<i>phungdo</i>) [devided into two parts, wind browng through there] Cl: cloud (<i>mukpa</i> , <i>thin</i>)°*4
Card VI	H: <i>lama</i> °c A: monkey (<i>prü</i>), bird (<i>chagé</i> : two body, one head, <i>chá</i> : eating grass; FM)° 2, frog (<i>pharbá</i>) [moving; FM] Ob: <i>lúi sopo</i> ° Arch: <i>chorten</i> °°c2, <i>phumbá</i> °*2 Pl: tree (<i>tombó</i>)°*2b Art: a script in the monastery
Card VII	H: <i>savé</i> [male and female, not talking, moving; M], two men [rode on the stone, a man bent frontword]. Pl: tree (<i>tombo</i>)°b N: mountain (<i>kaán</i>)°
Card VIII	A: monkey (<i>prü</i>) [climbing tree] 3°°° Pl: flower tree*
Card IX	H: men [male, female, in sexual intercourse; M]°b, <i>lamá</i> [there is lama-dance going; M]°c, (H) [cloured god of the <i>gomibá</i>]°* N: red stone (<i>dho marbó</i>) d [there are a patch of woods and red stone is in the foreground]
Card X	Art: some scene inside of monastery°

Small letters a, b, c and d indicate the patterns of successively developed responses. Numbers are the frequency of the concepts.

bination of parts of blot in the case of separated blot, seem to exist.

Turning back to the W responses, the form accuracy level is low in general as we can see in table 15. For example, two responses are of the usual form level that have centre part as body and lateral sides as wings, on card V; but on the contrary, there is a response which is defective in form because the "moth" has its hands and legs, that is, the protruding part of the body, and the lower lateral parts of wing. This is known as typical F-. Card IV and VI easily evoke concepts of "head" by virtue of the form quality of the upper part, and then the whole area can easily be covered by "body." According to the tendency of W response above described, selection of blot area as d and D according to the constellation of each whole blot, as we have already mentioned, with m. 30~(11) group, is a good adjustment of reality orientation and that, combined with animal concept, is a good result of reality testing. The intelligence is pragmatic, adjustive and flexible.

Affective sphere

In consequence of limitation of scoring determinants, as we have mentioned in the section of scoring, we must confine ourselves to handling movement responses (M, FM) and colour responses only cursorily. We enumerate verbs of movement responses in H and A categories of the table 18; for example, sitting, lying, moving, contact of hands, talking, making *roxy* or *tsamba*, burning incense, climbing trees, or stone, riding on stone, holding a stick crossing the river, riding on horse, males and females moving, or in sexual intercourse, etc. Considering the quality of verbs together with small amount of H and M, and the excess of Hd over H, we can probably detect an inhibiting tendency of the subjects in contact with other human beings. Verbs frequently found in animal movement responses are move, climb, sleep, eat, fly, etc. FM amounts as about five times as M. We cannot find any obvious tendency from the quality of verbs of FM except that of natural and simple.

Form-colour responses and colour-form responses are decided mainly according to whether the real objects of concepts of responses have definite form or not. Those are as follows: form-colour responses are red cloth of *lama*, Tibetan gown, *sangye phomo* (figure of the copulating buddhas), coloured god. Colour-form responses are flower, tree, cloud, coloured cloth for religious use, colouring in the *gomba* etc. Both plant concepts and religious concepts are most frequent in CF (we mentioned these in table 18). CF is about four times as great as FC.

As for the experience type, we find 9 subjects (29%) which are 0-0. Subjects, whose $M+\Sigma C$ is more than 3 and neither M nor ΣC is zero, are only 6 (19%) (Fig. 11).

Table 17. Table of actual numbers of responses of various categories

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	%
R	78	84	89	68	69	90	73	75	71	108	805
W	17	6	5	25	15	14	6	5	6	1	9.3
D	10	38	78	22	13	27	47	75	69	86	48.3
d	45	37	8	34	44	20	21	9	1		20.8
dds	28	19	10	19	29	39	27	11	24	13	21.6
M		1	3	7	2	1	7		7	2	2.7
FM	3	6	19	6	13	11	15	29	6	19	13.0
m					2		3				0.5
F	97	92	76	87	84	88	75	60	77	74	80.0
FC			1					3	3		0.7
CF		1	1					8	17	5	3.1
H	3	7	6	9	2	4	10	1	10	5	5.5
Hd	6	5	1	16	16	4	3	3	6	7	6.3
A	26	35	64	26	20	17	19	49	30	53	35.9
Ad	23	18	7	13	25	13	18	4	7	10	13.5
Ob	8	1	3	12	13	23	6	7	4	5	8.1
Arch	3	19		10		18	3	3	9	5	7.0
Pl	9	5	6	7	6	11	7	20	23	7	9.8
N	8	5	5	3	10		22	9	7	4	6.8
Geo					2					1	0.2
At	9	5	5	3	2	5	3			1	3.5
Art						2			1	1	0.5
fire								3	3		0.2
blood			1								0.1
cloud	6	1	3		6	1	1	1	1	3	2.5
Relig.	12	21	8	25	12	41	7	7	20	9	61.1

there might be a crude outlet of affection with self-gratification, and that channels for tension-discharge have no complexities except those which are religious.

Summary

1. The protocols treated in this paper were obtained from Tsumje, Nepal, 1953. Twenty three males and eight females took the administration.

2. Many successively developed responses are found. The successively developed responses are more affiliate in religion than the responses having unity. The group of those under 29 years of age has a greater number of those responses than the other two groups.

3. Total number of responses is 805. Percentages of W, D, d, dds, are 9.3, 48.3, 20.8, 21.6 respectively. Both mean and median of R are 26.0. The number of failure cards is negligibly small.

4. Popular responses found in Tsumje are different from those usually expected in other societies except VIII D1-A (table 5). The variability of responses is so wide that the location-content combinations (such as D1-A) whose frequency is only one, amounts to 55.6% for total response 805. All concepts of responses are shown in table 18. Concepts cannot be said to be multifarious. It is noteworthy that many religious responses are found in the protocols.

5. Manner of approach, weighing D, is so adjustive and flexible as to select d from massive blot and D from separated blot. That is more obvious in the group of above 30 years of age.

6. Movement responses and colour responses are cursorily considered, owing to the indefinable quality of inquiry.

The number of FM is about five times as many as that of M. Verbs of M and FM are so natural that we can find no obvious strain.

7. Number of CF is about four times as much as that of FC. Religious responses and plant responses are dominant among colour responses.

Subjects, whose $M + \sum C$ is zero, are 29%, and those whose $M + \sum C$ is more than 3 and neither M nor $\sum C$ is zero, are only 19%.

8. It is noteworthy that space responses are only 5, that genuine anatomy responses are 3, that fire and blood responses are 4, and that Hd responses exceed H responses.

9. The personality found in Tsumje is isolative (see 2, 4, 6), more self-gratifying than social (2, 6, 7).

Intelligence is pragmatic, adjustive and flexible, with apperception of rather low form-accuracy (3, 5).

Affective sphere is inhibited to some extent in direct contact with other

human beings (2, 6, 7). Some feelings of insecurity and piece-meal tension discharge which is crude are found (7, 2). The channels of tension discharge have no obvious complexities with obvious strain (8), except by religion (2, 4).

Table 18. Concepts in each content category

Frequencies of concepts in present table are calculated once when the same concept is doubled in the record of same card. Those are calculated from main scores. The words in parenthesis are Tibetan found in protocols which correspond that of English. Correspondency of words between Tibetan and English is depends mostly upon the translation of the Sherpa and the interpreter. In the case of object concepts, index is in Tibetan and English remarks are added in parenthesis.

Table of human concept (H, Hd)

human, without any specification (mi)	60	M: 17
verbs M score	sitting, sitting with his legs wide apart, sitting and stretching, his legs crosswise, lying, moving 2, contacting their hand from each side, talking. making <i>roxy</i> , making <i>tsamba</i> , burning incense in the monastery, climbing on tree, climbing on stone, riding on the stone, bent frontward, holding a stick crossing the river, riding on the horse 2.	
human, with a little specification	6	M: 4
	male and female; moving, in sexual intercoause, 2. young girl, little boy, moving, big man.	
human, with specification	6	M: 1
	<i>lama</i> 3; dance going, great <i>lama</i> , saint buddist (<i>Senge</i>) 3; two responses are male and female. one response is FC(H)	
image of god (<i>khu</i>) (H)	4	
mask (<i>rüta, ba</i>) (Hd)	3	
	masks are in <i>gomba</i> and monastery.	

There is a latent human response which is not calculated as human response: card x, "deer is afraid of man and many birds are making noise seeing the man, the man already enter in the monastery."

Table of animal concept (A, Ad)

Concept	Frequency	Verb of FM
bird (<i>chabi, chom, chage</i> , etc.) (big bird, small bird, chicken, duck)	78 21.2%	fly 18, eat 2, sit 1. head into tree 1, move 1. make noise 1, sleep 1.
monkey (<i>pru, peagal</i>) (maracca, langur)	42 11.2%	climb, tree 14, move 7. eat 5, play 1, shout 1.
insect (<i>bu</i>) (of ground etc)	19	move 2, enter 1.
cow (<i>palang</i>)	18	sleep 2. eat grass 1. drink milk 1.
fish (<i>nya</i>)	18	move 7.

dog (<i>khyi</i>)	16	sleep 1, eat meat 1, move 1.
eat (<i>guri</i>)	14	move 2, run 1, eat meat 1.
elephant (<i>Langboche</i>)	13	move 1, eat grass 1.
leopard (<i>semjen, zi</i>)	13	move 1, roar 1, climb tree 1.
<i>Dru</i> (lightning) (A)	12	talk 1.
rat (<i>piaa, dhemu</i>)	11	sleep 1.
snake (<i>dru</i>)	11	move 3.
horse (<i>ta</i>)	10	move 2. run 1.
deer (<i>sha</i>)	9	afraid of man 1.
tiger (<i>ta, tak</i>)	8*	catch man's hand (topo- logical organization on card) on the soft ground, leg of tiger going inside.
		* including "only skin (Aob)"
bear (<i>tomu, toom</i>)	8	climb tree 1.
animal	8	sleep 1, stand 1.
pig (<i>pha</i>)	6	
tortois (<i>lipal</i>)	6	move 1.
sheep (<i>lu</i>)	5	sleep 2.
goat (<i>ra</i>)	5	
frog (<i>barba</i>)	4	move 1.
crochodile (<i>chhusin</i>)	4	sleep 1.
owl (<i>kugu, gugu, khugu</i>)	3	
hare	2	
rhinocerus	2	
ox (<i>lango</i>)	2	
<i>ragge</i> (wild goat living in mountains)	2	
moth (<i>shoble</i>)	2	fly 1.
lion (<i>sunge</i>)	2	move 1. intercourse 1.
buffalo	1	
butterfly	1	fly
dzo (<i>zo</i>)	1	carrying load 1.
<i>para</i> (a beast which attacks sheep and goats)	1	
wild cat (<i>wa</i>)	1	
dog like animal (<i>prabo</i>)	1	
Concenpt 37	364	

bird		<i>chabi, chage, cha</i> , chicken (<i>chamo</i>)
		<i>Tungrung</i> (long neck bird), <i>Hlapcha</i> (bird, servant of god) black small bird, red mouth bird, black bird yellow bird, <i>chakoe</i> (a big bird of the higher sky), <i>Jajung</i> (a small bird), <i>Rote</i> (a kind of bird), bird which can talk like a man, <i>chakko</i> (large bird), <i>Pip-yu</i> (small bird which frequent house), <i>chajung</i> (little bird), <i>puring</i> (parrot), <i>Shajung serbo</i> (yellow bird), <i>bendru, shukpa</i> (feather).
insect		<i>Toktok</i> (small insect), <i>dikshin</i> (a kind of insect) 2
		insect of water, <i>Jhugma</i> (ground insect), <i>buisa</i> (small insect), <i>pabla</i> (ground insect), insect which can fly, insect which has two horns.

Table of Object concept

A. Concepts relating to religion directly

Pumba (utencil of *lama*) 11, *naza* (cloth cover of *bumba*), *dorjhe* 2, thorthip (*dorjhe* is kept on this) 2, *Thrubu*, *Thirbu* (*lama* bell), *Panda dalu* (hand gong), *kangsum* (three-legged table for keeping god), *Pumba shabla* (stool for keeping *pumba*), *kya* (handle for lifting), *thogun* (*lama* horn pipe), iron rod (*lama* carries that part), *Sangbu* (pot for incense), *ombo neaga* (five pieces of *ombo*), coloured god inside the *gomba* FC (not being classified as (H) or (A)).

Tharbuche katam (like tridents of the *tharcho*) *Thukshin* (a stick inside *gomba* on which cloth hang), *Tharcho* (flag of Tibetan, flag of lamaism, flag-stalk) 2. top iron part of *tharcho*, flag of *tharcho*.

Churu (anti-demoniac stone of pendant), *Tu*, *Dhu* (cloth of monastery) 3, *Zhung Phung* (treasure, inside *gomba*), *T'ang* (printed cloth for religion), red cloth of *lama* FC. *Toyul* (a cloth hanging inside *gomba*) *Shambu* (coloured cloth for religious use CF. a cloth is hanging on the door of monastery CF.

B. General concept

cloth, coloured cloth, Tibetan gawn FC,

tongba (plough), scissors, *shau* (cap)

panga, *paga* 2 (a sort of box storing crop in it)

tiuri (tibetan earthen kettle)

kur (tent)

phrova (cup from which bird feed)

tsamba

lui sopo (some collected jungle as manure, and, both side of manure, there is some food grain on the ground) (*sopo*: dried manure) (*lui sopo*: mixed material both of *lui* and *sopo*)

Table of Architecture concept

Architecture relating to religion directly.		48	87%
<i>chorten</i>	31	including: <i>khani</i> (gate of <i>chorten</i>), <i>serto</i> (top part of <i>chorten</i>), stone wall of <i>chorten</i> , foundation of <i>chorten</i> .	
<i>gomba</i>	13	including: pillar of <i>gomba</i> , wall of <i>gomba</i> , down side of <i>gomba</i> .	
<i>mane</i>	3	including: foundation of <i>mane</i> .	
temple	1		
General architecture		7	13%
<i>khim</i> (house)	3, room 2, door 1, bridge 1		

table of Nature concept

mountain (<i>kaan</i> , <i>kang</i>)	12
small mountain (<i>ri</i>)	2
big mountain (<i>niga bong bong</i>)	1
<i>chhamle</i> (Sringi Himal)	1
<i>Lumbu</i> (Ganesh Himal)	1
<i>shawa</i> (skirt parts of mountain)	1

stone or rock	5
rock (<i>pra</i>)	4
big stone or rock (<i>dho, phungdo</i>)	3
red stone (<i>dho marbo</i>)	1
pile of stone (<i>dhothak</i>)	1
(<i>donga</i>)	1
	15

pond (*tso*) 3, village (*lungba*) 2, snow 2, field 1, wind 1, rainbow, lightning, cave (*phu*), forest.

Saven (all kind of land)

tsira kyawa

shingha

sa tang do

Table of Plant concept

tree (<i>tombo</i>)	27
big tree (<i>kukshin</i>)	2
root of tree (<i>shadra</i>)	2
trunk of tree	1
small tree	1
	33
flower (<i>mendo</i>)	10
red flower (<i>m. marbo</i>)	1
green flower (<i>m. unmo</i>)	1
grey flower (<i>m. mukpo</i>)	1
coloured flower (<i>m. tsho</i>)	1
flower base in the monastery	1
spike of flower (<i>m. byesa</i>)	1
body of flower (<i>m. myin</i>)	1
flower, half blossomed (<i>m. sharsa</i>)	1
	18

flower tree (*mendo tombo*) 7

leaves, mass of leaves and branches (*shin, shingru*) 9

log of wood (*dombu*) 3

grass 1, weeds on the cultivated field (*yurma*) 1, very hard tree (*chatong*)

Purwa shing (a kind of tree so named) 1, *shukpa dombu* (juniper) 1.

thu

Table of Anatomy concept*

* Including sex concept in the present paper

Hat : inside of belly of *lama*, skull

Aat : a piece of sheep meat

Sex : female part 15

 male part 5

 testicle 2

 sexual opening of bear 1

Table of Art concept 4*

* Four are all religious.
 script in the monastery.
 writing inside the *gomba*.
 in the *gomba*, there is colouring.
 some scenes inside of monastery.

Examples of original protocols

In scoring the determinants given below, we proceed somewhat mechanically as we mentioned in section on scoring. Symbols such as (1, 3: a) were mentioned in the section of patterns on successively developed responses.

() is a sign of translation and other remarks in performance proper.

[] is a sign of inquiry and other remarks by administrator.

Location number is cited according to the Klopfer's, 1955. English in these protocols is of the interpreter.

Sample No. 31 male age 46, bachelor

I. 1. \ 1'23''	<i>Dhorché drá jì shé gi du.</i> (<i>drá jì</i> =like so) (<i>shé gi du</i> =keep there) (<i>Dhorché</i> =a small worshipping utensil)	W F Ob R1
2. \ 3'10''	<i>De ya né mukpá rá du.</i> (there is cloud from up) [moving] [upper part from lower line of d1]	D F cloud
II. 1. \ 16''	<i>Chortén ra zì du.</i> (This is a <i>chortén</i>) [d1]	d F Arch R1
2.	<i>Phá ra zì du.</i> (This is a pig) [sitting, only shape] [D3]	D F A
3. 3'20''	<i>Mi nyí du.</i> (There are two men) [not talking, living, color is not concerned] [D2]	D F H
III. 1. \ 1' 1''	<i>Rütá.</i> (mask, humanface like, being in a <i>Gombá</i>) [d2] (When someone is about to die, a <i>man</i> ? dance around him wearing this mask, <i>Rütá</i> .)	d F (Hd) R1
2. \ 3'	<i>Mukpá ra zì du.</i> (This is a cloud) [sitting, only sketch, color is not concerned] [together of lateral D5]	D F Cloud.
IV. 1. \ 3''	<i>Di kangsúm ra zì du gá.</i> (This is a three-legged table for keeping god)	W F Ob R1
2. 2'40''	<i>Dhú ra sí du.</i> (This is a cloth of monastery) [there hanging a cloth on the <i>Gombá</i>]	W F Ob R1
V. 1. \ 1'35''	<i>Thin ra du.</i> [moving, hanging, on the mountain] [d1, d2, d3 are mountain]	W F Cloud
3'		
VI. 1. \ 20''	<i>Pharbá.</i> (frog) [moving] [d1 is head]	W FM A
VII. 1. \ 1' 7''	<i>T'rá du.</i> (big stone) [D5] [D4 are like clouds]	D F N (D F Cloud)
2'40''		
VIII. 1. \ 25''	<i>Ombó neagá da sí du.</i> (five pieces of <i>ombó</i> are piled up there) (<i>Ombó</i> = <i>Thormá</i> of <i>lama</i>) [Though 5 pieces of <i>ombó</i> have 5 colors, but those color are not the same as the color in blot] [D1 was excluded]	W F Ob R1

2.	<i>Thü daarang du.</i> (<i>Thü</i> : monkey) [D1] monkeys are climbing up to eat <i>ombö</i> : color is not concerned	D FM A
2'10"	(1, 2: C)	
IX. 1.	<i>Drü ra si du.</i> (<i>Drü</i> : lightning) [two lightning] [all orange area extending into D1] [as to the D6, subject said, it is like fire, in inquiry] lower small space of d1 is a mouth of <i>Drü</i> <i>Drü</i> is not like the shape of human body, but a sort of an undifferentiated figure both human and animal	D F (A) R1 (D CF fire)
2'10"		
X. 1.	<i>Di chatóng ra si du.</i> (<i>chatóng</i> means very hard tree, there is a half of tree) [it seems very hard by its color] [D3]	D F (CF) P1
2.	<i>Ridhá ragó ra si du.</i> (wild goat) [only shape] [D6]	D F A
3'30"		
Sample No. 27 female age. 23 not married		
I. 1.	<i>Tombó.</i> (tree) [d6]	d F P1
2.	<i>Kukshin.</i> (big tree) [left d7]	d F P1
3.	<i>Pra.</i> (small stone) [right d7]	d F N
4.	<i>Khim.</i> (house) [inner area of W, four spaces are windows]	D F Arch
5.	<i>Shin(g).</i> (tree) [whole figure of tree, standing] [d1]	d F P1
6'	(1, 2, 5: a)	
II. 1.	<i>Gombá.</i> [d1+center space+center part of D1]	dr F Arch R1
2.	<i>Shin.</i> (tree) [standing, color concerned] [D2]	D CF P1
3.	<i>Kha.</i> (mouth, dog mouth) [tiny area in the red adjacent part of D2 and D3]	dd F Ad
4.	<i>Dikshin</i> (a kind of insect, half body) [right d2]	d F Ad
5.	<i>Pra.</i> (small stone) [left d2]	d F N
6.	<i>Khan.</i> (mountain) [such as high peakw earing snow] [right d4]	d F N
7.	<i>Chhim-khim.</i> (house) [left d4]	d F Arch
3'		
III. 1.	<i>Khyi ra.</i> (there, dog,) [sitting, living] [left D6]	D F A
2.	<i>Chamú.</i> (a kind of bird) [sitting, living] [right D6]	D F A
3.	<i>Nya.</i> (fish) [moving, water existing] [right D5]	D FM A
4.	<i>Shinglú.</i> (tree leaves) [whole massive figure of leaves] [D2]	D F P1
5.	<i>Di Shing.</i> (branch of tree) [D5]	D F P1
3'	(1, 2: a) (4, 5: b)	
IV. 1.	<i>Gombá.</i> [d2]	d F Arch R1
2.	<i>Lakpa.</i> (hand) [d1]	d F Hd
3.	<i>Kangba.</i> (leg) [D2]	D F Hd
4.	<i>Tu.</i> (female part) [D1]	D F Sex
5.	<i>Trupá.</i> (belly) [upper end area of D1]	dr F Hd
6.	<i>Kyepa.</i> (waiste line) (waiste part) [upper small area of <i>trupá</i>]	dr F Hd
3'	(2~6: b)	

V. 1.	26''	<i>Thogón.</i> (<i>lamá</i> horn pipe) [half of d3]	dd F Ob R1
2.		<i>Shukpa.</i> (wing) [D1]	D F Ad
3.		<i>Jhugmá.</i> (insect, on the earth) [full body, sitting, only shape] (half of d1)	dd F A
4.		<i>Buisa.</i> (a small insect) [half body] [hump between d3 and d4]	dd F Ad
5.		<i>Pumbó.</i> (<i>lama</i> utencil) [d4]	d F Ob R1
6.		<i>Roté.</i> (a kind of bird) [full, flying] [twiglike projection in upper edge, at junction of d1 and mass of blot]	dd FM A
	3'10''		
VI. 1.	7''	<i>Chortán.</i> (D2)	D F Arch R1
2.		<i>Sertó.</i> (top part of <i>chortén</i>) [d1]	(d)
3.		<i>Bumba.</i> [upper lateral protrusion of D1]	dd F Ob R1
4.		<i>Shingruk.</i> (leaves of tree) (mass of leaves) [side small hump between lower top of D6 and d2]	dd F P1
5.		<i>Shin.</i> (tree) [trunk of <i>shingruk</i>] [part of D4 included in D1]	D F P1
6.		<i>Shaiú.</i> (cap) [lower most small beak]	dd F Ob
	3'	(1, 2:b) (4, 5:b)	
VII. 1.	2'50''	<i>Tombó.</i> [D5 is root]	W F P1
2.		<i>Shinglu.</i> [side peninsula of D2]	(dd)
	3'50''	(1, 2:b)	
VIII. 1.	32''	<i>Guri.</i> [moving, only sketch] [left D1]	D FM A
2.		<i>Peagal.</i> (himalayan langur) [moving, not color] [right D1]	D FM A
3.		<i>Shingro.</i> [color related] [D3]	D F P1
4.		<i>Tombi tha.</i> (head of tree) (top part of D3)	(dd)
5.		<i>Tombi nin.</i> (body of tree) [central stock of D4]	(dd)
6.		<i>Tombó gó.</i> (head of tree)	(dd)
	3'	(1, 2:a) (3~6:b)	
IX. 1.	50''	<i>Di mendo ne.</i> (this is a flower, isn't it?) [orange part]	D F P1
2.		<i>Di shinglú.</i> [green part]	D F P1
3.		<i>Mendók byesá.</i> (spike of flower) [both d1]	d F P1
4.		<i>Mendók sharsá.</i> (flower, half blossomed) [D8]	D F P1
5.		<i>Di mendó myin.</i> (body of flower) [adjacent part of green and pink]	dr F P1
	3'	[the subject mentioned that the pink part of this blot is seems to be earth, in inquiry]	
		(1~5:b)	
X. 1.	10''	<i>Gombá.</i> [D16 with inside area of it]	D F Arch R1
2.		<i>Di mendó.</i> [color concerned, near the <i>Gombá</i>] [D1]	D F P1
3.		<i>Chá.</i> [sitting, living, color concerned] [D6]	D F A
4.		<i>Di gó.</i> (head of above bird) [outer twig of D6]	(dd)
5.		<i>Kunlá jang.</i> (long face) [color concerned]	D F Hd
6.		[D9 : small peninsula extended to D1 is nose]	D FM A
	3'10''	<i>Chatri ella phún di.</i> (a small chicken flying) [D8]	

Sample No. 30 male Age. 20 bachelor

I. 1. ✓	27''	<i>Dorjhé.</i> (water ball for rite of worship, water is scattered by it.) [D4]	D F Ob R1
2.		<i>Thorthip kala dhorjhé já du.</i> (<i>Thorthip</i> is a sort of stool with three legs, keeping <i>Dhorjhé</i> on it.) [there is a <i>Dhorjhé</i> on the <i>Thorthip</i> .] [D1]	D F Ob R1
3.		<i>Meri yupi káng.</i> (butter candle pot, burning) [Many tiny protrusions on lower side of D2 are burning candles]	dd F Ob R1
4.		<i>Thortship kii shaú.</i> (<i>shaú</i> =leg part of <i>Thortship</i>) [d4]	d F Ob R1
5.		<i>Thürbú.</i> (<i>Lamá</i> bell) (only kept) [<i>Thürbú</i> is a hand bell, used by <i>lamá</i>] [small grey spot in center of D1]	dd F Ob R1
	3'	(1~5: c)	
II. 1. \	8''	<i>Di de barbá.</i> (frog) [living, sitting, one frog] [all black part]	W F A
2.		<i>Bardii kangbá.</i> (frogs leg) [d2 and d3]	(d F Ad)
3.		<i>Pungbá.</i> (shoulder) [upper lateral small red of D3]	(d F Ad)
4.		<i>Ngam.</i> (= <i>ngama</i>) <i>chi</i> (frog's tale) [D1]	(D F Ad)
5.		<i>Piáa.</i> (rat) [body is red, half body, as dead as real] [D2]	D F Ad
	2'20''	(1~4: b)	
III. 1. \	28''	<i>Teagál.</i> (monkey) [sitting, living] [D6]	(D F A)
2.		<i>Dii de nyá.</i> (two fishes) [sitting, living] [D5]	D F A
3.		<i>Teagál tombó kára je du.</i> <i>Seto marbú ji du nyi sa ki du.</i> (<i>Seto</i> =fruits, <i>marbo</i> =red) [Monkeys are climbing up tree, and two of them are eating red fruits]	W FM A
4.		<i>Chomú.</i> (small bird) [sitting, living, color concerned]	D F A
	2'20''	(1, 3: c)	
IV. 1. \	24''	<i>Mi.</i> (human)	W M H
2.		<i>Mi gó.</i> (human head) [d2]	(d F Hd)
3.		<i>Lakpá.</i> (hand) [d1]	(d F Hd)
4.		<i>Koló khonyi de du.</i> [The man is putting on him a Tibetan cloths]	(W F Ob)
5.		<i>Dakta kára de gi du.</i> [sitting on a stool] [D1]	(D F Ob)
6.		<i>Kangbá nhé chen de gi du.</i> [opening legs this way] [D2]	(D F Hd)
7.		<i>Kará ke tshulú.</i> [wearing belt] [westline of W]	(dd F Ob)
	3'	(1~7: b)	
V. 1. \	28''	<i>Phungdó Za ra...</i> (big stone) [big stone devided into two parts, and wind passes through the cleavage: D2] [the response extended to 5th response]	W mF N R1
2.		<i>Kakgbá.</i> (leg) [leg of stone above developed]	(d)
3.		<i>Sarká.</i> [devided into two parts]	
4.		<i>Lúng jú du.</i> (wind blows between two parts of stone)	
5.		<i>Lungjú nyi dho de khá phe tu.</i> (<i>dho</i> =stone, <i>khá phe tu</i> =devide) (the stone is devided into two parts by wind)	
	3'10''	(1~5: c)	
VI. 1. \	8''	<i>Chortén.</i>	W F Arch R1
2.		<i>Sertó.</i> (top part of <i>chortén</i>) [d1]	(d)

	3.	<i>Pumbó la sertó.</i> (golden top of the <i>lama</i> utensils) [upper lateral protrusion of D1]	dd F Ob R1
	4.	<i>Dhandi.</i> (the stone foundation of the <i>chortén</i>) [zone, consisted of both lateral d2, Fig. 6,6]	(dr)
	5.	<i>Chortén ge kúp shaú du.</i> (concave part of clay wall on the <i>chortén</i>) [lower round parts of D1]	(dr)
	6.	<i>Te ne Zhung Phuing nyi shá du.</i> (Inside the <i>chortén</i> some religious treasure are kept) [center inner area of D1]	dr F Ob R1
	2'30''	(1~6: c)	
VII. 1.	6''	<i>Phungdó tshaktsi gyam nyi shá tu.</i> (three big stones are kept one after another) [half of W]	D F N
	2.	<i>Phungdó gó la dho ji thè la kyé du.</i> (from the top of piled stones, one is about to fall)	
	3.	<i>Phungdó la kha ji du.</i> (the stone has a mouth) [inner area of D3]	(dd)
	4.	<i>Phungdokke phá la lung dynksá du.</i> [d1 is passway of wind, through which wind blows]	d mF N
	3'	(1~4: c)	
VIII. 1.	16''	<i>Mendó marbó.</i> (red flower) [D2]	D CF P1
	2.	<i>Mendok marbó la shinggurmú ji kyé du.</i> (there are red flower and green leaves) [D4]	D CF P1
	3.	<i>Shinggurmú gi chabi nyi ya zhenyi de du.</i> (two birds are on a green tree with standing posture) [bird: D1, green tree: D4 and D3]	D FM A
	4.	<i>Mendó je ye shárnyi de du.</i> (flower is flowering now)	
	5.	<i>Tombó nyi la phazan nyi yá la shoúla go nyi shoúla kyáng du.</i> (from inside two trees, small tree grows up and is spreading out) [D4 and D3]	D F P1
	6.	<i>Derbü marbü ji mindu.</i> (calyx is not red.) (lower center part of D2)	(dd)
	3'	(1~6: b, d)	
XI. 1.	15''	<i>Dho marbo chi laga ra.</i> (a red stone) [on the top of the green tree, a red stone is there] [stone is in front of the tree] [D6: red stone, rest is tree]	W CF N R1
	2.	<i>Shin ngurmú ji chabi má la cha di nang la shu nyi de du.</i> (two birds are on the tree, and put their heads into the tree.) [D2]	D FM A
	3.	<i>Chabi nyi kyi Partshá la dombú chi kyé du.</i> [between two birds, a tree grows] [D8]	(D)
	4.	<i>Kangbá nyi kadú.</i> [two birds developed above, joint their each one leg together] [d1]	(d)
	5.	<i>Tugmá di phi la tén du.</i> [bird's tail are spreading out side in this way] [top of D2]	(dd)
	3'30''	(1~5: b, d)	

X. 1. \ 8''	<i>Gombá, Gombá marbó ji du.</i> [D16 with inner blots of it]	D F Arch R1
2.	<i>Gombá nangla khú ji du.</i> [khá: image of god] [D5]	D F (H) R1
3.	<i>Gombá nangla shambú ji táng no.</i> (in the <i>Gomba</i> , a sort of colored religious carpenter hanging up) [D8]	D CF Ob R1
4.	<i>Sangbú.</i> (pot for incense) [D12]	D F Ob R1
5.	<i>Sertó ya la.</i> (top part of the <i>gomba</i> is up there) [D3]	(D)
6.	<i>Uombi sul té la chabishi cha de du.</i> (out side the <i>gomba</i> , four birds are sitting) [sitting, living] (D1 and D13)	D F A D F A
7.	<i>Chabí serbú ji dé du.</i> [living, sitting] [D15]	D F A
8.	<i>Chabí nakpó ji chá ne dé du.</i> [D6]	D F A
3'	(1~8: c)	

Transmittance of Cultivated Plants through the Sino-Himalayan Route

Sasuke NAKAO

Introduction

In "Land and Crops of Nepal Himalaya" edited by H. Kihara, the last issue of named, "Scientific Results of the Japanese Expeditions to Nepal Himalaya 1952-1953", we find the descriptions of many cultivated plants discovered in Nepal. In that volume vegetables, oil seed crops and many other important cereal crops, such as rice, wheat, barley, oats and maize are treated by many scholars, who described, classified them into groups, and took up problems of their distribution and relations to those found in the adjacent regions. In the preceding volume these authors presented their own particular views; in this paper, however, the present writer tries to synthesize them from the view point of their distribution and diffusion in the southeastern Asia.

The methods adopted here are as follows:

First, the distribution of each kind of crop plant or that of special characteristics of crop plants is dotted on the map; second instead of showing covering distribution area, lines are drawn on the map to represent the main trend of distribution. Then, there appear arc-like lines on the map, and the writer will call these arc-like lines as "distribution arcs" or simply "arcs" in this paper. The distribution arc may seem to be a substitute of the distribution area, but, as will be shown later, it will tell more than the distribution area.

In constructing the distribution arcs of the ubiquitous crop plants like bread wheat or barley of which distribution covers vast area on the Asiatic continent, the writer here adopts the fundamental subdivisions or the special important characteristics of crop plants. In the case of bread wheat, he adopts subdivisions such as Tibetan and Indian type wheat and also special characteristics such as *inflatum* own appendage and black chaff. In the case of barley he adopts the special characteristics such as *intermedium* and hooded own types. Through these methods the distribution arc of each kind of cultivated plants becomes possible to draw on the map.

Through the study of distribution arc, the writer aims to study the origin and diffusion route of major cultivated plants in southeastern Asia.

It can be naturally supposed that the place of origin of a cultivated plant is placed on its distribution arc, sometimes on the its end, but at present the exact locality of origin of cultivated plant is, except as in the case of wheat, difficult to determine. Still the diffusion of respective cultivated plant may have taken place through the respective distribution arc, so the distribution arc itself suggests the route of diffusion.

In this paper, main cereal crops like rice, wheat, barley, oats, maize and some others will be studied and their distribution arcs will be drawn separately, and finally all arcs will be synthesized to obtain more reliable distribution trend of the cultivated plants in the southeastern Asia.

The geographical area concerning the present study contains almost the whole of southeastern Asia: Caucasus, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Uzbek, Turkmenistan, Pakistan, India, Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, China, Manchuria, Korea, Japan, Siberia, Assam, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Sumatra, Borneo and Java. The present author may be allowed to refer to his own field experiences which are related to his study: his research trips were made in the following regions between 1938 and 1955;

1938. Western Hsiao Khingan Shan, Manchuria.

1939. Highlands of North Korea.

1943. Eastern Hsiao Khingan Shan, Manchuria.

1944-45. Inner Mongolia.

1952 and 1953. Nepal Himalaya.

1955. Karakoram.

Rice

The phylogeny and history of distribution of rice in southeastern Asia have been attracting great attention of the agronomists, historians and anthropologists. Many studies have been made about these problems from the various angles of approach, but still none of them is conclusive.

In morphological and cytological studies cultivated rice has been separated into two groups, *indica* and *japonica* (Kato 1928). These two groups are clearly divided, when they are hybridized, because their bastard is partially or totally sterile. The rice in Japan and in North China belongs to the *japonica* group, while the rice in India and in Malaysia has been considered to belong to the *indica* group, and the rice in the Yangtze valley in China is a mixture of the two.

But quite recently S. Morinaga (1955, 1956) has made a series of studies of rice from India, Java, China and Indo-China. He found that there are two major types of rice in India. They are called "aus" and "aman" type, the former being early variety and the latter late. In Java there are

also two groups of rice, which are called "tjereh" and "bulu." The relation between these types are summarized in Table 1.

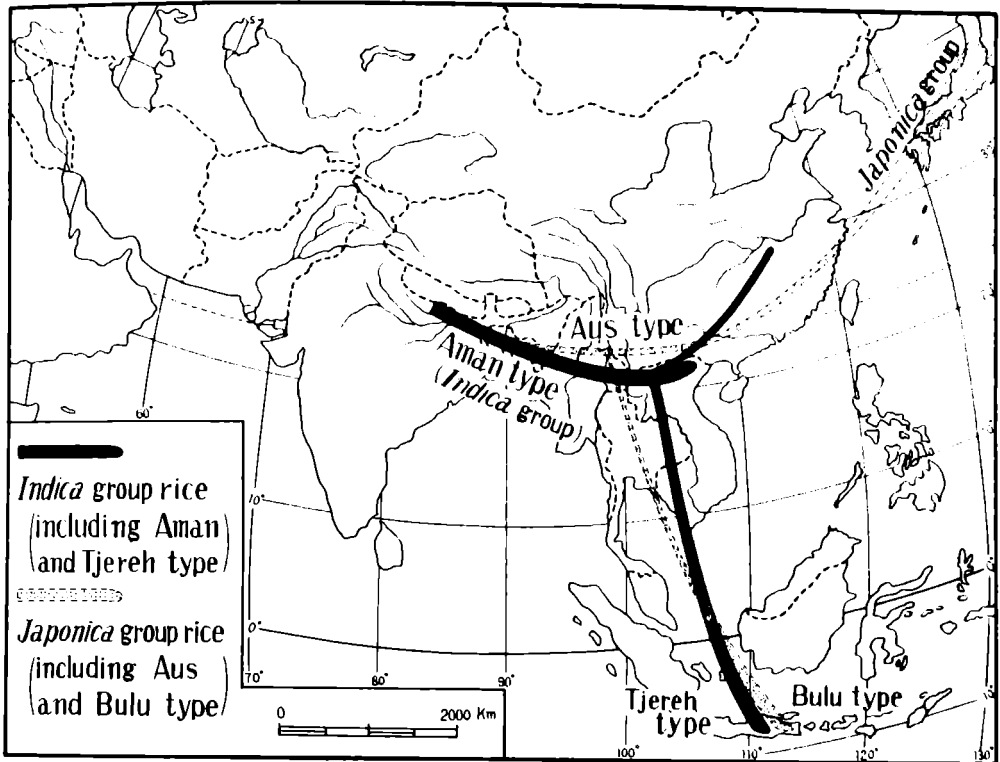


Fig. 1. The phylogenetic relationships and their distribution trend of rice in south-eastern Asia. This map is based on the S. Morinaga's (1955, 1956) reports and taken from the exhibition of International Genetics Symposia, 1956, Tokyo and Kyoto, Japan, but slightly with modification.

Table 1. Relation between numerous types of rice in south-eastern Asia.

	India	Java	Yangtze valley
<i>Indica</i> group	Aman	Tjereh	Hsien (秈)
<i>Japonica</i> group	Aus	Bulu	Kêng or Ching (秚)

He postulated that the rice of the typical *japonica* group in Japan had been derived from aus type rice, and the bulu type in Java had also been derived from aus, though *japonica* rice in Japan and bulu in Java are quite different. The typical *japonica* rice in Japan is very much like Kêng in the Yangtze valley. The pollen fertility of F_1 -bastard of numerous combinations among these types and groups supports the above conclusion. The physiological and morphological characteristics in these types and groups also support this conclusion.

Now it becomes possible to draw the phylogeny and the diffusion of rice types in south-eastern Asia. The result is shown in Fig. 1 which is taken from the exhibition of rice in the National Institute of Agricultural Science at Hiratsuka on the occasion of International Genetics Symposia, 1956 (Tokyo and Kyoto, Japan). The main arc of distribution and diffusion of aman type rice runs from northeastern India to southern China, crossing the mountainous parts of the borderlands of southwestern China. From the southwestern part of China, the arc of the aus type branches in the north-eastern arc to Japan and in the southern arc to Java. The aman type arc also branches at about same area to north and south.

Hamada (1956) found *japonica* group rice among samples from Nepal. He concluded that *japonica* group in Nepal Himalayan rice amounts to about 19% of the numbers of varieties found in the 94 lots of rice collections in Nepal. The *japonica* group rice in Nepal is distributed in the temperate region, and the fact indicate that it is cultivated in the zone of 1000 m to 1800 m of altitude. This fact also coincides with the distribution arc of Fig. 1.

Wheat

Concerning wheat, it is better to begin with emmer wheat, which is different from the usual breadwheat (*Triticum vulgare*), and characterized by 28 chromosomes ($2n=28$), being tetraploid (AABB), differing from usual breadwheat which has 42 chromosomes ($2n=42$) and is hexaploid (AABBDD). There are many botanical species of emmer wheat; they are *Triticum dicocoides* (wild in Palestine), *T. dicoccum* (covered species, cultivated in ancient Egypt and Near East, now sporadically found around the Mediterranean Sea and in western Russia), *T. polonicum* (rarely cultivated, mainly around the Mediterranean Sea), *T. turgidum* (formerly extensively cultivated in England and in Europe, now remaining in Europe and the Near East), *T. durum* (still important in many arid countries, dominant in Egypt up to the 19 century, now mainly found around the Mediterranean Sea and Near East) and some other endemic species (*T. pyramidale*, *T. orientale*, *T. persicum*).

It was formerly understood that these species of Emmer wheat were not found in southeastern Asia; recently their indigenous distribution in south-eastern Asia has been confirmed by many authors (Fig. 2). The emmer wheat is frequently found in Iran and Afghanistan, but is rather rare in the further eastern places. *Triticum durum* and *T. turgidum* are found in the southern parts of Peninsular India.

Triticum polonicum (a rare variety of awnless form) was found in Tibet between Sikkim and Lhasa by the Schäffer expedition (Lein, 1949). The Deutsche Hindukusch-Expendition found *T. durum* in N-W Frontier of India

(Freisleben 1939, Lein 1949) and in 1955 the present writer found *T. durum* in Taxila (Punjab) and in Gilgit (Karakoram). S. Hosono had found *T. turgidum* from Yunnan (southwestern China) (Hosono 1935), and according to his report emmer wheat is said to have been found in Szechwan, Sikang and Shensi in China.

Therefore the distribution arc of emmer wheat in south-eastern Asia can be drawn as shown in Fig. 2. The main arc runs from Iran to the southwestern part of China through the northern part of the Himalayan Range and runs upwards to Szechwan. Another arc runs from Iran to Peninsular India, and third one may run from Turkestan to Shensi in China.

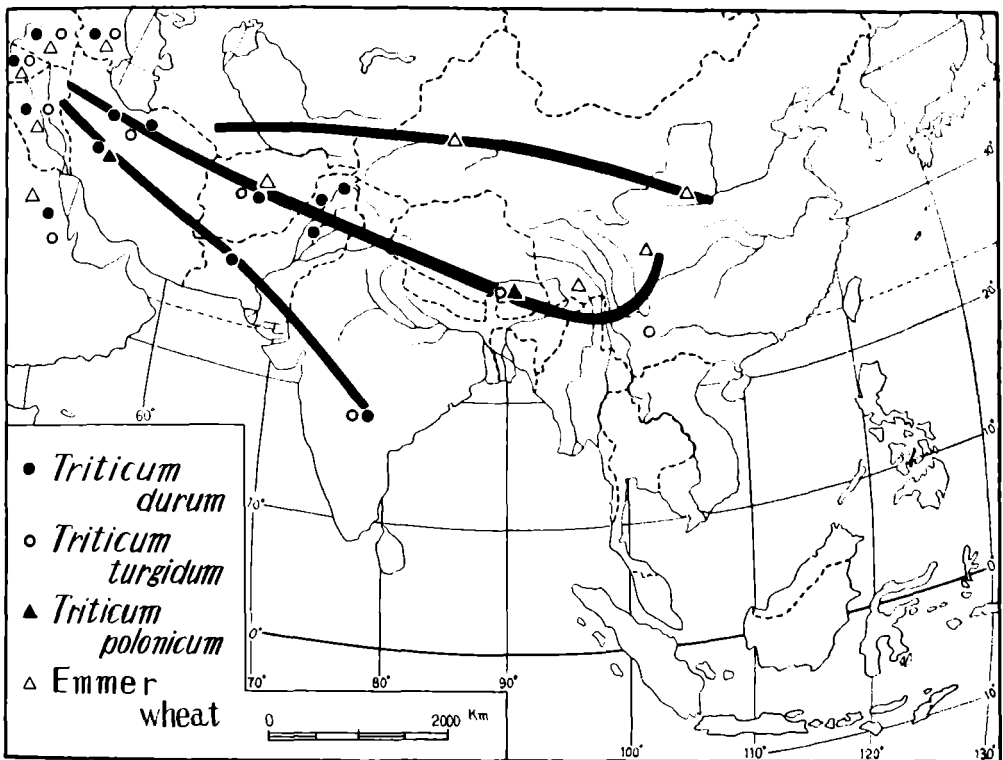


Fig. 2. Distribution arcs of emmer wheat. The data are taken mainly from Hosono (1935, 1954) and Lein (1949). The present writer add on this map the distribution of *Triticum durum* in northern Punjab and Karakoram by his observation in 1955. Emmer wheat means here not precisely identified species with 28 chromosomes. The place of origin of Emmer wheat is Palestine to Syria.

The problems concerning characteristics and distributions of bread wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) in the southeastern Asia are much more complicated. There are endless reports which are full of difference in points of view and degrees of reliability. Among them the writer chooses as the most reliable, the recent publication of the diffusion route of the bread wheat in southeastern

Asia, provided by S. Hosono (1954). It is shown in Fig. 3. The place of origin of bread wheat is Trans Caucasus (Kihara 1956). He postulates three possible routes of diffusion of bread wheat from south-western Asia to China. The first is the so-called "silk-road" which starts from Turkestan, going through Sinkiang, skirting Mongolia and reaching North China, and the second starts from Afghanistan through Khybar pass, cross the Punjab plain, skirting Himalaya, entering upper Burma, crossing Yunnan and Szechwan and reaching the Yangtze valley. The third, which is not illustrated in Fig. 3, is somewhat vague; it runs from western India, crossing Pamir or Nepal and reaching Shensi or Szechwan. Hosono thinks that the second route is most influential, and the first less important; the influence of the third is unknown. The present writer has some different opinion about the Hosono's third route and the influence.

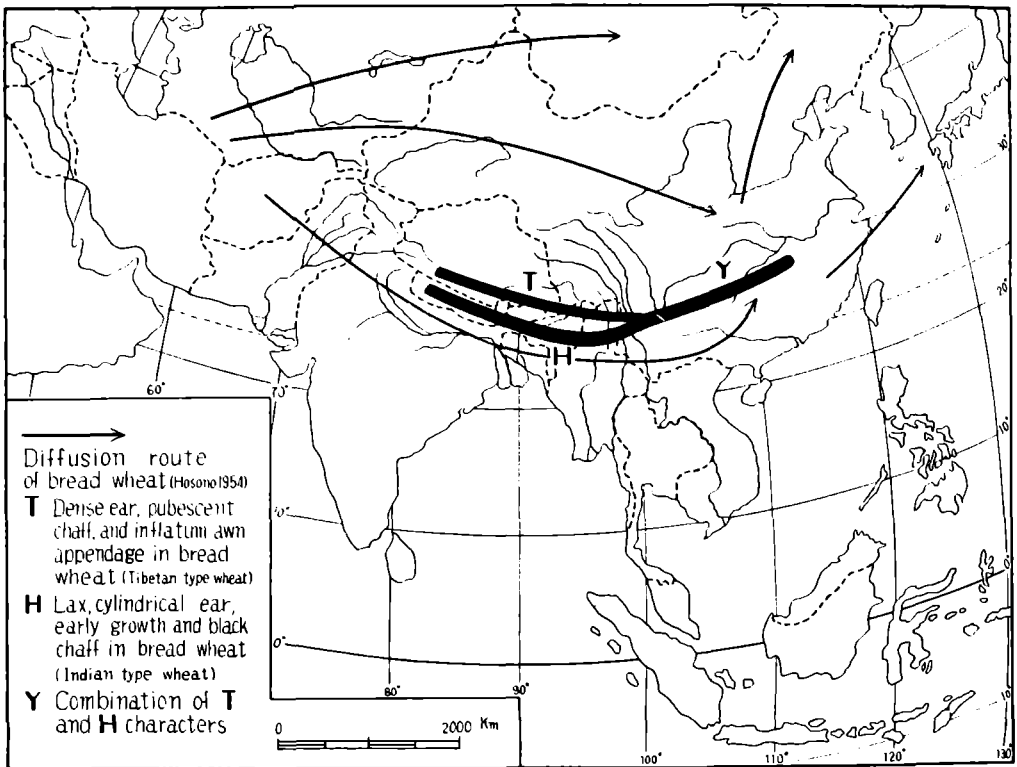


Fig. 3. The distribution arc of wheat around Himalaya. The arc in Tibet and that of Himalaya meet in south-western China and further spread to the valley of Yangtze. The dispersion route of bread wheat by Hosono (1954) are also shown by the arrow line.

The wheat flora of Nepal Himalaya has been studied by the present writer (Nakao 1955). In Nepal he found two rather distinctive groups of wheat. The one called Tibetan type, is characterized by dense ear, round

glume, with acute keel, and abundant occurrence of pubescent chaff, and inflatum awn appendage. The other, called Indian type wheat, is characterized by lax cylindrical ear, early growth, flinty grain, and abundant occurrence of black chaff and totally awnless form. The former is cultivated by Tibetan or Tibetan-like people and distributed from 2500 m to 3700 m of altitude. The latter is cultivated by the Nepalese and distributed from lower Terai plain to an altitude of 2500 m. According to Hosono (1935) the pubescent chaff in China is limited only to the south-western part of China, Yunnan and Kweichow. The inflatum awn appendage is found in Yunnan and Hunan and the black chaff is found in Kwangtung. These characteristics common to Nepalese wheat which are found in China may be seen only in south and southwestern parts of China. From these facts it is concluded that this wheat diffused from west to east to the southern or southwestern China through Himalaya. This conclusion may coincide with Hosono's interpretation.

The Tibetan and Indian type wheat in Nepal is clearly delimited in numerous characteristics, and they are also different in the distribution of vertical altitudes. The Indian type wheat must have been distributed to the east on the southern slopes of Himalayan Range where the altitude is less than 2500 m, while the Tibetan type wheat must have been distributed to the east on the northern slopes of Himalayan Range, where the altitude is generally between 2500 m and 3500 m. This means that the Tibetan type wheat diffused through southern Tibet from west to east. In this case the valley of the Tsangpo River may have been be a most important route for the diffusion. This Tibetan route of diffusion is more reasonable than Hosono's third route of diffusion. So it would be better if Hosono's third route are changed to this new Tibetan route. It can also be concluded that the diffusion arcs of Tibetan type wheat and Indian type wheat must meet in southwestern China, and their combined elements are seemingly distributed in southern China (Fig. 3).

Barley

As with rice, barley is an ancient and important staple crop plant of the Far East. N. I. Vavilov (1926) placed one origin of centre of barley in southeastern Asia. Varieties and special characteristic forms are especially abundant in this area. But the original home of these characteristics and their distribution routes are not yet clear. The writer will touch on this problem by using the geographical distributions of some important characteristics in barley.

There is one group of barley called "*intermedium*." This group is first

proposed by Körnicke (1885) for a special type of barley. It is fundamentally six-rowed barley, but its lateral row spikelets along the ear bear no awns in contrast with the normally developed awns on the central row spikelets. This type of barley can be obtained through hybridization between usual six-rowed and two-rowed barleys. But the *intermedium* barley produced by the hybridization shows partial sterility in the lateral row spikelet. Recently many varieties of *intermedium* barley were found in southeastern Asia, which show perfect fertility in the lateral row spikelet; so these new groups of *intermedium* barley should be revised. In this paper the writer will treat these fertile "*intermedium*".

The westernmost distribution place of *intermedium* barley is in Kumaun, India (Freisleben 1940). In Nepal it is found abundantly in 16 botanical varieties (Nakao 1955). In Sikang Åberg (1940) found 5 botanical varieties of *intermedium* barley. In Japan many forms of *intermedium* barley exist, but a full description of them has not yet been published. 4 varieties out of 5 in Sikang are common in Japan (Nakao 1947). In the other parts of Asia *intermedium* barley is rather rare. One variety is reported from Szechwan

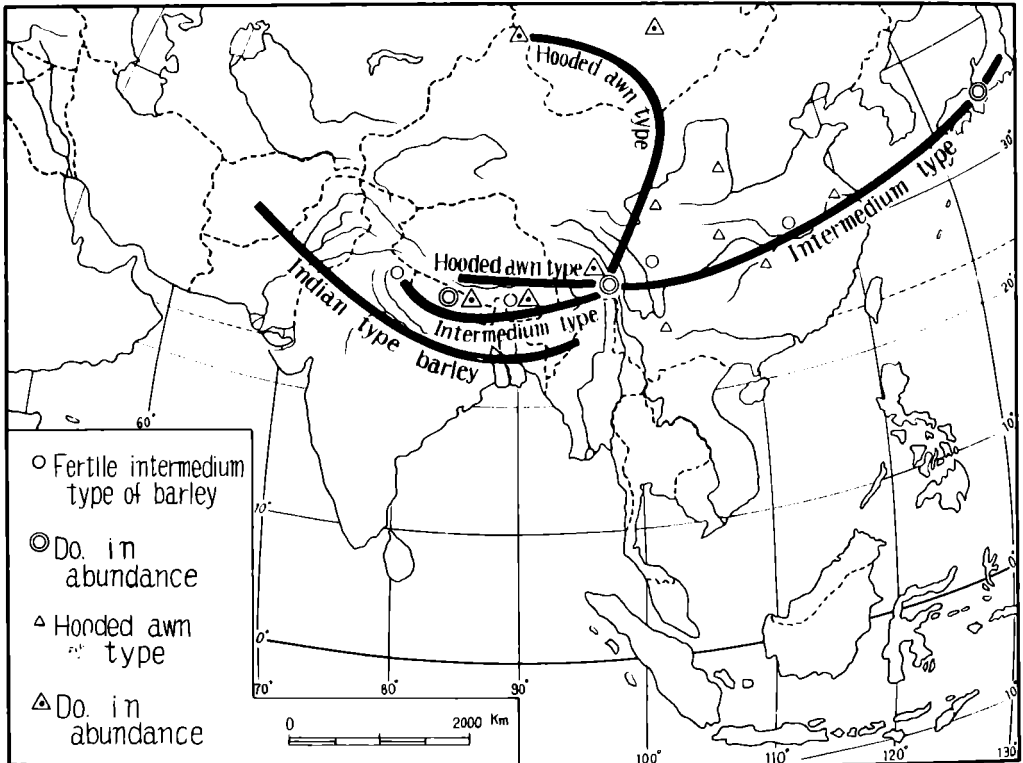


Fig. 4. Distribution arcs of three important types of barley in south-eastern Asia. The data are taken from Åberg (1940), Freisleben (1940), Brücher (1950), Nakao (1950, 1955). The arcs on both sides of Himalaya meet in south-western China and again spread to different direction to Outer Mongolia and to Japan.

and few sporadic occurrences are known in Yangtze valley. Its indigenous occurrence in Korea is doubtful. Thus the fertile *intermedium* is distributed from Kumaun to Japan through Himalaya and Yangtze valley (Fig. 4). The distribution arc of *intermedium* barley seems to run along the southern slopes of Himalaya rather than along the northern slope, because Schäffer's expedition to Tibet brought back abundant collections of barley from Tibet, and ascertained that very rare existence of *intermedium* barley is found in Tibet (Brücher 1950).

Another interesting type of barley may be what is called hooded barley. The hood is a special trilobate appendage attached to the awn and seemingly very distinctive. It was first introduced from Nepal and sometimes its lax-eared, naked yellow kernel variety (var. *trifurcatum*) is called Nepal barley. In Nepal 7 out of 35 varieties have hooded awns. Hooded barley in Nepal is cultivated mainly by Tibetans in high altitudes (Nakao 1955). Hooded barley is reported also from southern Tibet (Brücher 1950) and from Sikang (Åberg 1940). It also occurs abundantly in northern Mongolia and is classified under the various names of: *kobdicum*, *gobicum*, *mongolicum* and *urgaicum*. Thus hooded barley is found where Tibetan culture is influential. Hooded barley also penetrated into China proper in rare mixtures among other types of barley, and reports of it are seen in many fragmentary records, which tell of the sporadic influence of Tibetans into China proper.

The distribution arc of hooded barley can be drawn on the northern slopes of Himalaya, and it runs from Sikang up to northern Mongolia.

The writer classified Nepal barley into three groups; the Tibetan and Himalayan and Indian (Nakao 1955). Two of these groups are well represented by *intermedium* barley in the Himalayan barley group, and hooded barley in the Tibetan barley group. The distribution of these two groups of barley into other parts of Asia are now clear. The Indian barley group has relations with the Hindu-Kush and Afghanistan barley (Freisleben 1940). So its distribution arc lies mainly along the Ganges river line and runs west as far as Afghanistan. In the case of barley, like that of bread wheat, the distribution arc of hooded barley which runs mainly along Tibetan sides of Himalaya meet in Sikang, southwestern China, with the arc of *intermedium* barley which runs along southern slope of Himalaya (Nakao 1955).

Oats

Oats indigenous to the Far East are quite different from those of Europe and America. The Far Eastern oat plant is classified as *Avena fatua* L. sens. ampl. subsp. *septentrionalis* Malz. and subsp. *nodipilosa* Malz. by Malzew (1930), and consist of special groups of oats characterized by the pubescent

culm nodes, a character not found among other groups in the scope of *Avena fatua* L. sens. ampl.

The writer has already studied the nature, origin, classification, distribution, and Chinese classical data of these Far Eastern oats (Nakao 1950). It is concluded that these Far Eastern oats (which will be called "Yu-mai" in this paper, the name applied by the Chinese in north China to the extensively cultivated naked forms) are the crop indigenous to the tribesmen living in the northern or western mountainous regions of China. Their distribution is seen in the high lands of North Korea, Mongolia (6 varieties are found in Inner Mongolia by the writer, Nakao 1950), North China (mountainous parts), Kansu, western Szechwan and Sikang.

The advanced naked varieties are found in Mongolia, parts of North China and western Szechwan. In these places Yu-mai is the aimed crop, not the weed of wheat or barley.

The writer found Yu-mai (*Avena fatua* L. subsp. *septrionalis* var. *valdepilosa* Malz) in a Tibetan village in Nepal (Nakao 1955). It was not the cultivated form, and the villagers told the writer that its grains were

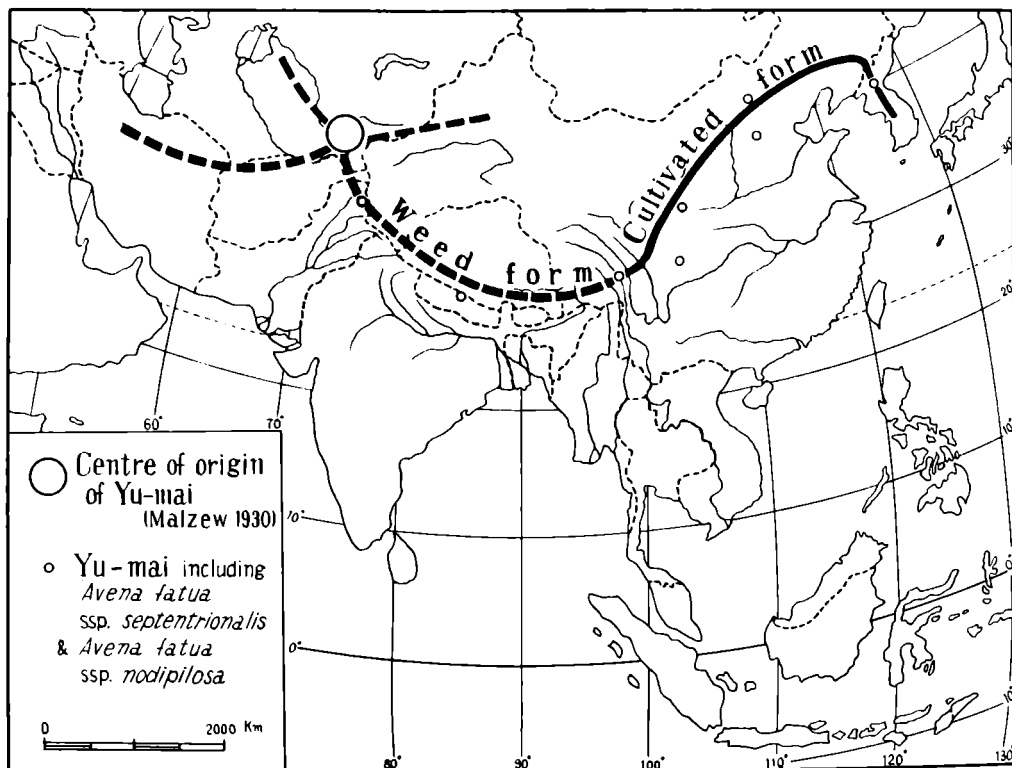


Fig. 5. The distribution arc of Yu-mai (*Avena fatua* ssp. *septentrionalis* and ssp. *nodipilosa*). The large circle in Pamir indicates the original cradle of this group of oats. The distributions of Yu-mai in China, Mongolia and Korea are taken from Nakao (1950), and that of in Nepal and Karakoram are also ascertained by Nakao (1955).

gathered and eaten when other cereals failed. It was found as a weed in the irrigated field of winter wheat or barley. The writer had observed in Karakoram, 1955, that a weed form of Yu-mai was very freely mixed with wheat plants, where Yu-mai itself was never eaten by the farmers.

Malzew (1930) placed the centre of origin of this group of oats, Yu-mai, in Pamir, especially its ancestral wild form, subsp. *septentrionalis*, and thence it spread North as far as Ural and as far west as the Don River and partly in Iran. These are mostly found in the weed state, but occasionally subsp. *nodipilosa* var. *subglabra* Malz is cultivated in small quantities in Ural and nearby.

Its eastern penetration as a weed through Karakoram and Himalaya is cleared now, and it may be true also in Sikang, because according to Åberg (1940) the seed collection of wheat or barley in Sikang made by H. Smith contains oats seed very freely. The writer takes that Yu-mai came from Pamir as a weed through Karakoram and Himalaya to Sikang or western Szechwan, where it developed into independent crop plant and produced the highly advanced naked varieties. It then penetrated into the north, to Mongolia, and reached Korea, but did not enter the valley of the Yangtze.

One interesting thing about Yu-mai is that its vernacular names are very similar in numerous places in spite of the great distance from each other along the diffusion route (Table 2).

Table 2. Vernacular names of Yu-mai.

Locality	Vernacular names	Language	Author
Karakoram	Yuk-po	Balti	Original
Nepal	Yu-pu	Bhoteanese (Tibetan)	Nakao 1955
Szechwan	Yen-me	Chinese	Wilson 1929
North China	Yu-mai	„	Nakao 1950
„	Yen-mai	Chinese Classics	Nakao 1950

The distribution arc of Yu-mai ranges from southwestern China to Mongolia and then to Korea. In these places Yu-mai is the aimed crop plant. The original weed form of Yu-mai starts from Pamir to south-western China through Karakoram and Himalaya as weed among barley or wheat field. As for the details of the arc through Himalaya it has some problems. In Nepal most popular weed oats belong to *Avena strigosa* and are distributed mainly 2000-3000 m of altitude by Nepalese. The Yu-mai in Nepal is found in a village of Tibetan. So Yu-mai in Nepal seems to be one representative of Tibetan civilization in Nepal. The Balti in Karakoram that possess weed form Yu-mai in the wheat field are known very close to Tibetan, and the occurrence of oats in Sikang reported by Åberg (1940) is maintained

by Kam-pa, another tribe of Tibetans. So Yu-mai along Karakoram, Himalaya and Sikang belongs to Tibetans, so that the main distribution arc of Yu-mai along Himalaya lies rather on the north of Himalayan Range than on the southern slopes.

Maize

T. Suto and Y. Yoshida (1955) made extensive studies on oriental maizes. They studied Japanese, Chinese, and Nepalese maize comparatively. They classified all the oriental maize into five groups, i. e. Persian, Aegean, Carib-

Table. 3. Five types of maize and their distributions.

	Persian	Aegean	Caribbean	N. American	European
Nepal	+ +	+ +			
China	+	+ +			
Japan			+ +	+ +	+
	+ + Abundant occurrence		+ Rare occurrence		

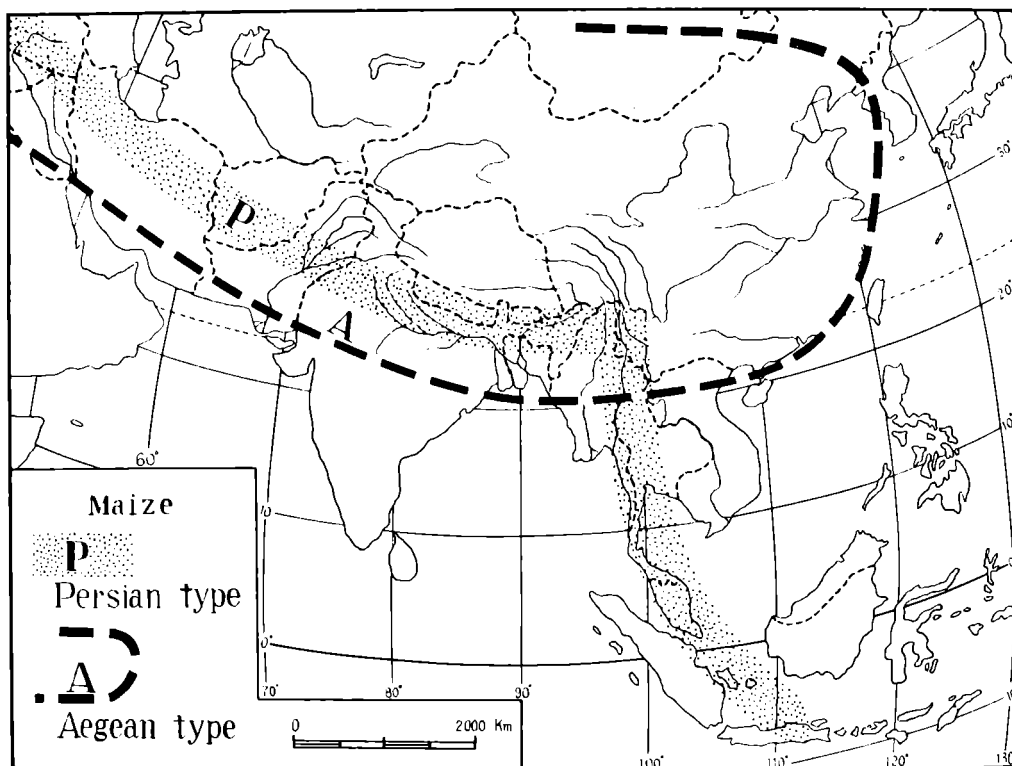


Fig. 6. Distribution of two ancient types of Maize, Persian type and Aegean type, in south-eastern Asia. The distribution of Persian type itself consists its distribution arc. The broken line of Aegean type is covering the distribution area. The distribution arc of Aegean type cannot be drawn now. The figure is taken from Suto and Yoshida (1955) but slightly simplified.

bean, North American and European types. The details and description of them are given in their paper (Sato and Yoshida 1955). The relation of types of maize and their distributions are shown in Table 3.

Among these five types of maize they emphasized that Persian and Aegean types are most primitive and also important in Asia. Their distributions in south-eastern Asia are shown in Fig. 6. As shown in the figure the most primitive and original type of maize, Persian type, is distributed from Iran to the east in a narrow belt through Himalaya, and it runs southwards from the China-Burma borderland to Java through Malay Peninsula. The Aegean type has a somewhat wider distribution range than the Persian type.

The distribution arc of Persian type indicates that a primitive type of maize also has a strong relationship with Himalaya.

Grain Amaranths

Grain amaranths may be a queer crop plant for most of the readers. Grain amaranths is not a true cereal, belonging to *Amaranthacea*, but as buckwheat is occasionally counted as one of the cereals, so grain amaranths can be treated as one of the cereals. The genus *Amaranthus* is a cosmopolitan weed throughout the tropical and temperated regions. It grows around the house-gardens, abandoned fields and waste lands. There are many species in the genus *Amaranthus*, and among them few species have been attained to be cultivated. They are *Amaranthus leucocarpus*, *A. caudatus*, *A. cruentus* and *A. edulis*. These make the grain amaranths.

Formerly grain amaranths was greatly ignored by botanists and agronomists, but recently J. D. Sauer (1950) has made extensive studies about grain amaranths and cleared up its classification, distribution, and ethnological meanings.

In Asia, according to Sauer (1950), two species of grain amaranths, *A. leucocarpus* and *A. caudatus* were cultivated mainly by tribesmen of mountainous regions. Its occurrence in Nepal as cultivated crop plant is reported by Nakao and Sauer (1955). The writer had observed *A. leucocarpus* mixed in the vegetable gardens in Baltistan, Karakoram, in 1955. He also observed a field of *A. leucocarpus* in Manchuria in 1944 and *A. caudatus* in Inner Mongolia in the same year. The localities in Asia where the cultivation of grain Amaranths has been ascertained are dotted in Fig. 7. The main distribution arc of grain amaranths may run from Iran to south-western China through Himalaya, and then curve to the north to Mongolia and Manchuria. In Nepal the grain amaranths was seen collected in an altitude between 1952 m and 3125 m and was most intensively cultivated by Nepalese in a zone

whose altitude was about 2000 m. The distribution arc of grain amaranths in Himalaya may run on the southern slopes of Himalayan Range and not on the northern slopes in Tibet.

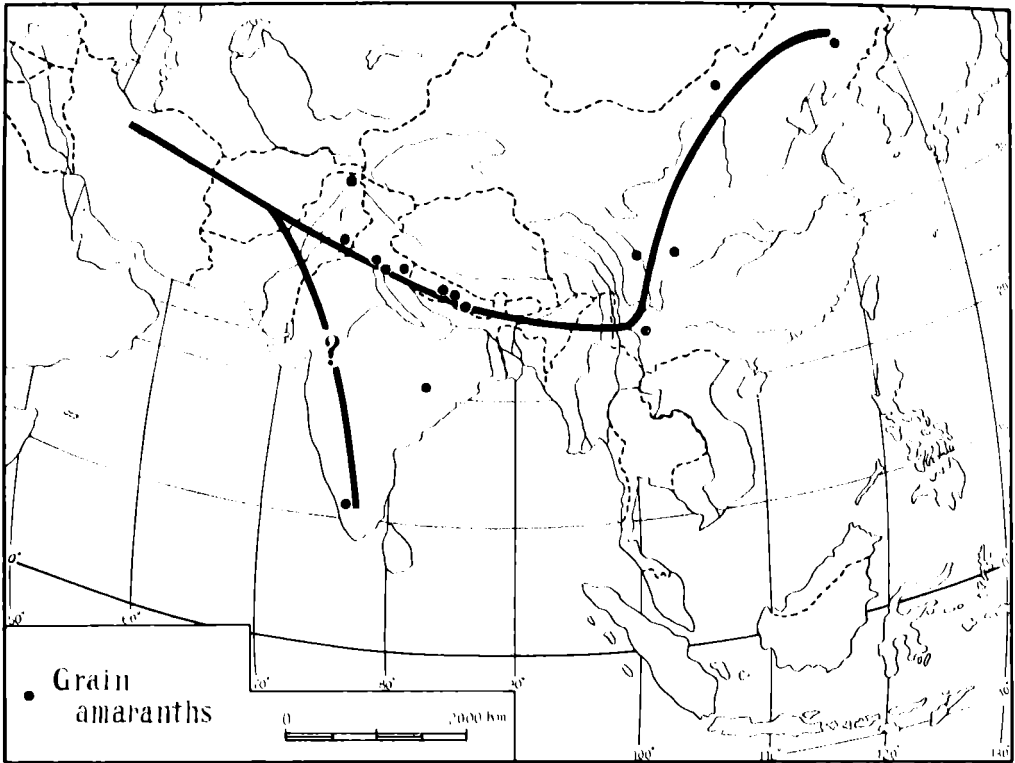


Fig. 7. Distribution arc of grain amaranths. The black dots indicate the distribution where cultivation of it is ascertained. Majority of localities presented are supplied by Sauer (1950), and a few localities in Karakoram, Nepal, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria are added by the writer.

Considerations

The arcs combined

As revealed in rice, wheat, barley, oats, maize and grain amaranths, the distribution arcs of these cultivated plants have some similarities and regularities. If we draw all the arcs here studied in one map, we will find many of them are identical. For example the arc of Tibetan type wheat is identical with the arc of hooded barley, weed form of Yu-mai and a part of emmer wheat. The arc of Indian type wheat is identical with the arc of fertile *intermedium* type of barley and a part of grain amaranths. Thus we can get two important combined arcs on both sides of high Himalayan Range. The arc on the Tibetan side can be called "Tibetan arc" and that of southern side of Himalaya can be called "Himalayan arc." The arc of

cultivated form of Yu-mai and the eastern half arc of grain amaranths is identical on the map. They are ranging from southwestern China to Mongolia and Manchuria, and are combined and called "Mongolian arc." In this way all the other combined arcs can be named. All of them are shown in Fig. 8.

Here the writer will add new arcs which have not yet been mentioned in this paper. They are:

1) Turkestan arc: The arc ranging from Turkestan to North China, may be identical with the "silk road." Grapes and alfalfa are typical of this arc.

2) Chinese arc: The arc is ranging from southwestern China to Middle and North China. According to the studies of S. Kumazawa and S. Abe 1955, the most important distribution and development of mustard can be understood to occur on this arc. Broad-leafed and Cabbage-leafed mustards are distributed from Nepal, south China to middle China. They developed in middle China in Chinese curled and Narrow-leafed mustard and in north

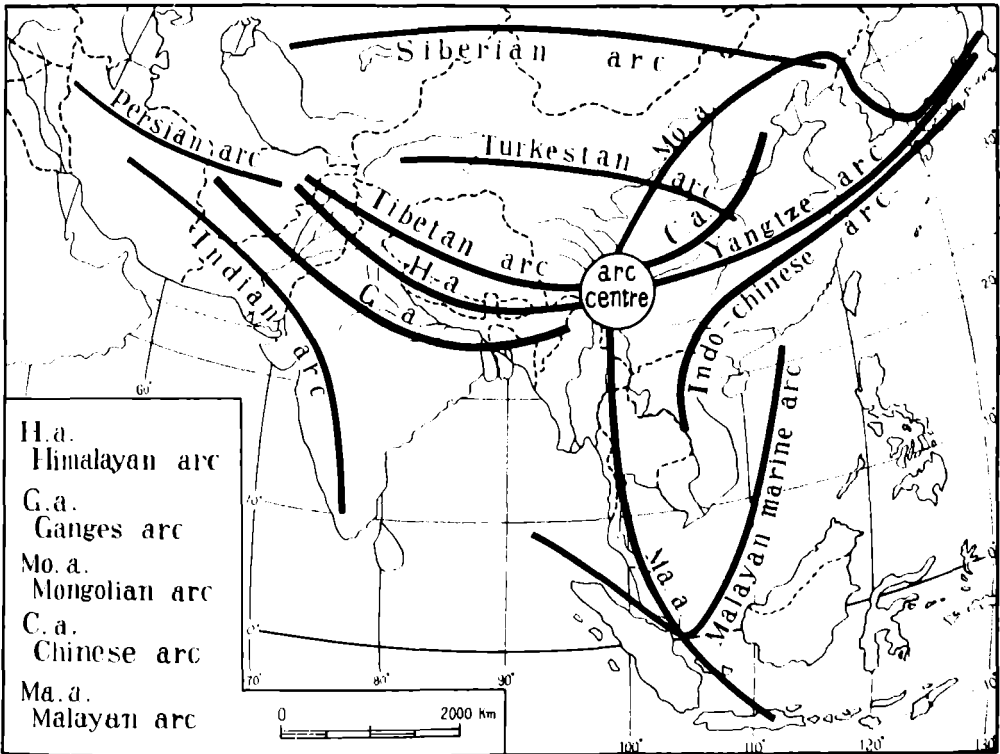


Fig. 8. All the distribution arcs are combined and named on the map. The Yangtze and Indo-Chinese arcs are shown touching to Japan but mongolian arc arrives to Korea but not to Japan in the present study, but it may reach to Japan also. The Yangtze arc and Indo-Chinese arc in the lower valley of Yangtze and in Japan must be the same way but they are shown in parallel lines in this map.

China into the Tuberous rooted variety. The original type of mustard may be Brown mustard as distributed in southern Russia, India, Nepal and China, and it may have originated in central Asia. The advanced form of mustard may be one of the indicators of the Chinese arc.

3) Ganges arc: It is situated in the plains of the Ganges River and Indus River. Some of the legumes are indicative of this arc. The main legumes are *Cajanus Cajan*, *Dolichos biflorus*, *Lens culinaris*, *Phaseolus calcaratus* and *P. Mungo* (Urd bean), but not *Glycine Max*.

4) Persian arc: The arc which is ranging from Himalaya to Iran may be better divided into two parts: the western part can be called, "Persian arc", and characterized by the occurrence of weed rye among winter wheat fields. The eastern part is again divided into two, the Himalayan and Tibetan arcs. The writer had observed, in 1955, the weed rye among the winter wheat in the oasis of Gilgit, Karakoram, but not among the spring wheat in Baltistan, the adjacent eastern territory. The rye in Gilgit region may be the easternmost occurrence of weed rye in the Persian arc. The physical environments are also sharply different from its eastern successive Himalayan and Tibetan arc.

5) Siberian arc: The tribal agriculture in southern Siberia or northern Mongolia cannot be ignored. The abundant occurrence of barley with hooded awn in northern Mongolia has already been mentioned. Recently Russians came to the Far East with typical western elements of cultivated plants. Hosono (1954) pointed out that emmer wheat was introduced by Russians into Manchuria but shortly afterwards vanished. This arc is characterized by spring wheat in which semi-brittle spring rye is mixed as weed. The writer had observed such on the northern slope of Hsiao Khingan Shan in Manchuria. In the writer's former report (Nakao 1950), he attributed this weed rye together with Yu-mai to the Mongolian arc. He thought at that time that weed form rye was reported from Szechwan by Wilson (1929); therefore it belonged to the Mongolian arc. But studying on the cereal seed collection in Sikang by H. Smith, he found no proof of rye but abundant occurrence of weed oats in Sikang. The weed form rye reported by Wilson is remained unsolved and it seems better that the weed rye is treated as being attributed to Siberian arc.

Sadaoka (1936) had found carbonized rye grains from the cereal mixtures of rice, small grained wheat, covered barley and some beans, excavated in Fuyo (扶余), the capital of Paikchie (百濟), South Korea. The ruins are considered to be destroyed in 666 AD. So the rye came through Siberian arc and penetrated into South Korea already in 7th century, but at present its direct effects cannot be traced in South Korea, because in the modern times no rye plants are found in this area. The easternmost occurrence of rye is

Table. 4. Distribution arcs of cultivated plants in south eastern Asia.

Arcs	Indicative plants	Physical environment
Tibetan	Emmer wheat, Tibetan type wheat, Hooded awn type barley, Weed form Yu-mai, India-wheat.	Alt. 2500-3500 m. Cold, dry climate. Mainly Summer crop.
Himalayan	Indian type wheat, Fertile inter-medium type barley, Grain amaranths, Aus or <i>japonica</i> group rice, Persian type maize, Buckwheat, India-wheat.	Alt, 1000-2500 m. Cool, abundant shower in summer, winter short, dry.
Ganges	Legumes, Aman or <i>indica</i> group rice, Indian type barley.	Alt. lower than 1000 m. Summer hot, humid. Monsoon shower, winter dry.
Mongolian	Cultivated form Yu-mai, Hooded awn type barley, Grain amaranths, Buckwheat, India-wheat.	Cold dry climate. Mainly summer crop
Chinese	Mustard	Temperate climate, subhumid.
Yangtse	Aus or <i>japonica</i> group rice, Aman or <i>indica</i> group rice, Tibetan type wheat, Indian type wheat, Inter-medium type barley, Buckwheat.	Warm temperate climate. Summer hot and humid
Malayan	Bulu type rice, Tjereh or <i>indica</i> group rice, Persian type maize.	Tropical rain forest climate always hot and humid
Persian	Emmer wheat, Grain amaranths. Weed form Yu-mai, Weed rye.	Dry climate, hot summer and cold winter, only irrigated agriculture is practiced.
Indian	Emmer wheat, Grain amaranths.	Mainly hot and dry climate. Monsoon dry woodland and thorn bush vegetation is peculiar.
Siberian	Spring wheat, Weed rye	Cold climate. Evaporation and precipitation little.
Indo-chinese	Yam, Taro, Konjak	Mainly subtropical wet climate.
Turkestan	Alfalfa, Grape, Emmer wheat	Mostly desert or arid climate, hot summer, cold winter.
Malayan	Spices, Drugs.	Tropical rain forest climate always hot and humid.
Arc Centre	Emmer wheat, Tibetan and Indian type wheat, Hooded awn and inter-medium type barley, wild and cultivated form Yu-mai, Grain amaranths, Aus or <i>japonica</i> group rice? Persian type maize, Mustard, Legumes (partly), Buckwheat, India-wheat.	From subtropical humid climate to cold arid high land.

reported by Nakao (1950) from the mountainous regions of North Korea as weeds in the spring wheat.

6) Malayan Marine arc: The ancient navigators had brought many precious materials from Malayan Peninsula or Archipelagos to South China. Laufer (1940) described camphor, pepper and many other spices, and drugs were introduced in this way. Many other kinds of cultivated plants must have been introduced in the same way. The route may be treated as "Malayan Marine arc" of diffusion.

7) Indo-Chinese arc: It ranges from Indo-China, through South China to Japan. The arc is characterized by tuberous rooted crop plants like taro (*Colocasia antiquorum*), Yam (*Dioscoreas opposita*, origin may be in Yunnan) and strange crop Konjak (*Amorphophalus Konjac*, origin may be Cochin China). The other cultivated species of *Dioscorea*, especially *D. alta* must be originated in the similar localities to this Indo-Chinese arc (Burkil, 1924). The distribution arc of *D. alta* shows quite different nature and tendencies to the Pacific and Indian Ocean, so that it is better not to touch further with this nature of arcs in this paper.

8) Indian arc: The arc ranging from middle or southern Pesia to western part of Peninsular India is called "Indian arc." This arc is surrounded by hot, arid or sub-arid climate and characterized by the discontinuous occurrence of Emmer wheats.

The names of all the presented arcs in southeastern Asia are shown in Fig. 8 and Table 4, and their indicative crop plants are also seen in this table.

As seen in Fig. 8, many arcs, especially Tibetan, Himalayan, Mongolian, Chinese, Yangtze and Malayan are **converging in a rather narrow place** in southwestern China, namely Yunnan, Sikang and western Szechwan. This place will be called "arc centre" of distribution of cultivated plants in southeastern Asia. The occurrence of this arc centre must be one of the most important results in the present study.

It is interesting that many wild species of buckwheat are found in this arc centre. Steward (1930) reported that in Asia there are 10 species of *Polygonum* section *Fagopyrum* (Tourn.) Meisen. They are as follows:

Polygonum tataricum L.

Syn. *Fagopyrum tataricum* (L.) Gaertn. India-wheat.

Hab. Temperate Eurasia, Sikkim, Kumaon, Kashmir, Tibet, Yunnan, Shensi, Hopeh. Hupeh.

Polygonum suffruticosum (F. Schm.) Komarov

Hab. Sakhalin

Polygonum Gilesii Hemsl.

Hab. Regions of the north-western Himalaya and southward into

Afghanistan.

Polygonum Statice Lévl.

Hab. Yunnan

Polygonum leptodum Diels

Hab. Yunnan

Polygonum lineare Sam.

Hab. Yunnan

Polygonum urophyllum Bur. et Franch.

Hab. Yunnan

Polygonum gracilipes Hemsl.

Hab. Yunnan, Szechwan

Polygonum Fagopyrum L.

Syn. *Fagopyrum esculentum* Moench. Buckwheat.

Hab. Temperate Eurasia, Nepal, Kumaon, Northwestern Himalaya, Afghanistan, Irkutsk, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Yunnan, Szechwan, Shensi, Hopeh, Shantung, Hupeh, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Korea, Japan.

Polygonum cymosum Trev.

Hab. Continental temperate eastern Asia, Sikkim, Nepal, Kumaon, Kashmir, Western Himalayas, Himalaya, Tibet, Yunnan, Hupeh, Chekiang, Kwantung.

Among 10 species, 8 species are found in the arc centre area, especially in Yunnan. The wild species of buckwheat are mostly concentrated in this area, therefore the cultivated species of buckwheat should be studied more minutely in this area in relation to their origins. Matsuoka (1955) reported that in Nepal two species of cultivated buckwheat are found abundantly. In the higher elevations of alt. 2500—3000 m India-wheat (*Fagopyrum tataricum*) is popularly cultivated by Tibetans, while in the somewhat lower slopes of 1000—2500 m, buckwheat (*Fagopyrum esculentum*) is mainly cultivated together with India-wheat. Buckwheat is well adapted to Himalayan, Mongolian and Yangetze arcs while India-wheat is spread in Tibetan, Mongolian and partly in Himalayan arcs.

Physical environments of the arc

Each arc proposed here has nearly similar climatic or physical environments on its course. For example, the almost parallel three arcs, the Tibetan, Himalayan and Ganges, differ sharply in the following way of physical or climatic environments: (Table 5).

The other each arcs have their own peculiar environmental conditions which are shown in Table 4. The Persian arc looks on the map (Fig. 8)

Table. 5. Comparison of physical environments in Tibetan, Himalayan and Ganges arcs.

	Altitude in m	Climate
Tibetan	2500-3000	Cold and dry climate. Mainly summer crops can be grown.
Himalayan	1000-2500	Cool climate. Abundant shower, cloudiness in summer. Winter dry and not cold.
Ganges	0-1000	Tropical monsoon climate. Summer hot and humid climate with monsoon rain. Winter dry and short cool season.

as a successive part of the Himalayan and Tibetan arcs, but the Persian arc is well characterized by the quite different physical or climatic environments (Table 4). From the view point of physical environments of agriculture, all the distribution arcs here studied can be understood as the agro-climatological arcs in south-eastern Asia. Nearly similar physical environments are necessary for the diffusion of cultivated plants, so that it is quite natural that each arc has its own uniform environments in its long span.

Arc as indication of diffusion of cultivated plants

It is quite natural that long distribution arc of each cultivated plant will tell the geographical diffusion of that crop plant. For instance, Yu-mai was originated in Pamir and transgressed as weed to east through Tibetan arc and reached arc centre, where it became an independent crop plant and produced advanced varieties like naked ones, and then diffused to Mongolia and Korea through Mongolian arc. The other species of cultivated plants are also diffused through their own distribution arcs. But it is another matter to what direction a certain plant is diffused on each arc. Most of the cultivated plant studied here in south-eastern Asia may be understood to have been diffused from west to east and from arc centre to north, east and south. These are the main flow of the cultivated plants in southeastern Asia.

The question at what age of human history did these diffusions take place is an interesting problem. At present however it is impossible to guess even roughly about this matter. The problems must be studied in the future.

Agencies causing the distribution arc

By what agencies the distribution arcs are built is not clear now. The cultivated plants must be diffused through human agencies, so that human racial migration or contacts will be necessary for the diffusion of cultivated plants.

The Tamang tribe who inhabit central Nepal, eastern Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam and Upper Burma, may be the best example for such studies. They live mainly on the southern middle slopes of Himalayan Range, and not on the plain of India or plateau of Tibet. The half of the Himalayan arc is really covered by the Tamang tribe. Thus the Tamang tribe can be qualified to become the actual agency of diffusion of cultivated plants in the Himalayan arc.

Application of arc conception of distribution of cultivated plants

The origin, dispersion and distribution of the cultivated plants have many relations with other branches of sciences, especially archeology, ethnology, anthropology or historical studies. But here the writer will touch the interesting theory on the origin and diffusion of eastern Asiatic cattles studied by T. Mochizuki (1924, 1927).

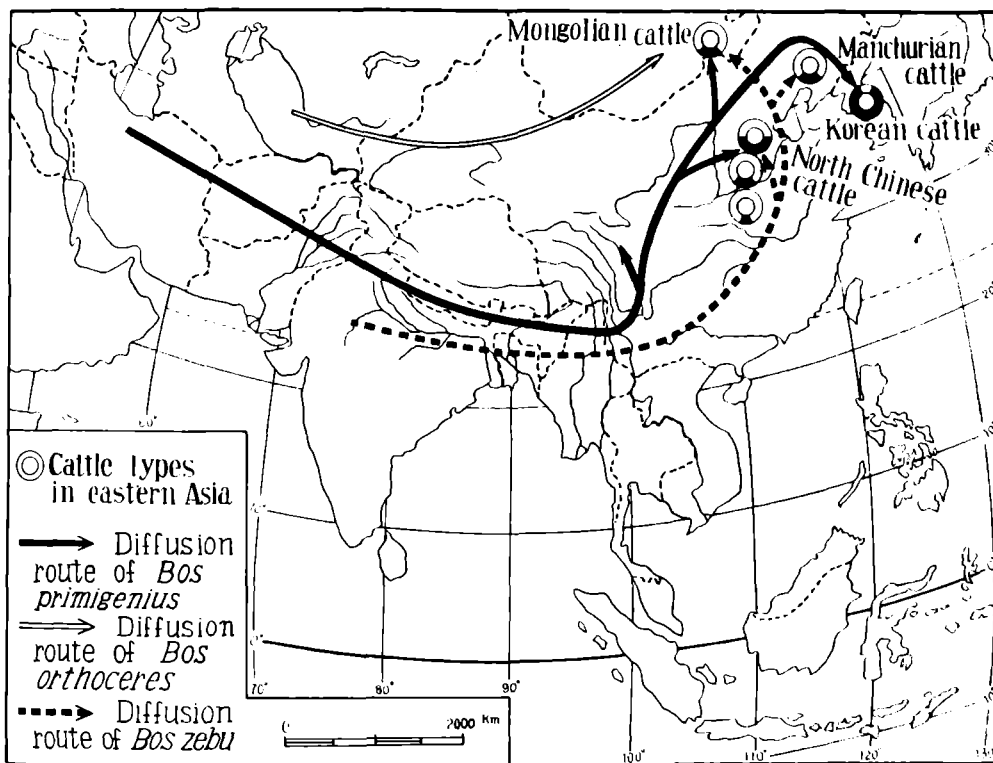


Fig. 9. The phylogenetic relationships and the diffusion route of Asiatic cattle types are shown here. This map is prepared from the original map of T. Mochizuki (1924) and added by the writer the route of *Bos zebu* and hybrid cattle groups according to the descriptions of Mochizuki (1927). The North Chinese, Mongolian, Manchurian and Korean type cattles are studied. The double circle indicate the type in which black shows the relative importance of *Bos primigenius*.

According to Mochizuki's palaeo and modern-osteological studies together with the Chinese classical research, the present North Chinese, Mongolian, Manchurian and Korean cattle types differ from each other by the relative importance of the hereditary elements among the hybrids between *Bos primigenius* and *Bos Zebu*. The Korean cattle is almost pure of *Bos primigenius*, while others are more influenced by *Bos zebu*. He postulated that the *Bos primigenius* started from Himalaya, its cradle, and made its way into as far as great Khingan Shan via Min Shan and Taihang range, and it penetrated into Korea. According to his illustrated map (Mochizuki 1924), this route is quite identical with the sum total of the present Persian, Himalayan and Mongolian arcs. Combining this map and his descriptions on the Asiatic cattles (Mochizuki 1927) it is possible to summarize his theories on the origin and distribution of Asiatic cattles as shown in Fig. 9.

Mochizuki's results are very suggestive to the present study of distribution arcs of cultivated plants though his conclusion had not been followed very much.

Checking the "arc" conceptions

In the present study, major cereals like rice, wheat, barley, oats, maize, legume and mustard are studied from the view point of distribution and diffusion. But there are some other important cereals in the southeastern Asia; they are millets (*Setaria italica*, *Panicum miliaceum*, *Eleusine coracana* and *Echinochloa Crus-galli*). At present the writer cannot draw their distribution arcs on the map. If their distribution arcs which will be drawn in the future studies will fit the present arcs, then the validity of present arc system will be testified, and if not so, the value of present arc system will be much diminished.

There are also quite different problems in the case of maize and grain amaranths. Maize is usually said to have originated in South America and to have spread into Asia in the post-Colombian age. But recently there arose a new theory that the original type of maize (Persian type maize in the present study) originated in south-eastern Asia and T. Suto (Suto and Yoshida 1956) are earnest by supporting in the theory of the Asiatic origin of maize. The writer cannot decide which is true. The grain amaranths also have same kind of problem. J. Sauer (1950) concluded that *Amaranthus leucocarpus* and *A. caudatus* originated in America. The distribution pattern of grain amaranths on both continents of Asia and America are the same, found only in small quantities in backward agriculture places among the mountainous regions. Nakao and Sauer (1955) proposed some possibility of original occurrence of grain amaranths in Asia in the pre-Colombian time.

If it is finally decided that both maize and grain amaranths originated in America, and introduced to Asia in post-Colombian age then their distribution arcs in Asia must be revised. In this case, the distribution arcs are suggestive not of the diffusion or origin but the trend of the same environmental conditions. The problem is important.

Summary

1. Distributions of rice, wheat, barley, Yu-mai (oats), Maize, grain amaranths in south-eastern Asia are studied.
2. Each distribution is expressed in the form of an arc-like line in the map and is called distribution arc.
3. Every arc is combined and named. Notable concentration of arcs is found in south-western China, called arc centre (Fig. 8).
4. Characteristics of arcs, its peculiar crop plants, physical environments are studied (Table 4).
5. Arcs largely indicate the trace of diffusion of cultivated plants.

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Supplements and Corrections

for

S. KITAMURA: Flowering Plants and Ferns in Vol. I, pp. 73-290.

Caryophyllaceae p. 122.

Brachystenma ovatifolium Mizushima in Acta Phytotax. Geobot. XVI: 42 (1955).

Nom. Nep.: Pladeo-galbo.

Hab. Between Gumrung and Sarti, 2200 m (July, 26, 1953).

Cruciferae p. 138.

Arabidopsis himalaica (Edgew.) O. E. Schulz in Pflanzenreich IV. 105: 283 (1924). *Arabis himalaica* Edgew. *Sisymbrium himalaicum* Hooker f. et Thom.

Nom. Tib.: Mendo-nangkya.

Hab. Bimtakoti, 3600 m (May 30, 1953).

Distr. Himalaya: from Kashmir to Sikkim, Tibet, Afghanistan.

Arabidopsis lasiocarpa (Hooker f. et Thomson) O. E. Schulz, l. c. 282 (1924).

Sisymbrium lasiocarpum Hooker f. et Thomson.

Hab. From Thumje to Thomje 2600 m (July 9, 1953).

Distr. Himalaya: from Kashmir to Bhotan.

Draba incana L., Sp. Pl. 643 (1753).

Hab. Larkya La 4000 m (June 1, 1953).

Distr. Reg. bor. et Arct.

Lepidium ruderale Hooker f. et Anders. (non. L.) should be **Lepidium apetalum** Willd., Sp. Pl. III: 439 (1800).

Sisymbrium brassicaeforme C. A. Mey. in Ledeb., Fl. Alt. III: 129; O. E. Schulz in Pflanzenreich IV. 105: 85 (1924).

Nom. Tib.: Mosale.

Hab. Kagbeni 2900 m (May 16, 1953).

Distr. Turkestan, Afghanistan, Karakoram, West-Tibet.

Leguminosae p. 161-168.

Astragalus (§ *Myobroma*) **larkyaensis** Kitamura sp. nov.

Suffrutex subcaulis valde ramosus multicephalus, petiolis persistentibus recurvatis nigrescentibus dense obtectis. Folia imparipinnata 3-3.5 cm longa,

petiolis persistentibus demum 5-5.5 cm longis, primum pilis basifixis albis patentibus dense vestitis, foliola 11-13, oblonga, 5-3 mm longa utrinque dense sericea, stipulae petiolo alte adnatae demum 15-20 mm longae, parte libera 7-12 mm longa lineari-lanceolata dense albo-pilosa. Flores axillares sessiles vel subsessiles ebracteolatae vel bracteolis linearibus 6-7 mm longis praeditae, pedicellis 1-5 mm longis dense pilosis. Calyx tubulosus basi gibbosus, 12-14 mm. longus 4-5 mm latus apice 5-fidus, lobis lanceolatis 3-4 mm longis, extus pilis basifixis albis longis dense adpresse pilosus. Corolla purpurea, vexillum 18-23 mm longum 11 mm latum dorso pilosum apice emarginatum, carina 17-21 mm longa, alae 17-22 mm longae. Ovarium dense hirsutum sessile. Antherae diadelphae.

Hab. Nepal: Larkya La 4800 m (June 1, 1953 S. Nakao. Typus in Herb. Univ. Kioto).

Astragalus (§ *Chlorostachys*) **manaslensis** Kitamura sp. nov.

A. Englerianus affinis sed a quo caule foliisque dense pilosis, bracteolis angustioribus lanceolatis, vexillo sparse piloso divergit. Habitu *A. tongolensi* similis sed foliolis pluribus, calycis dentis majoribus acutis.

Caulis erectus robustus 30-35 cm altus pilis basifixis dense albo-sericeus 6-8 mm diametro. Stipulae a petiolo liberae et inter se alte connatae 17-20 mm longae membranaceae brunneae inferne dense sursum sparsim pilosae. Folia caulina media 15-16 cm longa imparipinnata, foliola 9-11 juga ovato-oblonga 19-28 mm longa 6-13 mm lata apice obtusa mucronulata basi rotundata breviter petiolata margine integra utrinque pilis basifixis gracilibus adpresse pilosa. Racemus ex axillis foliorum superiorum proveniens, 10-12 cm longus (pedunculo incluso), floribus purpureis numerosis. Flores 17 mm longi, pedicello 1.5-2 mm longo dense piloso, bracteis lanceolatis apice acuminatis 7 mm longis brunneis deciduis, bracteolis 2, linearibus 3.5 mm longis. Calyx campanulatus 6-7 mm longus 6-fidus, lobis 3-4 mm longis acuminatis dense albo-pilosis. Corolla purpurea, vexillum 15 mm longum 6 mm latum utrinque sparse pilosum, carina 16 mm longa, alae 16 mm longae. Antherae diadelphae. Ovarium sessile dense albo-pilosum.

Hab. Nepal: Manaslu (June 7, 1953 S. Nakao. Typus in Herb. Univ. Kioto).

Astragalus (§ *Hemiphragmium*) **Nakaoui** Kitamura sp. nov.

A. himalayanus affinis a quo caule brevioris procumbente, foliis pedunculisque longioribus, calyce majore divergit.

Perennis. Rhizoma elongatum demum lignescens. Caulis brevis procumbens 2-8 cm longus ramosus, apice gemmiferus 1.5-2 mm diametro, pilis albis basifixis hirsutus, internodiis 8-18 mm longis. Folia 10-14 cm longa imparipinnata, foliola 25-39, ovata 9-10 mm longa 5.5-6 mm lata apice obtusa mucronulata basi rotundata breviter petiolulata utrinque pilis albis basifixis

sericea. Stipulae membranaceae caulinales, a petiolo et inter se liberae ovato-deltaeidae apice acutae vel acuminatae 7-12 mm longae pilosae. Pedunculus axillares 6-13 cm longus erectus inferne pilis albis superne pilis nigris densiuscule hirsutus. Racemus brevis sub anthesi 6-8 mm longus demum ad 20 mm longus, floribus capitatocongestis, 6-7, bracteis oblongis 6-7 mm longis apice obtusis, pilis albis et nigris hirsutis. Flores 17-19 mm longi, flavescens in sicco, pedicellis 4 mm longis, pilis nigris dense hirsutis ebracteatis. Calyx tubulosus 11-12 mm longus, pilis basifixis nigris hirsutus, 5-fidus, lobis 5.5-6 mm longis. Vexillum 17 mm longum 7 mm latum apice truncatum, carina 18-19 mm longa, alae 18 mm longae. Ovarium longe stipitatum dense hirsutum uniloculare, stipite sub anthesi 5 mm longa. Stigma nudum. Antherae diadelphae.

Nom. Tib.: Shisha.

Hab. Nepal: Manaslu 3800 m (June 3, 1953 S. Nakao. Typus in Herb. Univ. Kioto).

Guldenstaedtia himalaica Baker should be **Gueldenstaedtia himalaica** Baker.

Oxytropis mollis Royle should be **Oxytropis mollis** var. **nepalensis** Kitamura var. nov.

Calyx pilis albis mere dense vestitus.

The calyx of the Nepalese plants is densely covered by white hairs. While the calyx of *O. mollis* var. *mollis* is covered by black and white hairs.

Trigonella corniculata L., Sp. Pl. ed. 2 1094 (1763).

Hab. Manaslu 3700 m (June 3, 1953).

Distr. Southern Europe, Asia minor, Afghanistan, Himalaya: from Kashmir to Nepal, Bengal.

Convolvulaceae p. 207.

Pharabitis should be **Pharbitis**.

The writer considers *P. Nil* to be wild in Nepal. The seeds of Nepalese *P. Nil* are very small. While the writer considers *P. Nil* to be naturalized in North China. The seeds of Chinese races are twice as large as the Nepalese seeds. In China, the seeds of *P. Nil* were used for medicine since very ancient times. The large seeded races were selected through the long cultivation. The naturally growing races of North China have usually large seeds.

Borraginaceae p. 208.

Cynoglossum glochidiatum Don var. *alpina* Brand should be **Cynoglossum glochidiatum** Benth. var. **alpina** Brand.

Macrotomia nepalensis Kitamura sp. nov.

M. Benthamii affinis a qua sepalis et corollis minoribus, foliis subtus albotomentosis, antheris longioribus divergit.

Caulis simplex ultra 30 cm altus ascendens vel erectus inferne 4-6 mm diametro, pilis rigidis albis 2-3 mm longis et pilis brunneis minutis dense vestitus apice dense cymosus. Folia caulina inferiora lineari-lanceolata 9-10 cm longa 7-8 mm lata apice acuta vel acuminata basi sensim angustata margine integra, supra viridia pilis albis longis et pilis brunneis minutis dense vestita subtus incano-tomentosa, folia superiora lanceolata 6-7 cm longa 12-15 mm lata. Inflorescentia cymosa apicem caulis capitato-congesta sub anthesi circ. 5 cm lata 3-3.5 cm longa, bracteis lanceolatis 12-25 mm longis dense pilosis apice acuminato-linearibus, pedicellis 2-3 mm longis. Calyx sub anthesi 12-13 mm longus 5-partitus, laciniis dense villosis lanceolatis apice linearibus. Corolla 12.5-14 mm longa tubulosa supra medium leviter contracta extus pilosa ad medium 4 mm lata, apice 5-fida, lobis obtusis 1.5 mm longis, intus basi dense hirsuta, cetera glabra. Antherae 5.5 mm longae, basi inter se connatae, filamenta 1 mm longa ad medium tubi affixa. Stylus 4.5 vel 11 mm longus apice breviter bilobus.

Nom. But.: Marlangi.

Hab. Nepal: Thaple Himal 4100 m (June 30, 1953 S. Nakao. Typus in Herb. Univ. Kioto).

The type specimen is of the flowering stage. Unfortunately, the writer can not examine the matured fruits. The distinguishing character is the very long anthers. The shape of the leaves resembles to that of *M. Benthamii*.

Microula sikkimensis (Oliv.) Hemsl. in Hooker Ic. XXIV t. 2562 (1898). *Anchusa sikkimensis* Clarke.

Nom. Tib.: Rhemati.

Hab. Chaikia 4100 m (July 2, 1953).

Distr. Himalaya: Nepal, Sikkim, China: Yunnan, Szechuan.

Trigonotis rotundifolia Benth. ex C. B. Clarke in Hooker f., Fl. Brit. Ind. [IV: 172 (1883).

Hab. Manaslu 3600-3800 m (June 7, 1953).

Distr. Himalaya: from Kumaon to Sikkim, China: Yunnan, Szechuan.

Rubiaceae p. 229.

Galium Aparine L. should be ***Galium spurium*** var. ***echinospermon*** Hayek, Fl. Steierm. 11: 393 (1912).

Compositae p. 243.

Artemisia parvifolia Roxb. p. 246.

I have been interested in the wide distribution of this species. *A. sub-*

digittata of North China can be distinguished from this Indian species. Above sentences should be corrected as follow.

I am interested in the wide distribution of this species. *A. subdigittata* of North China should not be distinguished from this Indian species.

Editor's Postscript

The first volume of this series, dedicated to the scientific results of the Japanese expedition to Nepal Himalaya in 1952-53, was published in 1955. It was entitled "Fauna and Flora of Nepal Himalaya". The second volume, "Land and Crops of Nepal Himalaya", was published in 1956.

With the publication of this third and last volume, the essential scientific results of the expedition have been reported. However, among the collected materials there are still many which need further investigation. The results obtained for such materials will be published later elsewhere.

Many favourable comments appeared in various scientific as well as alpine journals, praising highly our efforts and making the readers of the respective fields acquainted with our exploits. Some of them said that we have been unduly hasty in publishing our findings so soon after our return from the expedition. It is true that there were careless misprints and also errors due to lack of complete understanding between the authors and the editorial board.

Errata for Vols. I and II are printed at the end of the present volume. They are confined to such mistakes or misprints as could eventually give rise to serious misunderstandings.

It seems to be customary not to publish the results of a scientific expedition before the lapse of one or even two decades. We thought that the data should be presented to the scientific world as soon as possible, in order to make our findings and materials available for further investigations.

We have entrusted our materials for examination and description to many specialists (10 taking part in Vol. I, 30 in vol. II and 4 in vol. III) who have had long experience and have been always interested in the respective fields. Otherwise, it would not have been possible to accomplish the task thoroughly in such a short time.

Among the specimens collected by Mr. S. Nakao, phanerogamous plants were the most numerous. Accordingly, there remained many species which could not have been described in the first volume. The results of continued study are supplemented in the present volume by Dr. S. Kitamura.

By the way we are very glad to add that the first ascent of Manaslu was accomplished on May 9, 1956, by the third climbing party headed by Mr. Y. Maki.

H. KIHARA

Appendices

Itinerary of the 1952 Expedition

Notes: 1. *Italicized* place names are recorded by the expedition parties. Those in ordinary letters are those printed in the map made by the Survey of India (one inch to eight miles).

Camp number	Date	Place	Altitude in meters
C ₀	Sept. 5~13	Katmāndu	1338
C ₁	14	<i>Jitpur Bazaar, Jitpur Phedi</i>	1530
	15	Kakani	2080
C ₂	„	<i>Lampati</i>	ca. 1000
	16	Likhu Khola bridge	ca. 650
	„	Nawākot	ca. 1000
C ₃	„	Trisuli Bāzār	720
C ₄	17	Sāmri Bhanjyāng	1370
	18	<i>Baran Bhlāng</i>	990
C ₅	„	<i>Katunje Bazaar</i>	1430
C ₆	19~20	Sallentār	740
	21	Ārughāt Bāzār	610
C ₇	„	Khānchok	ca. 1000
	22	<i>Nimel</i>	600
C ₈	„	Khoplāng	790
C ₉	23	<i>Bare Pirke</i>	690
C ₁₀	24	<i>Tharughat Bazaar</i>	640
C ₁₁	25	Udbu	ca. 800
C ₁₂	26~27	<i>Khudi</i>	ca. 1000
C ₁₃	28	Camp in millet field	ca. 1400
C ₁₄	29	Riverside Camp	ca. 1600
	30	Jagāt	ca. 1800
C ₁₅	„	Camp near bamboo bridge	ca. 1900
C ₁₆	Oct. 1	Camp near <i>Chisu Pani</i>	ca. 2000
	2	Thonje	2020
C ₁₇	„	<i>Timang</i> pasture	2650
C ₁₈	3	Tilman Camp	ca. 2800
C ₁₉	4	Pisāng	3080
C ₂₀	5~	Annapura Base Camp	ca. 3500
C ₂₁	7~	Middle Camp	ca. 4000
C ₂₂	8~	Special Camp	ca. 4800
C ₂₃	10~	Camp 1	ca. 5400

C ₂₄		13~	Camp 2	ca. 5800
C ₂₅		17~19	Annapurna Base Camp	ca. 3500
C ₂₆		20	Forest Camp	ca. 4200
C ₂₇		21	Support Camp	ca. 5300
C ₂₈		22	Camp on glacier	ca. 5850
		23	<i>Chulu</i>	ca. 6200
C ₂₉		24	Forest Camp	ca. 4200
C ₃₀		25~28	Annapurna Base Camp	ca. 3500
C ₃₁		29	Pisāng	ca. 3080
C ₃₂		30	Chāme, <i>T'seme</i>	2640
C ₃₃		31	Thonje	2020
C ₃₄	Nov.	1	Camp near <i>Karche</i>	ca. 2400
C ₃₅		2	<i>Hangbu</i>	3300
		3	Bimtākothi, <i>Peme Tang</i>	3540
C ₃₆		„	Lārkyā Camp	3900
C ₃₇		4~5	Advance Camp	ca. 4500
C ₃₈		6	Lārkyā Camp	3900
C ₃₈	Oct.	31	<i>Timang</i>	2640
C ₃₉	Nov.	1~2	Camp to Nāmun Bhanjyāng	3650
C ₄₀		3	<i>Timang</i>	2650
C ₄₁		4	Thonje	2020
C ₄₂		5	Camp near <i>Tilje</i> (or <i>Tilche</i>)	ca. 2500
C ₄₃		6	Camp near <i>Hangbu</i>	ca. 3000
C ₄₄		7~8	Lārkyā Camp	3900
		9	Lārkyā Bhanjyāng, <i>Larkya La</i>	ca. 5200
C ₄₅		„	Camp near Lārkyā glacier	ca. 4100
C ₄₆		10	Camp near Lārkyā Bazaar	ca. 3700
C ₄₇		11~28	Sāma (<i>Sama</i>) Base Camp	3500
C ₄₈		14	Camp north of Manaslu glacier	
C ₄₉		15	Camp on the Manaslu glacier	
C ₅₀		16	Camp in Tibetan kharka	
C ₅₁		21	Camp to east ridge of Manaslu	
C ₅₂		22	Camp downside of moraine	
C ₅₃		23~24	Camp on east ridge of Manaslu	
C ₅₄		25~26	Camp on moraine	
C ₅₅		29	<i>Li Dhandra, Lih Dhanra</i>	2910
C ₅₆		30	<i>Gab</i>	2130
C ₅₇	Dec.	1	Camp on Kāl Tāl	ca. 3700
C ₅₈		2	Bih	ca. 2000
C ₅₉		3	Ngyāk, <i>Nyak</i>	ca. 2200
		4	Pāngsing	ca. 1700
C ₆₀		„	Camp near Setibās	ca. 1500
		5	Jagāt	1370

C ₆₁		„	<i>Hosdoban</i>	1300
C ₆₂		6	<i>Macha Khola</i>	ca. 1000
C ₆₃		7	Camp near <i>Birkna</i>	ca. 800
C ₆₄	Dec.	8~9	Ārughāt Bazar	620
C ₆₅		10	<i>Kale Posol</i>	700
C ₆₆		11	<i>Baran Bhlang</i>	990
C ₆₇		12	Trisuli Bāzār	720
C ₆₈		13	Dhānpheḍi	1080
C ₆₉		14	Kakani bungalow	2080
C ₇₀		15~20	Kātmandu	1338

Itinerary of the 1953 Expedition

Notes are the same as the case of itinerary of 1952.

Camp number	Date	Place	Altitude in meters
C ₀	March 22~26	Kātmandu	1338
C ₁	27	<i>Jitpur Bazaar, Jitpur Phedi</i>	1530
	28	<i>Panch Mane Bhanjyang</i>	1750
C ₂	28~29	Kakani bungalow	2080
	29	Highest point of Kakani Hill	2290
	30	<i>Chaturali</i>	1080
C ₃	„	Dhānpheḍi	720
	31	Crossing point of Tadi Khola	620
	„	Batār Bāzār	720
C ₄	„	Trisuli Bāzār	720
	April 1	<i>Kaguni</i>	780
C ₅	„	Sāmri Bhanjyāng	1370
	2	<i>Baran Bhlang</i>	990
	„	Highest point between C5 and C6	1540
C ₆	„	<i>Katunje</i>	1430
	3	<i>Kale Posol</i>	690
	„	Crossing Point of Ankhu Khola	640
	„	<i>Hasei Bazaar</i>	640
C ₇	„	Sallentār	740
C ₈	4	Arughāt Bāzār	610
	5	<i>Kawai Bhanjyang</i>	1000
	„	Highest point on Khānchok ridge	1150
C ₉	„	<i>Khanchok Phedi</i>	960
	6	<i>Nimel</i> on the Darondi Khola	600
C ₁₀	„	East of Khoplāng	560
	7	Khoplāng	790

		„	<i>Putli Bazaar</i>	670
C ₁₁		„	<i>Bare Pirke</i>	690
		8	Chepe Khola bridge	600
		„	<i>Raines</i>	720
C ₁₂		8~9	<i>Tharughat Bazaar</i>	640
		10	<i>Manchouka</i>	690
		„	Kunchha	980
C ₁₃		„	Downside of Kunchha	800
C ₁₄		11	Sisāghāt Bāzār on the Madi Khola	520
		12	Deorāli (Bhanjyang)	1100
C ₁₅		13	<i>Male Patan</i>	740
C ₁₆		13~17	Pokhara, <i>Pokhra</i>	970
		18	<i>Yangjebashi</i> (Hengjächaur?)	1140
C ₁₇		„	<i>Suikhet</i>	1190
		19	<i>Naudhara</i>	1570
		„	<i>Pandukot</i>	1710
		„	<i>Lumlei, Lumley</i>	1590
C ₁₈		„	<i>Bhurumdi</i> on Modi Khola	1120
		20	<i>Lamduali</i>	1230
		„	<i>Sudaya</i>	1430
C ₁₉		„	Ulleri	2020
		21	<i>Deorali</i> (Bhanjyang)	2760
		„	<i>Chitrei, Chitrey</i>	2420
C ₂₀		„	<i>Phalatei, Phalatey</i>	2300
		22	Sikha	2030
		„	<i>Ghara</i>	1820
		„	Kāli Gandaki bridge	1280
C ₂₁		„	<i>Tat Pani</i> (Hot spring)	1280
		23	Dāna	1420
		„	<i>Murali Bang</i>	1770
C ₂₂		„	Near Ghāsa	1860
		24	Ghāsa	1960
		„	Lete	2440
C ₂₃		„	Dhumpu	2420
C ₂₄		25~26	Tukucha	2550
C ₂₅		27	Jomosom	2700
C ₂₆	Apr. 28~May 1		Kāgbeni	2800
C ₂₇	May	2	<i>Zimbu Phu</i>	3820
		3	Highest point between C27 and C28	4240
C ₂₈		„	Camp on <i>Tsarche Lungpa</i>	3680
		4	Keha Lungpa bridge	3700
C ₂₉		4~5	Camp (timber line)	4060
		6	Highest point between C29 and C30	ca. 4850

6~8	Camp on the <i>Thije Lungpa</i>	ca. 4800
8	<i>Thije La</i>	ca. 5200
9	Camp on the Keha Lungpa	3720
10~11	<i>Sangda</i>	3700
12~16	Kagbeni	2830
17	Khingar	3290
"	<i>Zharkot</i>	3370
17~18	Muktināth bungalow	3490
18	Muktināth temple	3580
19	Camp on moraine	4360
20	<i>Nisango La</i>	ca. 5150
"	<i>Thuktum</i>	4180
21	<i>Karche</i>	3830
22	<i>Kuzan</i>	3810
"	<i>Tenje</i>	3600
"	Manangbhot, <i>Manang</i>	3490
22~23	<i>Ongre</i>	3320
24~25	Pisāng (upperside) and <i>Thōnga</i> (lowerside)	3080
26	Chāme, <i>Tseme</i>	2640
27	Kupar, <i>Kado</i> (alt. of confluence of the Naur Khola is 7973 ft. or 2430 m after the map of the Survey of India.)	2600
"	Thāngja, <i>Thonzo</i>	2620
"	<i>Sarku</i>	2740
"	<i>Timang, Tsugdikadaka</i>	2650
"	Bagarchhāp	2220
27~28	Thonje	2020
29	<i>Tilje, Thilche</i>	2290
"	<i>Ghō</i>	2510
"	Little pass near <i>Karche</i>	2740
"	<i>Karche</i>	2600
30	<i>Hangbu</i>	3300
"	Bimtākothi, <i>Peme Tang</i>	3540
31	<i>Rarcha</i>	4080
1	Lārkyā Bhanjyāng, <i>Larkya La</i> (after the map by the Survey of India).	5213
"	Lārkyā	3760
2~7	Sāma Base Camp	3560
8	Sāma, <i>Sama</i>	3400
"	Lho	3100
"	Camp outside of Lho	2980
9	<i>Li Dhandra, Lih Dhanra</i>	2910

		„	Barcham, <i>Bhartsam</i>	2590
		„	<i>Namrū</i>	2590
C ₄₈		„	<i>Gab, Gapsha</i>	2130
C ₄₉		„	<i>Lana</i>	2030
C ₅₀		11	<i>Dhorzhong</i>	2710
		12	Pass between C50 and C51	3520
C ₅₁		12~13	<i>Tsonutung, Tsumdung</i>	3130
		14	Lowest point between C51 and C52	2720
C ₅₂		14~24	Tsumje,	3130
C ₅₃		25	Tumje, <i>Thomje</i>	ca. 2550
		26	<i>Chhokhang, Chhogang, Chhokang</i>	ca. 3150
C ₅₄		„	Ngāchu	ca. 3300
C ₅₅		27	<i>Ngile</i>	ca. 3400
		28	Chum Gömpa	ca. 3600
C ₅₆		„	<i>Kalun</i>	ca. 3800
C ₅₇		29	<i>Chaikia</i>	ca. 4100
		30	<i>Yemutu Khan</i>	ca. 4900
	July	1	Thāple Pass, Yamju (17283 ft. or 5268 m after the map of the Survey of India)	ca. 4900
C ₅₈		2	<i>Bajou</i>	ca. 4000
		3	<i>Mura Dajen</i> Pass, Salbu Pass (16537 ft. or 5040 m after the map of the Survey of India)	ca. 4850
C ₅₉		„	<i>Phulbe</i>	ca. 3350
C ₆₀		4	Tumje, <i>Thomje</i>	ca. 2550
C ₆₁		5~8	<i>Tsumje</i>	3130
C ₆₂		9~10	Tumje, <i>Thomje</i>	ca. 2550
C ₆₃		11~12	<i>Gomba Lungdan</i>	ca. 3200
C ₆₄		13	Camp on <i>Pali Chu</i>	ca. 3300
		14	Newzealand Base Camp	ca. 3700
C ₆₅		14~15	<i>Partse</i>	ca. 3800
C ₆₆		16	Tumje, <i>Thomje</i>	ca. 2550
C ₆₇		17~25	<i>Tsumje</i>	3130
		24	Foot of Sringi Himal	ca. 4000
		26	<i>Tarung</i>	2370
		„	Bridge on the Shiar Khola	2040
C ₆₈		„	<i>Sarti</i>	1860
		27	Lokwa, <i>Lokpa</i>	2120
C ₆₉		„	<i>Aga, Anga</i> , Philam	2180
		28	Bridge on the Buri Gandaki near Philim (<i>Philem</i>)	1520
C ₇₀		„	<i>Kanmbung</i>	1400
C ₇₁		29	Jagāt	1370
C ₇₂		30	<i>Hosloban</i> near Halchok	1100

	31	Highest point between C72 and C73	2030
	"	<i>Rungje</i>	1730
Aug.	1	Little pass between <i>Rungje</i> and Keronja	2110
	"	Keronja	2030
	"	Little pass between Keronja and C74	2320
	"	Kāsigaon	1890
	2	Little pass between C74 and C75	2070
	"	<i>Yarsa</i>	1930
	"	Majhgaon	1500
	3	<i>Baseri</i>	1050
	4~5	Arughāt Bāzār	620
	6	<i>Kale Posol</i>	700
	7	<i>Tharbu</i>	1330
	8	Camp near Sāmri Bhanjyāng	1010
	9	Camp near Batār Bāzār	700
	10	<i>Chaturaci</i>	1050
	11~12	Kakani bungalow	2050
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