NEPAL

PAST AND PRESENT

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Edited by

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Preface

As is widely known, science is an international platform and has a common basis. Only personal bonds and shared scientific values allow researchers to merge together into a real community of scholars. During the last decade the demands for conferences on Nepalese studies has been felt by most of the researchers working in this area of the world. In fact, a great many scholarly works have been undertaken recently in various fields : oriental studies, social anthropology, architecture, musicology, geography. Among European scholars alone, two international conferences were held in the mid 1980s : one in Lübeck in 1985, « Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley », and one in Stockholm in 1987, « Change and continuity in the Nepalese culture of the Kathmandu Valley ».

In 1989, during the course of a visit to Paris by Prof. Bernhard Kölver, Head of the Department of Indology in the Seminar for Oriental studies at Kiel University, we decided to organize a third seminar on Nepalese studies, this time in France. This conference was held conjointly by the C.N.R.S. and the D.F.G. (German Research Council), under the auspices of the French-German Programme. M. Hinnerk Bruhns, the Director of this Programme in the C.N.R.S., proposed to us that this conference be held in Arc-et-Senans, in the border province of Franche-Comté, which had the advantage of being closer to Germany than Paris. The purpose of the meeting was twofold : first, to present the recent research of both the C.N.R.S. and the D.F.G. teams and to bring out complementary qualities of both scholarly traditions; and secondly, to examine the possibilities of future cooperation within a Franco-German and indeed a European framework.

The Conference took place from the 14th to the 16th of June 1990 in the surprising site of the Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans. These Saltworks were built by Nicolas Ledoux (1756-1806), who saw it as the ideal City based on both reason and utopian vision. Twenty-nine scholars from Germany and France participated. They were joined by two British (David Gellner, Chris McDonaugh), one Norwegian (Oskar Skar), and a Nepali (Ram Niwas Pandey, then a member of the Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu). This last scholar was invited by U.P.R.299 (C.N.R.S.). The conference was organized jointly by Prof. Bernhard Kölver, Drs. Anne de Sales and Gérard Toffin.

The general title : « History and anthropology », which became here « Past and Present », was chosen because of the urgency of interdisciplinary research in these two fields. It is no longer possible for the anthropologist and geographer working in Nepal to ignore the important historical data which

are available especially in urban zones or in former small Hindu/Buddhist kingdoms. These collections of data are of particular relevance for social or cultural anthropology and introduce a new dimension to fieldwork. The historian and the philologist, for their part, have now equally realized the benefit they could learn from the studies of contemporary traditional cultures and societes. In this merged perspective, the French and the German teams could develop new avenues of research. We recall in this connection that Anne de Sales, now attached to the C.N.R.S., worked for three years (1987-1990) in the German Research Council programme in Nepal.

During the last day, three areas of further research in Nepal were discussed. 1° The notion of order, religious and secular, based on the cooperation between anthropologist and textual scholars. In this respect, large amounts of archives remain to be studied in Nepal, for instance the Guṭhi Saṃsthān Collection. 2° Comparative study of oral tradition with particular emphasis on the interpenetration of (ethnic/regional/local) oral tradition and high-cultural written traditions. 3° The ecological and socio-economic crisis in Nepal, that is : in spite of high inflow of large quantities of development resources (including foreign aid) into rural areas, the economic living conditions of the majority of the rural population have not improved significantly except in relation to health and mortality. On these three topics, it was decided to coordinate field work, to exchange materials and results, and to organize further meetings for discussion of methods.

The publication of the Proceedings was only possible through generous funds from the C.N.R.S. I thank the C.N.R.S. Editions, especially M. Carassou and C. Verdier, for their support in publishing a book totally written in English.

The Editor would finally like to express his gratitude to Bernhard Kölver, Anne de Sales and Hinnerk Bruhns for their active support in the realization and organization of the conference.

Thanks are also due to Ms Leila Schneps for the styling of the some papers in English, to Annick Hollé for the preparation of the manuscript and to the members of the C.N.R.S. team for their help in proofreading.

<div align="right">Gérard TOFFIN</div>

LAW AND THE

LEGITIMATION OF POWER

Custom and Written Law in Nepal: The Regulations Concerning Private Revenge for Adultery According to the Code of 1853

Jean Fezas

In 1853, when the first Nepalese Code (Ai.10[1] *Ain* of BS.1910) was promulgated, the legislator aimed at unifying law on the whole territory of the kingdom while keeping, maybe even reinforcing, its Hindu specificities. Theoretically anchored in the Sanskrit tradition (the [*Dharma-*] *Śāstra*), law of the sacred ground (*puṇya-bhūmi*) of the «only Hindu Kingdom left in the *Kali* (age)»[2], forbidding the killing of Brāhmaṇa, cows and women[3], the *Ain* was designed to ensure that «the same punishment should always apply to the offender, according to caste and offense»[4]. To old arbitrary practices was to be substituted a single set of laws, the rules of which were fixed in writing in a «Book of the Laws» (*Aina-ko kitāba*). Originally delivered to the courts as hand-written manuscripts, many of which are presently kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu[5], the text was printed in 1870 and, despite several reforms, was enforced, with the same principles, until the publication in 1963 of a Mulukī Ain in which all references to caste discriminations were suppressed.

The Ai.10 was not the first attempt at codification: the chronicles have recorded the systematization of the customs in the valley under Jaya Sthiti Malla[6]; at a later date, Rāma Śāha did the same, on a much lesser scale, for Gorkhā[7]. Though it may have been the carrying into effect of a wish Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa was said to have formed[8], and was the synthesis of jurisprudence and customs accumulated for years, the code bore the imprint of Jaṅga Bahādur's personality. The first Hindu prince to travel to Europe, Jaṅga was both a reformer and a nationalist. As reformer, and possibly sensitive to foreign criticism, he tried to eradicate evil or obsolete judicial practices, forbidding local courts to accept customary gratifications[9], to submit culprits to ordeals[10], women to torture[11], etc. As nationalist, he went on with his predecessors' ideas according to which the Nepalese identity should be

asserted through Hinduism and the upholding of specific customs. As a result, he who was said to be an opponent of widow-burning did not forbid it [12] and though a man of law and order he did not suppress the customary killing of the wife's seducer by the injured husband, but tried to have it controlled by the State.

THE CLASSICAL BACKGROUND, ADULTERY ACCORDING TO THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA

1. Illicit relations : Strī-Saṃgrahaṇa-

The traditional enumeration of topics of litigation does not include adultery [13]. Considering that, whatever her age, a respectable woman cannot be independent and must be protected by a male, father, husband or son [14], the Smṛti includes all the sexual relations a woman may have without the consent of her protector, under the title of Strī-saṅgrahaṇa. Punishment of such prohibited sexual relations take the shape of fines, mutilations, and tortures, all of them inflicted by the State. Not a single text admits explicitly of a particular right of the husband to kill his wife's lover. The word jāra- (seducer) itself, though often attested in the vedic literature [15] appears only a few times in the Smṛti [16].

In the Artha-Śāstra [17], though nothing is said about who is to execute the sentence, the husband's kinsmen or servitors are to seize a woman if she misbehaves in her husband's absence and he shall decide, when he comes back, either to pardon the woman and her seducer who shall then be both released, or not to forgive, in which case the nose and ears of the woman shall be cut off and the seducer killed. The right of the husband to decide is a fundamental departure from the Smṛti rules and, as it is doubtful that the State would execute the decisions of a particular individual, this seems to imply that the husband was judge and executioner in this case.

2. The adulterer as an aggressor

Moreover, commentators tried to link the right to private revenge, and particularly to kill the seducer of one's wife [18] with self-defense against an aggressor [19], a subject developed since the period of the Dharma Sūtra, as it involved the possibility of killing a brāhmaṇa without committing a sin [20]. Whatever may have been the original meaning of the texts commented upon, the commentaries prove that between the ninth and the twelfth century, efforts were made to accommodate the Śāstra with such practices [21].

NEPALESE LAW

1. Forbidden sexual relations in the Ain of 1853

In contradistinction to the spareness of the Smṛti, almost half of the contents of the Ain is devoted to detailed rules applying to forbidden sexual relations. These may be subsumed under three main topics : incestuous relations [22], inter caste relations [23] and adultery. Incest, depending on the degree of kinship, inter caste relations either if contrary to the hierarchical order of the castes or between pure and impure castes belong to the category of crimes (*rāja-khata*) and, as such, are punished by the State, according to the law. Adultery, in most cases, is a private affair in which the decision rests upon the injured husband's will, though evidently in certain cases it may also involve incest (if the seducer is a close relative of the woman) or caste's disorder.

The possibility of killing his wifes's seducer given to the husband under certain circumstances is the private equivalent of capital punishment, but it is not a transfer from the State's power to execute criminals to a private individual; it is completely independent from criminal proceedings. In fact, the death penalty, according to the Ain, is mostly inflicted for crimes of blood, the rule ever and ever repeated being that life is taken in exchange for life, and suffering only very few exceptions. In matters related to sexual misdemeanor, capital punishment is only applied to incestuous relations with one's own mother [24], to the rape of a girl under eleven belonging to a pure caste by an untouchable [25] and lastly to sexual relations of a slave with a woman of his master's family [26]. If the seducer is to be killed, it is because of his relations with a married woman, but to be legal, such a killing requires complex personal and procedural conditions which we shall try to summarize.

2. Adultery : titles of law and terminology

2.1 Titles

The rules relating to adultery are gathered in a series of some eight chapters in the Ai.10. :

1. *Jāri-ko* : « Of adultery » ;

2. *Pardesa jānyā-ko jāri garnya-ko* : « Of the [man committing] adultery [with the wife of a man] travelling abroad » ;

3. *Phalānā-sita bigryā bhaṃnyā* : « Of [the woman] declaring : « I had sexual relations with such person » ;

4: *Teśro pari karṇi garnyā* : « [Of the man] being the third to have sexual relations [with a woman] » ;

5. *Cautho-dekhi ubho pari rākhyākā swāsni-ko jāri garnyā* : « Of adultery committed, being the fourth at least, with a kept woman [concubine] »;

6. *Māsinyā jāta-ko jāri garnyā* : « Of adultery committed among the enslavable castes »;

7. *Jāri-ko phuṭakara* : « Additional rules concerning adultery »;

8. *Swāsni-kā mukha-le mātra bhani jāra kāṭanyā-ko* : « Of [the husband] killing the seducer on a mere declaration of his wife ».

Some questions related to adultery are also treated in two more chapters (originally three [27]) devoted to the customs existing among the Newar community : divorce on the woman's initiative (*pācuke*), and punishment of sexual misbehavior (*misākhata*). But in these, rules and vocabulary differ deeply from the ones evidenced in the former set. The key words *jāra, jāri*, are never used in this context, and *sādhu* only once [28]. The possibility of an injured Newar husband killing his wife's lover was not even imagined : the few paragraphs dealing with the sexual relations of a third person with a married woman merely mention the possibility of the husband having some « marriage expenses » (*bihā kharca*) refunded [29].

The space devoted to adultery, the presence of a chapter trying to draw a synthesis of the rules [30], their often realistic character, show that much concern was given by the legislator to a custom he did not wish to eliminate, but which was a potential threat to social peace in the kingdom.

2.2 Terminology, Jāra and Sādhu

The cases of adultery which may lead to the killing of the seducer by the husband are described in the Ain under the title of *jāri*, and generally the seducer is termed *jāra* while the injured husband is called *sādhu*. We have already pointed to the fact that the Sk. *jāra-* is rarely used in the Smṛti, and as such was not borrowed as a technical term, but as a part of popular language. The word *sādhu-* is also a Sanskrit loan word originally meaning « straight, right » [31] which, in Nepāli, apart from the well known meaning of ascetic [32], is also applied to « the injured husband who has the right to kill his wife's paramour » [33]. Its technical use in the Ain is not limited to this case, but the word is also applied to the man who is the victim of an aggressor [34] or who kills a thief to defend his property [35], the opposition of *sādhu* with *cora* but also with « libertine » is also attested in the copper plate of Raṇa Bahādur [36].

The etymological connection of *sādhu* with its modern representative *sāhu* [37], which, in modern languages, has only kept the meaning of « creditor » and is well evidenced as the complement of *asāmi* (debtor) in the Ain [38], was probably felt and influenced the technical use of *sādhu* as the « injured husband », implying a right of ownership of the husband on the wife. Such an implication seems for instance to be evidenced in §7 of *jāri-ko* where the usual formula *sādhu-ko khusi* is replaced by *swāsni-kā dhani-ko khusi* : « [punishment] is to be freely chosen by the owner [*dhani*] of the woman » [39] Symmetrically, in §17 of *Jāri-ko cora* is used for the *jāra* [40] of *brāhmana*

« caste », who has been killed after having inflicted a wound (with a weapon *hatiyāra*) to the *sādhu*[41].

3. Rules and customs

Adultery supposes the participation of three persons, a husband, a wife and a seducer. To each of them are related special personal conditions, which, when fulfilled allow the husband, if he decides to do so, to kill his wife's seducer and to punish her.

3.1 Conditions related to the husband

To have the possibility of avenging himself, the husband must belong to a « caste killing the seducer » (*jāra hāṃnyā jāta*). We have seen that the chapters devoted to their particular customs exclude the population of Newari origin from this possibility; among the other groups composing Nepalese society according to the Ain, some are explicitly enumerated as having the privilege, they include : the Rajaputa, Kṣatri, Magara, Guruṃ-Ghale and the Sunuwāra[42], *i.e.* all the castes and ethnic groups belonging to the « cord-wearers » (*tāgādhāri*) and the « non-enslavable alcohol drinkers » (*namāsinyā matawāli jāta*)[43]. Though not included in this enumeration, brāhmaṇas (Upādhyā as well as Jaisi) are also expressly allowed to kill their wife's seducer[44].

Apart from these groups, the privilege of which needs not to be enquired upon, the Code admits that some castes, even with a very low status in social hierarchy[45], may proceed to such a revenge if they are entitled to do so by their ancestor's practices (*pitā purkhā-dekhi cali āyāko*)[46]; but there are certain limitations regarding this possibility for some of them[47]. None of them is named and they remain mysterious. Most probably some of them are ethnic groups with strong patriarchal customs or castes having adopted this « aryan » practice. The necessity of proving the ancestral nature of the custom may, as shown in a later edition[48], have had as consequence a subsequent inquiry by the legal authority. Such rules and restrictions imply that, though apparently independent of the caste's hierarchy, the privilege was mainly limited to martial tribes from the hills, which agrees with B. Hodgson's report of the custom[49]

3.2 Conditions related to the woman

Marriage is a notion quite difficult to apprehend in the Nepalese society of the nineteenth century. Christian monogamist societies establish a clear distinction between the married woman and concubines or mistresses. The first mentioned and her progeny are the only ones to have any legal status, while the others have no right at all. In contradistinction to this, the Nepalese system presented a continuum of levels[50], starting from the « lawfully wedded wife »[51] and going down to mistresses sometimes kept on a contractual basis. All of them have a legal existence, evidenced for instance by the right of

their children to a share of their husband's property [52]. The absence of specific words for husb&nd and wife in Nepālī shows very well that marriage as an abstraction was never contemplated.

To the necessity for the husband to belong to a *jāra hāṃnyā jāta*, is added the condition that the woman is a *aina-le jāra hāmna hunyā-samma-kā swāsni*, « a woman whose legal status is high enough for her seducer to be killed ». From the formulation itself it is clear that while the husband's right depends on customary practice, the conditions imposed on the woman's status are determined by the law (*aina-le*) and, as such, may be modified by the legislator [53].

According to the Ai.10, the husband belonging to a *jāra hāmnyā jāta* may kill the seducer of :

1. Women, he was the first to have sexual relations with, whether married with full rites or simply brought home when they were virgins.

2. Women he was the second to have sexual relations with, who may be either widows or women he brought home when their former husband was alive. But in this case,

a) The woman must originate from a caste having the privilege [54].

b) The husband must not have obtained her by paying a monetary compensation (*bihā kharca*) to her former husband [55].

c) She must not be a widow belonging to a caste of a higher status than his own [56].

These complex and sometimes obscure rules have been drastically simplified in later editions of the Code. In the Ain of BS. 1992, women whose seducer may legally be killed must be of equal or [immediately] inferior status and belonging to the « cord-wearers », taken with full marriage rites (*bibāha gari lyāekī*), or virgins of equal caste whose rice is accepted (*bhāta-mā sarobara gari rākhekī*) [57]. No seducer of a woman who had a previous husband can be killed, excepting the case of an Upādhyā widow brought publicly into his house by a Jaisi Brāhmaṇa [58].

3.3 Seducers not to be executed by the husband

Two kinds of prohibitions are mentioned in the Ain. The first is legal, which implies that if the husband transgresses it, he shall be punished as a murderer : if he belongs to a caste that can be executed (*kāṭinyā jāta*), his life is exchanged for the life [he unjustly took] (*jyāna-ko badalā jyāna jāṃcha*); otherwise his legal share in the family's patrimony is confiscated and he is condemned to life-prison (*dāmala*). The second is optional, of a moral character and devoid of legal sanction.

3.3.1 Legal prohibitions

These legal prohibitions are grounded on religious considerations, the husband killing a *brāhmaṇa* would be guilty of *brahma-hatyā* ; the murder of a member of his *gotra* (*i.e.* an agnatic kinsman), would be a *gotra-hatyā*.

A. Prohibition of *brahma-hatyā* from the oldest sources of *dharma* onwards, the killing of a *brāhmaṇa* is essentially different from the killing of a member of another *varṇa*, as he who commits it, is not only guilty of murder but also of a « great sin » (*mahāpātaka*), called *brahma-hatyā*, for which the only possible atonement is death. Whatever his offense, a *brāhmaṇa* is never to be executed. It seems however, that, before the promulgation of the Code, injured husbands did not hesitate to commit such a horrible sin[59]. This protection, originally a privilege of Upādhyā and Jaisi[60], was extended, as in the case of exemptions from capital punishment to which it is homologous, to ascetics, mainly from brahmanic descent.

B. Prohibition of *gotra-hatyā*[61]. The idea that killing a member of one's *gotra* is a heinous sin, seems to be unknown to the Smṛti. It results probably from the creation of a new *mahāpātaka* on the model of *brahma-hatyā*[62]. The fifteenth Tithi attributed to Rāma Śāha of Gorkhā[63] prescribes that king's collateral and members of his *gotra*, must not be executed even if they have committed a capital crime, but, instead must be shaven and banished from the kingdom[64]; the same rule applies to *brāhmaṇa* and ascetics. This rule, one would have thought mainly inspired by political considerations, is followed by a gloss, probably written by a court paṇḍita :

> « If [someone] commits a criminal action for which his life is to be taken, it is written in the *śāstra* that one must take the life of one who has taken a life[65], but if [the king] takes the life [of a member of his clan], he would be guilty of *gotra-hatyā*, moreover, were he not to kill him, blame (*pratyavāya*) would attach [to the King]. This is why, saying [*i.e.* considering] that the expulsion from the country is strictly equivalent to an execution, it has been said one must expel [the culprit] »[66].

The political chapters of the Ai.10 seem unfortunately to have been lost[67], but such rules were probably applied to the King's and Prime Minister's families. It is instructing to remark the homology between the exemptions of capital punishment at State's level, and the prohibitions applied in the field of private revenge.

3.3.2 *Optional prohibitions*

If the « religious » concept of *gotra-hatyā* allowed the legislator to exclude the agnates from the husband's wrath, no such way was opened for cognates. This is probably why, quite unexpectedly, recommendations of a moral character, devoid of any kind of legal sanction, are to be found in the text. They try to induce the injured husband not to use his right to kill his wife's seducer if he belongs to close cognatic kinship, though he is entitled by the law to do so. The code's arguments are clues to the psychological background of the practice, as well as to the function of the courts in customary matters.

The killing of the paramour not only originated in the husband's wrath, but also in social pressure. This is well evidenced at an earlier stage, in Raṇa Bahādur's copper plate which excludes from any official position the « Eunuch » unable to kill the seducer and to cut the nose of the guilty wife, but also in the very name of the fine (*nāmardi daṃḍa*) that the husband

who, knowing she is unfaithful, still has sexual relations with his wife[68], has to pay according to the Ain. The cuckold suffered not only from jealousy but also, and maybe mostly, from *ridicule*. The legal obligation of having a document written under the control of the court, which at the same time verified if no prohibition of the killing was intended by the law, probably meant that the judge read aloud the chapter on the subject. So he had to mention that : « He who declares « I do not kill the seducer »... is not considered as an impotent (*nāmarda*), but is said to be a wise man (*buddhimān*), the man who kills [his wife's] seducer when he is such a close relative is considered as stupid (*pāji*). If the injured husband kills the seducer he commits no crime if such is the ancestral custom [of his clan], but if he releases him too, he commits no crime »[69].

4. The revenge of the husband

4.1 Against the paramour

Even if all the conditions for the killing were fulfilled, if the husband gave up this possibility he could inflict other legal punishments on the paramour, these sanctions applying also in case the seducer belonged to a category he could not put to death.

4.1.1 Killing of the seducer

The law which imposed drastic conditions on the status of the actors, did not care much about the circumstances of the killing as representatives of the state were not to be involved in it. Once the husband had taken the decision that was deemed to be legal, no one took much care to offer a chance of escaping to the culprit[70]. Though the help of his kinsmen and of the authorities was explicitly allowed for the capture of the seducer[71], with theoretically the husband should proceed the killing alone. But were he to kill him while he was escorted by the police on his way to the court, he was to pay a mere fine[72]. The Ai.10 remains silent about the killing procedure itself which is only described in later versions and was left to custom. The last edition of the Ain[73] merely enjoins that a space of hundred foot must be left between the husband and the *jāra*, but the rule only applies when the « cutting » is under the court's control, and in case of its transgression, a mere fine of fifty Rs. is inflicted upon the judge and the husband.

4.1.2 Other options

These may be classified under two heads, the first which consists in having the seducer humbled through some kind of mirroring private punishment, the second is a monetary compensation, either the confiscation of the seducer's share to the husband's profit or the payment of « marriage expenses » (*bihā-kharca*) to compensate his loss. Lastly the husband may forgive the culprit and let him go.

A. Humiliation of the *jāra*. It has already been pointed to the fact that the cuckold not only suffered from jealousy, but also from social *ridicule*.

The customary practices to avenge it try to inflict on the offender a corresponding public humiliation. This may consist in crawling under the husband's thigh (*ṭāga-mani chirāunu*), a kind of symbolic copulation, to which may be added the licking of the sole of his foot (*ṭāga-mani chirāi paitālo-smeta caṭāunu*). These practices may be mere examples of a wider catalogue[74], mentioned here because they had different consequences on the status of the paramour[75].

This kind of popular entertainment was probably replaced in the case of *brāhmaṇa*[76] by the forced ingestion of « uneatable » substances (*abhakṣ[y]a*) such as alcohol (*mada*), pork-meat (*sugura-ko māsu*) etc.[77], together with the tearing off of the sacred cord.

B. Monetary compensation. According to the Ain, this compensation could be of two kinds (a) confiscation of the legitimate share of the culprit to the profit of the husband (*aina-bamojima-ko aṃsa sarbaswa*), (b) payment of *bihā-kharca*. It is quite difficult to distinguish between the cases in which one or the other was applied, though caste customs and maybe the legal status of the woman were involved[78].

While killing or public humiliation of the seducer are two possible outlets for the offended male pride of the warrior tribes, I would suggest that monetary compensations were first devised for *brāhmaṇas* and then extended to other castes[79], in first instance to prevent *gotra-hatyā* and then as financial alternatives luring the possibly greedy *sādhu* into sparing the seducer.

4.2 Sanctions against the adulteress

4.2.1 Mutilations

In 1819 Hamilton remarked that, in Nepal « women, as in all Hindu governments, are never put to death; but the punishments inflicted on them are abundantly severe. The most ·common is the cutting off [of] their noses »[80]. Judicial mutilations are well attested in classical texts, and a special chapter is devoted to their redeeming through fines in the Artha Śāstra[81]. The cutting of various limbs, including the nose, in cases of theft is attested by the Nepalese Code of BS.1910, as a former practice, not to be applied anymore[82]. Despite the similarity of the process, the ablation of the nose has a quite different meaning when applied to women. To cut off the nose of a thief is a way to inform people of his criminal record, to cut off the nose of a woman guilty of sexual misbehavior is to deprive her of her beauty, her seduction, to prevent her from any further repetition[83].

Documents, prior to the Code, show that the mutilation of a woman could either be inflicted by the courts, as a punishment, or by the husband as a private revenge for adultery.

A. Mutilation of women by judicial decision. In the very important Lālmohars concerning the punishment of criminals in Tānsen and Pālpā published by the National Archives[84], the cutting off the nose is prescribed in association with degradation from caste for three women belonging to the Magar group. One in a case of infanticide of a child born from sexual relations with a slave[85], the second for abortion with the help of drugs of a

foetus conceived through « incestuous » relations[86], the last for sexual relations with a Kāmi (untouchable)[87]. From the text of the documents it seems that these woman were not married, and that the punishment has no relation with adultery.

It has to be noticed that the comparative leniency shown towards brahmin males existed also in the case of females : in the same document an Upādhyā widow who had committed infanticide after sexual relations with a Thāpā Magar is not mutilated but banished after being excluded from water and paraded in the quarters with her face covered with black[88].

Such practices disappeared with the promulgation of the Code, where no allusion to the cutting off of the nose of a woman by judicial decision, whatever the sexual offense committed, can be traced.

B. Private mutilations. According to a copper-plate of Raṇa Bahādur Śāha, dated from 1798 (BS.1855), such a practice was a duty a State's officer could not evade without forfeiting his charge, a true test of virility :

« To the impotent who, knowing that someone else made [love] to his wife, could not kill the seducer, and after having killed the seducer could not cut off the nose [of his wife], no office should be given for his whole life »[89].

Brāhmaṇī women were certainly excluded from the scope of this emphatic rule, their heads were shaved and they had probably to endure some kind of public humiliation whatever sexual offense they committed. Such shaving of the head, evidently aimed at the same purpose as the shaving of widows, that is depriving the woman of her sexual attractiveness[90], was admitted by the Code as a legal substitute for the ablation of the nose[91].

From this text presenting private revenge and the subsequent mutilation of the woman as almost compulsory, the Ain's compilers tried to depart, but their efforts were, at least in the beginning, hampered by the pressure of tradition. Forbidding the husband to cut off the nose of the adulteress and applying to him the general sanctions of criminal mutilations should have been a logical step following the proscription of judicial mutilations, but instead of confronting the standing custom, the legislator tried to find financial alternatives.

According to the law of blows and hurts[92], he who cuts off the nose of another man is sentenced to six years of imprisonment, to the double in the case of an aggression against a woman. This rule is repeated in the context of adultery[93] but applies to the jealous husband of an innocent woman. If she is guilty of adultery, the husband who cuts her nose is merely compelled, if the seducer belonged to his Gotra, to pay a fine of 50 Rs., 25 Rs. otherwise[94]. The first of these rules is probably the oldest and establishes a correlation between the sanctions applied to each culprit : the seducer belonging to the agnatic kinship must not be killed, consequently the woman must not be disfigured[95]. The second, forbidding the mutilation, even if the seducer has been killed is, from a juridical point of view, an anomaly.

In spite of its almost pathological complacency for atrocities, Raṇa Bahādur's text, grounded in customary practices, showed a good deal of juridical common sense in presenting the woman's mutilation as a necessary complement to the seducer's killing[96]. The Ain's compilers, despite the subtlety they often displayed, do not seem to have considered the possible complicity between husband and wife and that by allowing the killing of the seducer while leaving the woman untouched they might open a way for legal murder. Wishing to eliminate unnecessarily cruel practices but unable to forbid the customary killing of the seducer introduced a legal incoherence which was, in practice, limited by the control of the woman's declaration by the State's representatives[97].

The legislator seems to have preferred financial incitation to criminal repression in order to protect the woman from mutilation : bargaining wrath for greed. Reform was achieved through manipulations of the right of the woman to keep her separate property. The husband who wished to avenge his wounded pride by disfiguring his wife, could do so, provided he paid a moderate fine, but he had in this case to forfeit any right on her separate property which he was allowed to seize if he abandoned violence[98].

No record exists to show how far this policy was successful. The cutting off of the nose of the guilty woman is alluded to as a common practice in the chapter devoted to [Women] declaring [falsely] « I had relations with such person »[99]. In the code of BS.1992[100], the practice is merely prohibited, implying that no distinction shall be made between adulterous or innocent women : in every case the husband who mutilates his wife endures the same punishment.

4.2.2 Fines and enslavement

The cutting off of the nose of the woman seems to have been distinctive of the cord-wearers and non-enslavable alcohol drinkers. If we come down to the enslavable castes, the situation is quite different. No allusion whatsoever is made in the chapter concerning adultery among the enslavable castes[101] to a possible mutilation of the woman.

This may be accounted for by two reasons, the first being ethnic background, the other commercial interests.

Many of the ethnic groups considered as enslavable have a conception of marriage and family that differs widely from the patriarchal values that reign among the Indo-Nepalese, and do not feel adultery as a crime horrible enough to allow them to kill a fellow human and disfigure another.

As to the others, who seem to have had much more respectable practices, they seem to have been prevented from mutilating their wives by the general rule according to which the wife was enslaved if, and only if, her husband killed her seducer[102]. Mutilation being customarily conceived as a counterpart to the killing of the seducer, it would have as consequence a loss of value of the female slave on the market[103].

5. Control by the state's representatives

5.1 Power of decision

The fundamental rule in matters of *jāri* is that, as far as it is included in the scope of the legal sanctions allowed by the code, the husband himself, without any pressure from the authorities, must decide on a sanction which he shall himself apply to the *jāra*, a principle encapsulated in the formula *sādhu-ko khusi huṃcha* : it shall be done according to the husband's desire. The « judge cannot oblige the owner of the woman » to choose a particular solution[104]. The *jāra* himself has more power than the judge as he may refuse to pay any monetary compensation to the husband and say : « If he is able to do it then let him cut me »[105].

Correlatively, the one who takes the decision has to execute it. From the Ain's point of view, adultery by itself is not a crime, and the authorities stick to the principle that they are not to inflict capital punishment which must be an exchange for a life unjustly taken, and this extends to any kind of punishment. An exception according to which the *brāhmaṇa*, in case he was unable to punish his wife's seducer himself, could have the courts catch and sentence the *jāra* to prison for life (*dāmala*), existed in the first edition of the Code, but was very soon canceled[106].

When a conflict between private and public sanction exists, either because the woman relation with her lover is incestuous or because the hierarchical distance between them is such that it involves a crime, the husband's choice has to be respected by the courts unless he decides not to punish the culprits. In this case, the general sanctions of incest or of transgression of caste hierarchy are applied by the courts[107]. The subordination of the courts to the husband's decision goes as far as allowing an untouchable guilty of sexual relations with a woman of a pure caste to escape any sanction if the husband, having decided to kill him was unable to « cut » him or only inflicted a wound on him[108].

5.2 From customary to written procedure

The Nepalese conception according to which the woman's status is lowered every time she has sexual relations with a different man has a fundamental consequence on the husband's right to kill the seducer. Were he to execute a man who was not the first lover of his wife (*jeṭho*), he would, unless in some particular circumstances, commit a murder and be punished accordingly. This was not merely theoretical, the cases described in various chapters[109] show that the possibility of having the husband accused of murder for killing a person in contravention with the law, was seized by the victim's kinsmen – who certainly dreamt of avenging the death of a member of their clan, and are shown as trying to corrupt the woman to have her proclaim their kinsman's innocence[110] –, as well as the woman's family[111] to which the adulteress returned deprived of her reputation, her nose or her dowry.

Proof of adultery is not a problem when the culprits are caught in the act[112], or when the woman elopes with another man[113]. In this case there is

no doubt of the identity of the seducer, and the husband commits no fault in killing him, even if he is not the first lover of his wife. Furthermore the law considers that circumstantial evidence, such as the woman and the man « lying with touching knees »[114], or a money transaction in a secret place[115] are judicially equivalent to actual sexual relations.

The true problems arise when the husband suspects the wife's chastity or there is some evidence of the woman's misdemeanor, for instance pregnancy when the husband is abroad[116], but the culprit's identity is unknown, for in this case the seducer's identification rests on the woman's admission. The legislator's strategy which aimed at controlling the process of private revenge through representatives of the State got some support from the ideological background. The fickleness of women is a common remark in the Hindu Tradition from Manu-smṛti onwards, completed by the blindness of the jealous husband it may lead to murder of innocents and endless blood feuds. To avoid fatal errors, the principle of a written admission of the woman was introduced in the customary practice. A written confession (kāyelanāmā) is the necessary formality for the State's authority to proceed to the punishment of any crime, on this very same model a « paper » (kāgaja) became compulsory for the husband to punish the seducer. It is not certain that the presence of the local court was needed at first, but in a context of illiteracy, the writing of a document would automatically lead to its redaction through some kind of authority.

The substitution of public control to « private courts »[117] afforded a better protection of the woman against the brutality of the husband and his family. Being specialized in enquiring about criminal cases, the courts should be more efficient in detecting the possible lies or half-lies of the woman and of the witnesses. To the protection of the woman was added a transfer of responsibilities : were the husband to kill a person later proved to be innocent, he could not, as far as the formalities had been observed, be prosecuted for murder. Written procedure meant better security as well as State's control.

5.3 Adultery when the husbdnd is abroad

The husband's absence has traditionally been considered as a subject of a particular importance. The Tradition has devoted much space to the conduct to be followed by a proṣita-patikā (a woman whose husband is abroad) and the only clear allusion to the husband's right to decide in matters of adultery in the Artha-Śāstra appears in this context. It is evident that a woman who stays at home in the absence of her husband[118] has more opportunities for misdemeanor than when both spouses stay in the same place. The woman might elope with another man, taking away property deemed to belong to her husband and her descendants. Such circumstances are a good test of how far the State is ready to involve itself in private affairs.

The kinsmen of the husband are entitled to act in his absence, but not to exercise private revenge in his name. They have to bring not only the guilty woman, but also the suspected paramour to the authorities[119]. Here a document (kāgaja) shall be written, then both culprits shall be given back

to who brought them. The final decision must be taken by the husband when he returns home.

This theoretical neutrality of the authorities was, in fact, counteracted by an extension of the notion of theft : if the woman elopes with another man, he is reputed to have stolen everything she may bring along apart except for the « garments she wore on her body »[120] Whichever part of her private or her husband's property she takes with her has to be restored to the husband's heir, and the thief seducer is to be jailed accordingly[121] (*i.e.* on the basis of a month of jail for five rupees). Under the pretext of protecting private property, this was a way for the courts to sanction adultery, but this sanction had also a political background : it was meant to reinforce isolationism.

A distinction was made between three kinds of reasons for travelling : for the State's service, including war; for private or commercial reasons; for accepting an office in a foreign State.

Service to the State service afforded maximum protection of the husband's interests, the « thief » was to be kept in jail until the husband's return however small the amount he had stolen.

In case of travel for private or commercial reasons, the « thief » was kept in jail for the legal period and then released unless the husband had shown up in between.

If the husband was in the service of a foreign power, he forfeited all rights to kill his wife's paramour. With this last rule[122], the right to self revenge had become a political incentive, the true privilege of a true Nepalese.

From the preceding rules, it is clear that the legislator had no particular sympathy for mutilations or private revenge and did his best to limit them. To forbid them would have been contradictory to the golden rule of traditional Hindu policy since *Kauṭilya* : never oppose indigenous or traditional practices, but try to slowly integrate them and if possible get rid of them. To simply ignore them, as the classical texts did, would have been to neglect the dangers of such uncontrolled practices for a society on its way from segmentation to centralization and was impossible. The result, at the same time, was the establishment of an ever tighter control in which writing (written law, written documents) played an important part, and the transformation of a practice, never explicitly admitted by the Classical Tradition, into a symbolic Hindu privilege, belonging only to true Nepalese citizens, Nepalese who did not travel abroad except in the service of their government and did not serve foreign powers. International public opinion, to which the Rāṇās were more sensitive than was usually admitted, should, have induced the suppression of the private revenge for adultery, at least in the time of Candra Saṃśer, as was the case for window-burning and slavery. However, it was not abolished until the promulgation of the first Mulukī Ain in 1963 (2020 BS.).

Notes

1. References to the text are to the Kānūn tathā Nyāya Mantrālaya (KNM) edition of the [Mulukī] Aina by Sūrya Bahādur Thāpā, corrected when needed with the original manuscript's readings.

2. Ai.10, *Datta guṭhi* § 1 KNM. 8f.

3. *Id.*, p. 8, ... *himdu rāja gohatyā nahunyā strihatyā nahunyā brahmahatyā nahunyā esto aina bhayāko...*

4. Introductory Lālmohar KNM, p. 2, *ekai bihorā-mā... sabai-lāī khata jāta māphika ekai sajāya hawas...*

5. Cf. Fezas *in* Abhilekha 8 (BS.2047) p. 121-134.

6. Cf. Bhāṣā-Vaṃśāvali ed. Devī Prasāda Laṃsāla *(dvitīya bhāg* 37f.).

· 7. *In* KNM. 695f. *pariśīṣṭa* (k).

8. According to the Divyopadeśa ... *rāja Rāma Sāha-le bādhyāko sthiti pani heri sake... īswara-le diyo bhanyā ma pani yestā bamdeja-ko sthiti bādhi jālā abhilāṣā thiyo...*

9. Ai.10, chap. Dastura linā-ko, KNM. 216f.

10. Ai.10, Niñā Halāudā-ko, KNM. 234f.

11. Ai.10, Khursānī-ko, KNM. 299f.

12. Cf. the paper of A. Michaels in this volume.

13. The *vyavahāra-pada,* cf. PV.Kane HDh.3 chap. 11 and 25 *(strīsaṃgrahaṇa :* adultery incest and rape) p. 531-537.

14. Manu 9.2, etc. cf. HDh.3 p. 536.

15. Cf. DhK index s.u.*jāra-.*

16. *In* Yājñavalkya 2.301 and an anonymous *smṛti* (DhK. p. 1989).

17. AS. 4.12.30-35.

18. Cf. the Mitākṣarā sub Yaj.2.286 : *yadā tu rājño nivedanena kālavilambanena kāryātipātā śankā tadā svayam eva jārādīn hanyāt;* When the complaint to the king, because of the delay it takes, could induce to think that the affair could fail, then he himself must kill (HAN-) the seducer *(jāra-),* etc.

19. On self-defense cf. HDh. 2.148-151.

20. Cf. Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra 3, 15 *sq.* (enumeration of *ātatāyin-* « aggressors »), Viṣṇu-Smṛti 5.188 *sq.*

21. On the possibility of killing not only to prevent the damage, but also after the crime is committed, cf. Medhātithi's commentary on Mn. 8.350. See also the remarks of J.D.M. Derrett *in* RLSI, p. 214, n. 5.

22. Ai.10, Hāḍanātā Karaṇi KNM. 527f. The rules are detailed according to the groups.

23. Ai.10, Ghaṭi-baḍhi jāta 653f.

24. Excepting brāhmaṇas, but applied to all other castes, cf. KNM, p. 532, § 1, 538 § 1, etc.

25. Ai.10, KNM, p. 592, § 13.

26. Ai.10 KNM, p. 682, § 1. Cf. A. Höfer, *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal,* Innsbruck, 1979, p. 128.

27. In some of the earlier manuscripts still exists a distinction between « enslavable » and « non-enslavable » Newars, which disappeared in later editions.

28. Ai.10, Misākhata-ko, § 27, KNM, p. 648.

29. Misākhata-ko, § 7-12, KNM. 645f.

30. Ai.10, jāri-ko phuṭakara, KNM. 629-37.

31. Cf. Turner, CDIAL. 770a [13337].

32. Never used with this meaning in the Ai. For words applied to ascetics *bheṣadhāri, saṃnyāsi,* etc., cf. Höfer *op. cit.,* p. 131.

33. Cf. Turner, ND599b s.u.*sādhu.*

34. Cf. Jyāna-mārāko § 21 : *kasai-le mānisa-lāi mārna lāgyo ra. sādhu-le guhāra deu bhani...* (If someone attempts to kill a human creature, and the *sādhu* [= the victim] says : « Help me... »).

35. Cf. Cori-ko § 5 *āphnā bhaṃdā cora-ko jyādā jora dekhatā bhaya-le cornyā belā-mā sādhu-le cora-lāī māryo bhanyā khata bāta lāgdaina.* «... If, seeing that the strength of the thief exceeds much his own, the *sādhu* kills, out of fear, the thief at the time of the theft, he commits no crime», cf. also *id.* § 10.

36. *In* itihāsa-prakāśa-mā saṃdhi-patra-saṅgraha, p. 41ff., *sādhu* is the antonym of *cora* and *chināra* (last paragraph of the text).

37. With the regular evolution of sk. -dh- to MIA -h- [cf. Pischel § 188].

38. Ai.10 chap. Sāhu Asāmi-ko KNM, 96f.

39. Cf. cori-ko § 10 where *mala-ko dhani* is an equivalent of *sādhu.*

40. *Cora* is from MSB, the par. was modified for KNM and the word replaced by *jāra.*

41. The word *cora* appears also, with some ambiguity, in a context including both adultery and theft (cf. Pardesa jānyā-ko jāri garnyā-ko § 4). It applies to the paramours of a woman who had several, cf. § 3 of Swāsni-kā mukha-le mātra bhani jāra kāṭanyā-ko.

42. Jāri-ko § 7; the word *gaihra,* despite its usual translation by etc., marks in the Ain the last element of a set, not the inclusion of undefined supplementary elements in it.

43. *In* Höfer, *op. cit.,* Sunuwāra are at one place classified as non-enslavable (p. 45) and at some other as enslavable (p. 141, 143). To my knowledge, they are nowhere qualified of enslavable in the Ai.10.

44. In Jāri-ko, § 5 (Manuscripts only): *upādhyā ra 2 liṃga jaisi-bāheka aru kasai-le brāhmaṇa-ko jāri garyo bhanyā kāṭana sakanyā brāhmaṇa-le āphnu jāra āphai-le kāṭanu...* «If anyone, except an Upādhyā or a 2 Liṅga Jaisi, commits adultery [with the wife] of a brāhmaṇa, if the brāhmaṇa is able to cut [him] he can, himself, cut his [wife's] seducer...».

45. Jāri-ko, § 8, admits that «Cord wearers, non-enslavable, enslavable, [impure] touchable as well as untouchable» may belong to the *jāra hāṃnyā jāta.*

46. Ai.10 Māsinyā jāta-ko jāri garnyā, § 12, KNM, p. 626.

47. The husband belonging to a water-unacceptable caste cannot kill a seducer belonging to water-acceptable castes. KNM, p. 626, § 13, cf. Höfer, *op. cit.,* p. 81.

48. According to edition of BS.1992 of the Ain (Ai.92), such cases are to be submitted to the Prime Minister (Jāri-ko, § 56).

49. B. Hodgson, *Law and Legal Practice,* p. 242 : «The customary law or license which permits the injured husband in Nepal to be his own avenger, is confined to the Parbattias, the principal divisions of whom are the Brahmans, the Khas, the Magars, and the Gurungs. The Newars, Murmis, Kachar-Bhotias, Kirantis and other inhabitants of Nepal, possess no such privilege».

50. The Smṛti admits many kinds of «marriage», making distinctions between «lawful» (dharmic) and «unlawful» ones, but never being able to abstract the various practices in a single concept. This is evident when it comes down to the subject of «forbidden relations». Cf. Mitākṣarā on Yaj. 2.286.

51. *I.e.* bibāhitā (Sk. vivāhitā-) swāsni.

52. Cf. Ai.10, aṃsa-bāḍā-ko KNM, p. 115f.

53. Cf. *infra,* the modifications of the rules in Ai.92.

54. Ai.10, Teśro pari karaṇi garnyā, § 1 (KNM, p. 617). Cf. also Hodgson, *op. cit.,* p. 242.

55. *Id.* § 5.

56. *Ibid.* § 6.

57. Ai.92, Jāri-ko § 5.

58. *Id.,* § 9 *Upādhyā brāhmaṇā-kī bidhawā swāsnī jāhera garī ghara-mā lyāī rākhekī swāsnī...*

59. B. Hodgson, *op. cit.,* p. 242 : «... None will care to question the Parbattia, who, with his own hand, destroys an adulterer, Brahman though that adulterer be».

60. Only Upādhyā and Jaisi are exempted for caste motives in Jāri-ko § 1, ascetics seem to have been added only at the time when the chapter Jāri-ko phuṭkar § 29 was compiled.

61. Ai.10, Jāri-ko, § 1 (KNM, p. 602).

62. Cf. *supra* introduction : *go-hatyā, strī-hatyā,* etc.

63. KNM. *pariśiṣṭa* (ka) p. 698.

64. KNM., *ubi cit.,* *cautāriyā bhāī gotiyā ina-harū-le jiya-saṃbaṃdhi ṭhulo birāu garyā muḍi bidesa garāunu...*

65. This is the Ain's principle, but no such formula appears in a Dharma Śāstra; its closest approximation may be «*vadhe vadhaḥ*» in AS. 4.11.1-2.

66. [KNM., *ubi. cit.*] : *jiu mārinyā pirāu garyo bhanyā jyu linyā-ko jiu linu bhaṃnyā sāstra-mā pani rahyāko cha jiu māryā bhanyā gotra-hatyā sāstra-mā pani rahyāko cha jiu māryā bhanyā gotra-hatyā lāganyā namāryā-dekhī bhanyā rājā-lāi pratyabāya lāganyā. tas-artha desa-nikālā garnu pani māryai tulya cha bhani bideśa garāunu bhanyāko ho...*

67. Cf. Sūrya Bahādur Thāpā's foreword to KNM edition, p. 6.

68. Ai.10, Jāri-ko phuṭkar, § 19, KNM, p. 634.

69. Ai.10, Jāri-ko, § 6. *In* Ai.92, *id.* § 10, *mānisa kāṭnu ṭhulo pāpa lāgne hunā-le*, « because killing a human creature is a heavy sin », is substituted to « killing a close relative ».

70. Cf. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, t. 1, p. 268-69 (a very vivid, but totally inaccurate second hand description of the practice).

71. But, theoretically, the seducer, if captured with the help of soldiers or policemen, should not be put in the hands of the husband, cf. Pardesa jānyā-ko jāri garnyā, § 10 ... *āphnu jāra khoji le bhani sādhu-kā mukha napāri chāḍi dinu...* «Telling [to the husband] «look yourself for your [wife's] seducer», he must be released out of the husband's presence... »

72. Ai.10, Jāri-ko, §9, 100 Rs. and for killing him inside the court, confiscation of property.

73. Ai.92, Jāri-ko, § 16. For sanctions against people surrounding the seducer or helping the husband to kill him, *id.* § 17.

74. Though Jāri-ko phuṭkar, § 3-4, try to include them in a limitative list of sanctions.

75. In the first case he can obtain an expiation reintegrating him into the commensality of rice, in the second, only of water. Cf. Jāri-ko § 12-13.

76. And maybe other cord-wearers ?

77. Ai.10, Jāri-ko, § 1, etc.

78. The payment of such a compensation often associated with a fine, is mainly evidenced among castes which did not practice paramour's killing, and also when women's status do not allow the husband to exercise his customary right.

79. Cf. the possibility for the seducer liable to be killed to refuse to pay anything to the husband.

80. F.B. Hamilton, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, 1819, rep. Delhi, 1971, p. 103.

81. AS.4.10.

82. Ai.10, Cori-ko, § 65.

83. This explains why such practices are attested in areas which have no connection in time or cultural background (Cf. G. Cardascia, *Les Lois assyriennes*, Paris, 1969, p. 120 and 122).

84. *In* Purātattva Patra Saṃgraha, Part 2, L1 (1891 BS) 85-86; L2 (1891 BS) 87-89; L3 (1894 BS) 103-109.

85. Case of Kutti Magarni (*in* L2).

86. Case of Pavitrā Magarni (*in* L3), incest in this case consists in sexual relations between the husband and a daughter born from a first marriage of the wife.

87. Case of Maheśwari Magarni (in L3).

88. Case of Sāvitrā Bāhunī (in L3).

89. *In* Itihāsa-prakāśa-mā Saṃdhi-patra-sangraha, p. 41ff., *āphnā byāhitā swāsni-lāi arkā-le garyāko jāni jāra hānna nasakanyā ra jāra hāni nāka kāṭna nasakanyā ḍhālabaṃda-lāi janma-bhari jāgira nadinu.*

90. A heavier fine is inflicted on the jealous husband who cuts of the braids of an innocent woman (90 Rs. *in* Jāri ko phutkar, § 22) than on the man who cuts off his guilty wife's nose (50 Rs.).

91. *In* Jāri-ko phutkara, § 21.

92. Ai.10,j Kūṭpiṭ jyū-jakhama, § 2.

93. Ai.10, Jāri-ko phuktkara, § 22.

94. Ai.10, Jāri-ko phutkara, § 21 and 27.

95. Similar conceptions of justice are analyzed with a great acumen by G. Cardascia, *op. cit.*, p. 80f., in his study of the sanctions of adultery in Assyrian Law.

96. Cf. Artha Sāstra 4.12.32-33 (Kangle, vol. 2, p. 287) : if the husband were to tolerate, both should set free. In case he does not tolerate, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the ears and nose for the woman, and the lover shall meet with death.

97. Cf. *infra* 5.2.

98. Ai.10, Dāijo pewā-ko, § 8.

99. Ai.10, Phalānā-sita bigryā bhaṃnyā, § 2,8.

100. Ai.92, Jāri-ko, § 28, which forbids both the cutting off of the nose and of the braids, even if the seducer was killed.

101. Ai.10, Māsinyā jāta-ko jāri garnyā.

102. Ai.10, Māsinyā jāta-ko jāri garnyā, § 3.

103. This may seem a cynical approach to the problem, but on the other hand the legislator takes much care to limit the enslavement by reminding the always greedy Amāli-s that they cannot enslave the woman except if the paramour died from the husband's hand (cf. § 3 she is not to be enslaved if the paramour suffered a non lethal wound).

104. Ai.10, Jāri-ko, § 7 : ... *hākima-le kara lagāuna hudaina swāsni-kā dhani-ko khus...*

105. *Id... kadācita jāri garnyā-le bihākharca pani diṃna sarbaswa pani diṃna sakyā bhanyo bhanyā skyā āphnu jāra kāṭanu...*

106. Ai.10, Jāri-ko, § 5 (In the earlier mss, canceled without text in KNM, p. 604).

107. Ai.10, Jāri-ko, § 1, § 2 *in fine*, etc.

108. Jāri-ko, § 18. Obviously a later addition grounded on jurisprudence, solving a problem which did not arise before the Code's redaction when courts executed the man belonging to an impure caste because of sexual relations with a woman of a pure caste.

109. Mostly *in* Ai.10, Phalānā-sita bigryā bhaṃnyā.

110. Ai.10, Phalānā-sita bigryā bhaṃnyā, § 7.

111. Ai.10, Phalānā-sita bigryā bhaṃnyā, § 3.

112. Ai.10, Jāri-ko phuṭkara, § 26.

113. Ai.10, Swāsni-kā mukha-le mātra bhani jāra kāṭanyā-ko, § 3.

114. Ai.10, Ghura khāpi sutanyā, § 1f., KNM. p. 494f.

115. Ai.10, Sāhu asāmī-ko, § 13, KNM, p. 99.

116. Ai.10, Pardesa jānyā-ko jāri garnyā-ko, § 2 ; Jāri-ko phuṭkara, § 26.

117. On the prohibition of the appearance of the woman before a *ghara kacahari*, cf. Phalānā-sita bigryā bhaṃnyā, § 10.

118. And also a woman travelling without her husband, cf. Ai.10, Swāsni-kā mukha-le mātra bhani jāra kāṭanyā-ko, § 2.

119. Ai.10, Pardesa jānyā-ko jāri garnyā-ko, § 2f.

120. This rule was only abolished in the revision of 2033 BS. which asserted the right of the woman on her separate property whatever the circumstances.

121. Ai.10, Pardesa jānyā-ko jāri garnyā-ko, § 4-6.

122. Which lasted until the last edition of the Ain.

Widow Burning in Nepal

Axel Michaels

Introduction[1]

Every suicide, even a religiously motivated one, causes dismay and often dumb amazement, especially when the person who used force against himself was known or identified with. The deed elicits horror and shock, and also grief and despair. Theories that propose to explain what cannot be grasped are of little help in such a situation. What good is it if Freud, in *Mourning and Melancholy*, says, « that perhaps no person finds the psychic energy to kill himself who does not first, in doing so, also kill a victim he has identified with, and who does not, secondly, thereby turn upon himself a death wish that has been directed against another person » ? What good is it if Émile Durkheim, in his pioneering study *Le Suicide*, talks of social desintegration combined with a loss of orientation, as being one of the main causes of suicide ?

Suicide as an existential problem and a social institution – that, to be sure, is something else. Given the fact that it is man alone, of all living creatures, who is able consciously to kill himself, suicide expresses much about a person's attitude towards life and death. And it is precisely here that grave differences exist between cultures, differences that are among the most difficult to gain a feeling for and so produce the most heated controversies.

Wherever « life is not of goods the highest » (Fr. Schiller in *Braut von Messina* – deriving from Zeno), wherever the image of the skeletal[2] Grim Reaper with the running hourglass is unknown[3], wherever the fear of dying is perhaps different because connected with reincarnation, wherever death does not occur in the storerooms of hospitals but almost publicly, wherever corpses do not disappear in coffins under the earth but are burned in thin

cloths for all to see – there the motives for suicide are more relative in nature, whether it is committed by men or by women.

Widow burning, however, is not only in conflict with the Christian condemnation of suicide but also with the emancipated position of the woman, although even within Christianity the condemnation of suicide is rather late in coming. The Old Testament contains seven cases of suicide; the most famous in the New Testament is that of Judas. Women might become saints in the early Christian community if they defended their chastity by means of suicide. It was Thomas Aquinus who first declared suicide to be a mortal sin, and from that time on such victims were denied burial in cemeteries, and were interred – as was done as late as 1821 in England – at crossroads, having previously been pierced through their hearts so that no evil spirit might arise.

However, suttee or – to use the Indian spelling – *satī* (which denotes both the custom and the person) is usually not regarded in the West as suicide. What is taken to be a heroic death, or at least one springing from noble motives, in the Jain *sallekhanā*, fasting to death among men, in Islamic or Christian martyrdom, and in Japanese *seppuku* or *harakiri* is not conceded to Hindu women. Nowadays they are usually held to be defenceless victims of a patriarchal society who have killed themselves or even been forced to do so out of a blind, antiquated and misplaced faithfulness to their husbands.

Given these cultural differences, the issue of suttee had to become one of the major reasons for clashes between British India and Brahmanical orthodoxy[4] which led to its final prohibition by Lord William Bentinck on 4 December 1829[5].

I. LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOURCES

It was 24 years later that Prime Minister Janga Bahādur Rāṇā set about promulgating the (Mulukī) Ain, which contains the most detailed guidelines for the performance of *satī* found in South Asia (see below). There is numerous testimony in literary and historical sources to the fact that occasion enough existed to regulate the matter also in Nepal. Thus Francis B. Hamilton speaks in his *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of Territories Annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha* (1819) of widow burning being « more prevalent » under the high castes of Nepal « than in any part of India... the vicinity of Calcutta excepted » (p. 23).

It is also the case that the earliest inscription pertaining to widow burning comes from Nepal[6]. It is dated Śaka 386 (=464 A.D.), while the earliest Indian inscription is dated 510 A.D. In the Nepalese inscription it is written that the wife of the Licchavi king Dharmadeva, Rājyavatī by name, wanted

to perform *sati*. She was prevented from doing so, however, by her son Mānadeva. On the western side of the long and tall pillar inscription one can read :

6 *prem[a]nā-putram uvāca sāśruvadanā yātaḥ pitā te divam*
7 *hā putrāstamite tavādya pitari prāṇair vvṛthā kim mama*
8 *rājyam putraka kārayāham anuyaṃy adyaiva bharttur ggatim* 8
9 *kim me bhogavidhānavistarakṛtair āśāmayair bbandhanaiḥ*
10 *māyā svapnanibhe samāgamavidhau bhartrā vinā jīvitum*
11 *yāmīty evam avasthitā khalu tadā dīnātmanā sūnunā*
12 *pādau bhaktivaśān nipīḍya śirasā vijñāpitā yatnataḥ* 9
13 *kim bhogair mmama kim hi jīvitasukhais tvadviprayoge sati*
14 *prāṇān pūrvam ahañ jahāmi paratas tvam yāsyasīto divam*
15 *ity evam mukhapaṅkajāntaragatair nnetrāmbumiśrair dṛḍham*
16 *vākpāśair vvihagīva pāśavaśagā baddhā tatas tasthuṣī* 10
17 *satputreṇa sahaurddhvadehikavidhim bharttuḥ prakṛty ātmanā*
18 *śīlatyāgadamopavāsaniyamair ekāntaśuddhāsayā*
19 *[vi]prebhyopi ca sarvvadā pradadatī tatpuṇyavṛddhayai dhanam*
20 *tasthau taddhṛdayā satīvratavidhau sākṣād ivārundhatī* 11

With affection (and) with a tearful face she addressed (her) son : « Your father went to heaven. O (my) son, as your father has gone today, what is the use of my breath [*i.e.* life]. Take over, o son, the kingdom ! I (will) follow right now the path of my husband. What (use) is (it) for me to live without (my) husband by chains of hope made by the extension of (different) kinds of pleasures when the act of meeting is like an illusion and a dream. I will go ! » Saying so, she (however) remained. Then she was addressed by her sorrowful son who had diligently pressed her feet against his head out of devotion : « What (to do) with pleasure, what with the joys of life when there is separation from you ? I will give up (my) life first, later I will go to heaven from here ». With tears coming out from her lotus-like face, with a net made out of words she became like a trapped and tied bird, (and) therefore she remained. After she had, together with her noble son, performed her husband's obsequies she (lived) by the rules of good conduct, chastity, fasting (and) with a totally cleaned mind; (moreover) she always gave wealth to the brahmins to increase (her late husband's) merit, she remained, with him in her mind, according to the rule of the *sati* vow (so that) she really was like Arundhatī[7].

In this early poetic inscription it is clearly a matter of Rājyavatī wanting to immolate herself out of grief and love for her husband. It is only because of her son's tears that she reverses her decision and henceforth practises the sati vow, by which is meant virtuous rules of widow-like conduct, such as chastity, poverty and humility.

For the more recent period repeated literary references to widow burning in Nepal can be found. Mention of it is made above all in the local chronicles, the *vaṃśāvalīs*. In historical sources, *sati* is mostly documented for the Rāṇā- and Śāha rulers[8]. To give just a few instances : the wife of Rāma Śāha and the younger wife of Narabhūpāla Śāha are said, for example, to have followed their husbands onto the pyre[9]. Of Bahādur Śāha, one of the sons of Pṛthivī Nārāyaṇa Śāha, it is said that seven lawful and two common-law wives were

burned together with him (*ibid.*, p. 149). The pregnant mother of Śer Bahādur Śāha could be hindered at first, after her husband had died, but she performed *satī* immediately after her son was born (Hasrat, *loc. cit.*). It is also said that Prime Minister Bhīmsen Thāpā forced the main wife of Raṇa Bahādur Śāha to perform *satī*[10].

A popular Nevārī song about this has been handed down[11]. In it there are lines to the effect that after the queen had heard in her exile about the violent death of her husband :

> « I must commit satī. » (4) [...] The people shed tears. (5) [...] There having looked at the face of his mother Queen Bijyālakṣmī, the Heir Apparent [Girvāṇa Yuddha Śāha] shed tears from his eyes. (19) 'Hāya, King ! Hāya, my son ! Do not cause trouble to your subjects ! May you be able to strengthen your kingdom !' (20) Queen Bijyālakṣmī mounted the wooden pyre. On her lips the Queen took the name of Rāma. (21) Bhīmasena Thāpā was Kājī, Bhīmasena Thāpā was Prime Minister at that time. The Queen had to die a premature death. (22) The Queen died. Everyone present shed tears from his eyes. (23) (Lienhard's translation).

This particular case of widow burning can be confirmed from a document (*rukkā*) from the year V.S. 1869 (1813 A.D.) filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (reel no. K 45/11 D) : six years after the suicide of his mother, Girvāṇa Yuddha Śāha fulfilled her wish and endowed 12 1/2 *ropanī* of land to the Paśupati Temple[12].

It is due to this forced immolation of queen Bijyālakṣmī that the popular belief arose that Nepal was cursed by her, so that altruism would never be rewarded in this country[13]. However, in the middle of 19th cent., Bhānubhakta Ācārya (1814-1868) still praised satī in his controversial[14] poem *Badhūśikṣā* (« Teachings for the daughter-in-law ») as one of the highest virtues for women.

> (*strīko dharmapatī jatī ta aru thok deʌhtaiṇa manle rati /*) *yas lokmā paralokmā sukha dinyā so herī jānchan satī //*[15]
> (...) for giving luck to her husband in this world and the other world she should go for satī.

Moreover, there are cases of widow burning which do not conform to the normative precriptions on *satī* in the Dharmaśāstra. Thus, both wife and mother commit *satī* after the death of Pratāpa Malla[16], or a servant of Narabhūpāla Śāha kills himself after the death of his master together with the junior queen (*kānchī rānī*) Samudravatī in V.S. 1711[17]. Especially worth mentioning is the reason given for this incident in the Gorkhāvaṃśāvalī (as quoted by Pant, *op. cit.*, [V.S. 2041], p. 1) :

> *euṭā keṭo pani strīko svāmi, sevakko ṣāmid*[18] *bhanyākā prāṇakā mālik hun bhanī prāṇatyāga garyo.* « For a wife (her) husband is the master of her life and for a servant his employer is the master of his life ».

To be sure, there are also indications that Rāṇa rulers objected to widow burning. Even Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā was basically against *satī*, although three of his wives had themselves immolated along with him[19]. In support of this,

Oldfield reports that Raṇa Bahādur Śāha successfully kept both the wife of his brother Bam Bahādur and the widow of his friend Barra Captain Singh from committing suicide[20].

II. WIDOW BURNING IN THE AIN OF 1854

Even the (Mulukī)[21] Ain of 1853/54 must be understood as a step towards the abolition of widow burning in Nepal. Section 94, with the title *Satī jānyā-ko*, is – just as the text as a whole – composed in a syntactically complicated and somewhat contradictory language. The 19th of a total of 31 paragraphs may here suffice as a sample[22] :

> *sati jãchu bhani pāni khanyāi solāmā caḍhi.ãgo nadidā sammamā solāvāṭa khasi laḍi vagi vala- gari uṭhi bhāgī vā. malāi napola ḍarlāgyo bhani vācyākā svasnilāi bhātko ra solāmā pugi āgolāi sakyā pachi vācyākā svāsnilāi pāniko patiyā didā auval lāi <avala-°> 5 doyam lāi 3 sim lāi 2 cahāralāi 1 rūpaiyā godān dharmādhikāralāi patiyā dilāi <garāi> dinu.*

When a married woman says : « I'll go to/as *satī*[23] », when she pours water over her head[24] (and) mounts the pyre, (but when) she falls from the pyre before it is lit, (or) when she slips down (or) with her last energy stands up and runs away, and when she says : « Don't burn me; I'm afraid ! » let a married woman who survives in this manner be accorded rehabilitation[25] for boiled rice (including water), (or), if the fire has already been started, rehabilitation (only) for water; furthermore, have her give *godān* to the *dhamādhikāra* as (service rendered for) rehabilitation – (at the following rates :) for (a woman of) *avala*[26] rank 5 (rupees), for *doyama* 3, for *sima* 2 and for *cahāra* 1 rupee ».

Point for point, and placed within the normal scheme of legal dogmatics, the Ain's regulations affecting *sati* present the following picture.

Regulation for Satī according to the (Mulukī) Ain[27]

Ain of 1853/54	*Differences in more recents Ains*
Satī is permitted for married women or women held to be married in the eyes of the law [28] (§ 1, 12) if :	
1. they are over 16 years old (§ 1-3)	MsA (§ 1) : 11 years
2. their sons are over 16 years old (§ 2, 31)	MsA : no least age is mentioned
3. their daughters are over 5 years old (§ 3, 31)	MsA 3 years, Ain 1927 : likewise 5 years, Ain 1945 and Ain 1961 : both 12 years; Ain 1945 (§ 2) adds : « If the daughter is married, 10 years ».
4. they have no other husband (§ 4)	
5. they are not pregnant (§ 6-7)	
6. their decision is freely taken and immediately carried out (§ 9-10, 12, 27), *i.e.* if a) no force (§ 16, 20, 22) b) no narcotization (§ 18, 20-22) or c) persuasion (§ 18, 20, 21, 30) was used	
7. but rather the attempt was made to change her mind (§ 9-10, 14-15)	Ain 1945 : (§ 1) : If this is not possible, the next government office should be informed.
Moreover, *satī* is expressly forbiden :	
8. if « only » the son has died (§ 8),	MsA : § 4-5, Ain 1927 : § 8
9. in the case of female slaves and servants (§ 5; but cf. § 12 : a slave as a wife !)	
10. if the husband of a Brahmin woman has died in a remote area (§ 11).	not in MsA but in the Ains of 1927, 1945 and 1961 (in all cases § 4); Ain 1945 (§ 5) : for rice-acceptable castes a second pyre is only possible, if the widow is over 45 years old.

Two stages of immolation are legally pertinent in assigning punishment :
11. a ritual stage, namely the bath (*snāna*) by which *satī* is initiated, and for which an expiatory payment (*patiyā*) is necessary in cases of retraction; or the breaking of the bracelets (§ 25), by which the ritual decision to commit suicide is confirmed, and
12. a factual stage, namely the igniting of the fire (§ 11 and 13).
Thus, in the case of an abandonment of intent it is a matter of importance when this has occurred, *i.e.*
13. after the bath but before the igniting of the fire (§ 14),
14. after the bath and after the igniting of the fire (§ 15) or
15. after the breaking of the bracelets (§ 25).
16. Further, the distinction is made between the main culprit, instigator and accomplice : the main culprit is the person who lights the fire, the instigator the one who gives permission for *satī* to be performed, and the accomplices are those who carry or merely accompany the widow to the pyre. The degree of punishment consequently depends upon the part played, and also upon nearness of kinship, age and caste status. Whether the son is punished, for example, when he allows an illicit *satī* to be performed on his mother depends upon whether he is over or under twelve years old, and whether or not he is a step-son (§ 25, 27).
17. The Ain also regulates questions of the widow's hereditary rights when she lets herself be immolated, particularly with regard to land and personal property.
18. Interestingly, the text betrays no knowledge of the legal concept of error that serves to mitigate or cancel punishment. If a woman mistakenly supposed that her husband had died and made preparations to have herself immolated, she would still, after the misunderstanding had been cleared up, be fined a penalty of 5 rupees a month or 4 months in prison.
19. The types of punishment include : capital punishment, incarceration for life or for a limited period, fines, confiscation of property (both real estate and personal property); moreover – as has been seen – expulsion from the caste. Whoever, for example, incites a mother to perform *satī* at the death of her son is given a life-term jail sentence or even the death penalty, if his status is that of a slave (§ 8). Particularly harsh punishments are meted out on those who narcotize a widow before her immolation, or use violence to force her (§ 16, 18, 21-22), or in cases where *satī* is performed for a man who is not her husband (§ 8 : Death of a Son). The Ain 1945 limits the punishment to 17 years imprisonment.

Basically, the first ten of these detailed regulations are in accordance with prescriptions one finds in the Dharmaśāstra, especially in the Nibandhas (Raghunandana's Śudditattva, Mādhava, etc. [29]). Its socio-political essence can easily be seen : the authorities wanted to insure by any means that *satī* would only occur voluntarily, and that small children or other husbands would not suffer from the widow's decision.

But there is one other thing that shows up clearly, namely the distinction between ritual and physical death. For, sections 13-15 stipulate whether *patiyā* is given or not, and for what. If the widow, say, has taken the ritual bath and already mounted the pyre (cf. paragraph 19 mentioned above) but is then held back from burning herself as prescribed, she obtains *patiyā* for rice and water, which is equivalent to being received back into the commensal community of family and caste. Similar is the case when she leaps or falls down from the pyre before it is lit; then, assuming she withdraws, she receives *patiyā* only for water but not for rice, which signifies loss of her previous caste status.

The fact that, in spite of this regulation, widows who have announced their intention to perform *satī* but later changed their mind had difficulties returning to their family, or were even prohibited from doing so, can be seen from punishment being laid upon the members of the commensal community who refused water and/or rice in spite of the *patiyā* (§ 23, 24).

Ritually, a widow is dead already at the point when she takes the decision, expresses it and confirms it by the ceremonial bath (water poured over head and shoulders) or breaks her bracelets. If she reverses her decision after that, she can be received back into society, *i.e.* her original commensal community, only by taking ritual countermeasures. We see here relatively unusual boundaries between life and death, a point I shall return to later.

Fire and water : both are, as is well-known, important for any kind of vow, in marriage, at oaths, etc. Fire burns, water washes away impurity[30]. Given the performative unity of language and action in rituals, a solemnly declared decision, enforced by water and fire, can neither be repeated nor reversed. Therefore, it is ritually impossible to retract from *satī* as it is ritually impossible to re-marry under the condition that marriage is a life-long alliance. Once the pyre is kindled, there is no way back for the widow into the commensal community – and this is practically another term for society.

In Deopatan there is a gate, the so-called Satīdvāra, that sets this ritual threshold literally in front of your eyes : formerly, when widows went through this gate, they too could no longer return. Today people still talk half-secretly about a couple of poor old beggar women who leapt from the fire and were no longer able to return to their families.

III. THE ABOLITION OF WIDOW BURNING

But of course, in Nepal too there are no legal suttes anymore. On 28 June 1920, almost one hundred years, in other words, after Bentinck's outlawing of suttee in British India, all forms of widow burning were also made subject to punishment in Nepal. This occurred in Prime Minister Candra Samśer's amended version of the Mulukī Ain[31], and the reason given for it is not only so obvious that it ought really to have occurred earlier, but also revealing in terms of the motives behind *satī*, for therein it says[32] :

— Satī is not a strict religious duty. Whoever does not perform satī does not automatically commit an offence.

— Satī is performed in order to achieve certain goals, for example, heaven, fame or religious merit. But these a widow can also attain by other means, such as chastity.

— As women are unable to understand the meaning of the sacred writings, they are often subject to being misguided and led on with the sole object of insuring that relatives get her inheritance or possessions. This is to be done away with.

— It is impossible to distinguish between genuine and ungenuine *sati*. While the institution of satī is basically praiseworthy, the harm arising from it is greater. Consequently *satī* is hereafter prohibited.

Although no cases of widow burning have been reported in Nepal in recent times, it nevertheless still stands in high esteem. This is seen clearly in a Nepālī lexicon of law terminology from the year 1981. There [33] *satītva* is first glossed simply as *śuddhatva* « purity », before the presently illegal implications are cited.

IV. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NEPAL AND INDIA

There are altogether four basic differences in regards to widow burning between Nepal and India :

1. Nepal counts for the oldest inscription of widow burning.

2. The regulations of the (Mulukī) Ain on *sati* are more detailed than those of the Dharmaśāstra.

3. The documents of the Śāha and Rāṇā period suggest that in Nepal widow burning was mainly practiced among the ruling castes and hardly among Brahmins. However, the paragraph 11 of the Ain prohibits, in accordance with the Dharmaśāstra [34], a second pyre for the Brahmin widow. Given the fact that a high number of Brahmins were included in the preparation of the Ain this could nevertheless be a more theoretical prescription. I have not come accross any indigenous or Western explanation for the well-known distinction between *sahagamana* and *anugamana* ; to me it seems to be an expression of higher purity and honour of the Brahmin widow, and thus as a kind of status differentiation.

4. The fact that the regulations of the Ain on widow burning were formulated and finally promulgated only a few years after the prohibition of suttee in British India is well in accordance with Nepal's claim as « the only Hindu Kingdom in the *kali(yuga)* [35] » who defends « old » Hindu ideals against the anti-traditional values from the West. The emphasis on *sati* has always been higher when power was in danger : in the decline of the Vijayanagar empire or the Rajput kingdoms, in Bengal through the somewhat more strict actions against widow burning by the British or even perhaps in the recent « fundamentalism [36] » originated by the self-immolation of Roop Kun-

war in Rajasthan which was declared by Ashish Nandy as « the desperate attempt to retain through sati something of the religious world view in an increasingly desacralised, secular world[37] ».

V. WIDOW BURNING AND ASCETICISM

Here is not the place to deal with the the fundamental changes in the status of Hindu women from the first centuries of the Christian era, which ultimately led to the institution of widow burning, such as the prohibition of divorce and widow remarriage, the conception of marriage as a ritual gift of the bride (kanyādāna) and – connected with this – hypergamy, the impurity of women, etc.

I can also not go into detail on the pitiful fate of a Hindu widow and its implications for the origin of satī[38] : the loss of respect among the commensal community, the loss of authority among members of her family, servants and slaves all the way down to outright molesting by male relatives, a deprivation of rights before the law, complete dependency upon her son, the more or less direct accusation of having been responsible for the death of her husband, no possibility to remarry... – with its many unfortunate consequences : a life full of deprivation, chastity, shorn hair, white clothes without ornamentation, a cold floor to sleep on – and with it all the constant danger of being cast out and ending up as a beggar or prostitute...

Suicide, of course, is not the only consequence of the widow's lot, for in that case it would have occurred much more frequently. But at times it has been an apparently legitimate escape route within Hinduism. India and Nepal have not defended simple suicide. The Jains, who have gone so far as actually to promote suicide, speak of simple suicide as being a childish death (bālamaraṇa), whereas they hold meeting death as a result of sacred acts like fasting, meditation, abnegation and prayer to be the wisest kind of death (paṇḍita-paṇḍita-maraṇa)[39]. Among Buddhists, the desire to end one's life is one of the three desires that keep the fire of life burning.

In Hinduism, too, a widow who kills herself with pills or hangs herself for the death of her husband, is not a satī. On the contrary, India has gone so far as to condemn suicide for the most part, not because – as in Christendom – it contradicts God's will, but because it implies emotions (rāga) and force (himsā) and thus acts counter to exalted Brahmanical principles of conduct[40]. This is exactly one of the arguments Candra Saṃśer used in the abolition of satī in Nepal and he proposed other means by which fame, religious merit or heaven could be achieved.

India and Nepal, however, have recognized religiously motivated or propagated suicide, particularly voluntary self-immolation, as being a means to enter Brahmā's world. It was the ascetic, who in the final analysis provided the model for such means[41]. Since olden times, or to be more precise, since the early Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣads, this class of persons was allowed to make

the Great Journey (*mahāprasthāna*), the trip to the northern region without return [42]. For them the very act of initiation into a sect is itself social death signifying a complete expulsion from caste society – symbolized among some Daśanāmīs by ritually amounting a pyre. For them life, when seen under perfect knowledge, is only a meaningless burden, and suicide, therefore, a religiously secure consequence, even if the pure desire for death is deemed an expression of the fact that perfect knowledge has not yet been attained.

The same applies to widows. And in fact, several Dharmaśāstrins place them on the same level, prescribing identical practices in eating and dressing for the ascetic (*yati*), for one who has vowed chastity (*brahmacārin*) and for the widow. The regulations of the Nepalese (Mulukī) Ain also exhibit parallels between asceticism and *satī*, for example, the formal decision of the widow (*ma sati jānchu*) and of the ascetic (*saṃyāstam mayā*) or in the cases of a withdrawal of the vow to commit *satī* or to enter upon an ascetic life : in both a ritual purificatory bath is necessary.

The introduction and above all the religious legitimation of *satī* in brahmanical circles is modelled after the ideal of the ascetic and not, as it is often stated, by a modification of an old, possibly chtonic warrior ethic of taking the wife/widow as personal property, booty and burial object. Seen from this brahmanically influenced world, in which men – as in the Jaggannātha festival in Purī – throw themselves in front of wheels of the processional chariot, leap from precipices and into holy rivers or starve themselves to death, it is no wonder that some enthusiastic women caught up in religious zealotry should also « seek heroism of death in order to attain heavenly bliss » (Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 82 – my transl.), and that such women should try, by way of the Hindu *ars moriendi*, to influence their life beyond the grave and their reincarnation. In a religion whose highest goal is not the freedom of the individual *in* the world but his liberation *from* the world, the self-immolation of women can also be one of their few means to give their life, by a heroic death, a sacred meaning. Satīs loose, after all, their personal names, are worshipped not as the faithful wife of their husband but as a generalized Satī goddess.

However, if *satī* is woven into brahmanical ideas and concepts, a well-known dilemma immediately appears : through their desire for religious merit by self-immolation widows get caught up again in *karma*, « for her act is done out of desire, perhaps a desire for merit. But for those who seek *mokṣa*, the duties of the household life as a widow, in patient self-abnegation, are appropriate »[43]. In Indian folk religion, on the other hand, it is the concept of violent death including religiously motivated suicide that can lead to deification, while in the brahmanical traditions any unnatural death is more connected with ghost worship (*bhūta, preta* etc.)[44].

Thus it turns out in the end that *satī* remains undecided under the well-known and fundamental question of Hinduism : Is it deed or knowledge that leads to heaven and finally provides liberation ? Is it the sacrifice, ascetic self-sacrifice and that of the widow, or the true and sacred knowledge of sacrifice ? No more and no less ! The religious and historical achievement

of India and Nepal consists perhaps in their having left this question open and not having followed à dogmatism by which women are, as in the European middle ages, hunted and burnt as witches.

Notes

1. Thanks for comments on an earlier draft of this paper are due to András Höfer, Julia Leslie and Mahes Raj Pant.

2. The representation of the *preta* as a skeleton stripped of flesh (cf. D. Schlingloff, *Die Religion des Buddhismus*, Berlin 1963, Bd. II, pp. 21ff. and pl. 1), a being which may be a burden upon, or even bring death to, those it has left behind, is not a picture of Death but of one « who has gone away, » *i.e.* a deceased person.

3. Even in Europe, Death was represented in such a fashion only from the 14th century on : cf. P. Westheim, *Der Tod in Mexiko*, Hanau [1989].

4. I will not discuss in this paper the history of widow burning in India. Among the more recent publications on this aspect I should perhaps mention : J.F. Sprockhoff, « Die Alten im alten Indien – Ein Versuch nach brahmanischen Quellen », *Saeculum* XXX (1979) : 374-433 (esp. pp. 421-8 and fn. 154 with further references); J.D.M. Derrett, « Anantarāma's Defence of Suttee (c. 1818-1820)», *Our Heritage*, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, no. CXIX, 150th Anniversary Vol., 1980; E.L. Stutchbury, « Blood, Fire and Mediation : Human Sacrifice and Widow Burning in Nineteenth Century India, *in* : M. Allen and S.N. Mukherjee (eds.), *Women In India and Nepal*, Australian National Univ. 1982, pp. 21-75; V.N. Datta, *Sati – A Historical, Social and Philosophical Enquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow Burning*, New Delhi, 1988; Arvind Sharma (with Ajit Ray, Alaka Hejib and Katherine K. Young), *Sati – Historical and Phenomenological Essays*, Delhi 1988; Weinberger-Thomas, Catherine, « Cendres d'immortalité. La crémation des veuves en Inde », *Arch. Sc. soc. des Rel.*, vol. 67/1 (1989) : 9-51; J. Leslie, « A Problem of Choice : The Heroic Satī or the Widow-Ascetic », *in* : J. Leslie (ed.) *Rules and Remedies in Classical Indian Law*, Leiden (1992). Cp. also fn. 5.

5. See for the history of the abolition of suttee in India : V.N. Datta, *op. cit.*, and V. Dalmia-Lüderitz, « Über die Verwendung der "Parliamentary Papers on Widow Immolation in India, 1821-1830" », *in* : A. Jones (ed.), *Außereuropäische Frauengeschichte – Probleme der Forschung*, Pfaffenweiler, 1990, p. 41-66. Mulk Raj Anand, *Sati – A Writeup of Raja Ram Mohan Roy about Burning of Widows alive*, Delhi, 1989, presents not only the papers of the debate between Rammohan Roy and orthodox Hindus but also controversial articles, some of them very stimulating, from Indian journals on the death of Roop Kunwar, a young girl from Rajasthan who commited suicide after the untimely death of her husband in September 1987. For this, see also Julia Leslie, « Suttee or *Satī* : Victim or Victor », *in* J. Leslie (ed.), *Roles and Rituals for Hindu Women*, London, 1991, p. 8-11.

6. Dh. Vajrācārya (ed.), *Licchavi Kāla-kā Abhilekha*, Kathmandu V.S. 2030 : no. 2. For other editions cp. the overview in M. Slusser, Nepal Maṇḍala, Princeton 1982, p. 404, to be supplemented by D.R. Regmi, *Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal*. 3 Vol., New Delhi 1983, vol. I (text) and II (trans.), p. 2-3 in both vol.

7. Satīs are often described as Arundhatī, Vasiṣṭha's wife who is considered as perfectly chaste : cf. Winternitz, *Die Frau in den indischen Religionen, 1. Teil : Die Frau im Brahmanismus*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 62.

8. It seems that the Newars had a sceptical attitude towards *satī*. Among them girls are joined in marriage to Nārāyaṇa in a special ceremony at a maidenly age, so that, *ritualiter*, they never become widows. As a result, remarriage occurs among Newars much more often than among Parbatīyās, but hardly any *satī*. However, there are cases of suttee among Malla aristocracy (see below).

9. Bikram Jit Hasrat (trans.), *History of Nepal as Told by Its Own and Contemporary Chroniclers*, Hoshiarpur, 1970, p. 120, 128.

10. Perceval Landon (1928), *Nepal*, 2 vol., Kathmandu, 1976 (reprint)), vol. I, p. 75.

11. S. Lienhard, *Songs of Nepal : An Anthology of Nevar Folksongs and Hymns*, University of Hawaii, 1984, no. 95.

12. For more cases among the Rāṇās and Śāhas see M.R. Pant, « Būḍhākājī Amarasiṃha Thāpā paraloka bhaeko kurā parekā, pācavaṭā tatkālika aprakāśita patra », *Pūrṇimā* 58.2 : 45-61 : letter of Bhīmsen Thāpā and Kājī Raṇadvaja Thāpā to Aniruddha Upādhyāya V.S. 1873 (Sāun 30 gate), in which he mentions the *sahagamana* of his *kāṃchā mahatārī*, and a letter of Cautāra Bam Śāha, dated V.S. 1873 (Sāun 30 gate), in which mention of the *sahagamana* of his *kāṃchā mukhānī* is also made, as well as a letter of Rājendra Vikrama Śāha to Padmapāṇi Paṇḍita, dated V.S. 1873 (Māgha 21 gate) which says : *(śrī jeṭhāmumājyu)-le sahagamana garnubhayo.*

13. See M. Hutt, *Himalayan Voices. An Introduction to Modern Nepali Literature*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1991, p. 152.

14. See K. Pradhan, *A History of Nepali Literature*, New Delhi 1984, p. 41.

15. Quoted after P.M. Pradhan, *Adikavi Bhanubhakta Acharya*, Kalimpong 1979 (Makers of Nepali Literature Series).

16. See M.R. Pant, « Mahendra Mallako viṣayako kehī kurā », *Pūrṇimā* 38.2 : 74-81.

17. See E. Thompson, *Suttee*, London, 1928, p. 38f. and 48f.

18. ṣ for *kh* : *ṣāmid* from Persian *khāvind* (= Skr. *svāmin*).

19. Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 154f., and vol. II, p. 68. Cf. also Pramode Shamshere Rana, *Rana Nepal – An Insider's View*. Kathmandu, 1978, p. 46-7.

20. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, 2 vols., London, 1880, vol. I, p. 251.

21. It is only from the edition of V.S. 2009-2012 onwards that the adjective *mulukī*, « royal », was added to the title of the code : J. Fezas, « The Nepalese Juridical Tradition and its Sources – A List of the *ain* books kept in the National Archives » (Ms.), *in* : *Abhilekh*, Barṣa 8, aṅka 8, 2047 V.S., pp. 121-134.

22. I am preparing a critical edition and translation of this section along with a more detailed study on widow burning in Nepal.

23. « Satī » denotes in the Ain both the woman who is prepared to have herself immolated and the act of immolation.

24. A symbolic bath, such as is prescribed according to the Dharmaśāstra prior to *satī*.

25. Only the *dharmādhikāra*, the « legal administrator » and house priest (*rājguru*) of the king, can confer *patiyā*, which may be understood as the ritual preconditions for being taken back into the caste. In distinction thereto, a priest, *e.g.* of Paśupatinātha Temple, confers *prāyaścitta*, a type of purification of personal faults. Both concepts, however, are often used synonymously in the Ain. Concerning *dharmādhikāra* see the long section 89 (Dharmādhikāra-ko) in the Ain (ed. KNM) ; concerning *patiyā* and *prāyaścitta* see A. Höfer, *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal – A Study of the Mulukī Ain of 1854*, Innsbruck, 1979, p. 185-188.

26. This and the following terms are tax classes and, indirectly, status categories, determined according to the quality of irrigable land : cf., for example, Ṭopa Bahādur Siṃha, *Kānunī-Śabda-Koṣa*, Kathmandu, 1981, *s.v.*, or U. Müller, *Die ländliche Newar-Siedlungen im Kāṭhmāṇḍu-Tal – Eine vergleichende Untersuchung sozialer und ökonomischer Organisations-formen der Newar*, Giessen, 1984, p. 102.

27. Sources :
KNM *Śrī 5 Surendra Bikram Śāhadevakā Śāsanakālamā Baneko Mulukī Ain*. Kathmandu : Śrī 5-ko Sarkāra (Kānūna tathā Nyāya Mantrālaya), V.S. 2020 (hereafter called « Ain »)
MsA The manuscript dated V.S. 1910 (1853) is kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu. It is a working copy with many additions of different scribes starting from p. 34[r] and ending on p. 856[r].
(Mulukī) Ain of 1927 : *Mulukī Ain*, 4 pts. and addenda, Kathmandu : Manorañjan Pres, V.S. 1927 (1870) ; of V.S. 1945 (1888) and 1961 (1905) : both ed. by Śrī 5-ko Sarkāra (Kānūna tathā Nyāya Mantrālaya), Kathmandu. For further manuscripts and editions of the (Mulukī) Ain see Jean Fezas, « The Nepalese Juridical Tradition... », *loc. cit.*

28. The Ain distinguishes between three categories of wives of the Cord-wearers (*tāgādhāri*) : a) *vihā gari lyāyākā*, « [virgins (*kanyā*)] brought by performing a proper, *i.e.* "vedic" wedding ceremony » (= *vivāhitā*) ; b) *diyo kalasa puji lyāyākā*, « [virgins] brought by performing the [simplified] rites of the lamp and water pot » (= *lyāitā*) ; c) *manomānasa ga lyāyākā*, « [virgins] brought by consent (i.e. without any marriage ritual) » (also = *lyāitā*). Cf. Ain (§ 377.2) and Höfer, *op. cit.*, p. 74. The Ain (§ 94.5, cf., however, § 94.12) prohibits *satī*

for female slaves (*cākara*) and servants (*kamārā*); MsA prohibits *satī* for concubines (*besyā*); women who had sexual relations with more than three men were held to be such (Höfer, *op. cit.*, p. 79ff.).

29. See also Derrett and Leslie, *op. cit.* (see above fn. 4), the latter with a summary of the *Sahagamanavidhi* of Tryambakayajvan's *Strīdharmapaddhati*.

30. Cf. Baudh. 4.1.16 : *nisṛṣṭāyāṃ hute vāpi, yasyai bhartā mriyate saḥ, sā ced akṣatayoniḥ syāt... paunarbhavena vidhinā, punaḥ saṃskāram arhati.* « Deren Gatte sterben sollte, nachdem [das Wasser] ausgegossen ist (d.h. nachdem sie feierlich vom Vater 'versprochen' wurde – was unter Ausgießung von Wasser geschieht) oder sogar in das Feuer geopfert wurde (bei einer eigentlichen Hochzeitszeremonie), die darf, falls sie *inviolata* sein sollte, durch Wiederverheiratungsritus wieder einen Eheritus haben. » (transl. by P. Thieme, « Jungfrauengatte », *in : Kleine Schriften*, p. 446).

31. *Mulukī Ain* (ed. 1955), pt. IV, section 63 (Jyān Sambhandī-ko), p. 66-68, Engl. trans. in : *Regmi Research Series* II (1970), p. 152-3; Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 172. See also Chandra Shum Shere, *Appeal... for the Abolition of Slaves*, Kathmandu, 1925, p. 45 : « You remember I think, how, despite some oppositions, we totally put a stop to the heinous practice of *Satī* – a practice which was more intimately connected with our religion – by an enactment on Thursday the 25th day of Ashar in 1977 S.E. I now ask you what unwelcome results have followed this abolition as apprehended by the small dissentient minority then ? »

32. The argumentation is in total harmony with the thoughts of Rammohan Roy : see *English Works of Raja Rammohan Roy*, ed. J. D. Ghose, Calcutta, 1901, vol. II, p. 187-190.

33. *Kānunī-Śabda-Koṣa, op. cit., s.v.*

34. See Leslie, « A Problem of Choice... », *loc. cit.* (fn. 4), for references.

35. See Ain (ed. KNM), § 1 (p. 8, last line) : *hiṃdu rāja [...] kalimā hinduko rāja yehī muluk mātrai cha.*

36. Since there are hardly any Hindu fundaments, this term is extremely misleading. It is possibly better to speak of « revivalism ».

37. In *Indian Express*, 5th of October 1987.

38. Moritz Winternitz, *op. cit.* : « The death of a widow (is) not the darkest page in the story of the life of an Indian widow. The life of a widow in India has at all times been and still is far worse than the death of a widow » (my translation).

39. Cf. S. Settkar, *Inviting Death – Indian Attitude towards the Ritual Death*, Leiden, 1988.

40. Alfred Hillebrandt and Upendra Thakur have collected evidence for this. Cf. also Vetālapañcaviṃśatī, 2nd tale, where a suitor throws himself on the pyre of his beloved out of grief at her death, and Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 83. For a picture, the self-immolation of Pukalccōla Nāyanar from the Periya Purāṇam, see D. Hudson, « Violent and Fanatical Devotion among the Nāyanārs : A Study in the Periya Purāṇam of Cekkilār », *in* A. Hiltebeitel (ed.), *Criminal Gods and Demon Devotees. Essays on the Guardians of Popular Hinduism*, Albany, 1989, fig. 45 : this king-saint throws himself into the fire when soldiers bring him the heads of his enemies in a basket and he recognizes the head of a Śiva worshipper among them.

41. See J. Leslie, « A Problem of Choice... », *loc. cit.*, who comes to similar conclusions on the grounds of a careful comparison of Tryambakayajvan's *Strīdharmapaddhati* with Vāsudevāśrama's *Yatidharmaprakāśa*.

42. Cf. P. Olivelle, « Ritual Suicide and the Rite of Renunciation », *WZKS* 22 (1978): 19-44.

43. J.D.M. Derrett, *Religion, Law and the State in India*, London, 1968, p. 61.

44. See St. Blackburn, « Death and Deification : Folk Cults in Hinduism », *History of Religions*, vol. 24 (1985), p. 255-274.

A Field Held by Women,
or,
A Case of Evasion of Hindu Law
(Documents from Nepal. 5)

Bernhard Kölver

1. Newar women, as is well known, enjoyed greater independence than many of their sisters from other ethnic groups who had come within the compass of Hindu ideas. The fact itself, incontestable as it is, must have raised a difficulty by no means inconsiderable : how was such independence to be justified before the canons of Hindu law ? This is by no means an academic problem. For different sets of rules applied to communities living in close vicinity to each other always cause friction; there will always be persons who attempt to effect a switch to the rules they think more favourable to their interests. In political and social conditions like those of late Mediaeval Nepal, the scales were heavily weighed in favour of the orthodox Hindu tradit'on, codified in the law books bearing the prestigious names of Manu, or Yâjñavalkya, or Nârada.

Of course there were the rules about the *deśâcâra* or *kulâcâra,* recognized in principle. Their actual application, though, must have been a matter of discretion at least to some extent. And even when « local custom » carried the day, there always were the questions of status and prestige : of course it was following the *sâdhûnâm âcârah* of Manu's which was the proven means to enhance one's standing in society.

Obviously, the behaviour patterns ordained for women were crucial in this context. Here, the discrepancies between orthodox injunctions and Newar practice were considerable. The facts are outlined by the ethnologists, which in our case means G.S. Nepali and, in greater detail, Gérard Toffin[1]. By now, we have a few documents which help us to describe and, perhaps, understand the way society handled the different patterns; no doubt they are a useful corollary to ethnographical accounts : not only do they add historical depth, but often allow us to gather the motives behind certain patterns of behaviour, and point to problems or difficulties within the system. ·

2. One of these documents, dating from N.S.810, *i.e.* A.D.1690, is reedited below[2], from a microfilm photograph[3].
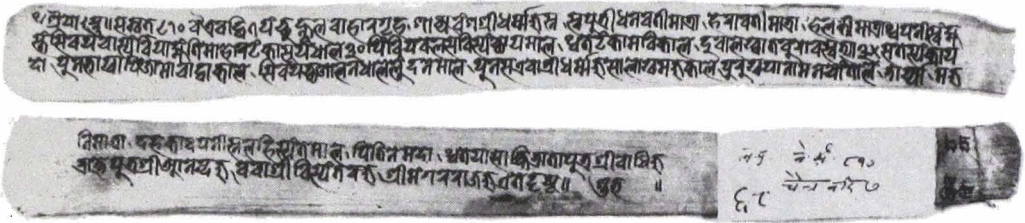
FIG. 1. – Document from National Archives, Kathmandu, No. 68 from Bundle 5.

Text

r1 [siddham] śr[ai]yo 'stu || samvat\ 810 caitra va ddhi 7 yamcchu nhûla vâhâra grha\ śâkyavamśa śrî dharmmajusna\ svaputrî dhanavatîmâtrâ\ he-râvat[î]mâtrâ\ helakîmâtrâ thvapanî svamha

r2 stam sivaya cosyam viyâ hmamti mohora tamkâ sûy[a] dhâle 30 pim viy[a] velasa visyam choya mâl[a]\ thvate tamkâ mavikâle\ duvâlakhvâta vu rova sva tyâ 3 1/2 satesyam kâya

r3 do\ puna bhâkhâ pimjâ socâ dvâkâle\ sivaya ccha jolana dhâle lu dane mâla\ puna sa evo śrî dharmmaju solokha majukâle\ purukhayâ nâman[e] comtole\ bhâryyâ\ maju

v1 nimâtrâ\ dahakâvapanîsna lahisyam te mâla\ pim tine mado\ thvateyâ sâksi bhrâtâputra śrî vodhiju

v2 bhrâtteputra śrî ânandaju\ vavâ śrî visyamtaraju\[4] śrî mamgararâjaju ete drsta || śubha ||

[across, in right margin :]   śivaya viyâ

Translation[5]

Hail ! Let it be auspicious !

The year 810, (the month of) Caitra, the seventh day (of) the dark half.

The Ven. Dharmmaju Śâkyavamśa, (residing in) a house of Nhûla Bâhâl, (in) Yamchu, is giving, in writing, a *sibay*

to his own daughter(s, [*i.e.*] or : and[6]) to Mother Dhanavatî, Mother Herâvatî, Mother Helakî, to the three of them,

to each (of them the sum of) thirty mohora *tamkâ* only, 30.

When he has given it (*i.e.* when he has actually made the payment), (the action) ought to be considered completed[7].

If this money (these coins, *tamkâ*) are not given, they are to take the Du-vâlakhvâta field, (of) nearly/approximately three ropanis and a half, 3 1/2.

The further agreement (is this) : If this should leak out (em. *pim jo*) or be shown, they are to be content with a *sibay* (consisting of) one (set of) utensils.

Furthermore : When the Ven. Dharmmaju is no longer alive[6], his wife, Mother Majuni, as long as she is in (?) the name of (her) husband (*i.e.* has not married again), has to be kept and supported by (his) inheritors. She should not be expelled.

Witnesses to this are : the brother's son, the Ven. Bodhiju, the brother's son, the Ven. Ânandaju, the paternal uncle, the Ven. Viśvantaraju, (and) the Ven. Mamgarâju. These have seen. *śubha.*

[across :]   A *sibay* gift.

3. This document is an interesting instance of the reception – and evasion [9] – of Hindu Law in Nepal. It deals with one of the great problems of South Asian society, viz., the tragedy of the sonless man.

There can be little doubt this was the fate of the Ven. Dharmmaju, the donor : the stipulations he makes for his wife show he is thinking of the end of his life. He cannot have been so very old, though : his father is still alive [10], and a re-marriage of his own wife is an eventuality considered. In this situation, we see him think about the women of his family.

In the normal course of things, providing for his wife was not a vital necessity, society had found an established solution to the problem. In the event of a husband's death, the responsibility for maintaining his wife remained in the main male line, *i.e.* would devolve to his father or to his sons, much as the document itself implies : what is outlined in lines r3-v1 seems to draw upon the familiar procedure.

There are two minor circumstances, though, which indicate it could not be followed in the present instance. Both are implied in the list of witnesses. This opens by mentioning two nephews [11], but no sons. In the normal way, transactions are witnessed by the parties whose rights are affected [12] – and in dealings involving lands, sons always were : seeing them replaced by nephews definitely demands a reason.

Second, there is Viśvantara, Dharmmaju's paternal uncle. Among the witnesses, he comes third, after the nephews, *i.e.* his grandsons (or rather, grand-nephews, as one sees from the N.S.815 document mentioned in n. 4). Given the hierarchy and structure of the joint family system, the sequence shows the field under discussion was in all probability counted as Dharmmaju's own property rather than among the possessions of the entire family. – Sons, however, are absent. In other words, we can be tolerably certain we are dealing with a case where a nuclear family is reduced to a single male of complete legal competency who is providing for the time after his death.

4. As for his wife, he relied upon what on the strength of usual Hindu ideas one would take as the routine solution : she does not inherit herself, but responsibility for her upkeep passes on to the heirs of the property. One notes, though, that her right of re-marriage is expressly mentioned : in which case, she of course foregoes the support by her previous husband and his family.

5. This, then, looks like an application of normal Hindu law which had rather narrow rules for the inheritance of wives and tended to debar them from possessing land, *i.e.* from the chief source of subsistence (their upkeep was assured by other means). This prohibition against them owning immovables is not really a case of male chauvinism. Rather, it stems from the fact that, broadly speaking, immovables were not at the free disposal of their owner ; they belonged to the family rather than to him who happened to be its head

at any particular time. There were times when selling them was forbidden
(the *sthâvare vikrayo nâsti rule* : see below, § 11.3), and long after this rule
had come to be abandoned, there were formalisms which pointed back to
the older state of the law : the *pater familias, e.g.,* had to seek his sons'
consent in matters of buying and selling. Lands owned by women obviously
were in very real danger of passing out of the owner's family, through
marriage ; and with Newars, the possibility of a widow re-marrying consti-
tuted an added obstacle : any personal property of hers would of course go
with her.

6. This is not the place for a full discussion of the topic of female property
in Hindu law. To sketch the standard view, I confine myself to a few extracts
from Vijñâneśvara's Mitâksarâ. In its introduction to the Dâyabhâga section
(preceding Yâjñ. 2.114), Vijñâneśvara discusses the problem of how rights
in property arise. Ownership in lands comes from birth. (This is why a father
cannot dispose of immovables without the consent of his sons : one remem-
bers Sir Henry Maine). Gifts to women in the family the author takes as a
case in point : and he quotes a few verses which give a clear and concise
summary of our problem [13]. The principle stated is this :

> *bhartrâ prîtena yad dattam striyai tasmin mrte 'pi tat* |
> *sâ yathâkâmam aśnîyâd dadyâd vâ* sthâvarâd rte ||

> What a husband when pleased gives to a woman, that she should enjoy or
> give as the thinks fit, even after his death, *except for immovables.*

- a restriction which can be interpreted in different ways; it allows her no
more than the usufruct, at best. There are other verses which deny her even
the usufruct :

> *pitr prasâdâd bhujyante vastrâny âbharanâni ca* |
> *sthâvaram tu na bhujyeta prasâde sati paitrke* ||

> Clothes and ornaments are enjoyed by a father's free gift (*prasâda-*). Im-
> movables, though, should not be enjoyed, (even) when they are a free gift
> from the father's side.

The « clothes and ornaments » Vijñâneśvara takes as instances for mo-
vables in general : in a discussion of whether the father is the owner of the
movables he inherits, he speaks of *manimuktâpravâlavastrâbharanâdînâm
paitâmahânâm (svatvam)* (ownership in jewels, pearls, corals, clothes, orna-
ments, etc. left by the grandfather [14]). The position, then, seems quite clear :
gifts of family lands to women were not allowed.

7. This is not the full story, though. For there is evidence which shows there
were times when in Newar society it was not impossible for women to hold
lands. This again comes from the documents. In the enumeration of neigh-

bours which forms part of their standard description of plots, names of females do occur every now and then, as one see from the indexes to Ś. Râjvaṃśî's editions. To quote two of many : there is, *e.g.*, a Pâtan document dating from N.S.818 which names one Râmeśvarî Mayî [15]. Another, more explicit case comes from N.S.809. This is an Ujhâ Brahmin, « best among twiceborn » (*dvijavara*), who donates a field of one ropaṇi to his daughter, « by/in the name of his lawful wedded wife, deceased [16] » ; in the course of the document the repeated reference to his deceased wife gradually makes one suspect it is not actually his own land that he gives away, but a field which was his wife's. To their daughter it goes : this might be a case of female ownership in the second generation. And Newar society could bring this possession of lands by women to the point : there is the N.S.542 document presently to be quoted which bluntly speaks of a daughter being made « independent as to buying and selling », in flagrant contradiction to Hindu ideas about the permanent dependence of women.

8. We now have to address ourselves to the question of how such female holdings of land could arise, and how they could be fitted into a convincing legal framework. We shall begin with the second since it allows us to understand the lawyers' predicament more easily.

Leaving aside the matter of purchases which is not clear at all, inheritance would seem a likely source. But female succession, in the absence of male issue, was a thorny problem in Hindu law [17].

As for daughters, most authorities held they could inherit, for *putraś ca duhitâ coktau pituḥ saṃtânakârakau* (both a son and a daughter are said to effect a perpetuation of the father's progeny [18]). Against this, there of course stood the old rule that such property went to the king : this was the custom which King Duṣyanta had waived in the famous Śakuntalâ passage (act VI). There were at least parts of Nepal where it had not been abandoned : *vide* the *aputâli* revenue which in West Nepal copperplates was included among the 36 taxes (*chattîs kara*) made over to grantees. With wives, the matter was much more controversial. One group of authors, Yâjñavalkya and Viṣṇu among them, holds they could inherit, provided they remained chaste – which of course means upon their death the land would, at least in theory, revert to the husband's family. Others, including Manu and Nârada, excluded them from the line of inheritance, though they of course had the right to be maintained.

9. Within this gamut of sanctioned solutions, Nepalese practice remains to be established. At present, there is not much relevant material available. We have a document from N.S.682 [19] where one Jayalakṣmî provides for her old age : she is to live with her eldest daughter. At the same time, she disposes of her possessions, including house and field(s), leaving them to her three daughters, but apparently only upon her death : she keeps them « under her

own dependence » (*ṣva* [em. *sva*] *âyata*). – This document departs from the usual formalism in a way one cannot but think significant in the present context, viz., the vitness clause. Contrary to usual practice, it stands at the beginning of the document, and the witness named is the king, Mahendramalla. A very similar, and even clearer instance is from a will[20] dated N.S.888 : a Brahmin leaves his entire property, « house, field, garden, etc. ... chattels » – all movables and immovables, in fact – to his daughter (apart from a legacy which goes to his illegitimate son). This looks as if by N.S.888, female· succession to women had become an established fact, if it was not for a detail : it is Tejanarasiṃhamalla, the last of the Pâṭan kings, who serves as a witness. The editors say the « concerned Brahmin seems to have been an influential person in the court : that is why the king agreed to be a witness to this legal document[21] ». However this may be : the chief reason will be as in the preceding case : the king expressly sanctions what might be construed as, or actually was, a departure from normal procedure.

The same solution, separated by two centuries : one cannot escape the suspicion that leaving one's property to one's daughter was a transaction which needed special permission. This makes sense if the king had, at least in theory, adhered to his right in the property of a man dying without male issue, even though there were daughters; it ties in with the *aputâli*[22] revenue being included among the standard list of levies.

It looks, then, as if the state had upheld his ancient right in property of people dying without male issue. This claim, though, apparently ran counter to Newar practice, *i.e.* the *deśâcâra* principle. And it is the ways found to resolve this conflict which are worth noting.

One possibility, of course, was the special permission granted by the king, such as we have just seen in the N.S.682 document. The king's *śâsana*, Nârada tells us, was the chief source of law within a kingdom : *rex non potest peccare*. His approval, then, was no doubt legally valid as such; at the same time, it must have appeared unsatisfactory from a systematic point of view.

10. The documents attest to other solutions of the problem, and this is where one finds the law resorting to fictions. One of them is quite clear, viz., Donations. This is implied in a document from Kathmandu, dated N.S.542[23], which records how a Citrakâr woman gives (*mâtrâ ... pradatâ bhavati*) a house and lands to her daughter « in order to make her independent as to buying and selling » (*svaputrî ḥ vaṃdhu-nâmadheyâẏa krayavikrîya svâdîna kartuṃ* lines 2-3) – dead against the hallowed rules which keep insisting a woman can never be under her own jurisdiction : *asvatantrâ* she has to remain. The transaction thus runs counter to the maxims of « civilized society ». It was brought about in a way one cannot but call naive. She gives the land « by her own hand, herself being present, having undertaken (the donation) by her own word » (*svahastena svavidyamânema svavâcâ pratîpanîbhûtena* [*i.e. pratipannî*], lines 1-2). These words contain an elementary mistake in grammar

which betrays their origin. The instrumentals *vidyamânema* and *bhûtena* are to the referred to *svamâtrâ* (line 1), *i.e.* we have the wrong gender, masculine instead of feminine. The reason for this is quite clear. The phrase *svahastena ...bhûtena* comes from a standard formula used for religious donations, which employs the masculine : the lands the Citrakâr lady gave to her daughter went in the guise of a donation to a deity; the lawyers had found a device to circumvent the « normal » rules of Hin*åä–It is telling by virtue of its very naiveness. It is such an obvious case of *atideśa, i.e.* of extending a rule beyond its proper limits and against its original intentions. If it worked, it can only have done so by a tacit consent of all the parties concerned, including the State. So it is the *deśâcâra* principle carried into effect in what is no very subtle or convincing way, and its very inappropriateness means that women's rights to hold lands were acknowledged even though the State had the wish to appear to stick to orthodoxy.

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11. We cannot tell how long this formalism was accepted : the king witnessing the N.S.682 and 888 documents indicates the state had a tendency to keep an eye on such cases, which probably means he had an interest in ensuring the *aputâli* rule remained in force. And in its implications the N.S.810 document which stands at the beginning of our deliberations points to the same conclusion.

11.1. The Ven. Dharmmaju is giving a *sibay* to the women under his care [24]. What is a *sibay* ? From lexicographical sources, its nature is none too clear. Jørgensen's Dictionary has « dowry » (?); T.L. Manandhar is similar « property, drowry »). – Jośî's gloss is fundamentally different from the others in that it makes no mention of the legal aspect at all. It says it is « a word (to denote) nailing fast an object of heavy weight [25] » : we shall presently see this is how the normal *sibay* donation is fixed to temple walls. Ishwarananda Shreshthacharya's collections are again specific, though in a different way, and guide us back to the mainstream : « a woman's dowry handed on from her mother » (in opposition to *kvasaḥ* « dowry »).

The etymology leads a step further. In spite of the short vowel in the second syllable, there can be little doubt the term derives from the same etymon as Hindî *sivây,* etc., *i.e.* ultimately from arab. *siwâ* (besides, except), etc. : Wilson [26] adds « over and above ». Its etymological meaning, then, would lead one to suppose the *sibay* is a contribution over and above some other payment which was (or had to be) given anyway, in the normal course

of things. The various specialized meanings given in Wilson and the Himdî Śabdasâgar (s.v. *sivây 3*) tally well enough, though they do not tell us what it was that the *sibay* was added or joined to.

Even so one is tolerably certain about what the Newar *sibay* was to consist of. Śrî Hemrâj Śâkya (oral communication) says it is a gift which can be given to a woman at any time. Once given, it is hers to dispose of, in whichever way she chooses : it does not necessarily form part of the property her relatives inherit in normal succession. Often, not to say usually, it consisted of items meant for her personal use, viz., household goods. Occasionally, they were donated or willed to a religious institution.

The few relevant documents available bear out this description. In all cases, the *sibay* was the property of females. Normally, it seems to have consisted of a « set of utensils » (*jolana*) – whatever may have been covered by this term [27]. Collections can still be seen in several places, e.g. at the Âdinâth Lokeśvara at Cobhar and at the Bâgh Bhairava of Kîrtipur, where they are fastened to the temple by means of nails [26]; it is not known whether this was an essential part of the donation, as Jośî's gloss might lead one to think.

11.2. The Ven. Dharmmaju, to revert to the N.S.810 document, clearly knew of this practice of giving household utensils : this is implied in his threat enjoining secrecy (see the « Further Agreement » of line r3), and a few other documents have turned up which contain an identical or a very similar clause.

Yet his *sibay* is of an altogether different kind : it consists of money, 30 *mohoras* per person, *i.e.* 90 (or 120) in all, or alternatively, a field of 3 1/2 ropanis.

There must have been something unusual, not to say fishy, about the transaction : how else to understand the donor threatening the grantees with the prospect of giving nothing but a « normal » *sibay* in case they talked ? as a matter of fact, both this clause and the next one which identifies a field in case the money was not actually paid, look distinctly odd.

As to the former, one of course asks oneself whom the transaction was to be hidden from. Surely not from the family : apart from the grantees, three or four witnesses : three of them again are family members (the uncle and two nephews); it is only Mamgararâja about whom we know nothing [29]. This must have been a sizeable part of the family. This being so, it is hardly conceivable Dharmmaju meant to hide the donation from any remaining relatives : there were seems only one potential party left which might have valid grounds for objection, viz., the State. And we are led to the same conclusion once we ask whose and which rights are infringed by the transaction.

This is where the other codicil, the substitution of land for cash, begins to make sense. What it actually amounts to is a mortgage : the land is given as a surety for a certain sum of money, 90 (or 120) *mohora ṭamkâ*.

The implied relation between money and land does not seem to be unrealistic. We are not too well-informed about prices for fields [30]. Still, there is the case of a Pâṭan document dating from N.S.814 where the king sells

two fields, measuring 10.75 ropanis in total, for 436 mohars[31] : this is approximately in the same bracket.

Why this substitution ? To be sure, there is a ready explanation at hand : Dharmmaju did not have the cash in hand and was in a hurry to provide for his dependents. But this very idea of provision leads us to consider another possibility : how to effect it in the most rational manner ? Cash would not be obvious answer. No doubt, money-lending against interest was a constant practice. Even so, it would be a bit strange to see Śākya ladies engage in this trade[32]. On the other hand, lands farmed out to tenants yield a regular income – precisely what was needed in order to provide for dependents. And in all likelihood, this is what Darmaju intended.

But in this case the restrictions governing female possession of land raised their head. In view of them, the injunction to secrecy makes very good sense indeed : it was essential to evade the charge of a premeditated infringement.

11.3. Taking everything together, the *sibay* of the N.S.810 document looks like a subterfuge, to evade the rules which prohibited a sonless man from leaving immovables to female relations. The detour he chose probably stood a fair chance : for all we know, there were no restrictions against gifts of money. And labelling this gift a *sibay* seems a neat way to evade objections : both concept and term had no direct equivalent in Hindu law.

This is the point where the fiction begins : Dharmmaju uses the formalism of mortgages, pledging a field as a surety for the money he now owes. This is a neat solution of a thorny problem, all the more since it is a very direct application of the old – and in itself fictitious – legal maxim *sthâvare vikrayo nâsti kuryâd âdhim anujñayâ*[33]. Still, it is to tortuous ways he was driven to achieve his goal, and the secrecy clause tells us he was feeling ill at ease. The religious donation model (§10) apparently no longer worked, and the attempt to obtain special permission from the king (§ 9) will always have been fraught with vicissitudes.

12. One self-evident fact is implied in all this which nonetheless deserves being brought to the surface. Neither the present nor any of the other – regrettably few – « documents in the case » uses any of the numerous types of *strîdhana* which were known to Hindu law. In a way, this is surprising in view of the lengthy and intricate discussions which surround them : surely a clever lawyer will have tried to find a loophole somewhere to accomodate Newar customs. Yet, as far as we know, law in Malla times steered clear of

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* From a scrap of circumstantial evidence we might – most tentatively – conclude it did. This is the very fact that the document was kept. *pimviya velasa visyam choya mâla*, it says, *i.e.* when the payment is actually made, the transaction is completed – and the document, one may add, has served its purpose and can be discarded. It was not : for together with the original sealed deed concerning the Duvâlakhvâta field it constituted the valid legal proof of why and how the women came to hold it.

this route, and chose other paths. Which would again point to fairly orthodox exegetical traditions.

From the evidence here discussed, one cannot escape the conclusion that the jurist' « customs of the region », the « family customs », with their liberal and tolerant ring, did not rank very high in actual practice. In the case at hand, they came under pressure from two sides : the king's financial interests and the conceptual framework of Hindu law. So the donor or his legal advisers had to use their imagination. One can only hope it worked.

Notes

1. Gopal Singh Nepali : *The Newars*. Bombay, 1965, p. 269ff. – Gérard Toffin : *Société et Religion chez les Névars du Népal*, Paris, 1984, p. 397ff.

2. I am very much obliged to Mr. Balaram Das Dangol, Director, National Archives, Kathmandu, and Mr. Balaram Chitrakar, Chief, Microfilm Division, who have kindly provided me with very good photographs. The edition of this document in Saṅkarmān Rājvaṃśī : Bhūmisambandhi tamsūk tāḍapatra. bhāg 1. Kathmandu : Rāṣṭriya Abhilekhālaya 2040, p. 108, is so insufficient as to be positively misleading.

3. The original is a palm-leaf scroll, 23 × 2.3 cm, not sealed, using both the front (r) and the back (v) side.

4. Em. to read *viśvantaraju* : see the document no. 46, dating from N.S.815 *(loc. cit. (note 2)*, p. 114) which deals with the same family.

5. As always, I am most grateful to my friends Hemrāj Śākya and Bishnu Prasād Shreshta : in March 1990, we discussed the document at some length, basing ourselves upon the printed edition (note 2), which alas turned out to be erroneous as to a crucial point (line v1 *dahakā devapanîsna* instead of *dahakâvapanîsna*). All three of us thoroughly enjoyed our spirited deliberations about a Śākya lady being or not being installed as her husband's heir, being entrusted to a deity or not : an extensive *tour d'horizon* of the *devakî/devadâsî* ideas and their possible ramifications – all of it due to the learned editor's lack of care : the photograph tells a different and less sensational story. My grateful thanks also go to Mr. Mahes Raj Pant who went through the manuscript with his usual meticulous care.

6. The grantees are not clear. *mâtrâ* one would normally take as the instrumental of Skt. *mâtâ*, « mother », the inappropriate case probably automatically transferred from common formulas like *pradattaṃ, vikrîtaṃ bhavati* etc. : this would be Dharmmaju providing for his daughter (unnamed) and his father's three wives, the daughter not being counted among the « three » of lines r1 and r2. – Line v1, however, has another instance of the word, this time applied to Dharmmaju's wife. One wonders whether it is meant as a honorific title, an equivalent of new. *mayju* (which is quite frequent in documents). In which case the gift would go to three daughters – which seems the more likely solution. Unless the meaning of Skt. *mâtâ* had become entirely obscured, one would at least expect them to have been married.

7. Lit. : « at the time of giving it out, it is necessary for the giving to be completed ».

8. *Solokha*, usually *svaloka* (see, *e.g., babû mâma svaloka juṭole* [Hemraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya; *Medieval Nepal, Colophons and Inscriptions*, Kathmandu, 1970, p. 52 line 4]) : « as long as father and mother are alive », lit. : « (in their) own world ».

9. See the interesting treatment of the subject in C. Sankararama Sastri, *Fictions in the development of the Hindu law texts*, Madras, 1926, the bulk of which is devoted to the application of Mîmâṃsâ exegetical conventions; the first lecture, though, deals with problems of landed property.

10. So, possibly, were his three « mothers », *i.e.* the father's wives : but see above, note 6 : the « mothers » probably were his daughters.

11. If *bhrâtteputra* of v2 is nothing but a devious spelling of *bhrâtâputra* of line v1.

12. See B. Kölver and Hemrâj Śâkya, *Documents from the Rudravarṇa-Mahâvihâra. Pâṭan*, St. Augustin, 1985, p. 49ff.

13. *Yâjñâvalkyasmṛti* [...] with the commentary Mitâkṣarâ of Vijñâneśvara [...] Fifth ed. by Narayan Ram Acharya, Bombay, 1949, p. 218ff. : the quotations are taken from this edition.

14. *Loc. cit.,* p. 219.

15. Śaṅkarmân Râjvaṃśî : Bhûmisambandhi tamsûk tâḍapatra. bhâg 1. Kathmandu : Râṣṭriya Abhilekhâlaya 2040, p. 116, No. 48, line 2 : *râmeśvarî mayîyâ kṣatreṇa paścimataḥ.*

16. *dvijavara śrî vaṃśamuni ujhâ śarmmaṇasta ḥ* (em *śarmmaṇasna*) *svavivâhanî bhâryyâ divaṃgatasa nâmaneṇa ḥ svaputrî madhurvâni vrâhmaṇîjustaṃ vu cosyaṃ vira yâñâ* [...] *ete kṣatra svastrîsta śârddhaṃ nimityarthaṃ sampradattaṃ || bhâṣâ thva vu svabhâryyâ divaṃgata revatîvrâhmaṇîjusa nâmanaḥ svaputrî madhurvâni vrâhmaṇîjuyâta cosyaṃ viyâ juro ||* Diplomatic reprint from : Śaṅkarmâm Râjvaṃśî, *loc. cit.*, bhâg 1. Kathmandu : Râṣṭriya Abhilekhâlaya 2040, pp. 107f. – No doubt, brahmins were often allowed to follow their own traditions. « As all brahmins » (Mr. Pant tells me) « are qualified to accept a *dâna*, it is a common practice among them to donate anything substantial to their own daughters or daughters' sons, not to real *purohitas* ». But the recourse to daughters' sons (side by side with, or rather than to, daughters) means they very well recognized the same problem, even if they were allowed a greater latitude in solving it.

17. See the account at P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśâstra*, vol. 3^3, 1973, p. 702ff.

18. Thus Nârada, here quoted from the Nepalese version published as Nyâyavikâsinî (Mânava nyâyaśâstra), ed. Śântaharṣa Vajrâcârya. Kathmandu 1107 [N.S.], p. 75.

19. Published by M.R. Pant : « Mahendra mallako viṣayamâ kehî kurâ » (Pûrṇimâ 38, 2034[V.S.]), p. 76f.

20. Published in Hemraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya, *loc. cit.*, p. 51f.

21. *Loc. cit.*, p. xvi.

22. Śaṅkar Kumâr Śreṣṭha : Nepâlî kânûnî śabdakoṣa (Kathmandu 2046) defines it as *nisantân byakti marepachiko jethâ*, *i.e.* « property of an individual without (male) issue after he has died ».

23. Published in Śaṅkarmân Râjvaṃśî, *loc. cit.*, bhâg 2. Kathmandu : Râṣṭriya Abhilekhâlaya 2041, p. 12. I have not seen a photograph of this scroll.

24. Here we can fortunately ignore the question of whether he adresses himself to three daughters or to one daughter and three « mothers ».

25. *Gyasu lanegu artha thui kîgu khamgva* : Satyamohan Jośî : Baḥcâdhaṃgu nevâḥ khamgvaḥdhukû. Kathmandu [N.S.] 1107, *s.v.*

26. H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, Delhi, 1968^2, s.v. ṣiwâí.

27. A list of what it nowadays consists of is given in G. Toffin, *op. cit.* p. 414.

28. A collection can be recognized on fig. 50 (p. 188), *ibid.*

29. He is not mentioned in Pt. Śaṅkarmân's transcription of the N.S.815 document (n. 4).

30. Over long periods, they are only given in the inaccessible left part of a document which is rolled and sewn together and protected by the seal, only to be opened, one presumes, in the case of litigation and by an authorized officer; the open text usually confines itself to a general phrase like *yathocitaṃ mûlyam*, etc.

31. Śaṅkarmân Râjvaṃśî, *loc. cit.*, bhâg 1. Kathmandu : Râṣṭriya Abhilekhâlaya 2040, p. 112.

32. There is, however, the Dharmaśâstra opinion which says income from moneylending done by women will be part of the *strîdhana* (Kane; *History of Dharmaśâstra*, vol. 3^2, 1973, p. 777).

33. Quoted, *e.g.*, by Vijñâneśvara, *loc. cit.*, p. 219f.

Drama, Devotion and Politics :
the Dasain Festival in Arghā Kingdom*

Philippe Ramirez

The political significance of the Dasain festival, and more generally of all Durgā worship has been unanimously recognized[1]. In Nepal, Dasain is the national ritual *par excellence* : by *ṭikā* exchanges, positions of authority are renewed all over the country, from the nuclear family to the central State institutions. In local sanctuaries, ceremonies are said to be held in the name of the king of Nepal, and he himself, by the mean of *rāj guṭhī* donations, patronizes many of them. However, despite its strong hierarchical and centralized aspect at the overall level, Dasain is far from being an ordinary state ritual, in which all localities express their loyalty towards national values in an identical and prescribed manner.

Roughly speaking, seen from the capital, Dasain ceremonies could be compared with lowering of the color and hymn singing taking place in each school for the king's birthday; whereas seen in village sanctuaries, performances have little to do one with another. Actually, apart from elements referring to the national unity and the legitimacy of Śāha kings, local rituals show a wide diversity. In the Gulmi and Arghā-Khāñci districts, where we have been working for the last four years with Marie Lecomte-Tilouine, Corneille Jest and Gérard Toffin, we had the opportunity to study four of the six Dasain taking place in each capital of the former principalities annexed to Nepal in the late 18th century.

If the general ritual sequence is everywhere the same, particularly from *saptamī* to *daśamī*, the multiplicity of original features is astonishing. Considering the broad cultural context encompassing Devī worship on the one hand, and the history of Nepal's integration on the other, such a diversity is not incongruous.

First, if not always as politically oriented as in Nepal. Durgā pūjā, as it is called in India, is a major religious festival all over the Hindu world,

particularly in Bengal and South India. In the Himalayas, where territory cults are generally addressed to blood-thirsty forms of the goddess, the worship of Durgā has a strong collective meaning. So it can be guessed that, fundamentally expressing the particular identity of certain territory, each particular Dasain always had a tendency to differ from those performed in neighbouring localities. Eventually, following the Gorkhā conquest, most local Dasain were tied up to an overland ritual complex legitimating the royal authority in Kathmandu. But this integration wasn't a leveling at all. It followed the same process as in the secular sphere : local rulers who submitted to Gorkhā where confirmed in their traditional functions, and could rule according to prevailing customs. In the same way, local rituals were allowed, often officially recognized and financed, in their traditional form. Possibly, in places where resistance to Gorkhā had occurred, parts of the ceremonies openly praising the former ruler had to be removed, but even there it seems that central authorities did not care much about the content of the ritual, and as far as we know that is still the case today[2].

Several scholars, like Unbescheid and Macdonald, have underlined the manipulation by the State of the Dasain festival[3]. The idea behind it, first formulated by Paul Mus, is that rulers used pre-existing cults, especially those centered on the gain of power, to legitimate their own authority through so-called « cosmo-dramas »[4]. These dramas are much more than just a simple political artifice. As a matter of fact they put into play the legitimation of royal authority by divine authorities. As G. Toffin put it recently : « *Le royaume tout entier s'ordonne à partir d'une relation aux dieux, dont la mise en scène ritualisée a pour cadre les temples et les grandes cérémonies festives* »[5]. Being the celebration of a military victory, of Durgā over the asura, Dasain is a favourable context for political manipulation, and first of all by the State. However I think not only the sovereign but all kinds of power holders have a hand in the performance and attention must be drawn to the manipulation of this festival by more common actors, precisely by local dominant figures.

I would like to take the example of Arghā Rājasthal, the capital town of a former Thakuri principality, where the goddess cult is sustained by a very substantial *rāj guthī* donation. Compared with ceremonies held in neighbouring localities, Arghā's Dasain shows two main striking features : first, during the whole lunar fortnight of the festival, a « king » with his private priest (*purohit*) and servants come to live in the old palace[6]. Second, the descendants of former *rāj guru* hold their *kul pūjā*, *i.e.* lineage cult, during Dasain, openly and in the palace itself. Unless otherwise stated, I will refer here only to the *Baḍā dasaī*, « Great Dasain », celebrated all through the light half of Āśvin month (Sept-Oct). *Cait dasaī* is also quite significant in Arghā's ritual year, but except for a few details looks like a simplified copy – more precisely an echo – of Great Dasain.

Let us consider the role of the « king » in Devī worships. The part is played by a Śāhī, last descendant of the Thakuri dynasty who ruled in Arghā until 1786. After the conquest, his lineage retained no public status and plays no significant role in today's local politics. His sole privilege is that of a

guṭhīyār, holder of an official religious charge. In the official breakdown of *guṭhī* charges – a royal order (*lal mohār*) dated 1890VS which reconfirms former arrangements[7] – he is refered to as *kartā śāhavāśiya*, an « officiant of Śāha lineage »[8]. As such he holds a dozen ropani (1/2 hectare) of riceland on the Bangi river bank, north of Arghā, where his ancestors settled after the conquest. Villagers address him as « Bābu Sāheb », the usual form for a Thakuri. However nobody shows any special respect towards him : like any-one else, when first met after a long time he is greeted with folded hands, *namaste*, but afterwards people may pass him without taking notice.

Bābu Sāheb arrives in Arghā Darbār (palace) on the first day of Āśvin light half, *pratipadā*. Except for the outdoor ceremonies he is supposed to stay, eat and sleep for fifteen days on the first floor of the southern wing, where two « servants » (*śusāre*) of Magar jāt will satisfy his requirements[9]. A member of the former *rājguru* lineage, the *pāḍit*, comes each morning and evening to direct the indoor worships performed by the Thakuri. The room is arranged in a quite similar manner to the *dasaī ghar*, the domestic altar erected on the same day by each household[10]. Under the direction of the *purohit*, the *nau durgā*, four clay pitchers, *ghaḍā*, covered with *pālā* lamps are set up in a small chapel built at the southern corner of the room[11]. The *barmā* (lit. « bit »), a conical utensil, is brought from the Bhagavatī temple and covered with a red cloth, *tul*, and a yak tail, *cāvar* : it becomes « Siṃha bahinī »[12], placed at the western corner. At the northern corner, barley seeds are put to germinate.

I will not relate in detail each of the numerous rites in which the Thakuri takes part, but a few words on what happens this first day, the day of « ins-tallation », may help to understand the general framework of the daily palace ceremonies taking place afterwards. The festival itself begins in the early afternoon, when Siṃha bahinī is taken in a procession, headed by a Damāi band[13], to the borough's playground, where it is met by a group of Khatri Chetri bringing back a wooden pole cut in the forest. The Thakuri puts a *ṭīkā* mark on each officiant's forehead, receives one from a *pūjārī*, and the pole is carried to the palace. In the evening the Thakuri executes the *ghaṭasthāpanā*, « setting up of the pitchers », by which the four pots and lamps of the royal chapel come to embody the *nau durgā*.

Similarly, the main Dasain shrine in the courtyard, the *maṇḍap*, a per-manent square shaped wooden structure said to cover a pit inhabited by a Kālī form of Arghā Bhagavatī, is prepared for the ceremonies[14]. The pole brought back from the playground becomes the central mast of the shrine, *jhikrī*, at the foot of which five metal coins, *pañca ratna*, are buried. The square base of the *maṇḍap* and the *jhikrī* define a *maṇḍala* before which daily sacrifices will be offered to the Goddess. Like each day, it is first oriented by the adjunction of four gates, *parveśduvār*, indicating the four cardinal points, drawn with rice powder at each side of the square. Then a complex set of figures also made of rice powder, *rekhī*, corresponding to the attributes of the Devī form celebrated that day, is sketched on the *maṇḍala* surface. At the core, facing west, four *triśūl* are stuck and the « great sword », *jamā khaḍkā*, brought from Arghā Bhagavatī main temple, is erected.

The general sequence of the ceremony taking place on the *maṇḍala* is similar each day [15]. The Thakuri sits facing east [16] and acts under the guidance of the *mul pūjārī*, who reads instructions and *mantrā* out of the « Durgā pūjā », a manuscript attributed to the first *mul pūjārī* and *rājguru* of Arghā. While pronouncing *mantra* and executing *mudrā*, and with the help of two assistants sitting on the opposite side of the *maṇḍap*, the Thakuri performs the following sequence :

sanctification of the ritual implements (*kalaś, śaṅkha...*),

covering of the body with *mantra*,

worship of the main and secondary images with *bel* leaves, *arghya, dhup* and sounds.

Finally, Bābu Sāheb splits a gourd (*kubhiṇḍo*) with the *jamākhaḍkā* and colours the exposed pulp with red powder, an obvious reference to the sacrificial nature of this act. Then he places the sword on the neck of the young goat which is afterwards beheaded by an ordinary assistant. The goat's body is dragged around the *maṇḍap* in a *pradakṣiṇa* in which the blood spurts freely on the ground. Officiants then take leave of the deity (*namaskāra*) and *rekhī* figures are carefully erased so that no traces of the *maṇḍala* remain.

We cannot give here a systematic account of the worship details, but our point is to show that most of the ritual sequence performed daily by the acting king corresponds to what is prescribed to a common Devī adept in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* [17]. The most widespread version of the text appeared around fourteenth century AD in North-Bengal or Assam, where it is commonly used today as a ritual handbook, but a manuscript of a similar form, written in Newāri characters, testifies its presence in Nepal as early as 1082 AD [18]. Chapters 54 to 69 describe the « common form of worship » to the Goddess, comprising four successive stages :

(1) Preparatory acts, aimed at cleaning the worship spot, « closing » the *maṇḍala*, and setting the ritual implements.

(2) Meditation, by which the adept, through *mantra* and *mudrā* incorporates the cosmos and makes the deity reach the *maṇḍala* through his own body.

(3) Worship proper, including *pūjā* to the main and minor deities, ending with a sacrifice to and dismissal of the Goddess.

(4) Conclusion, consisting mainly in the blotting out of the *maṇḍala*.

We do not want to insist on the similarities between the two rituals. After all, their main features are common to most Śakti cults. But precisely this commonness bring us directly to a question on the role of the Thakuri in Arghā Dasain. Why is such a royal character exhibited if only to perform a worship every house master is supposed to perform ?

The *Kālikāpurāṇa* describes the performer as pursuing a personal aim, the *sādhana* or experience of one's own corporal death, not as a priest acting for the salvation of others. In this regard, worship would be a material support to self-accomplishment. I think that from a socio-religious point of view, *i.e.* when a collective context is concerned, the reciprocal assertion is also true :

by meditation, the officiant's body becomes a path by which the invoked deity comes down on the *maṇḍala* where it will be propitiated. In other words, the officiant's body is part of the *maṇḍala* seen as a collective shrine with a social function. Nevertheless, in either case, the identification of the worshipper with a king in a collective cult does not seem obvious when no legitimation of an existing king is at stake. The text is also concerned with the role of the king in the annual Devī worship : the lustration of the army on the tenth day. But this role is clearly set apart from the adept's observances. So in Arghā, the daily ceremonies at the *maṇḍap* would be a « dramatization » of the private celebration of Durgā taking place in each house. But if the aim is to magnify the worship of the Goddess itself, why is a kin of the former rulers chosen to feature the « adept » ? Is he just an officiant among others, a simple « agent », *karta*, as the *lal mohār* refers to him ? In this case a brahman *pūjārī*, as a specialist of rites, would have been more qualified. The intervention of a non-brahman as the main officiant would not be uncommon if the Śakti aspects of the ritual only were considered. G. Toffin has described the outstanding role of Karmācārya priests of *kṣatriya* rank in Newar cults addressed to goddesses [19]. After all, the part assigned to Durgā in the mythology obviously refers to the function of the *kṣatriya* in the society, and we will see from a description of subsequent rituals how the devotee becomes a fighter. However the existence of *kṣatriya* priests in other Hindu contexts does not entirely solve the problem we are considering here : firstly it is not an usual *kṣatriya* who performs in Arghā Dasain, but a kin of the ancient rulers, and secondly neither he nor anyone of *kṣatriya* rank assumes any ritual functions outside of Dasain; members of the former *rājguru* lineage are the specific and only priests attached to the service of Arghā Bhagavatī all year round.

Actually the key to these interrogations may lie in a single and very stealthy gesture made by the Thakuri at the conclusion of the ritual : he places the great sword on the neck of the animal afterwards beheaded, and beheaded by someone else, generally a young and very minor assistant. By this precise act he assumes the role of the donor of sacrifice, *yajmān*, distinct altogether from the one who slaughters, a simple « agent ». Now, it seems obvious that Arghā Thakuri is only a symbolic donor, having personally no proeminent role in the community, outside of Dasain, and far from financing the sacrifice being himself remunerated to perform it. If he appears as a *yajmān* at the very moment of slaughtering, his status seems otherwise closer to that of a *ṛtvij*, the doer of sacrifice, thus a brahman priest. This ambiguity does not deny at all the fundamental distinction between *yajmān* and *ṛtvij* in the Hindu State, because here the sovereign's character is concerned, rather than a concrete person [20].

Then which sovereign, or which « donor » does the Thakuri embody at the time of sacrifice ? One can argue that Arghā's ritual king is in fact representing the true one, the king of Nepal, who paid for the animal through the *guthī*. However, mention of the actual sovereign is very rare during the ceremonies. Naturally, as from all major Dasain sanctuaries, a material sign of allegiance, consisting of *akṣatā* and *phulpātī*, is sent to Kathmandu palace

on the seventh day. Similarly, in the preamble of each *pūjā*, the Goddess is referred to in the following manner : « Mahākālī of Arghā Rājasthal in the Gorkhā kingdom (*rājya*) ». And the living king is formally named during the sacrifices of animals paid by the *guṭhī*, or as it is said, by *sarkār, i.e.* the supreme authority. Moreover, although unequivocal for the narrow circle of brahman officiants, these rare tributes turn out to be quite tenuous, if not unnoticed by the bulk of unlookers : *phulpātī* is carried to the district office in a small envelope with no pomp at all and mention of the « Gorkhā king » is made amidst series of ritual formulae in Sanskrit, to which very few pay attention.

Our feeling is that the Thakuri's performances are undoubtely directed towards a collective function : to obtain prosperity and security from the territory's tutelar divinity, Arghā Bhagavatī. But this aim is reached only indirectly. He, for his own sake, performs a personal meditation and shows his personal devotion to a divinity which is his own lineage goddess (*kul deutā*). And because he represents Arghā kings, as a member of the Śāhi lineage, the territory and population formerly under the authority of his forefathers gets the benefits of his personal relation to the powerful goddess. This correlation between the king's devotion and the protection of Arghā's borders is made explicit in the myth on the one hand and in the rite on the other.

The kingdom foundation myth stresses the fact that, following the installation of Bhagavatī in Arghā, the first king started to worship her with the help of his guru, and by this cult the enemies were defeated. This particular assertion is illustrated on the morning of *daśamī*, the tenth day of Dasain. The Thakuri sits at his usual place on the *maṇḍap*, and while offering barley sprouts to the sacred *kalaś* with his right hand, he violently throws *akṣatā* on a squadron of little earthen figurines with his left hand. These images figure the army of Mahiṣāsur, himself shown somewhat bigger at the core, the demon buffalo defeated by Durgā the same day. It is said that the Thakuri « strikes the enemies » (*vairī mārne*) or « shoots the enemies (*vairi hānne*), and two assistants prevent anyone crossing the path, loudly warning the crowd that « anyone standing here will die ».

So it becomes clear how devotion to the deity can be power-productive and how a ritual centered on a personal worship, that of the Thakuri to the Devī, is in fact oriented towards a collective interest : protection of the territory and its inhabitants. Such an aim in itself wouldn't stand against the general logic of the Dasain, seen as a State apparatus. On the contrary, it is precisely through the patronage of such territory cults that the State operates the ritual integration of the provinces. But this is successful as far as the link between the prosperity of the locality and the generosity of the sovereign is either featured or strongly suggested in the ceremonies. If not, the opposite result may occur. In Arghā, if from a very material point of view the king of Nepal is in fact « the donor », all dramatic elements of the ritual tend to magnify the local particularities, as inherited from the former status of the country as an independent kingdom.

The process by which, in this precise locality, a ritual supposed to reaffirm the centralizing authority of the Nepalese State came to revive centrifugal dynamics is hardly describable in the present state of historical knowledge. However the figure of Arghā's drama king shifts the anthropologist's attention, generally devoted to the manipulation of religious symbols by the State, towards the active role of local actors in the shaping of power rituals : who, which group or which institution, has something to gain from the exhibition of such an ambiguous ritual king ? As a matter of fact the ritual role of Bābu Sāheb does not fit at all with the very ordinary social position held by Arghā's Śāhi lineage today. Similarly, the Nepalese State may be concerned by the perpetuation of each local Dasain, as a part of the national cosmo-drama, but the presence of such or such character in the ceremonies seems of little importance : after all Thakuris do not generally appear in local festivals supported by a *rāj guṭhī*.

One could argue that *guṭhī* holders, in order to preserve the privileges attached to their charge, are compelled to carry on the ritual as dictated by the official decree, the *lal mohār*. So the *lal mohār* would have fixed arrangements as set by Arghā kings, thus perpetuating an anachronistic ritual. Yet the text kept by the authorities was issued in 1905VS, long after the dismissal of Arghā rulers. Furthermore, the foundation of a *rāj guṭhī* was not imposed at all, but obtained by Arghā's headmen after several approaches to the central authorities. Thus it seems likely that they decided the division of the roles according to their own conceptions of what the ritual should be. Which incentive, if not the will of the applicants themselves, could have convinced Kathmandu authorities to impose the maintenance of the Thakuri – the symbol of Arghā's lost independence – as a centerpiece of the ceremonies ?

If the dramatic worship of Arghā Bhagavatī on the broadest level does not benefit to anybody else than the community of her devotees, certain groups have – if not an interest – a particular opportunity to influence its morphology. In the first place, there is the clan of temple priests, the Bhusāl. It is they who have the responsibility for Dasain organization and financial management. This charge is theirs since the foundation of Arghā's kingdom by the first king, Jilla Rai. Jilla Rai came up from the West followed by his *rāj guru*, Rām Bhakta, the ancestor of the Bhusāl, who carried the powerful Bhagavatī's image with him. Having set up his capital in Arghā Rājasthal, the king entrusted his guru with the task of worshipping Bhagavatī. The foundation myth, as related by the Bhusāl, stresses the fact that since these early times the cult has been carried on without a break, an evidence of their faithfulness and the main ground of their legitimacy.

In the legal sphere, the current arrangements laid down by the *lal mohār* confirm that the *pūjārī* (*i.e.* the main *pūjārī*) of Bhagavatī temple should be a Bhusāl. Morning and evening all year round, a Bhusāl has to worship the Goddess in the palace temple, which is done by turn – we will return to this point later on. During Dasain, the clan members are responsible for the ritual in two ways : first, as *mul pūjārī*, one of them leads the main ceremonies, and second, as *guṭhiyārko mukhiyā*, or Chief guṭhiyār, another makes sure

that all contributions and duties are carried out in due time. Founded on history and law, the pre-eminent position of the Bhusāl in the ritual complex attached to the central tutelar deity of Arghā territory, Bhagavatī, bestows a considerable prestige upon them in the local society.

However the striking point is that their ritual pre-eminence corresponds to a political pre-eminence. Actually, the Bhusāl held key political positions in the area for at least the last sixty years, as *mukhiyā* and *jimuvāl*, collecting land taxes and dispensing justice. Previously, according to many informants, they were *kājī*, ministers of Arghā kings until the Conquest. After the setting up of elective offices under the pancayat regime in 1962, their hold over the territories was somehow weakened, but they were able to win *pradhān-pañc* seats in Arghā Rājasthal pañcayāt and a couple of neighbouring pañcayāt, and afterwards the presidency of district pañcayāt. This is not to say that until now, power has been monopolized by a coherent clan, for the patrilinear clan, *thar*, is not a corporate group at all in Bāhun-Chetri society, and actually Bhusāl holding seats in various places are not supposed to cooperate, being of different lineages (*kul*); on the contrary recent history shows fierce rivalry between these lineages.

Stemming from the original branch established in Arghā Rājasthal little colonies spread in the region, and acquiring a dominant position of their own in each particular locality, broke with their former kin. Nevertheless, although split into independent units, the existence of a joint « political heritage » is attested at the general level by the ability of the clan taken as a whole to have maintained a pre-eminent power in the area until a few years ago. This success cannot be dissociated from the image of servants of Bhagavatī attached to the clan's identity. We do not affirm that the political dominance of the Bhusāl is based on their ritual role. Let us say only that, in the eyes of other groups, the figure of the Bhusāl as trustees of a ritual which confers prosperity to the territory – and which in former days legitimated positions of authority – is intimately associated with the continuity of their political status.

As a matter of fact certain features of Arghā's Dasain clearly show how the Bhusāl associate their deepest identity to ritual contexts supposed to be collective. Among the Himalayan Hindus, the first and almost only spectacular manifestation of the kin group's identity is the *kul devatā pūjā*, the cult to the lineage deity. In most cases, the cult takes place in a very intimate context, where only lineage members are admitted. But the Bhusāl of Arghā perform their own *kul pūjā* publicly, during Dasain, in *kālarātrī*, the night between *aṣṭamī* and *navamī*. The image representing their tutelar deity, and which they insist is only a distinct representation of Arghā Bhagavatī herself, is brought in procession from the lineage temple situated in the original ward of the family to the palace. There it is laid down in the royal apartments, next to the room where the Thakuri stays and where the main image of the Goddess has been brought the day before [21]. There, it is worshipped with a long and complex sequence of offerings mainly consisting in *homa*, oblation to the fire.

Five officiants perform : the *mul pūjārī*, a Bhusāl, the same priest who conducts daily Dasain ceremonies, two other members of the lineage, the Thakuri, thus not a kin, and finally a Brahman of Upādhyāy status, specifically in charge of offerings to the sacrificial fire. Thus we are not here in the very private context of a common *kul pūjā*. Everyone except the *sāno jāt*, the untouchables, can sit in the room and watch the ceremony – even the impure Western anthropologist –, a situation unthinkable in other *kul pūjā*.

Moreover the cult is not only public, but fully integrated at the core of Arghā's Dasain ritual complex; in more precise words, it is associated to the material sources of territorial sovereignty : the palace and the king. It makes no difference to consider the Thakuri as the king gracing his priest lineage with his presence, as a devotee worshipping another form of his own *kul devatā*, or only as a Kṣatriya *pūjārī* taking part in this rite as in other Dasain rites. In all cases, and if the general shape of the ceremony was similar at the time of the old kingdom, a fundamental structural connection emerges from this particular instance : an intimate association of a sacred nature is suggested between the lineage holding secular power and the lineage holding ritual power. It thus becomes clearer how the maintenance of Arghā Dasain in its supposed original form is a vital asset for the Bhusāl lineage.

As a matter of fact, the complexity of attribution of tasks in Arghā Dasain suggests that periodically some groups are fighting to control it. According to *guṭhī* documents, offices in the sanctuary are attributed to « the Bhusāl », without precise distinction. But at some point, the local segment of this clan was divided into two lineages who have been fighting for decades to gain political domination on the surroundings. No doubt remains on the total scission between them : in the event of birth or death occurring in one lineage, members of the other lineage are not concerned with the resulting impurity.

Local informants affirm that one of the two segments returned to Arghā after a long absence and claimed a share in the *guṭhī*, as kin of the former *rāj guru*. The details of how the matter was decided are still unclear, but everything suggests a « negociated » distribution of tasks and shrines between the two parties. The eldest branch kept a pre-eminence, being still in charge today of the worship in the main Bhagavatī sanctuary and of *guṭhī* management [22]. However it had to give up a part of land donations and corresponding charges. In addition, the younger lineage set up a secondary image of Bhagavatī and a daily worship of a private nature in the original palace chapel, the *gaddī* or « throne », deconsecrated when the main image had been moved to the new main temple.

The most vivid example of this astonishing re-allocation concerns the *guptābas*, a devotee who must worship the goddess continuously for eight days and eight nights, cloistered in a small temple and fasting from morning till evening. In Cait Dasain he is selected from one segment of the Bhusāl, in Baḍā Dasain from the other. Thus it is clear that the old ritual complex was reshaped – willingly or reluctantly – and became relevant to a new political situation. And I insist that this reorganization was not motivated solely by a conflict for the partake of *guṭhī* material income but also by the desire

to control symbols. Otherwise how could the setting up of new arrangements not providing additional remunerations be justified ?

In this respect it must be noticed that Durgā cults are not the only object of such symbolic manœuvrings. Of course, because they address the deity from which power and territorial prosperity is obtained, these cults are a privileged context for the symbolic assertion of political positions. However this is done according to a general process which is not exclusively linked to the Goddess, and which goes beyond the strict sphere of political concerns. For instance the younger Bhusāl lineage built a Viṣṇu temple at the beginning of this century, and supports it uniquely with private funds : in Rām Navamī, the ninth day of Cait light moon, a large procession preceded by a musical band carries the statues of Viṣṇu and Jaya-Vijayā to the ancestral house of the lineage where they are worshipped by members of the *kul*. The procession does not stop in any other spot of the locality, thus showing that we are here concerned with a private act of devotion, but a private act obviously directed towards the public exhibition of the lineage's identity [23].

In this paper I was primarily concerned with the role of social groups closely attached to the performance of a – so to say – « capital city ritual ». However – and this will be a part of my future investigations – the processes at work in the center seem to be reproduced at the periphery. With the development of national integration (nepalisation), centrally located founders' lineages slowly lost the privileges and powers inherited from their attachment to the ancient rulers. Sustained by newly arrived emancipating ideologies, groups living far from the capital have started defying the traditional ritual organization by forsaking palace-centered ceremonies and founding their own separate Devī sanctuaries. Thus, despite the development of new ideas desacralizing idols and temples – but not rejecting Hindu creed as a whole – among a growing number of young and scholarized people, Devī worship kept one of its fundamental functions which is to assert, in the symbolic sphere, events and trends affecting the political organization. To a certain extent, the geographical pattern of Devī sanctuaries in the region is a product of political affiliations, more precisely of conflicts. But the ideas presiding over foundations of Devi temples go far beyond that. As a matter of fact, these temples are said to be « branches », *sakhā*, of the palace temple, and the « new divinities » are called « younger sisters », *bahīnī*, of Arghā Rājasthal historical Bhagavatī. It looks as though the secessionists wanted to express their rejection of a particular human authority over the ritual without denying the sovereign authority of Arghā Bhagavatī over the whole territory.

I hope to have drawn attention to the very dynamic processes affecting the morphology of public rituals apart from direct intervention by the State. I consider these processes to be of a similar nature to those underlined by G. Toffin (1979) or A.W. Macdonald and A. Vergati (1979) in the case of « theatre-States » of the Kathmandu valley and more recently by R. Burghart (1987), concerning the royal gifts. R. Burghart insisted on the fact that « the royal ritual of gift-giving was powerful in its own right as a way of consti-tuting authoritative relations in the realm » [24]. A.W. Macdonald (1987, p. 11)

does not seem to assign such a « creative » function to the State rituals, arguing that the State, in such occasions, « reminds the audience of its own temporal might ». Nevertheless the « efficiency » – in a pragmatic sense – of these symbolic acts is suggested in both assertions. In Arghā, the nature of the actors is quite different. Temple priests are not « rulers » in the true sense, neither are they « donors », and this may be the reason why a royal figure is formally exhibited to symbolically assume these functions. However in demonstrating that they are a centerpiece of the main ritual dedicated to the « sovereign » deity of Arghā, they refer to the same efficiency. I do not assert that Arghā Dasain is still « manipulated » today by local dominants. I agree with Burghart (1987, p. 269) when he suggests that traditional symbols attached to power do not « influence » believers anymore : « The pomp goes on, but there was a time when the pomp was also powerful ». Similarly, if political·motives contributed in the past to shape the Dasain as we see it today, I doubt whether such a process is still at work today, whether the faith in the « efficiency » of power rituals is strong enough to shake – should the occasion arise – a somewhat opposite conviction which views the conservation of ancestral models as a source of legitimacy. And consequently the reshaping of ritual functions and geography is more likely to affect the peripheral areas, where nothing can prevent the creation of new shrines, than the well established ritual apparatus of the old capital cities.

Nevertheless I would be fully satisfied if at least the few ethnographic data given here could be of any use for comparative studies on the Dasain. As a matter of fact, if the great importance of this festival in the expression of social and political realities has been frequently stressed, I think the time has come to undertake more systematic compilations of the data collected on these rituals by numerous researchers working in various parts of the country.

Notes

1. Cf. for instance Macdonald & Vergati, 1979, Toffin, 1981, p. 77, Unbescheid, 1986, p. 8-17 & 24-25, Burghart, 1987, p. 261-266, Pfaff, 1989, p. 167-169. For a broadest view on the legitimation of political power by religious means in Nepal's history, see Bouillier (1988).

2. C. Jest recently attended the Baḍā Dasain in Ismākoṭ, Gulmi Dt. In 1786, Ismā opposed a very harsh defence to Gorkhā troops until the local *rājā* had to flee. The ceremonies taking place there consist mainly in a staging of this particular battle, and although the former *rājā* is not himself featured, the performance explicitly celebrates the bravery of his warriors (C. Jest, Internal Report, CNRS UPR 299, 1986).

3. Unbescheid (1986), Macdonald (1987).

4. See P. Mus, 1977, p. 175-197, for the reprint of a lecture given in 1964 and first published in 1966.

5. Toffin (1990), p. 966.

6. In Musikoṭ, Gulmi District, a descendant of the former ruling dynasty acts as one of the main officiants during Baḍā·Dasain. If equally important in ritual and historical terms, his appearance seems however less spectacular than in Arghā Dasain.

7. Actually several orders concerning Arghā's *guṭhī* were issued by Kathmandu authorities later on, but no major changes were introduced. The one promulgated in 1905VS is kept by the district tax office (*mālpot*) and is used as the legal reference today.

8. *Kartā* refers precisely to the « active agents », in charge of *pūjā* as opposed to the « text readers » (*vedpāṭh garne*) whose task during Dasain also constitutes a *guṭhī* charge.

9. Each of four Magar lineages of the surroundings, holding *guṭhī* allotments, provides a *śusāre* each year. Older arrangements included Pāḍe Chetrī guards, *citāidār*, attached to the Thakuri.

10. Concerning domestic rites during Dasain, see for instance Bennett (1983), pp. 136-141.

11. It is still unclear how these eight items represent in fact the « nine » Durgā.

12. The precise identification of this deity, which occupies a central position during the fifteen days of ceremonies, is still to be done. Siṃha bahinī may be found elsewhere, but until now I have not found any mention of it.

13. Arghā's *guṭhī* includes seven Damāi houses, entitled to play morning and evening before Bhagavatī temple on common days, and at numerous occasions during the festivals.

14. It may be useful to note that temporary *maṇḍap* are set up for life-cycle ceremonies, such as boy's initiation, marriage, *caurāsī pūjā* (marking the eigthy-fourth birthday), and the *saptaha pūjā*, offered by a house chief to acquire merit.

15. From the first to the seventh day and from the eleventh to full moon, *maṇḍap* ceremonies differ only in the details of *rekhī* patterns and the presence of certain items, for instance two *ḍhāl* shields on the fifth day. Animal sacrifices occur daily, except on « the eleventh », Ekādaśī, dedicated tô Lakṣmi and Viṣṇu. Before the *maṇḍap* ritual, a reading of the Devī Bhagavat Purāṇa takes place in the eastern gallery : the sacred text is first celebráted by a short *pūjā* and chapter of the day is read in Sanskrit, then translated into Nepali.

16. Orientations given here correspond to theoretic cardinal points, fitting with the *maṇḍap* orientation; actually, due to topographical constraints on the palace construction, these points slightly differ from the natural points.

17. Cf. Van Kooij, 1972.

18. *Id.*, p. 3n.

19. Toffin, 1981, p. 73-78.

20. Concluding his main argument on the coexistence of brahmanic and tantric trends in the Newar kingship, Toffin (1986, p. 91) stresses the fact that in both instances priestly and royal functions didn't overlap : although the king enjoys a specific and direct relation with the goddess, he never acts as a priest (see also Toffin, 1979, p. 76-77). Thus if Arghā's Thakuri was a concrete sovereign his position in Dasain would have denied the dichotomy between *yajmān* and *ṛtvij*. Similarly, although his kṣatriya rank could make him compare to Karmācārya priests neither is he a « priest » in the full sense. The non-adequation between his social persona and his role in the Dasain allows him to simultaneously act as the « devout king » and his tantric priest.

21. It must be noted that *kālarātrī* is one of the most dramatic moments of Dasain. In Kathmandu, hundreds of buffaloes are sacrified in the old palace, near Taleju temple (Anderson, 1971, p.148). Further investigations may reveal if the displacement of Bhusāl *kul devatā* to Arghā palace on that night can be compared to the ritual installation of newly elected Kumārī in Kathmandu palace, which takes place at the same time (Allen, 1975, p. 21 ; Toffin, 1981, p. 69). Similarly, the main image of Arghā Bhagavatī is brought from her temple to the royal apartments on Saptamī − it is said that « she goes to war » -, on the day that in Kathmandu, the *phulpātī* representing Durgā arrives from Gorkhā, a move similar to the progression of Gorkhāli troops during the conquest : in both cases, the fighting Goddess seems to leave her common place of residence to join the king at war.

22. The term « elder branch » is used here only to refer to the lineage who stayed in Arghā. As a matter of fact the precise kinship relation between the two lineages has been forgotten.

23. In this sense, the performance of such processions could be compared with the gift of bells to a temple; the bells generally include inscriptions giving the name of the donor(s), and sometime relating the history of their lineage. Concerning the relations between gift and power in Nepal, in the particular case of the sovereign, see Burghart, 1987.

24. G. Toffin (1990, p. 969) suggested that although Malla kings oftèn looked like « tools in the hand of the kingdom's great gods », these gods in a certain way could also be seen as symbols manipulated by the kings for political goals.

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BUDDHISM AND SOCIETY

The Textual History of the Different Versions of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa»

Horst Brinkhaus

The title «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» is generally used to designate a peculiar work of the traditional Newar Buddhism, though the work has not at all been handed down as an uniform text, but rather in various and partly quite different versions. The characterization as a «Purāṇa», however, which was obviously taken over from the Hindu model of the corresponding literary genre, was bestowed on the Buddhist work relatively late in the course of its text historical development. Concerning the contents of the work Sylvain Lévi has already pointed to the fact that the subject-matter would rather suggest the designation «Māhātmya» [1], since, being a sort of pilgrims' handbook, the work is dedicated to a large extent to the glorification and cult of important Buddhist shrines in the Kathmandu Valley, above all, as the title says, the Svayaṃbhūcaitya. On the one hand the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» is deeply rooted in local conditions, as it has taken up popular elements of the specific world-view and religious practices of the Newar Buddhists and reflects them in their regional contexts; and as such the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» is to my knowledge the most voluminous literary document of the «little tradition» of medieval Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. On the other hand this work is, of course, based also on supra-regional Buddhist traditions as for example the teachings of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna or the legends of older Buddhist Jātaka and Avadāna literature [2].

The extraordinarily great number of traditional manuscripts of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» testifies that this native work had reached remarkable diffusion and achieved high esteem in *Nepāla Maṇḍala*. Thus, for example, the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (in the following: NGMPP) has filmed already more than one hundred complete or incomplete manuscripts of the work and doubtless even more are extant in the Kathmandu Valley; and also Indian and European manuscript collections are known to contain a good many further manuscripts of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa».

Furthermore, the variety of the more or less divergent Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa versions already noted, most of them written in Sanskrit, but partly also in Newari, points to a vigorous tradition of reception and redaction of this work in Nepal – and at the same time to historical changes in the intentions as well as in the religious orientation of the Buddhist redactors who again and again revised and enlarged the work or even reshaped the whole text.

Despite the diffusion and significance of the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa in the history of Newar Buddhism modern research on Nepal or on Buddhism in general up to now has not undertaken a detailed and comprehensive philological and text historical examination or presentation of the various versions, not to mention a systematic historical evaluation of the cultural and religious contents of the work.

One reason for this may be seen in the only extant text edition of one of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» versions prepared by Haraprasad Sastri in 1894-1900 [3]. The Sanskrit language as well as the coherence of the contents of this version are not however really satisfactory. Thus Bernhard Kölver qualified the Sanskrit text of this edition as «full of insufficiencies and elementary mistakes», and about its contents he added : « The thread of the tale is constantly in danger of getting lost » [4]; and Sylvain Lévi even blamed the learned editor himself : «Il n'est pas conforme au "fair play" même entre brahmane et bouddhiste, de choisir, comme de parti pris, les leçons les plus incorrectes et d'éliminer les autres » [5]. In fact, it is true that there are much better versions of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» than the one edited.

Further difficulties in the investigation of the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa » result from the fact that the work belongs to a special type of literature which is technically known as «anonymous literature» [6], that is to say, as literature which has grown over the course of long periods of time. Works of this type can be dated only with great difficulty, and are frequently anything but texts which can be considered consistent in themselves. Consequently they require a specific methodological approach. As to the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa », it would seem to be indicated to take into account its diachronical dimensions, i.e. to regard its various traditional versions as different developmental stages of a process of text historical growth and change. Once the chronological order of these versions is ascertained, the modifications of contents will become clear in their details, and together with them the motives and intentions too of individual authors and redactors.

Different text versions of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» were successively detected and roughly described by individual Indologists during the 19th century. Up to now the best survey of those versions was contributed by Sylvain Lévi in the year 1905 [7]. Nevertheless my own collations, particularly of the numerous manuscripts from Nepal filmed by the NGMPP, have led to results of a partly different kind. In the following I restrict myself to the presentation of my own findings, and I may state in my favour that, owing to the preparatory work of the NGMPP, I have had access to many more manuscripts than my predecessors in the field.

The «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» has been handed down partly in Sanskrit and partly in Newari versions. Among the Sanskrit texts, there are recensions with *eight, ten* and *twelve* chapters (called Paricchedas or Adhyāyas), whereas the Newari manuscripts uniformly show a version with *ten* chapters. Concerning the extent of the text, there are enormous differences among the ascertained versions. By far the shortest version has only 280 verses, the longest more than 4600. The synopsis in Table 1 gives a rough idea of the different recensions and versions of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» as well as of their extent and titles as given in the manuscripts themselves.

The following short comments on the different recensions and versions refer directly to the list in Table 1 :

— The shortest recension with eight Paricchedas has two versions, namely an almost purely prose text (version I.A) on the one hand and a purely metrical composition (I.B) on the other; still the contents of both these versions are remarkably similar[8].

— The longest recension with eight Adhyāyas comprises two versions, *i.e.* a shorter one (II.A) and an extended one (II.B) with about 500 additional verses[9]. The recension II literally includes almost the entire text of version I.B.

— The recension with ten Adhyāyas has a Sanskrit (III.A) and a Newari version (III.B)[10]. On the whole the contents of both texts are similar, though in the fifth Adhyāya, where the main holy places (Tīrthas) of the Kathmandu Valley are described, there are considerable differences of quantity.

— Finally, the recension with twelve Adhyāyas (IV) is relatively homogeneous in the manuscripts I have compared[11]. The proportion of prose and metrical parts is rather different in the single chapters; there are Adhyāyas purely composed in verses, whereas others are predominantly written in prose.

All the manuscripts I have seen, which for reasons of content belong to the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa», can be subsumed under the one or the other of these recensions or versions; and to belong to the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» primarily means to present a particular set and sequence of legends or themes. This set mainly consists of the following items :

— Once the Buddha Śākyasiṃha visited Nepāla Maṇḍala and narrated the following events of the legendary history of and around the Svayaṃbhūcaitya :

— In the age of Śikhin the Nepal Valley was a lake in which Svayaṃbhū spontaneously sprang up in the shape of a wonderful lotus;
— practices and results of the worship of Svayaṃbhū are related in great detail;
— in the age of Viśvabhū Mañjuśrī drained the Nepal Valley;
— in the age of Krakucchanda the Valley was populated;
— the holy places (Tīrthas and Upatīrthas) in the Valley are described;
— in the age of Kanaka the learned monk Dharmaśrīmitra was instructed by Mañjuśrī about a section of the Nāmasaṃgīti;

Table 1

Recensions and versions of the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa

Recension I (eight Paricchedas)* :	
— Version I.A	Sanskrit version in prose MSS. : NGMPP D 12/7 ; E 1134/2 ; E 1372/19, etc. extent : 410 Ślokas** title : Gośṛṅgaparvatasvayaṃbhūcaityabhaṭṭārakoddeśa
— Version I.B	Sanskrit version in verses*** MSS. : NGMPP A 125/16 ; A 127/6 ; B 101/16, etc. extent : 280 verses title : Svayaṃbhūcaityabhaṭṭārakoddeśa
Recension II (eight Adhyāyas)* :	
— Version II.A	Sanskrit version in verses MSS. : NGMPP A 124/16 ; C 15/2 ; D 34/39 extent : c. 4 100 verses title : Gośṛṅgaparvatasvayaṃbhūcaityabhaṭṭārakoddeśa
— Version II.B	Sanskrit version in verses MSS. : NGMPP C 15/3 ; E 1/1 extent : c. 4 600 verses title : Gośṛṅgaparvatasvayaṃbhūcaityabhaṭṭārakoddeśa or Bṛhatsvayaṃbhūpurāṇa
Recension III (ten Adhyāyas) :	
— Version III.A	Sanskrit version in verses MSS. : A 923/3 ; B 101/4 ; D 36/2, etc. extent : c. 1 750 verses title : Svayaṃbhūcaityabhaṭṭārakoddeśa or Svayaṃbhūcaitya- samutpattikathā
— Version III.B	Newari version in prose MSS. : B 102/3 ; C 54/3 ; H 91/15, etc. title : Svayaṃbhūtpattikathā or Svāyaṃbhuva Mahāpurāṇa
Recension IV (twelve Adhyāyas) :	
	Sanskrit recension partly in verses, partly in prose MSS. : B 101/2 ; B 102/4 ; E 696/2 etc. extent : c. 3 600 Ślokas title : Svāyaṃbhuva Mahāpurāṇa

  * Pariccheda and Adhyāya are terms for « chapter ».
  ** Śloka is used here as a term for a text unit of 32 syllables.
  *** Verse means a stanza of two lines.

— in the age of Kāśyapa the Vajrācārya Śantaśrī covered the Svayaṃbhūcaitya with a Stūpa in order to protect it ;
— in the present age, under the king Guṇakāmadeva, the Vajrācārya Śantideva/Śāntikara (partly also identified with Sāntaśrī !) overcame drought by means of a Nāgasādhana ceremony.

This set of themes constitutes the kernel and, at the same time, occupies the major part of all the different versions of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa»; it is already completely present in the shortest extant version, and even in the longest versions it is supplemented only with very few and obviously secondary or even marginal additional items.

The order of the list of recensions and versions given in Table 1 is a typological, not a historical one; and, of course, the question arises : What was the historical sequence of these texts ? Is it possible to find out, if not their absolute chronology, then at least their relative chronological order ? The preliminary results of my investigations on the textual history of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» show that the relation of a part of the extant recensions and versions to each other is clearly recognizable and determinable. The schematic representation in Table 2 is supposed to demonstrate at a glance to what extent I think the text historical development to be clear (indicated by unbroken arrows) and at the same time in which cases the relations between the texts are not yet certain (broken arrows or unbroken horizontal lines) and need further comparative examination.

The following remarks are directly pertinent to the diagram in Table 2 :

— As already indicated, the two versions I.A and I.B are different as to wording and yet very near to each other as far as their contents are concerned. Nevertheless the direction of dependence between the two is not yet clear to me. One would perhaps expect the verse version to be secondary and, in fact, there are indications which point in this direction, but on the other hand there are elements which I.A already shares with II.A and which are not yet to be found in I.B. That is why I have placed I.A and I.B side by side without marking any developmental direction.

Table 2
*Text historical development of the recensions
and versions of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa»*
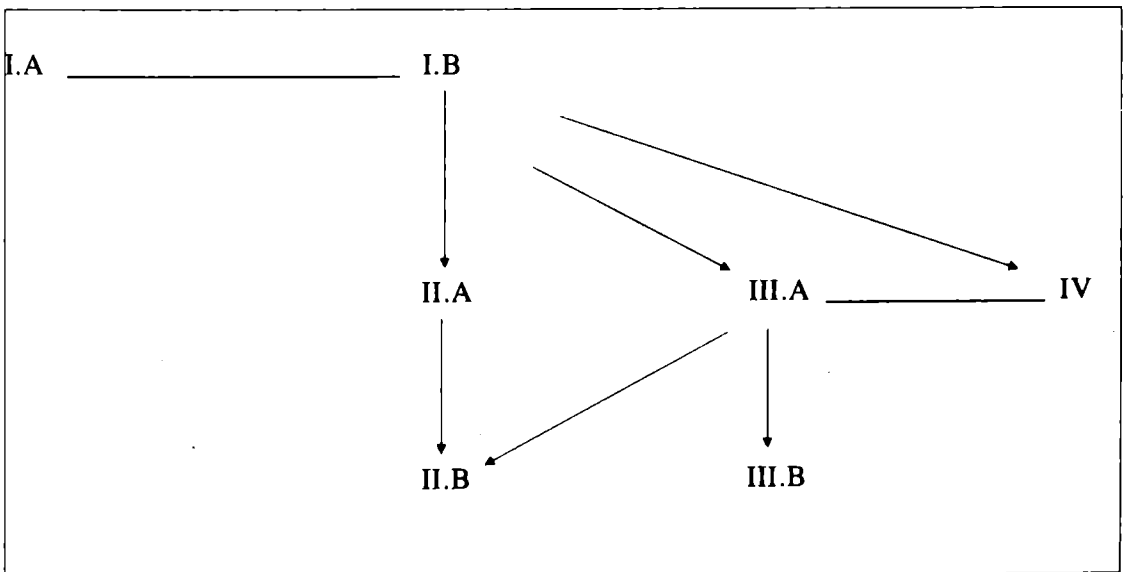
— The shortest verse version (I.B) and the two longest verse versions (II.A and II.B), all of them consisting of eight chapters, have turned out to be in reality just different developmental stages of one and the same text, I.B representing the oldest extant shape of it and II.B the youngest developmental stage [12].

— An instructive insight into how textual enlargements were undertaken can be gained from the development from II.A to II.B. About half of the 500 verses, which were interpolated into II.B in the final developmental stage, was taken simply, *i.e.* without any change, from version III.A. This shows that version III.A, which is, as a whole, evidently a sort of amendment of earlier versions of the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa », must be older at least than version II.B.

— Moreover version III.A probably does not depend on version II.A, but on one of the older versions of recension I, since in III.A there are no traces whatsoever of the main supplements occurring for the first time at the end of version II.A, namely the prophecies by Śākyamuni about the reign of King Yakṣamalla (historically well attested for A.D. 1428-82) and about the famous legend of Bandhudatta and Avalokiteśvara [13]. On the other hand, version III.A has as its most conspicuous innovation of contents an extensive double « link and frame » story [14]. Of this frame again there is no trace to be found in version II.A, whereas it was taken over, even word-for-word as was indicated above, by version II.B, and it is also present in recension IV.

— The relation between version III.A and recension IV is somehow comparable to that between I.A and I.B. The wording in both texts is again almost totally different, but the contents are parallel in such a way that a close connection between the two can't be denied though the direction of dependence is again not yet clear to me.

— The characterization or classification of the work as a « Purāṇa » is, as I mentioned before, a relatively late addition; it is exclusively to be found in the colophons of manuscripts belonging either to the Sanskrit version II.B or to the Newari prose version III.B, which is nothing more than a sort of Newari paraphrase of III.A, and to the recension IV. In the colophons of the recension IV the designation « Purāṇa » or even « Mahāpurāṇa » is not used as a sporadic second name as it is the case in II.B and III.B, but it is introduced throughout as the only valid title of the work.

The preliminary results of my observations on the textual history of the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa » may be thus resumed : The oldest stage of development is represented by a relatively small and unpretentious treatise on Buddhist themes and illustrative legends; and the Sanskrit designation « Uddeśa » exactly covered what it was at this stage. Over the course of probably longer periods of time, however, the treatise was enlarged and at the same time repeatedly reshaped so that it grew into an imposing Māhātmya or even Purāṇa – at the end about fifteen times as big as the oldest extant version.

Up to now I have confined myself merely to a few more or less formal arguments in favour of my view of the text historical development of the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa » materials. Unfortunately, it is not possible to put forth

here all the arguments pertinent to my view; but what should be done nonetheless is to say a word about the implications the foregoing text historical results have for the interpretation and evaluation of the contents of the « Svayambhūpurāṇa ».

The « Svayambhūpurāṇa » mainly consists of a collection of Buddhist legends. These are arranged within the framework of the traditional Buddhist system of the ages of the world [15] and, at least in the younger text versions, they were evidently intended as a sort of Vaṃśāvalī or chronicle of the Nepalese Svayambhū sanctuary. But this doesn't hold true for the shortest and in my view oldest version of the work, where Nepal and Svayambhū seem not yet to have become the centre of interest. The point of departure of what was known later on as Svayambhūpurāṇa was most probably a compilation of episodes which were taken from different sources and which at least partly centred in the main round the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The scenes of action in this oldest version were China, i.e. the homeland of Mañjuśrī, Vikramaśīla, a famous ancient monastery near Vārāṇasī, and finally also Nepal itself.

Further, the name « Gośṛṅga », which is regularly used for the Svayambhū hill in the oldest recension of the « Svayambhūpurāṇa », seems to have belonged originally to a hill which was the centre of religious life in the Khotan Valley. In 1948 John Brough stated : « The name of the sacred hill, Gośṛṅga, is regularly used in Khotan, whereas in Nepal the explanation that it was the name of the Svayambhū hill in a former age has every appearance of an afterthought » [16]. In fact, the verse in which it is declared that « Gośṛṅga » was the name of the Svayambhū hill in the Dvāpara age and « Gopuccha » (in Newari : Sāhyaṅgu) its name in the present Kali age [17] does not agree with the name « Gośṛṅga », not « Gopuccha », being regularly used for that hill. The verse evidently was the first attempt to substitute the local Nepalese name « Gopuccha » for the name « Gośṛṅga », originally taken over from Khotan. Corresponding to this the authors or redactors of all the later versions of the Svayambhūpurāṇa made clear efforts to replace « Gośṛṅga » wherever it occurred by « Gopuccha », though this exchange of names was consistently accomplished throughout the whole text only in recension IV.

The process of a « Nepalization » of the Svayambhūpurāṇa can be followed up also in other parts or constituents of the different text versions, e.g. in the episode of the learned monk Dharmaśrīmitra who once travelled from his monastery Vikramaśīla (near Vārāṇasī) to the « Mañjuśrīparvata » or « Pañcaśikha » in China in order to be instructed by the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī on a section of the Nāmasaṃgīti. In the two oldest versions of recension I, there are mentioned only those two places, whereas in all the later versions the meeting of Dharmaśrīmitra and Mañjuśrī was explicitly transferred to Nepal.

This noticeable tendency of « Nepalization » in the textual history of the « Svayambhūpurāṇa » is another strong argument in favour of the textual development as described above.

Finally, another clear change in the transmissional process mirrors a noteworthy development of religious practice in the medieval history of Newar

Buddhism. The older versions of the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa » still are charac-
terized, at least to a distinctly larger extent than the earlier versions, by a
sort of magic-bound and ritualistic orientation comparable, say, to Vajrayāna
views and practices of late Northern Indian Buddhism. On the other hand,
some of the subsequently added text portions of the later versions of the
« Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa » show an increasing interest in a particular religious
practice which was most probably taken over from Hinduism, namely pilgri-
mage piety, that is to say, visits to and circumambulations (in Sanskrit :
pradakṣiṇā) of holy places. As far as Nepal is concerned this religious prac-
tice is well attested as the specific subject of the Māhātmya literature of
Nepalese Hinduism [18]. Possibly this provenance was the reason why we find
in the later versions of the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa » not only the interest in or
inclination to these practices, but at the same time also passages where a
sort of distrust or even refusal of such practices is expressed.

What is meant here can be illustrated with the help of the following
story in the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa ». In all versions of this story there is de-
scribed a heavy drought in the reign of the Nepalese king Guṇakāmadeva.
In the two old versions I.A and I.B as well as in version II.A, there is only
one means to salvation, one which depends on the magical skill of the
Vajrācārya Śāntideva [19] living next to the Svayaṃbhūcaitya in Śāntipura. He
knew how to perform a Nāgasādhana, *i.e.* a ritual ceremony with the effect
of forcing the snakes, who are seen as being responsible for rain, to end the
drought. The Vajrācārya performed the Sādhana successfully and there were
again beneficial rains in Nepal.

In two of the later versions of the story, namely in III.A and in IV, there
is an interpolation in which the Vajrācārya Śāntaśrī [20] first of all advises the
king and his courtiers to make a pilgrimage ; they follow the advice, neverthe-
less in both versions the Nāgasādhana is to be performed afterwards in order
really to end the drought. There is, however, a difference in the explanation
of the two versions. In the text of recension III.A, the pilgrimage alleviates
the pain of the people of Nepal, but it is obviously seen as not strong enough
to remove the obstacles to rain. So we have here an adoption, but at the
same time also a clear subordination, of pilgrimage piety to the magical Vaj-
rayāna ritualism. On the other hand, the text version of recension IV repre-
sents a harmonizing view. Here the text explicitly declares that the reason
why the pilgrimage was not successful was only because it was done in an
imperfect manner, that is, the pilgrims forgot on the way to worship the shrine
of the snake king Karkoṭaka, so that the Nāgasādhana had to be performed
afterwards in order to correct the negligence during the pilgrimage. The two
methods are closely connected here with each other, in which fact one may
see a redactional progress ; but what is even more relevant in our present
context is the conclusion that in this version both religious practices are basi-
cally accepted as equally effective and recommendable.

Notes

1. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal. Etude historique d'un royaume hindou*, vol. 1, Paris, 1905, p. 209f.

2. A first rough idea of the contents of the work as a whole can be drawn from Brian H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, repr. New Delhi, 1972 (¹1874), p. 115-120; Rajendralala Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, repr. Calcutta, 1971 (¹1882), p. 245-255; S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 207-213, and vol. 3, Paris, 1908, p. 158-178.

3. *The Vṛihat Svayaṃbhū Purāṇaṃ*, Calcutta, 1894-1900 (Bibliotheca Indica).

4. Bernhard Kölver, «Stages in the Evolution of a World Picture», in: *Numen* 32, 1986, p. 135.

5. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 212.

6. On the concept of anonymous literature as well as the problems associated with its study, see Paul Hacker; «Zur Methode der geschichtlichen Erforschung der anonymen Sanskritliteratur des Hinduismus», *in Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 111, 1961, p. 483-492.

7. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 208f.

8. I have prepared an edition of the two parallel versions on the basis of thirteen MSS. which is to be published soon.

9. Version II.B is the only text of the «Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa» which has been published up to now in its entirety; see above note 3.

10. A facsimile edition of a manuscript (NGMPP: Reel No. A 923/3) of the Sanskrit version together with a transcription of the text has recently been prepared by Kamal P. Malla and will be published soon in Kathmandu.

11. Only two chapters of this recension have been edited up to the present, namely the tenth Adhyāya by Louis de La Vallée Poussin (Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa. Dixième chapitre, Gand, 1893) and the fourth Adhyāya by Ratna Handurukande (*Maṇicūḍāvadāna*, being a translation and edition, and Lokānanda, a translation and synopsis, London, 1967, p. 147-188).

'12. The development in the direction of enlargements is not at all a matter of course as one might assume; a year back I still was of the opinion that I.B is a sort of excerpt of II.A; but further examination forced me to revise this view.

13. In later literature Avalokiteśvara was generally identified with Matsyendranāth; cf. John K. Locke, *Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati*, Kirtipur, 1973.

14. According to this double «link and frame» story once the monk Jayaśrī told the king Jināśrī what the monk Upagupta in former times had reported to the famous king Aśoka, namely that previously the Buddha Śākyamuni had visited the Nepal Valley...

15. It reaches from the age of Vipaśyin when men had a lifespan of 80 000 years up to that of Kāśyapa when people lived only 20 000 years and further on to the present «historical» age.

16. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12, 1948, p. 337.

17. The use of the Hindu system of ages of the world (system of the four Yugas) already arouses suspicion.

18. Particularly of the Paśupatipurāṇa, the Nepālamāhātmya, and the Himavatkhaṇḍa.

19. Śāntideva seems to me to be the oldest form of the name though it occurs only in version I.B; I.A has Śāntikaradeva and II.A has Śāntikara instead.

20. In the text versions III.A and IV the Ācārya is identified with the very Śāntaśrī of the preceding chapter who is said to have covered the Svayaṃbhūcaitya with a Stūpa in a former age.

Some Remarks on Caste in the Theravāda Saṅgha of Nepal

Jens-Uwe Hartmann

At the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties of this century, some Buddhist Newars met in India with followers of a rather different form of Buddhism, which at that time was completely unknown in Nepal. This was the tradition of Theravāda Buddhism, as it calls itself, or of Southern Buddhism as it is often named because it prevails in the Southern countries of the Buddhist world, *e.g.* in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma. Today it is impossible to reconstruct the first encounter of those Newars with Theravāda Buddhists and the reasons for their resulting involvement. Coming from the background of a rather rigid form of Buddhism they were, as happens so often, probably searching for an imagined true religion behind the forms handed down by tradition, thereby experimenting with several possible alternatives.

In this context, it should be mentioned that three out of the six or seven men who were to become the figures most important for establishing the Theravāda movement in Nepal had been followers of Tibetan Buddhism prior to their involvement with Theravāda, and some of them had even received the lower ordination within the Tibetan tradition. One of them is still alive; he is now the Saṅghamahānayaka in Nepal, *i.e.* the head monk of the congregation of Theravāda monks in the country[1]. It is quite interesting to note that Tibetan Buddhism evidently could not serve as a stimulus for religious revival, although it offered a living monastic tradition and a living doctrinal tradition which, moreover, shows several close affinities to Newar Buddhism. Perhaps it was felt to be too close to their own tradition to offer any real alternative for those religious seekers.

In any case, contact with the Tibetan tradition remained a passing phenomenon. Quite contrary to that, the meeting with Theravāda monks in India had a lasting effect, and it became the starting point of a Buddhist reform movement in Nepal[2]. In India, it was above all a Burmese monk residing at Kuśinagar, the pilgrimage site of the historical Buddha's demise, who proved to be most influential among the new followers from Nepal. This monk belonged to a reform movement characterized by modernistic, demytholo-

gized modes of thought, and it was this form of Theravāda which was then imported to Nepal[3].

Theravāda does not hesitate to consider itself the only keeper of the original and pure teaching of the Buddha, devoid of all later additions, interpolations, falsifications and distortions. This conception of itself is also shared by the modernistic trends among the Theravāda followers. The claim to originality and exclusiveness, which in this form is lacking in the Tibetan tradition, surely attracted the Newars in their attempt to rediscover the original teaching of the Buddha.

Moreover, the modernistic movement offered a workable set of claims and arguments which could easily be made use of to show how distorted and backward a tradition the existing Newar Buddhism really was. To name just three : on the religious level, it could be claimed that the Buddha had taught a way to salvation starting with personal ethics; traditional Newar Buddhism, however, was satisfied with rituals only (it is of no concern here, whether such a claim is true or not). On the social level, it could be claimed that the Buddha had never admitted caste as a decisive factor[4]; Newar Budhism, on the contrary, was deeply rooted in the caste system. And on a secular level, it was maintained that the Buddha's teaching was in full agreement with modern science, whereas Newar Buddhism was full of superstitions[5].

Thus, those first Newars came back to Nepal well-armed with knowledge and arguments, and they quickly succeeded in attracting others. Another important factor for the success of the new movement was doubtlessly the connexion with awakening Newar nationalism, especially with the Newari language movement; this has aptly been described by David Gellner in his article on Newar identity[6]. At times suppressed by the Rana regime, the new movement nevertheless survived all vicissitudes and started to prosper even before the final overthrow of the Ranas. From its very beginning it was monks, correctly ordained according to Buddhist tradition, who introduced and propagated the new movement, and until today the slowly but steadily growing order of monks has proved essential for its prospering.

« Theravāda Buddhists have always regarded monks as both the preservers of their tradition and its principal examples. Monks are the spiritual élite. Questions surrounding membership of this élite are therefore of the greatest importance ». This was written in connexion with the order of monks in Sri Lanka[7], but it equally holds true for all the other Theravāda traditions and, it should be added, for all the other Buddhist traditions as well which still preserve an order of celibate monks.

In order to investigate one of the pillars of the Theravāda movement in Nepal, it is therefore instructive to see who is admitted to the order of monks, in other words, to look at the background of its clerics and, above all, at the castes to which they belong. Ideally, such an investigation should include the lay followers as well, in order to get an overall picture of the social background of the whole movement and, of no less importance, to compare the proportion of castes among clerics and lay followers. There is, however, a rather pronounced contrast in the religious practice of the ordained members

of the Buddhist Sangha, on the one hand, and the lay followers on the other, and this contrast often impedes the classification of a person as a lay follower.

While the monks and nuns follow Theravāda Buddhism and nothing but Theravāda, and while they are more or less outspoken in their disregard of traditional Newar Buddhism, we found it impossible to set up similarly unequivocal criteria for a definition of a lay follower. Most of those who profess themselves to be Theravāda lay Buddhists, in reality do the one without leaving the other, i.e. they follow both traditions in varying degrees.

This can be partly explained in terms of social bondage : the cleric, at least in theory, has completely abandoned the wordly life and thereby severed all social bonds; he is free to follow whatever religious practice he deems appropriate and to uncompromisingly reject all others. His lay supporter, on the other hand, is bound by all kinds of social ties to his fellow Newars, of whom the majority are followers of traditional Buddhism; therefore, these ties often include social as well as religious obligations.

Beyond that, it is a general characteristic of Theravāda Buddhism that Theravāda itself does not offer any facilities for the satisfaction of thisworldly concerns of its lay followers[8]. The monks should engage only in practices which eventually lead to their own spiritual salvation. In all the Theravāda countries, lay followers therefore have to turn somewhere else to provide for thisworldly needs, and in Nepal they find the necessary requirements in traditional Buddhism.

To give an example : in a small Theravāda temple at the northern outskirts of Kathmandu we had occasion to witness a *dāna* ceremony, a donation to members of the Theravāda order. A group of lay supporters, nearly all of them middle-aged and elderly women, had gathered to participate. Very close by, a small Vasundharā shrine is situated, which is normally locked, but on that occasion was opened. Before or after the Theravāda ceremony, most of the women unfailingly went to this Vasundharā shrine for worship. Theravāda clerics, however, would not even dream of going there; they would, rather, do everything to avoid the stigma of « following the superstitious ways of traditional Buddhism ». For many of the lay followers, there is no question of stigma involved, and most of them would probably see no need to decide between the two religious systems. It is therefore difficult to find a distinguishing characteristic which could help to mark off Theravāda laity from the other Buddhist Newars[9].

Without him explicitly saying so, similar difficulties were obviously faced by Ramesh Chandra Tewari, the only one, until now, who has studied the caste background of Theravāda Buddhists in Nepal[10]. He introduced those Newar castes from which most of the Theravāda followers come and gave some figures for the clerics, but none for the lay people. According to him, at the time of his study in 1982 there were about 60 bhikkhus, i.e. fully ordained monks, living in Nepal[11]. 38.4 % of them belonged to the Śākya caste, 22.7 % to the Maharjan (Jyāpu) group, 14 % to the Udās (Tulādhar *et al.*) group, 7 % to the Vajrācāryas and equally 7 % to the Śreṣṭhas. Besides that, he mentioned monks from the Mānandhars, Naus and Kumās. Somehow,

his figures appear to be slightly unbalanced : he gave the total strength of the order of monks as «about 60» and those of nuns as «about 65» and then proceeded to calculate precise percentages (in the case of the Maharjan group, for instance, this would result in thirteen and a half monks). He confined himself to simply presenting the figures mentioned above, without drawing further conclusions from them.

The most striking feature expressed by those figures, in view of Newar society, is doubtlessly the fact that different castes appear at all. The disregard for caste as a barrier to entrance into the Buddhist order is in perfect agreement with the Buddha's teaching, but in this respect traditional Newar Buddhism, with its connexion of caste and religious function, has moved far away from this teaching. Therefore, it is truly remarkable that an organization like the order of monks could be firmly implanted into Newar society without either loosing its high status or being forced to reserve membership for high-caste Newars only.

It should be noted that the first Theravāda monks in Nepal belonged to three castes only, namely to the Śākyas, to the Tulādhars (two of them) and to the Śreṣṭhas (one). It was among the Śākyas, one of the two Buddhist groups *per se,* where the reform movement gained its first foothold. Both the two Tulādhars were former Lhasa traders, again demonstrating the temporary connexion with Tibet which was mentioned above. The movement did not, however, originate among the Vajrācāryas, the priests of traditional Buddhism, and it took some time until the first Vajrācārya joined the Theravāda order. The number of the first monks is very small and therefore one should better refrain from using terms like caste mobility, but it seems worth noting that those first monks did not belong to the highest Buddhist group within the Newar community.

During our visits in Nepal between 1986 and 1989 we could draw up a list of altogether 201 members of the Theravāda order[12]. Even this list is probably not complete, the main difficulty lying in the fact that a considerable number of younger clerics have been sent abroad for studies at Buddhist schools and universities in the different Theravāda countries and are therefore not easy to trace. It is complete enough, however, to reveal certain tendencies within the Theravāda movement in Nepal.

The 201 members of the order are split up rather evenly into three groups : there are 59 Bhikkhus, *i.e.* fully ordained monks, 72 Sāmaṇeras, *i.e.* novices who have been granted the lower ordination only, and 70 Anāgārikās, *i.e.* a kind of Buddhist nun. If we compare the caste proportions among the Bhikkhus with the figures given by Tewari, we find them largely in agreement (cf. the table). According to our list, 39 % of the monks are of Śākya origin as against 38.4 % in Tewari's survey. Around 14 % come from a Maharjan background, but according to Tewari the figure is 22.7 %. On the Tulādhar *et al.* both lists agree, giving 14 %, and they similarly agree on the Vajrācāryas and on the Śreṣṭhas with a share of about 7-8 % each. Nearly half of the monks belong to the Vajrācārya and Śākya group, while the second half of the Sangha is made up of members from a number of different castes,

among them the Tulādhar, etc. and the Maharjan as the largest groups, but still significantly smaller than the Śākya/Vajrācārya proportion. Thus, the caste distribution within the order of Theravāda monks seems to some extent to reflect a degree of active participation similar to the one represented by the caste hierarchy in Buddhist Newar society.

Distribution of castes among the Theravāda clerics

	Tewari 1983		Our list [13]		
	Bhikkhu (monk) ca. 60	Anāgārikā (nun) ca. 65	Bhikkhu (monk) 59	Sāmaṇera (novice) 72	Anāgārikā (nun) 70
Vajrācārya	7%	7.1%	8.4%	1.4%	11.5%
Śākya	38.4%	42.6%	39.0%	27.8%	35.7%
Tulādhar *et al.*	14%	14.2%	13.6%		11.5%
Śreṣṭha	7%	7.1%	8.4%	9.7%	11.5%
Mānandhar	?	10.6%	3.4%	5.5%	7.1%
Maharjan	22.7%	12.6%	13.6%	31.9%	15.7%
Nāpit	?	?		1.4%	1.4%
Khaḍgī	?	?		2.8%	
other Newar castes	?	?	6.8%	8.3%	2.8%
Brāhmaṇa	?	?	3.4%		1.4%
Sherpa	?	?		4.2%	
Tamang	?	?	3.4%	7.0%	1.4%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The only surprising difference between our figures for the castes of the monks and Tewari's survey lies in the percentage of the Maharjan group, for which Tewari gives nearly 23 % against our 14 %. There might simply be a mistake at the bottom of it; if not, it has to be suspected that Tewari includes not only Bhikkhus in his list, but also Sāmaṇeras, whom he does not otherwise mention.

If one compares our figures for the monks with those for the novices, some striking differences are found. First of all, out of the 72 Sāmaṇeras, only 28 % come from the Śākya caste against 39 % of the Bhikkhus, and there is only one Vajrācārya among the novices. In other words, the proportion of Śākyas and Vajrācāryas comes to a little more than half of that among the monks. The Maharjan, on the contrary, have considerably gained ground : nearly one third of the novices against 14 % of the monks comes from a Maharjan background. At present, no members of the Udās group are found among the novices, while they amount to 14 % of the monks. Śreṣthas still hold a share of about 10 %, which is nearly equal to that among the monks. We find a considerable increase in the number of non-Newars : three novices are of Sherpa and five of Tamang origin, altogether 11 %, whereas only two Bhikkhus are born Tamangs. Finally it should be added that three novices come from low Newar castes such as Nāpit (barber) and Khaḍgī (butcher).

How are these differences in the social backgrounds of monks and novices to be explained ? First of all, there is a prescription valid in all Buddhist traditions that nobody younger than twenty years can receive the higher ordination to become a fully ordained monk [14]. There is no such rule, however, for novices. Therefore, most of the novices are young boys between ten and twenty years of age who have received their novice ordination more or less recently. The monks, on the other hand, have, for the greater part, been ordained for many years, and there are quite a few who have received their higher ordination forty or fifty years ago. Thus, the social difference between the monks and the novices can also be expressed as a temporary difference, and as such it becomes indicative of a development.

Evidently, the wish to become a member of the order is shifting in two directions, namely, from the Śākya/Vajrācārya group to the Maharjan and from Newars to non-Newars. Since nobody, at least in theory, can be prevented from entrance into the Buddhist order on account of caste or origin, this shift probably reflects a growing readiness among middle rank Newar castes to participate in religious life, which in traditional Buddhism has been the exclusive domain of the Śākya/Vajrācārya group. Another reason is certainly the question of education. Many of the novices have been and are still sent abroad for study, mostly on the basis of sponsorships from the country or institution to where they go. Formerly this system offered a chance for parents to have their children aquire status and education not available in Nepal, although with a comparatively high risk of failure, since a certain number of novices leave the order before completing their studies. Due to the improved education facilities in Nepal, nowadays it is often families with difficult economic situations who gladly hand over a child to the religious order. Moreover, for political reasons, two of the three countries where Nepalese novices usually go for studies, namely Burma and Sri Lanka, have lost much of their former attraction. Several attempts by the order to establish its own training centre in Nepal for the novices, with a regular school curriculum and Buddhist education side by side, have failed so far, which has not helped to encourage better-off parents.

As mentioned above, the differences between the caste distribution among the monks and the novices also point to the new tendency of the Buddhist revival movement to cross the border of the Newar society, to which it has been confined until recently, and to start spreading among non-Newar peoples. This tendency is reflected by the language discussion among the Theravāda followers. One fraction is in favour of the use of Nepali in order to become understood by the majority of people in Nepal. Others advocate the exclusive use of Newari as a medium language, thus wishing to preserve the Theravāda movement as a purely Newar phenomenon. It seems, however, that the idea of restriction is not really compatible with the goals and attitudes of Buddhist modernism as represented by the Theravāda movement, and one of the indications of the propagation among non-Newars is the ordination of a few Sherpa and Tamang novices.

There is still another, though perhaps not very decisive, factor for the caste differences between the monks and novices. The Akhil Nepāl Bhikkhu

Mahāsaṅgh, *i.e.* the congregation of all the Theravāda monks of Nepal, has set up a special rule stating that everybody aspiring for the higher ordination must have the permission of a committee of five senior monks[15]. Some of the older novices have been refused this permission for one reason or another. Although caste should be no hindrance, as said before, in a few instances it is indirectly admitted that there has been a connexion between the refusal of the committee and the low caste status of the applicant. Officially, however, the monks take some pains to offer an explanation for the refusal which does not focus primarily on the caste problem. According to our observations, the higher ordination is the only point where the underlying caste system still becomes visible within the order.

One of the other critical points would be the meals : all the monks and novices, however, will eat together on any occasion, and questions of rank among each other are never decided by descent, but only by the ordination age, *i.e.* by the span of time which has passed since reception of the higher ordination. Quite different, of course, are the relations between monks and lay people, which in many ways are still influenced by questions of caste. To give just one example : it is well known that the monks in Burma and in Thailand daily go for an alms round. Lay supporters will be waiting for them and fill freshly cooked dishes in their begging bowls – dishes which the monks have to eat before noon time. In Nepal, many attemps have been undertaken by single monks to follow this example, but without lasting success ; the lay people are simply not willing to offer cooked dishes[16]. At the end of most public ceremonies it is usual to make an offering to the participating monks. In imitation of the alms rice will be offered, even filled into the begging bowl, if the monk has brought it along, but this rice will never be cooked, and instead of cooked vegetables some small coins are added.

Finally, a few remarks on the nuns should be added. The designation « nun » is, strictly speaking, not appropriate, because they are not real nuns in the Buddhist sense of the word. The ordination tradition of nuns in Theravāda Buddhism is commonly accepted to have died out more than 1,500 years ago. From that time onwards, there have no longer been any Bhikkhunīs, *i.e.* fully ordained nuns. Since their self-interpretation – they call themselves « nuns » in English language publications – and their life style can best be expressed in English by the word « nun », this term is employed here. The Nepalese Anāgārikās, or « Homeless Ones », as they are called in their own terminology, correspond rather to the Buddhist female ascetics of other Theravāda countries[17]. The designation Anāgārikā is an extension of the term for Buddhist lay male ascetics, which was accepted into usage in Ceylon in the 19th century ; the use of a female equivalent seems to be restricted to Nepal.

There is no minimum age prescribed to become an Anāgārikā, but the number of young nuns is far less than that of the novices. Therefore, the caste structure of the nuns' community rather closely resembles that of the monks and, as yet, offers no hints at future developments. There is also a high share of Śākya women among the nuns, namely 36 % (monks 39 %), and the Śākya/Vajrācārya group together equally holds a share of 47 % (monks 47 %). 16 % of the nuns are of Maharjan origin (Bhikkhus 14 %),

11 % are Udās (Bhikkhus 14 %), 11 % are Śreṣṭhas compared to 8 % of the monks. Only one nun comes from another ethnic group, namely, from the Tamangs.

These Anāgārikās have attained to a degree of significance that is fully unprecedented in the other Theravāda countries. In number, they excel the monks (70 against 59), and there are a few nuns whose fame and influence are comparable to that of the leading monks. It should be stressed that the formation of the Anāgārikā community is not a recent phenomenon, and there-fore its origination cannot be explained by the impact of Western ideas of women's liberation or similar concepts. On the contrary, there have been nuns from the very beginning of the reform movement. One of the reasons for becoming a nun is surely the fact that her status is connected with high pres-tige and, at the same time, offers an alternative to life in the joint family which is often considered by girls as a frightful threat. This, at least, is the impression one gains from a number of interviews. Another factor is probably to be seen in the exclusion of women from priest-like functions in traditional Newar Buddhism, where only male Śākyas and Vajrācāryas can fulfill the role of religious specialists. A circumstance contributing to the influence of the nuns is the fact that most of the active lay followers are women.

Nonetheless, it appears difficult at the moment to satisfactorily account for the high share of female clerics within Nepalese Theravāda Buddhism and for their influence among men and women alike, because one or the other of the adduced factors is also present in other Theravāda countries, but without producing an even remotely similar result. This remarkable situa-tion should, therefore, offer a rewarding subject for further research, and this not only because women studies is in vogue these days.

Notes

1. Cf. R.B. Vandya, *Sanghanayaka Ven. Pragnananda Mahasthabir (A Concise Biography),* Kathmandu, 1978; R.B. Bandya, *Saṃgha Mahānāyaka Bhadanta Prajñānanda Mahāsthavira yā jīvanī,* Patan, 1986.

2. For details see Heinz Bechert, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, «Observations on the Reform of Buddhism in Nepal», *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 8 (1988), p. 1-30.

3. For a description of the so-called Buddhist Modernism, cf. H. Bechert, «Buddhistic Modernism : Its Emergence, Impact and New Trends», *Business and Economic Review (Special Issue on International Buddhist Forum)* 14 (1990), p. 93-104.

4. For a recent contribution on the Buddha's attitude towards the caste system see Y. Kri-shan, «Buddhism and the Caste System», *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 9.1 (1986), p. 71-83; some of his conclusions, however, are rather questionable. Cf. also Richard Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit,* Kiel, 1897.

5. For the term used in this context, cf. David N. Gellner, «Monkhood and Priesthood in Newar Buddhism», *Puruṣārtha* 12 (1989), note 34.

6. «Language, Caste, Religion and Territory. Newar identity ancient and modern», *European Journal of Sociology* 27 (1986), p. 128 ff.

7. Richard Gombrich, «Temporary Ordination in Sri Lanka», *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7.2 (1984), p. 41.

8. Cf. D. Gellner, *Monkhood and Priesthood* (see n 5), p. 165 f.

9. Traditionally, there are two acts which characterize a lay follower : taking the triple refuge (*tisaraṇagamana*) and observing the five ethical precepts (*pañcasila*). In Nepal, the respective formulas are known to and recited by most of the participants of every Theravāda ceremony. This does not mean, however, that every participant would consider himself a Theravāda lay follower.

10. « Socio-Cultural Aspects of Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal », *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 6.2, (1983), p. 67-93.

11. *Op. cit.*, n 5.

12. Thanks are due to John K. Locke, S.J., Kathmandu, who is presently engaged in a similar project on Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal. He kindly consented to compare our data with his own, which enabled us to add some names we had missed and to correct a few of the caste references.

The list also includes clerics who passed away or left the order between 1986 and 1989. It does not include, however, monks who are Nepalese by birth, but not accepted as members of the Akhil Nepāl Bhikkhu Mahāsaṅgh. Also omitted are persons who received any of the forms of temporary ordination.

13. Data collected between March 1986 and March 1989; for further details cf. n 12.

14. Cf. *The Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, Vol. I, London, 1929, p. 77f., and *The Book of the Discipline*, transl. I. B. Horner, Vol. IV, London, 1951, p. 96-98.

15. Cf. Bechert/Hartmann (as n° 2), p. 22.

16. For general information on questions of caste and food, but without reference to the Theravāda clerics, cf. Per Löwdin, *Food, Ritual and Society Among the Newars*, Uppsala, 1985 (Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology 4), especially p. 27ff.

17. For Burma see Hiroko Kawanami, « The Religious Standing of Burmese Buddhist Nuns (*thilá-shin*) : The Ten Precepts and Religious Respect Words », *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 13.1 (1990), p. 17-39, and especially note 2 for the problem of referring to these women as nuns. For Sri Lanka see Lowell W. Bloss, « The Female Renunciants of Sri Lanka : The *Dasasilamattawa* », *JIABS* 10.1 (1987), p. 7-31, and Elizabeth Nissan, « Recovering Practice : Buddhist Nuns in Sri Lanka », *South Asia Research* 4.1 (1984), p. 32-49.

Remarks on the Vaiśākha Festival in Nepal

Petra Kieffer-Pülz

Every year on the full moon day of the month Vaiśākha, Theravāda Buddhists celebrate the birthday, enlightenment and *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. With the establishment of Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal in the middle of our century, this tradition was introduced into the religious life of Nepal [1].

During the early period, Vaiśākha Pūrṇima was celebrated officially only by performing Buddhapūjā and by delivering religious discourses. In the course of time a number of different performances were added, so that in most places the festival now comprises distribution of fruits to hospitals, blood donations, and processions [2]. Furthermore, some places have started aforestation programs (1989, Birgañj and Biratnagar), organized health camps (1989, Nepalguñj), performed cleaning campaigns (1989, Pāṭan, Birgañj), held Quiz Contests (1989, Kathmandu, Pokhara), performed plays (1989, Bhaktapur) or initiated, as, for example, in Thimi, an art exhibition with pictures of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment and *parinirvāṇa*, produced by the children of the village. While in the early stage of Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal the festivities were mainly concentrated in the big cities in the Kathmandu valley, viz. Kathmandu and Pāṭan, nowadays Vaiśākha Pūrṇima is celebrated in smaller places too, within and beyond the Kathmandu valley.

In 1989 I had the opportunity to observe the Vaiśākha festival in Kathmandu, Pāṭan, Bhaktapur and in smaller villages in the vicinity. The festivities start seven days before Vaiśākha Pūrṇima; in 1989 they lasted from the 13th to the 20th of May. Everyday during this period a number of religious discourses were held, in places where many monks and nuns reside, like Kathmandu and Pāṭan, and as often as possible in smaller towns and villages, like Bhaktapur, Thimi, Dhulikhel. Some lay people took five, eight or ten sīlas during these days and some got ordained as monks or nuns for a limited period. In Kathmandu and Pāṭan, which both had printed programs and printed calendars, the festivities were organized by special committees. Here I would like to give a short survey of the festival as celebrated in these two places.

KATHMANDU

For the last sixteen years, the Vaiśākha festival in Kathmandu has been organized by the *Buddha Jayanti Celebration Committee*, which for about four years has had its present structure. At the head of the Committee are the president – in 1989 Bhikṣu Amṛtānanda – and four vice presidents, who represent the three existing forms of Buddhism in Nepal, viz. Tibetan Buddhism (Guru Checu Kusyo Lama), Nevar Buddhism (Kānak Man Śākya and Lok Darśan Vajrācārya) and Theravāda Buddhism (Bhikṣu Sudarśan). They function mainly as representatives.

Three secretaries, originally only lay people – in 1989 one of these positions was given to a Theravāda monk – and about eleven subcommittees are responsible for the organization of all ceremonies. Besides a fund-raising committee, there are committees for temple repair, the organization of the religious discourses, Radio and TV programs, the printing of a calendar, the printing of a souvenir magazine, the procession, food preparation, the organization of the «Quiz Contest», and for decorating Ānandakuṭivihār on Vaiśākha Pūrṇima. Every year the *Buddha Jayanti Celebration Committee* of the previous year elects the new *Buddha Jayanti Celebration Committee*.

During the seven days, the committee for information, represented in 1989 by Bhikṣu Maitri, transmitted a Buddhist radio program every morning from 6.30 to 6.50. This consisted mainly of a speech by some lay person on, for example, «Buddhism in daily life» or «How to treat father and mother», etc. In addition the committee telecasted a TV program with a similar content every morning at 7.30, which lasted ten minutes. In both cases Nepalī was the language.

A «Quiz Contest» concerning different aspects of Buddhism has been included in the Vaiśākha festival for the last nine years. Twenty high schools from Kathmandu participated. The contest ran from 5.30 in the afternoon to 10.00/10.30 p.m. everyday in Iṭumbahal and lasted five days. Five schools, each represented by three pupils, competed the first four days. About 75 questions were asked, based on three books, which were distributed to the pupils in advance[3]. On the last day, the four winners of the preceding days competed. The best of these schools won the prize, a gold and silver coloured Stūpa, which was handed over later at the official festivity in the Ānandakuṭivihār on Vaiśākha Pūrṇima. The language of this quiz was Nepalī.

The custom of carrying out a «Quiz Contest» was taken over from Pāṭan, where this has been common practice for 21 years now. In Pāṭan there are 64 districts, each possessing a library. Every year one of these libraries is responsible for the organization of the «Quiz Contest», which, contrary to Kathmandu, is not part of the Vaiśākha festival, but rather takes place the week after Vaiśākha Pūrṇima.

As part of the official program usually seven monks are sent into seven cities beyond the Kathmandu valley on Vaiśākha Pūrṇima. This year only

five monks went to Bhojpur, Birāṭnagar, Biśālnagar, Pokharā and Tansen respectively.

At Vaiśākha Pūrṇima, the last and most important day of the Vaiśākha festival, people walked up to Svayambhūnāth early in the morning. At ten o'clock in the morning the Caityapūjā started. Thereafter five Vajrācāryas performed the Vajrācārya dance leading in *pradakṣinā* round the Caitya and other holy places on Svayambhū.

In the meantime the official program began in Ānandakuṭivihār at eight o'clock in the morning with Buddhapūjā, followed by a religious discourse. The exhibition of the Buddha relic in front of Ānandakuṭivihār was inaugurated at 10 a.m. The relic, a very small black fragment on a small silver stand enclosed by a glass mantle, was deposited on a little carriage. The people were allowed to walk in front of the relic, which was guarded by a monk and a soldier, in lines of no more than five to eight. Simultaneously a blood donation took place at the side of the shrine house.

At about 11 o'clock, food was distributed to the monks, nuns and lay people. Instead of «beaten rice», which is more expensive, milk rice was distributed [4]. As milk rice can become impure through the touch of a member of a low caste, and «beaten rice» cannot, a lot of people complained about this. But the *Buddha Jayanti Celebration Committee* has decided to retain this practice.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the official program was taken up again in Ānandakuṭivihār. Originally, the king was expected to come, because a great Vaiśākha festival, including a procession, was celebrated that year. However, the then Prime Minister, Marich Man Singh Shrestha, participated in his place.

After the usual threefold *namo tassa,* etc., the ceremony went on with the speech of Bhikṣu Amṛtānanda, followed by a speech by a representative of the UNDP, Gerold Burke. Thereafter, the distribution of prizes for the winners of the «Quiz Contest» took place. The prizes were handed over by Bhikṣu Amṛtānanda and the Prime Minister. On account of a heavy rain fall a great part of the audience set off immediately after this part of the ceremony. The speech of the Prime Minister, which then followed, was therefore not listened to attentively.

Owing to the distribution of the prizes for the winners of the «Quiz Contest», which now seems to form the main part of the official Vaiśākha ceremony in Kathmandu, the original import of the ceremony has become threatened. Therefore, some members of the committee want to exclude the distribution of the prizes from this performance. But the lobby for the «Quiz Contest» till 1989 was too strong to change this practice.

From Ānandakuṭivihār people went down to Śrīgha Vihār in the center of Kathmandu, where at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the procession was expected to start. The procession was led by a group who carried a yak tail on a wooden pole. Different groups of musicians and lay followers of individual vihāras, distinguishable by their dress, and, as the main attraction, two carriages each drawn by two horses, constituted the procession. In

the first of these, the Buddha relic was exhibited, guarded by four people. This procession, which followed the old procession route returning to Śrīgha Vihār at the end, lasted two hours and concluded the Vaiśākha festival 'in Kathmandu.

PĀṬAN

As in Kathmandu the Vaiśākha festivities in Pāṭan are organized by a *Buddha Jayanti Celebration Committee.* In 1989, the president of this committee was the mayor of Pāṭan, Buddhirāj Bajrācārya, and his secretary was Āśā Rām Śākya. Nothing could be found out about the further structure of this committee.

The center for the different performances in Pāṭan was the Akṣeśvarvihār in Pulchowk, Pāṭan. This vihāra, completed only in 1988, functions as a forum for all kinds of Buddhists and as a guest house for everybody interested in Buddhism.

In accordance with this function the organized festivities in Pāṭan were not limited to those of Theravāda Buddhists, but included performances of Vajrācāryas and Tibetan Buddhists.

The Vaiśākha festival started on the first day at 8 o'clock in the morning with a Vajrācāryapūjā. At 1 o'clock a Buddha seminar began, presided by Bhikṣu Buddhaghosa from Pāṭan in the presence of the minister for education. On this occasion three papers concerning Buddhism were delivered[5].

On each of the following days at 7 o'clock in the morning a pūjā was performed in the Akṣeśvarvihār, altogether three times by Theravāda Buddhists, three times by Vajrācāryas and once by Tibetan Buddhists. The ceremonies of the Theravādins, which were in most cases given prominence by the presence of a minister, were visited by a great number of spectators. At the ceremony of the Tibetans about ten people were present, while the performances of the Vajrācāryas were viewed by only one or two guests (excluding one Dhāraṇī ceremony on the 6th day, which was the best frequented of all performances).

Besides the Buddhapūjās, the Theravādin carried out a blood donation on the second day, and a *paritrāṇa* ceremony on the third day, which was followed by a cleaning demonstration by the mayor of Pāṭan and the minister for housing and physical planning. The aim of this demonstration was to show that sweeping is not a low caste affair.

Every day at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, sometimes at 2 p.m., religious discourses were delivered by monks and nuns at different places in Pāṭan, and in the evening at 7 o'clock the daily program was concluded by *jñānamālā* music in the Akṣeśvarvihār.

The main ceremony took place on the sixth day of the Vaiśākha festival in Akṣeśvarvihār. At 8 o'clock in the morning a small procession, consisting of men only, departed from the Akṣeśvarvihār to the Golden Temple in Pāṭan,

attended by groups of musicians. In the Golden Temple, in the meantime, three men prepared a barrow for the transport of a Buddha statue, especially made for this purpose in 1970 and kept there for the rest of the year. When the procession from the Akṣeśvarvihār arrived at the Golden Temple, they all left together, carrying the Buddha statue in their midst, and returned to the Akṣeśvarvihār. There, the statue was placed on a high stand in front of a pavilion in the backyard of Akṣeśvarvihār. Inside the Vihāra, the Vajrācārya Dhāraṇī, which had started early in the morning, was in progress.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the official ceremony, comparable to the official ceremony on Vaiśākha Pūrṇima in Kathmandu, started. The place in front of the pavilion was nicely prepared, but on account of heavy rainfall only a few guests attended. Of all the invited ambassadors, only the Thai ambassador participated, and instead of the expected Prime Minister, the minister for water supply arrived. After various speeches, the handing over of documents to the people who had donated their blood on the second day of the Vaiśākha festival began. This seemed to be the main part of the ceremony.

Vaiśākha Pūrṇima was initiated a 7 o'clock in the morning by a Buddhapūjā. The main event of this day was the procession, which started at 12 o'clock and lasted till 6 o'clock in the evening. As opposed to Kathmandu, the procession went the fixed procession route again and again till the evening, each time growing by the arrival of new groups. The festival in Pāṭan was concluded by *jñānamālā* music in the backyard of Akṣeśvarvihār.

Notes

1. In 1948, Vaiśākha Pūrṇima was proclaimed a public holiday for the Buddhist civil servants in the Kathmandu valley and, as early as 1952, this was extended to the entire kingdom. In 1956 and in 1977 the respective kings participated in the official ceremony carried out in Ānandakuṭivihār at the foot of Svayambhū. Brief sketches of this development are included in Ria Kloppenborg, « Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal », *Kailash, A Journal of Himalayan Studies*, vol. 5 (1977), no. 4, p. 301-322, especially p. 307ff., and in Amṛtānanda, *A Short History of Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1982.

2. Cf. Kloppenborg, *op. cit.*, p. 309. Concerning the Vaiśākha festivities in India and abroad, brief sketches are included every year in the June or July edition of the magazine *The Maha Bodhi, International Buddhist Monthly*, for example in vol. 77, no 6, June 1969, S. 234-244 (Nepal on p. 241f.), and nos 7-8, July-August 1969, p. 277-279 ; vol. 88, nos 7-9, July-September 1980, p. 186-191. Compare for Vesakh as celebrated in Sri Lanka the article « Vesak Celebrations then and now and for the future global society. (Based mainly on the experience in Sri Lanka) », by L. C. Hewage in *The Maha Bodhi*, Vaisakha Number, 1981, p. 118ff. An article by R. B. Barua, « Some important festivals of the Buddhists in East Pakistan », *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol. 10, no 1, June 1965, contains some information on the Vesakh celebration in East Pakistan (p. 24-26).

3. *Bauddha Darpaṇa*, by Prakāśa Bajrācārya, *Buddhakalina Rājaparivāra*, by Bhikṣu Amṛtānanda, and *Bauddha Pariyatti*.

4. According to David Gellner this was the case as early as 1982, when the ambassadors of Burma, Pakistan and the United Kingdom attended the performance and held speeches.

5. Bodhi Bajra Bajrācārya, *Buddha Dharmmā Artha Byavasthā* ; Uttam Ratna Dhākhvā, *Buddha Dharma ra Vijñāna* ; Satyan Mohan Jośī, *Buddha kalā ra saṃskṛti*.

When the Miners Came to Light:
The Chantel of Dhaulagiri

Anne de Sales

One of the fundamental achievements of the National Code (Muluki Ain) of 1854 was to classify tribes within the caste hierarchy of Nepal. Rights, as well as fines and other punishments were fixed according to the position of the caste to which they were applied. A form of punishment which will be of special interest to the present article is the practice of enslavement in retribution for criminal offences (not to be confused with enslavement for indebtedness). The National Code draws a clear distinction between, on the one hand, low castes and non-Hindu groups who were liable to punitive enslavement and, on the other, higher castes who might only be downgraded. Naturally, aspiration to a more elevated rank in the hierarchy resulted in underprivileged ethnic groups or castes devising strategies to bring their lifestyle into greater conformity with that of the higher castes. (We may note in passing the fact that the National Code does not distinguish between caste and ethnic group, designating them indiscriminately as *jāt*).

This first major intervention by the State in Nepalese society as a whole ran parallel to economic and political policies that were to orient the development of various groups. When, about a century after the Code was implemented, the first ethnographers started to describe this composite society, the ethnic map that had already been drawn was partly the outcome of interactions between the local strategies of these groups and the central power. This is why in Nepal neither ethnic apellations nor linguistic and cultural criteria can be considered as unequivocal signs that the members of a group share a common origin. This is what A. Höfer's study of the Muluki Ain helped to reveal. Published in 1979, his anthropological analysis of this historical document has been a landmark study of a set of new works that present the so-called tribes or ethnic groups as being in a state of continuous transformation, free from the illusion that they are eternal isolated ethnic groups [1].

It would seem that there is a wide range of possible processes involved in the formation of a group. A group might separate from a larger collectivity to which it used to belong in order to maintain the exclusive exercise of

certain privileges such as the Thakali control over local trade : a group or
a number of individuals can join an already constituted group in order to
obtain access to traditional land tenure rights such as the *kipaṭ* of the Limbu;
groups of various origin may gather under a single label such as the Rai;
certain groups like the village communities analysed by Levine (1987), from
whose work I have gathered the examples given above, change their identity
altogether in the course of a decade. In Humla District, «ethnic groups are
linked by a regional economic and social system, and changes in a group's
ethnic affiliations are coincident with changes in their economy and style of
life» (Levine 1987, p. 71).

The Chantel seem to present a kind of limiting case in the sense that
originally their members probably had little in common beside the same oc-
cupation. All are the descendants of copper miners. They are almost unre-
cognized as a caste or ethnic group not only by anthropologists [2] but by the
Nepalese themselves, who regard them as an ancient Magar clan. However
the Chantel, who number approximately 10,000 people, insist that they form
a single and distinct caste (*jāt*). They inhabit the western and southern slopes
of Dhaulagiri massif, specifically Myagdi District and the north of Baglung
District. Although not very high this area shows a dramatic relief and is ap-
propriately called «Ath Hajar Parbat» (the Eight Thousand Hills). It is the
part of Nepal which is richest in copper, lying between the Myagdi and Bheri
rivers. The general consensus is that the southern part of the region, called
the Twenty-Two Low Mines, was exploited by Agri Magars whereas the min-
ers in the northern section, known as the Twenty-Two Upper Mines, were
mostly Chantel.

The Chantel adamantly deny any link with the Magar and instead claim
Thakuri origins. They had no corporate existence until the beginning of this
century, when the government granted them lands as the mines were gradually
closed. In a one-year contract between the government and the Mukhiya of
the Chantel village of Lamella (Baglung District) drawn up in 1908, the min-
ers are still referred to as Agri Magârs but the Mukhiya himself is named
Chantel. According to the old Mukhiya of that village, eight years later, in
1916, the villagers were granted lands in the upper part of the valley. They
are narrow fields close to the forest whereas Magar and Thakali enjoy a
more clement location down in the valley.

The Myagdi Chantel in the north-east are separated from the Baglung
Chantel in the south-west by a ridge. The Myagdi Chantel inhabit single-caste
villages (with the exception of artisan households. Blacksmiths and Musi-
cian-Tailors) which are further grouped into a caste-specific enclave, whereas
the Baglung Chantel occupy multi-caste villages, with Magar and both high-
and low-caste Parbatiya in multicaste valleys such as Nisi, Bhuji, and Taman.
There the Blacksmiths are remarkably well settled. They own lands and one
village is exclusively composed of this caste. Among the Magar, the Gharti
are especially numerous. A last group worth mentioning is the Nauthare, who
are trying with varying degrees of success to form a separate caste. They
are concentrated in five settlements : Gadi Khola, Morang, Kudum, Nauthare,
Balkot.

The Myagdi Chantel claim as their own language what is in fact a dialect of Thakali origin akin to that spoken in Thini in Mustang district, whereas the Baglung Chantel who live further away from Thak Khola speak only Nepali. This difference could be explained by the fact that copper contractors in Myagdi district were almost exclusively Thakali whereas contractors in Baglung were also Magar, and Parbatiya Nepali was therefore the *lingua franca*. The two groups intermarry and the Chantel as a whole are endogamous.

Now it is known that the mines which were theoretically open to all castes (according to the Muluki Ain) were actually exploited on the one hand by the Non-Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers (the *namāsinyā matwāli*), represented by the Magar and the Gurung, and on the other hand by the Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers (*māsinyā matwāli*), especially the Gharti. The services of the impure Blacksmith caste were very much in demand for making the necessary tools and to provide charcoal for smelting the metal. Therefore the tasks involved in the exploitation of the mines provide an order for the complex ethnic and social situation of the area : Blacksmiths as toolmakers, Magar, Gharti and Gurung (the Chantel of course did not yet exist) as miners and Magar, Parbatiya and Thakali as contractors.

According to Regmi (1984 and 1988), copper was a prized metal, even more so than iron or lead. It was needed for a wide range of purposes : for making households utensils, for casting not only bells and images but also cannons, and for coinage. The demand for copper for military purposes was particularly high towards the end of the eighteenth century, during the period of unification, and also at the beginning of the nineteenth century during the wars against the British and Tibet. The Gorkhali rulers took possession of the concerned area, Nisi-Bhuji-Baglung, in 1789. They accordingly tried to intensify the level of production. Until that time the absence of real control and the lifestyle of the miners themselves had made exploitation of the mines a haphazard affair. Kirkpatrick noted in 1793 : « It would seem that the miners (who are of the Agrye caste or tribe) move from place to place, according as their discoveries prompt them... working only when stimulated by necessity, or by particularly advantageous offers » (1969, p. 62). Confirming this description, the Chantel say of themselves that they were landless errants (*bhāgera āeko mānche*).

As noted earlier the geological structure of the area is highly folded and continuous deposits of minerals are rare. Deposits were discovered accidently, worked by primitive methods and abandoned when good surface deposits were exhausted. According to Cavenagh : « The Gorkha miners do not in general sink a shaft from which the gallery diverges, but in the first instance run an open trench... and when this is carried to such a depth that it fills with water, having no means of keeping it clear, the mine is deserted » (quoted in Regmi, 1988, p. 139). The climatic conditions also made it impossible to work much more than three or four months a year, between the end of the winter and the beginning of the rains.

These ecological constraints and the level of technology explain why the miners were errants, and why, in order to control them and their production, the government took several measures to make allotments more attractive. There were three kinds of measures :

— the allotments of homesites and agricultural lands along with lands containing mineral deposits ;

— security of tenure on their agricultural holdings ;

— exemption from providing unpaid labour on a compulsory basis for State purposes and exemption from enslavement (Regmi, 1984, p. 92).

This last measure is especially significant.

According to the classification of the Muluki Ain, punishment by enslavement is the criterion which distinguishes the two categories of alcohol drinkers (*matwāli*) : the Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers (*māsinyā matwāli*) such as Bhote, Cepang and Gharti are eligible, while the Non-Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers (*namāsinyā matwāli*), who include the Gurung and Magar, are not. While members of all castes, including Brahmans, may be enslaved in certain circumstances, such as indebtedness, the Muluki Ain does not permit enslavement as a penalty for categories above and including the Non-Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers. It just happened that the mining community was comprised of both enslavable *matwāli*, mainly Bhote and Gharti, and Non-Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers, mainly Magar and Gurung who had been reduced in such circumstances. I suggest that the occupation of mining provided an opportunity for individuals who had previously belonged to the Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers category to submerge their original caste identity in the mixed category of the so-called Agri and thence to rise to the new status of Non-Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers.

This hypothesis is reinforced by Höfer's analysis of the Gharti, which suggests that they too may have been a kind of transitional category. As stated earlier, the Gharti are particularly numerous in the region of the Nisi-Bhuji. The name Gharti designates emancipated slaves, a pure category of Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers. But it is likely that this caste became as Höfer puts it, « a reservoir for people of "notorious" origin » (1979, p. 130), specifically the offspring of incestuous unions among the Gurung and of hypogamous marriages between tribal men and Brahman or Chetri women.

It is worth remembering that « the original caste affiliation a slave had retained during his servitude is abandoned through his emancipation and replaced by a new one » (*ibid.*, p. 130), presumably Gharti. In the case of the cordwearers and of the Non-Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers, enslavement and subsequent emancipation of course constitute a decline of status. As for the impure castes such as Kami or Sarki, emancipation from slavery cannot legally promote them to the satus of a pure caste. However they are also called Gharti, and « it would not be surprising if some of the people labelling themselves as Gharti turned out to be the descendants of ex-slaves of untouchable origin ». After the abolition of slavery in 1924 some of the Gharti were even invested with the holy cord and since then the Gharti of some parts of western Nepal have been called Gharti-Chetri (Caplan, 1974).

The Gharti appear to me to be a sort of transitional caste in which the members can « launder » their original identity and acquire a new status. Like the Gharti, who actually constitute a good part of their community, the Agri are a heterogeneous group in which the original caste affiliation is dissolved and the opportunity for a change of status is presented. I suggest that this context was especially favourable for the emergence of a new group such as the Chantel. The Chantel were nurtured within this amorphous multicaste context in order eventually to become a distinct caste in which they would no longer have to recognize their origins.

The formation of the Chantel group involved a double movement, a process which is illustrated by their behaviour towards intercaste marriages. The Chantel say that their two original clans were Garabja and Balanja. It is worth remembering that Garabdzong, which in Tibetan means literally « joyous fort », was the main fort and the capital of Thini kingdom, in Mustang district (Ramble and Vinding, 1987). It was mentioned earlier that the so-called Chantel language appeared to be a dialect of Thakali from Thini. Therefore the Garabja clan could well have come from Garbdzong. (As for Balanja, the name may be an alliterative invention to designate the second moiety).

The stories describing the aggregation of other clans around these two original clans follow a similar pattern : the community gave its daughters to strangers, a Chetri, a Bhotiya, a Magar. These sons-in-law abandoned their original caste affiliation through their marriage with Chantel daughters. But they kept the name of their original clan in order to start a new Chantel clan. In this way a Khadka Chetri founded the clan called Khadka Chantel and the descendants of a Bhote named Gyaltsen (Tib. rGyal-mtshan) became the Gyabtsen Chantel.

It a newcomer married a Garabja daughter, he would automatically become a kinsman to the Balanja and would therefore not be able to marry anyone from the Balanja side. In other words, unrelated people who marry into the same clan come to be regarded as blood-relatives. Through alliance relationships, relationships of consanguinity are created. It would be more accurate to speak of « relation by milk » (*dudhko bhāi*). In this way an agglomeration of strangers can be transformed into ethnic group of kinspeople.

It was stated earlier that there are two movements involved in the formation of the Chantel group. The first one, as we have just seen, incorporates sons-in-law. Because of their uxorilocal marriage the sons-in-law are in an inferior position vis-à-vis the Chantel group which receives them. One should notice that this statutory relationship is precisely the reverse of the one which prevails in a Hindu society where marriages are hypergamous, the wife-givers being in an inferior position to the wife-takers. The general tendency to hypergamy is restored once the group is fully constituted as a caste. And this is the second movement. Nowadays the Chantel say that the other castes send their women to marry Chantel men. This implies that the wife-givers (Magar and even Chetri) occupy an inferior status according to the Chantel conception of their relationships with the other groups.

The Chantel are the product of the strategies permitted by the Nepalese caste system of which the identity that they are forging is a lively expression. On the one hand they claim a Thakuri origin and invoke their name as evidence : « Chantel » is the name of an Indian Rajput clan. They attribute the loss of their sacred thread to historical accident and put forward their orthodox manners in matter of food. On the other hand they also claim tribal features : they insist that their language is their own, different from *khaskurā*, they put forward their strong shamanic tradition which is explicitly linked to that of the Northern Magar, with whom they also share a similar transhumant lifestyle, and they marry cross-cousins.

It was remarked at the outset of the present paper that one of the features of the Muluki Ain was to include both tribes and castes within the hierarchy it proposed. The case of the Chantel suggests that this group has preferred the option of being a tribe to that of being a low caste.

Notes

1. Among the most recent of these works it is worth mentioning Krauskopff's study of the Tharu (1987). Holmberg's reconstruction of the Tamang (1989) and Levine's enlightening analysis of the Humla area enriched with insights of a general interest (1987).

2. Excepting ethnographic notes by C. Jest published in 1968 and two virtually identical articles by W. Michl that appeared in 1974 and 1976, shortly before the author's death.

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On Sacrifice

Michael Oppitz

The following contribution on sacrifice falls into two parts of unequal lengths. In the first part, I will recapitulate with a few words some of the better known theories on sacrifice. In the second larger part, I shall try to elaborate in a given case the position of sacrificial offerings in an overall ritual context. The first part gives some general background to the topic, the second part puts forward, so I hope, some new matter from my own observation.

The two most renowned theories on sacrifice of the 19th century can each be named after a single key word. One is the *gift* theory of Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1871) and the other is the *communion* theory of Sir William Robertson Smith (1889). The first of these, exposed in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, makes the point that sacrifice was originally a gift of man to his gods in order to win their favours. The gods of primitive man were thought to be similar to tribal chiefs who, like real chiefs, could be influenced by submissive gestures and regular tributes. As time went on, so Tylor, the ideas about sacrifice changed. The original sacrificial gift donated to the deceased tribal chiefs (the gods) in the expectation of a lenient treatment shrank by repetition to a mere gesture of adoration. And the hope for a repercussive effect of the gift diminished more and more in the head of primeval man, until he gave it up altogether. In this way, the sacrificial gift passed through three successive phases : from gift to homage and from homage to abnegation.

Tylor's *gift* theory found support in the works of Herbert Spencer, primarily in his *Principles of Sociology* (1882). According to him sacrifice developed in the history of early man from its most primitive form, *i.e.* from the gifts of the living laid down on the graves of their dead, in order to appease and console them for having left the realm of the living and turned into spirits and to prevent them from revengeful acts directed against those still alive. The gift theory left unmentioned the fact that even in the most primitive cultures the sacrificial offerings were ceded only partially to the gods ; the lion's share was consumed instead by the sacrificers themselves.

The sacrificial meal became the focus of attention in the theory of Robertson Smith. According to him the original motif for sacrifice was to strengthen the ties between human groups and their gods by way of a communal meal. The primitive sacrifice was nothing but a feast, in the course of which man and his gods ate together. And as the deities were none other than the sacrificers' own ancestors, those united at the sacred communion were real blood relatives.

Moreover, so Robertson Smith emphasized, only sacred totemic animals of the own clan were selected as sacrifices. These totems were believed to be of a substance identical to the substances of both the clan members and of their deities. During the sacrificial meal the humans consumed, in consequence, their deified ancestors in the same way as these partook of the flesh of their human progeny. By eating their gods in the form of sacramental totems the members of the offering clans gained spiritual power. I do not wish to dwell on the critique concerning Smith's communion theory. Only one point may be mentioned. The early Hebrews, whose religion was chosen as the testcase for his theory – the book which introduced it was entitled *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1889) – could hardly be characterized as typical representatives of a totemic clan society, nor could their sacrificial animals be called divine totems.

In the period that followed, the gift and the communion theories of sacrifice were not only debated, copied or transformed, they were also amalgamated and molded into a new one, *i.e.* into the *mediator* theory of Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss. Their common *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice* of 1899, which contained this theory, became the real classic in studies on sacrifice. Even up to the present it is regularly quoted and consulted for inspiration.

What was, in essence, the mediator theory of the two Frenchmen ? In simplified form their main argument was the following. By nature, man and his deity are disconnected; they exist on different planes, man in a profane, his deity in a sacred world. In order to come into contact the two need a mediator, an « intermédiaire ». This function is filled by the sacrificial victim. Any kind of gift, vegetal or zoological, can become a sacrificial victim. In most cases, however, it is an animal, which is destroyed in the offering act. The common feature of all types of offerings, no matter how different they may be from one another, lies in the invariable intention to effect a communication between the Sacred and the Profane by means of the victim destroyed in the course of the ceremony.

To be apt for the sacred mission, the selected victim must first be consecrated. The consecration happens in the moment of the victim's execution. The authors thought to confirm their contention by reference to the double meaning of the word « to sacrifice », namely « to offer by killing » and « to make sacred ». In the act of the killing, the victim moves from the sacrificer to his deity, unites and separates these two in the same stroke. Via the sacrificial mediator, man and god can approach one another without total sur-

render; they come together by keeping their distance, the victim being their link and their buffer in one.

Whatever else one may think of their theory, the essay of Hubert and Mauss remains useful in its unprecedented attempt to design an analytic scheme for sacrifice, one that is independent of specific religions, one that is applicable to all. In this scheme the layout of sacrifice is defined by its types and occasions, its various actors, its locations and instruments. Among the actors of the sacrificial drama a distinctive line is drawn between the executive hand or mandatary and the principal or beneficiary, the first one being called « the sacrificateur » and the latter one « the sacrifiant ». The sacrificial offerings are classified according to their main intentions : to request, to thank or to expiate. Ways of treating the victim are distinguished, and the temporal sequences of the sacrificial process are separated and defined as constituent elements of the sacrificial ceremony as a whole. In the vocabulary employed by Hubert and Mauss the reader will notice a consistent use of terms such as *sacrifiant, sacrificateur, sacrifié* and *sacrifice*, which seem to anticipate very similar analytical distinctions used soon afterwards by de Saussure as basic for the constitution of the new science of semiology.

From schema to schematism was only one step. In fact, large sections of the essay by Hubert and Mauss are up in the thin air of abstraction. They read more like a treaty distilled out of stage directions from Brahmanical texts than developed out of observed rituals. Questionable is also the comparison between Brahmanic and Hebrew sacrificial practices, for it does not take into account the vast differences between the two religions and their respective social contexts. And finally, this theory rests on tottering theoretical stilts, the binary opposition of the Sacred and the Profane. This construct was a steady companion in the writings of most Durkheimians, including the master's own *Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, in which he declared like a law : « The division of the world into two domains, of which one is altogether sacred and the other altogether profane, is the most distinctive feature of religious thought » (p. 51 of the first edition of 1912). This oppositional pair may have been useful to locate temporarily alien metaphysical representations in the head of the anthropologist, but it has no absolute and universal reality. If religious ideas are at all expressed in a bipolar fashion, certain societies do so along very different oppositions.

Now and then, Hubert and Mauss made things more sacred than they actually are. Thus, they declared it an axiom that the location on which the sacrifice takes place had to be a sacred one, a *lieu sacré*. However, numerous examples from ethnographic sources indicate that this can also be a very plain place, consecrated neither for the occasion, nor for permanent sanctity ; it could be, for instance, the profane mudfloor of a house. Despite the admitted inspirations which he received from the famous essay of the two Frenchmen, Evans-Pritchard executed the *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice* with a single line : « An unconvincing masterpiece of metaphysical sociology » (*Theories of Primitive Religion*, London. 1965, p. 70).

He who slew his predecessors with the quick stroke of a skilled sacrificer, was maybe the only one of his time with a right to do so. For it was with Evans-Pritchard that a new phase in the research on sacrifice set in, the resolute ethnographic turn in the study of religions. This contemporary phase was opened by three pragmatic case-studies between 1951 and 1954 (see bibliography) and may be characterized by the following positions : all-embracing and world-wide explanations concerning sacrifice are to be abandoned; instead, studies of distinct societies and their peculiar religions are to be favoured, including detailed case descriptions of sacrificial rites; the observations from a territorially limited framework are to be carefully generalized; a religion is to be explained on the ground of its own premises, the specific system of sacrifice is to be seen as part of a logic that governs the religion under study and as partial expression of a style that prevails in the culture at large. It is with this framework in mind that I shall try to deal now with sacrifices in rituals.

This second part is the ethnographic section of my article. I will expose in it some unpublished material on sacrifice as collected during field research among the Northern Magar in NW Central Nepal. The following topics will be touched upon : occasions for and types of sacrifice will be presented; local terms for « sacrifice », « offering », « to give as offering », « to sacrifice » will be enumerated; the individual courses of diverse rituals will be described in order to fix the exact position for the act of sacrifice in each case; a résumé on the system of sacrifice will be attempted; and a number of propositions will be made, generalizations on the exposed material and on nothing more.

Let me begin with my propositions :

1. Sacrifice is the central act of rituals containing such an act, even though it is by far the shortest; its importance stands in reverse proportions to its duration.

2. The weight of a sacrificial rite is proportional to the size (value) of the offering; the more important the occasion, the bigger the sacrifice.

3. Offerings are (most often) advance payments in a transcendental deal; they are gifts to the supernaturals, meant to oblige them for a counter prestation; they cost; for the one who puts up the expenses, they are a risky investment.

4. Sacrifice is a system of order, on both the cosmological and the sociological level; it reflects real relations – categories of social classification, as valid among humans, are extended on to transcendental relations; at the same time sacrifice consolidates religious classifications, in particular the mythical division of beings into separate classes and the division of religious functions.

5. Sacrifice is in no way a communion between man and his deities; on the contrary, it serves to excommunicate and exterritorialize the latter; the sacrifice draws a sharp borderline between human and superhuman domains :

only this separation can guarantee a temporary equilibrium between different cosmic realms.

There are as many occasions for sacrifice as there are purposes linked to them. For a first overview it may suffice to distinguish between periodic and occasional offerings. Those of the first kind are made during feasts held on fixed dates once a year in honour of specific deities, and they are made on regular worships at shorter intervals, such as new or full moon days, to lineal relatives advanced to ancestral deities. As occasional offerings can be classed those made in the course of shamanic healing rituals, during initiations, on hunting expeditions, and in the funerary ritual. Each of these occasions is characterized by an independent purpose for sacrifice.

The sacrificial offerings made regularly at fixed calendrical dates serve prophylactic intentions – protection against calamities and aversion of collective catastrophes. The offerings designated to the ancestors (and given also on fixed dates) are commemorative in nature. Sacrifices made in the course of shamanic performances aim mainly at an amelioration of the client's present condition, either to heal him from a disease or to free him from a disaster that has occurred to him. These offerings are less preventive than retroactive. They have in view the re-establishment of a cosmic balance disturbed by an intentional or unknowing disregard or offence of the supernaturals. A disturbance of this kind leads to a temporary or permanent loss of the offender's soul, and this soul loss in turn causes diseases and untimely death. Sacrifices during healing seances are thus predominantly peculiar or reconciliatory offerings.

Sacrifices made on the occasion of shamanic initiations aim at a desired reunion of the initiate with his professional predecessor and his auxiliary spirits, who can give him power and accredit him as a suitable successor. Those offerings, made during the fabrication of shamanic paraphernalia, serve to consecrate them and to multiply their magical efficacy.

Offerings made in the course of funerary rituals intend to pacify the dead in their state of transit into another realm of existence. And offerings made on hunting expeditions serve to increase the hunter's luck as well as to reconcile the masters of the forest and the hunting spirits after a successful hunt.

The various types of offerings can already be recognized by their individual denominations. The terminology is varied. Collectively, all animal sacrifices in shamanic rites are called *thumbu*, a word which designates primarily a « container in which auxiliary spirits are gathered »; this can be a calabash or a bamboo cane. Secondly, *thumbu* is the name for an initiatory rite, in the course of which the auxiliary spirits of the shaman-to-be are caught and then kept in one of the mentioned containers. Thirdly and lastly, the word designates any container equipped with powerful properties. From a semantic point of view, sacrificial animals named *thumbu* are thus conceived of as « containers which – hopefully – bring powerful results ».

The periodic animal sacrifices, on the other hand, which are made on fixed calendrical dates, yet never under the direction of a shaman, are col-

lectively called *balli*. This word is derived from the Nepali *bal*, connoting the meanings of « power », « violence », « vehemence », ' « influence », « strength ». This chain of associated meanings reminds one, on the one hand, of the vehemence in the violent act of slaughtering, which is indispensable in a blood sacrifice, and on the other of the powerful effects which follow such an act of violence.

Most of the names for (sacrificial) offering gifts, however, are narrow in their range of signification; they are circumstantial. *Lawa*, for instance, meaning « buckwheat » is the preferred gift to inimical soul robbers; *lawa*, *i.e.* real buckwheat, freshly roasted and smelling seductively, is thrown by shamans from house roofs into the air, in order to attract evil spirits such as *sepa*, master of wet soil, and to distract them from the human souls kidnapped by them.

Satabiu, or « the unhusked rice grains of truth », is a magical mixture of maize, barley, wheat, ash und white flintstone, which may be employed either to animate the magical stick of the shaman or be strewn on the ground to free a place from negative spells.

Nau garang are nine offering gifts consisting of maize, rice, beans, rye, millet, wheat, buckwheat, peas and money, deposited for the nine witches on a winnowing tray by the relatives of a patient during a healing seance held for his benefit. These nine offering gifts are later used as salary for the acting healer and his assistants.

Ladu si/ barma si is a mythical yeast plant, used to ferment beer. Owned by women, it is dug out in the mountains only by females. As a gift to the auxiliary spirits of a shaman, this yeast has a double function : It vitalizes the auxiliaries and it calms down an officiant shaman, whose extasy during ·a seance has gone out of control.

Nau pat are nine leaf plates with offering gifts on them, consisting of small, flat breads and ground grain mixed with pig's blood, which at the conclusion of certain rituals are laid out on crossroads outside the village as gifts for the witches. Their equivalents are the three *pena*, kneaded meat balls made of ground maize and some drops of blood of a sacrificial animal – food for the mythical nine witch sisters.

Usi is a category of offerings designating either an admixture of various cereals of the new harvest given as first food offering to a spirit, whose speciality it is to poison fresh food; or a similar admixture given as the last food offering to a deceased, before he undertakes his journey into the beyond. The word *usi* is derived from the word *si* meaning « breath », « life », « relaxation ». It is all this that the mourners wish their dead in the other world.

Sambal finally is the actual wayfood for deceased people, deposited on marked out places on the way to the grave. It consists of maize, rye, millet and wheat grains. This wayfood is designed to extinguish the dead person's wish to return to the living.

Besides the manifold nouns for (sacrificial) offerings, which are partly generalizing and partly specifying, there are also several distinct verbs to

designate the act or process of offering or sacrificing. For the neutral verb « to offer as sacrifice », the Magar have a number of words at hand, each of which stresses a particular aspect of the act, such as *saine* or « to wipe out » (the sacrificial animal); *caraine* or « to present » (the offering gift); *cutne* or « to cut, slaughter » (the victim); *phalne* « to throw away » and *khyene* « to get rid of » (the offering gifts, and with them of the impurities which one had loaded upon oneself, and, last but not least, « to get rid of » the malignant spirits, which are hoped to be evacuated together with the offerings deposited outside the village).

A final verb for « offering », borrowed, as some of the others, from Nepali, *pujine*, covers all types of offerings made at the calendrical feasts mentioned above. These feasts, significantly, are not ethnically specific, they are of a wider regional distribution.

The short lexical exercise given above, may be summarized in the following fashion. While nominal designations for bloody sacrifices tend toward generalizing terms, those for vegetal offerings, in particular those consisting in grains, tend toward individual and case-specific terms. The verbal designations for the act of offering, in their turn, put weight on the type of action to be stressed. Both verbal and nominal designations refer – in their terminological wealth – to a diverse variety of offerings and sacrifices. At the same time they warn us not to impose undeliberated alien terms such as the German « opfern ». Once employed, such terms, instead of translating, serve to cover up a differentiated set of indigenous concepts.

I shall now describe a single shamanic ritual with a blood sacrifice in it, with the aim of defining the position of the sacrificial act in the staging of the ritual as a whole.

To describe rituals is, for various reasons, a difficult task. First, as a problem of literary craftsmanship, for rituals are action with several simultaneous layers of meaning. They run off from a beginning to an end and in this course, one is tempted to say, they tend to run away from the describing observer. And they expand in one moment into various directions, while the writer is bound to the consecutive constraints of sentence construction. But rituals are also difficult to grasp because they do not follow a definite choreography. No one rite is identical with any other. It is the uniqueness of rituals which necessitates individual description. And yet, there are namable types of sacrificial rituals, which within their own category display standardized patterns concerning the sequence of events and signification. Within this range – from dramaturgical stage script to individual *mise-en-scène* – rituals unfold their attraction.

The ritual which I am going to describe is short. It belongs to a type called *bhitre* or « indoors ». This type comprises séances of half an hour to three hours' length. They are held at night by an initiated shaman – inside the patient's house. Their purpose is to overcome narrow passes and to treat light cases of disease. As the occasion is not grave, no larger animals are being slaughtered during a *bhitre* seance. Such victims are reserved for the

large sittings, called *ekrate* or *daorate*, one-night or two-night rituals, which can last between 10 and 30 hours.

The seance begins with a gay round of boozing in the house of the patient, who suffers from stomach pains. As his first professional act of the evening, the called in healer will urge all people present – relatives and curious neighbours – to shake out their clothes, a gesture which is meant to unload, *tharaisine*, all negative influences that might be nesting on them. At the same time he purifies himself by biting into a magical root called *kucar*.

This done he intones a chant in which he appeals to his ancestral spirits to be at his side, when he fights against evil spirits. As a sign that his invocation has been heard, he starts shaking, overcome by the auxiliaries who have descended upon him. Then, calmed down, he beats a brass plate with his bare hand, the regular beat scanning the metre of the versed chant. In the course of the recital he reminds the negative forces of a primeval pact, still valid to the present day. According to this pact, the shaman will exchange human souls abducted by the spirits against the blood of sacrificial animals.

Several times the recital is interrupted by inserted ritual actions. In one of them, still under the influence of the ancestor who has entered him, the shaman, smelling at his patient's sweat, diagnoses the causes of his illness. This oleofactory diagnosis is less interested in the exact name of the disease than in the agent who has caused it. In the case under scrutiny the shaman discloses that the patient has stepped over into some forbidden territory. While chopping wood in the forest, he has entered a stretch of wet soil and thereby offended its owner, *sime*, the proprietor of swampy and non-arable land. In consequence to this offence, *sime* has taken the offender's soul and hidden it under a wet stone in his territory. The patient is now advised by the shaman to return back to the place of his trespassing, turn over the stone which keeps his soul captured and liberate it. At the same spot he should then make an offering of bread, yeast and strips of cloth to the insulted spirit.

The illness itself, so the shaman continues his diagnosis, has entered the body of the patient in guise of a magical arrow shot at him in the forest by a witch. Both originators of disease, the witch called *zyeanai* and the master of the swamplands, *sime*, are, in consequence, the main adressees of the offering ritual that follows in the house. The chances for the patient's recovery are read from the way a brass plate, spun by the shaman, turns over the mud floor and falls. If the open side of the plate points upward, it is considered as an auspicious sign, for it indicates that the spirits are willing to accept the gifts offered to them. In this seance, the plate fell repeatedly on the floor facing downward. When the patient had died half a year later, everyone remembered this fatal lottery and praised the precision of the shaman's prognosis.

At the end of his future telling the healer carries out an exorcism over the patient's body, by holding his skull in one of his hands and by stroking a burning log over it with his other hand. While this action goes on, the ill man is requested to cough out his disease on to one of the offering plates prepared for the spirits by a few lay assistants. The complete assiette of gifts

made of leaves includes nine baked miniature breads, narrow strips of cloth, rice, a chick and three clay figures the size of tin soldiers – an anthropomorphic figure, a horse and a calabash.

In this arrangement, the human figure represents the patient, the horse stands for the vehicle on which the witch that shot the magical arrow at the patient is going to be escorted out of the village, the miniature breads and the cloth strips symbolize the tasty dishes and luxuriant clothes for the witches, and the calabash represents a « witch detector ». It is said that witches can be found out with the help of a calabash sheltering auxiliary spirits. As soon as the shaman or one of his assistants puts the calabash in motion, « makes it dance » in his hands, all witches present will also commence to dance an involuntary witch dance, and this will reveal their true nature. By adding a model calabash to the gift arrangement, *i.e.* by giving the witch detector out of his hands, the officiating shaman indicates that he is willing to withhold from a public denunciation of the witches, provided they release the patient's soul.

While the assistants are engaged in fabricating some arrows and a bow, again toy size, the shaman measures the patient with a string – first the span of his stretched out arms, then that of his hand. Each of these units of measure is extended nine times and then added to the offering plate. The string of the hand measure is later carried out of the village by the assistants and deposited near the river, together with the other gifts to the spirits, while the string measuring the outstretched arms is unnoticeably purloined by the shaman from the offering plate and then, once the soul of the patient has returned into his body, wound around his wrist, in order to bind it to its owner. In other words, the two strings substituting the ill person, have different destinies – the longer one and closer to the patient's identity, stays with him, while the shorter one, instead of himself, is left to the witches. After these preliminaries, an alcoholic intermission is held.

The assistants who hand out and refill the drinking bowls during the intermission belong, just as all the other assistants during the ritual, to one single category of relatives. They are classificatory wife-receivers of the patient beneficiary of the rite. In accordance with the asymmetric rules of alliance as practiced among the Magar, this position implies that wife-receivers are considered as lower in rank than their respective wife-givers, and this obliges them to life-long manual services toward their superiors. Apart from countless occasions in daily life, it is also during a shamanic ritual that wife-receivers are expected to fulfil their positional obligations vis-à-vis their prospective provisioners of wives.

After the pause, the shaman intones a second chant, in the course of which he tries to flatter the witches by adressing them as his « beloved sisters » and praising the seductive qualities of his gifts. He literally makes their mouths water :

The blood and maize mash has   the rice and lentil food has come
    arrived
For you beloved sisters   on a leaf plate

The pretty clothes have come	the beautiful finery
A black bodice a black sari	they will come
For you beloved sisters	to the southern quarters
Collect your spring pole snares	collect your magic traps

rakta muche huze	*dal bar jiunar huze*
maya pata jata	*maya baini jalai*
na oiran ja huke	*na pairan ja huke*
rake baini jalai	*kalo coli kalo gaban*
maya baini lai	*dakhin disa jada*
je solaja simnao	*je pasa ja simnao*

The reference to the « southern quarters » is meant to inform the witches that they will not receive their attractive gifts in the house of the patient, but outside the human territory, in their own domain, which is identified with the Indian plains in the south.

The chant is called *pla*. This term refers also to the gift arrangement for the witches in its totality. In Tibetan, which is related to Kham, the indigenous language of the Northern Magar, the word *la*, written as *bla*, means « soul »; in Gurung, a neighbouring language both to Kham and Tibetan, *plah* designates a wooden frame representing a deceased person's soul, which, in the course of a special funerary ritual, is exhibited inside and later destroyed outside the village. In our context, *pla* are the gifts to the *zyeanai* witches and the master of wet lands, *sime*, deposited in an outside location as a substitute for the patient's soul; *pla* is the substitutional soul of the patient in the form of an offering plate to the supernatural soul robbers.

Before the assistants carry the gifts out of the house, an exorcism has to be executed over them. To do so, the shaman, his designated assistants, as well as other lay people present, pick up the arrows, the bow, a knife, a plate, and the sacrificial chick and move all these in simultaneous strokes over the offering gifts. This rhythmical up and down of strokes is a typical gesture of exorcising. Then, one of the model size arrows is shot at the patient, hitting his body exactly at the spot where the magical arrow of the witch was supposed to have entered it. It is hoped that the model size arrow shot at the ill person, will hit the magical one of the witch, drive it through and press it out of the patient's body. In this way the negative effects of the spirits' projectile are meant to be annihilated.

At the same time a double transfer takes place. The arrow that has picked up the patient's illness by being shot at him and pecking his skin, is now shot at the sacrificial chicken several times in succession, until the tip of the arrow shows blood. Then the bloody tip is pointed at the anthropomorphic clay figure standing on the offering plate, which, just like the chick, is a substitute for the patient. In this way all negative influences, the victim of which so far had been the patient, are conducted via the arrow onto two symbolic replacements.

As soon as the transfer is complete, one of the assistants picks up the offering plate and carries it in great haste out of the house into the darkness

of the night. Followed by the other helpers, he runs through the village stopping only down by the river, the demarcation line between inhabited and uninhabited territory. Here, another arrow is shot at the chick before one of the assistants decapitates it with the stroke of a knife. The dead animal is added to the other offering gifts on the plate, which then is set out like a boat on the currents of the river.

Meanwhile, the shaman, who has remained in the patient's house, has started yet another chant, which describes with topographical detail all the stops of the sacrificial boat on its way down the river. The song ends at a bridge, which, situated at the edge of normal village activities, marks also the border of the human domain. As the offering boat travels down the river, the assistants shoot off the remaining arrows into all six directions : up, down and the four points of the compass. This act is called *ban pharkaine* or « shooting back magical arrows ». It symbolizes the return of the pathogenic agents to the negative powers. After this, the bow is broken and thrown away. Now, the assistants wash off into the water all the impurities they may have caught as active participants of the ritual and return back to the village. On the way they draw with the sacrificial knife nine strokes in the dust, to visibly separate the territory of man from that of the spirits and to prevent their return into the human domain. Inside the house, the séance is closed and its tensions released by a cheerful drinking bout.

A comparison of this small healing seance with the large shamanic rituals would reveal, despite certain divergences, a basic similarity in the linear sequence of both. To simplify such a comparison, it is advisable to cut the seances up into *natural semantic units of action*. Like members of a chain such semantic units of action can be isolated, observed and named as independent parts, before they are fitted back into the whole. They are, to employ the analogy with the theatre, like the acts of a play and can be subdivided into even smaller units of action, into scenes. One of these semantic units of action in the total play of the ritual is the act (or scene ?) of sacrifice.

The first unit of action – and signification – in all types of shamanic rituals is the *invocation*, the calling of the ancestors of the profession. This gives the entire performance right from start a religious, a transcendental frame. With the invocation of ancestral spirits the ritual process ventures under the patronage of beings that are mightier than man. And without their support, the shamans keep repeating in their appeals, no rite would lead to the desired effect. In fact, all efforts would be nil and nothing. Invocations are meant to sanction all subsequent activities in the ritual, as acts tested out by those invoked, who are, after all, the historical and deified predecessors in the shamans' profession.

The invocation of the ancestral and auxiliary spirits is followed by the *diagnosis* of the causes and by the *prognosis* for the course of an illness. In this anamnetic act the supernatural agents of misfortune are sought out. The nature of these supernatural agents and the reasons for their discord determine

the direction of the ritual's further development. In the prognosis – one may also call it a *divination* – the metaphysical character of the healing seance is being confirmed, as all statements pronounced by the medium or healer, are based on hints or directives from the supernatural beings.

After the prognosis concerning the outcome of the disease is over, the shaman, in a small ritual as described above, intones certain chants addressed to those spirits who are responsible for the misfortunes that have happened to the client; these chants praise the offering gifts which are waiting for them. In the large seances, such chants are replaced by long mythological narratives, which are equally chanted along identical musical patterns. These myths relate the origin of natural phenomena, of human and other living beings, of technological inventions and of social institutions. Some of them contain instructions about the proper way to do the ritual acts. Such chants last for several hours. The contents of the myths are related to the events of the healing séance only insofar as, for the actions performed during the sitting, a mythological origin is pointed out. In the later development of the rite, however, the chanted discourse gets intertwined with symbolical actions. One backs up the others.

As an example for this interlacing of mythical telling and ritual doing, one may cite a sequence in the next act of the ritual drama, in which the shaman goes on several *ritual journeys*, the main purpose of which is to detect the whereabouts of the patient's soul, kidnapped by the spirits, and to bring it back. Such soul searching journeys are missing in the smaller rites; after the shaman's hint at its hide-out, the patient has to release it himself. In the larger séances, on the other hand, the soul searching journeys of the shaman have theatrical stature – they are being enacted in the form of long-lasting dance performances around a mat laid out on a neighbouring roof. This mat represents the inhabited world and the dancing (« travelling ») shaman lifts the corners of the mat (« the corners of the world »), in order to find and catch there the fugitive soul of his patient. These dances are accompanied or interrupted by chants recounting soul searching journeys as well. Such chants exist under various names, such as *dawata bane* or « way-song of the shaman dressed in iron armour »; *satu khulne* or « calling back the fugitive soul »; or *aili paili khimne kheti* or « song of searching the footprints of the soul ». These different chants may describe different routes, but their purpose is more or less the same. In this manner kinetic enactments of shamanic trips are corroborated by mythic recitals narrating such journeys.

Up to this point, there has not been a single sign for a sacrifice in the ritual. More than two thirds of the rite have passed, before the sacrificial offering becomes the subject of activities. Only after the patient's soul has been retrieved, *i.e.* only after the spirits have contributed their part in the transcendental deal with the shaman, does he make any arrangement for the necessary counterprestations. This coming act may be called the *preparation of offering gifts*. It consists in baking breads, in fabricating leaf plates, in the cutting of cloths and in the display of grains. It is an act of advertisement. Like in a showcase, the offering gifts are exhibited, in order to rouse a desire for them in the minds of the spirits.

After the gifts have been displayed for a while, the shaman performs an *exorcism* over them, which, in the strict sense of the word, should better be called an *inorcism*. This is done by first driving out (exorcising) all illness and evil influences from the patient's body and then by loading them (inorcising them) onto the exhibited offering gifts which take the patient's place. In the larger seances, in the course of which also larger sacrificial animals are slaughtered, this transfer of evil receives a visible extension, in the act of *immolation*. In the present day use of the word « immolation » designates primarily the slaughtering itself. The original meaning of the verb *immolare*, however, is « to powder (the sacrificial animal) with flour » – before the slaughtering. Exactly this meaning is maintained in the blood sacrifice of the Magar. Before it is decapitated, the victim is given a last meal, fodder of the best kind, and then strewn with flour and ashes. With this last gesture of « immolation », in its original sense, it is hoped to transfer all negative influences or *kanul banul*, which might have clung to the patient, on to the sacrificial animal. Through this transfer the victim becomes a scapegoat.

Charged with the negative influences, the victim can now be killed. It may be stated in passing that the decapitation of the sacrificial animal is never done by the shaman himself, but always by one of his assistants, one of those who belong to the line of wife-receivers of the client and whose fate it is to do all kinds of lowly, manual work. It can be extrapolated from this that the killing job is taxed as an inferior one. Immediately after the beheading, the shaman comes hopping to the victim and drinks, possessed by his ancestral spirit, with greedy sucks from the warm blood of the animal's head. Only after the main auxiliary spirit has been fed and satisfied, the blood leaking out of the animal is caught by a helper in a pot, to be used later as a gift for the malignant spirits. This order of service indicates clearly that the Magar make a hierarchical distinction between auxiliary and evil spirits. In the standard situation the blood sacrifice occurs where the séance takes place – in the house of the client. According to circumstances, it may also take place in the night outside, by the river or near a graveyard. Among the larger sacrifices the preferred animals are goat, sheep or pig.

Several years ago I had the chance to eye-witness a ritual in which the officiating shaman had determined through the voice of his ancestral spirit that a pig be used as sacrificial animal. Everything went according to plan. When, however, the designated victim was to be presented in the room of the séance, no pig was around ! In its stead the shaman was holding a wooden log in his hands, obviously a surrogate for the pig. What had happened ? Two days before the event the village council had decreed that all pigs must be killed on account of an epidemic that had broken out. The ancestral spirit speaking through the shaman in a state of possession, had apparently not taken any notice of the headmen's order. As the victim had to be a pig, even though a pig was not at hand, a wooden log seemed to be the best replacement : a thing more abstracted from the pig than a similar living animal, such as a goat or a sheep. I felt strongly reminded of the wild cucumbers of the Nuer which, according to their ethnographer Evans-Pritchard, often represented the ideal sacrifice, an ox. On account of this substitutional func-

tion the Nuer call a cucumber an « ox », when it is being « sacrificed ». However, while the deity of the Nuer tacitly accepts the inferior substitute, as long as the intentions are sincere, the witches of the Magar showed no sign of indulgence : as soon as there were enough pigs again in the village, the pig sacrifice, previously left out, had to be made up for in another seance in the same house.

After the ritual act of *slaughter* is over, the portions allotted to the spirits are separated from those for man. The human share is by far the largest. The acting shaman receives a loin of the sacrificial animal to carry home as a remuneration for his services as an intermediary. The rest of the meat is consumed at the communal feast that concludes the séance. Everyone present gets his or her own piece, relatives, neighbours, as well as accidental visitors from close and from far, including the anthropologist. The spirits, on the other hand, for whom the whole sacrifice was carried out, receive practically nothing. All they get is a little bit of the sacrificial animal's blood, which is mixed with flour and rolled into small food balls, and these are laid on the offering plates. As the Magar say, the supernaturals receive the essence of the sacrifice, *shya si*, « the breath and life of the meat », whereas the humans receive its material substance.

When *the separation of the shares* has been effected, the offering gifts to the spirits and witches are carried out of the village, to a well marked spot of separation, a crossroad, the river or a cliff. It is an act of deportation. When left to the currents of the river, the offering gifts undertake a real trip into exile, and with this banishment all harmful influences are banned.

The *deportation* of the offering gifts is the prelude to a permanent *separation of domains* – that of the spirits in the wilderness outside and that of the humans inside the village. When the assistants, who have carried the gifts to their final depository, return to the village, the separation is underlined once more with a final, symbolical gesture : the path leading up to the village may be cut by cross-lines drawn into the dust with a knife ; a magical staff belonging to the shaman may be rammed into the soil at a place clearly conceived as a demarcation line ; or a ban ladder may be hung over the door of the patient's house ; or all three precautions are taken in succession. The repetition of such similar symbolical gestures serves to multiply their efficacy – for no one wishes the spirits to pass again the threshold to the human domain. Only after the territories of man and spirits have been clearly marked and securely separated, the general mood changes. Tension turns into ease and good humour, and all people present delve in the pleasures of the communal meal which brings the ritual to a close.

I have tried to describe the sacrificial ritual twice, once as an event and once as a scheme or dramaturgical framework. As a scheme it could be subdivided into a rather small number of clearly contoured acts : invocation – diagnosis and prognosis – recital of mythical chants – soul searching journeys – preparation of offering gifts – transfer of evil : exorcism and inorcism –

immolation and killing of the victim – separation of shares – boundary settlement between man and supernaturals (with exterritorialization of the latter) – communal feast of the human participants in the rite.

These namable acts or semantic units of the healing ritual are relatively invariable in their order of succession, no matter what type they belong to. Within this order of succession, the act of sacrifice appears relatively late. Compared with the epic slowness of the preparations and chants and with the everyday speed of the final feast, the sacrifice itself comes in like lightning. It takes a very limited space within the ritual as a whole. In the moment of sacrificing, the ritual activity is accelerated to its highest speed. It is a short moment of extreme tension and chaos. The general confusion it creates is utilized, so it seems, to literally overrun the spirits and drag them in surprise out of the house. The accelerated pace of the sacrifice dramatizes it and brings it to prominence in an otherwise slow flow of ritual proceedings. Brevity and speed launch the sacrificial act right into the focal position of the entire rite.

The scheme of sequences in magical healing rituals, as presented above, should, however, not give rise to the impression that all types of sacrificial rites follow the same pattern. There are some considerable deviations in detail from one type to another. To conclude, I would like to deal with one of these deviations, as far as the act of sacrifice is concerned.

When a small child has died in a household and a new baby been born, or, alternatively, when some grown-up person has fallen off a tree or a cliff, a seance is held in which the central act of sacrifice shifts entirely its contextual meaning : no longer conc ived as a balancing deal between man and spirits, it becomes a deadly trap for one of the partners. The opponents of man are in the one case *ra*, a spirit who tries to kill children, and in the other *sara zyea*, the spirit of white lime, who causes deadly accidents. Both belong to a single class of spirits – former humans who have died violently before their time. It is this fate that they now seek for other human beings – to make them also die an untimely death.

Both *ra* and *sara zyea* are extremely malicious and uncompromising. For this reason they require special treatment, which manifests itself in a different way of arranging their offering gifts. They are not, as for the other spirits, exposed openly on a plate, but put into a gourd with a narrow opening at its neck. This gourd is first embellished in various ways : it is painted with white chalk to look pretty; it is mounted by a triangle and a cross made of small painted planks of wood, which represent the maternal and paternal lines of the client; it is decorated with a propelling flower, equally made of wood, which is said to exercise an irresistible power over the two malicious spirits; and it is filled with freshly baked miniature breads and drops of chick's blood.

Once the embellishments of the gourd have been completed, two persons wrapped in woollen blankets and hidden behind a granary on one of the neighbouring flat roofs, start playing on single note bamboo flutes, the sound of which has such an infatuating effect on the two spirits that they leave their hiding place, follow the music and discover the decorated gourd, now on

display on the client's verandah. Attracted by the smell of the breads, they slip through the narrow opening into the gourd. This is plugged up instantaneously by the shaman with a wooden stick. An assistant using another wooden stick smashes the gourd into pieces, clubbing to death the two spirits inside. The fragments are collected in a great haste and carried on the double through the village to the river, where they are submerged into the current. This speedy procession through the night is accompanied by infernal noise made by the assistants who, fearing the proximity of danger, hope to diminish it by their charivari. At the same time, the shaman secures the house with mantra-like utterances and by stamping his heels on the floor.

On the opposite side of the river, two animals are slaughtered, a chicken and a billy goat, sacrificial gifts to other spirits of the *ra-* and *sara zyea-*class that have not been destroyed in the seance. The location of this sacrifice is remarkable in that it has to be outside the human domain. It is here, too, that the sacrificers and helpers prepare the slaughtered animals for a sumptuous meal. The family members, who have stayed during the entire ritual under a protective fishing net, are now released with hullo !

The *ra* and *sara zyea* spirits receive, as I have tried to show, a treatment quite different from any other malignant or potentially harmful spirits. They are not escorted out of human terrain with all kinds of gifts, including sacrificial animals killed for them; they have to be killed themselves after the humans have trapped them with bait looking like offering gifts. These severe measures have to be taken, because a diplomatic solution must be ruled out, such as the exchange deals – blood for souls – possible with the other classes of spirits. Formerly human beings taken out of life before their time, these spirits make no compromise with their previous human fellows. And as there is no chance for negotiation, the only way to deal with them is action – to annihilate them together with the bait.

I come to the end. What I have been trying to do on the preceding pages, was to locate the sacrificial offering within the healing rituals of the Magar. In other ritual circumstances, such as the funerary rites, the shamanic initiations, the calendrical feast and the hunt, the place of the sacrifice shifts in each case. It is the constellation of all these different positions a sacrifice may take, which determines *the system of sacrifice*. If I attempt to conclude with some remarks on this entire system of sacrifice amongst the Magar, it ought to be understood that a tacit inclusion of all other occasions for sacrifice is implied.

Sacrificial offerings have to do with relations, those between man and supernatural beings. These relations are precarious and full of risks, *liaisons dangereuses*. Sacrifices are designed to improve, to repair and to rejuvenate these fluctuating and instable relations, overshadowed by the capricious moods of the supernatural partners. Each of them has his own peculiarities. Some are almost friendly toward their human counterparts, such as the deceased predecessors and auxiliary spirits of the shamans. Some are calm

and rarely belligerent, such as the ancestors, but delicate, as soon as one ceases to keep up their memory. Others, such as the deities venerated on fixed occasions, are far away, unreachable and dignified; yet, they are as predictable as the calendrical dates on which they are worshipped. Others again, such as the spirits of the hunt, the lords of the swampy land and the wilderness, are thoroughly ambivalent; as long as they are left alone, one hardly notices them; but as soon as one enters into their circumference, trespasses the limits of proximity they can bear, they will strike back. The witches for their part nearly always have something up their sleeves, they are flexible and full of trickery, just like their main counterparts, the shamans, whose negative doubles they actually are. The spirit of white lime, *sara zyea*, and the child spirit *ra*, finally, are nothing but wicked, inconciliatory and full of hate against those whose existence they once shared.

This spectrum of differences in the properties of character displayed by the supernaturals, is respected and responded to with seismographic sensibility by the delegates of the human side, the mediators and religious specialists, the shamans. All ritual actions, including the sacrifices, are determined according to an invisible *scale of malignity* of the various supernatural partners.

The well-disposed ancestral and auxiliary spirits of the shamans are treated with benevolence and gratitude. Through the body of the healer, who is possessed by them, they drink plenty of the freshest blood the sacrificial animal has to offer. The pacified dead of the patriline are given regular offering gifts once or twice a month, without much ritual ado. The distant and alien deities, borrowed almost exclusively from the Hindu pantheon, are venerated once a year with a clearly defined offering gift. Both groups of recipients, the ancestors and the deities, are united not only by a fixed time when the sacrifice will take place, but also by a fixed location, where it will happen. Both have their own altars. This is not the case for the ambivalent spirits. They get their offerings, wherever a séance may happen to be held.

The ambivalent spirits with territories adjacent to those of man are quietly tolerated when they move into the human domain, but soon ushered out with polite determination, carried back into their own domain together with the offerings for them. For the agile and clever witches it does not suffice to show them the door, in reference to the mythical deal between them and the first shaman; they have to be charmed and beguiled each time by the glamour of the gifts; they have to be escorted on horseback or with dance out of the village and then suddenly be left alone. But for the most vicious of all spirits, those of people who have died an untimely death by violence, there is only the tough and violent method left : to destroy them with the sacrificial gifts that lure them into doom.

The more malicious the opponents of man, the trickier and less conciliatory must be the arrangement in which the sacrificial offering figures. In this way it is not only possible to predict the type of offerings to be made once their recipients are known, it is equally possible, by regarding the types of offerings to deduce a statement about the nature of their recipients.

It goes without saying that a glance at the sacrifice and the rite which contains it, allows also a statement about those who invent and carry them out, the people. The differentiation between officiant and executive of a sacrifice, between the shaman, who directs the ritual process and the assistant, who kills the victim, has proved elementary. The one is the mediator between different worlds; he can be employed by anyone – except by people of his own family. The other one, on the contrary, the executing hand for the sacrifice, can only be a specific relative of the offerer; he has to be a potential son-in-law of the person for whom the sacrifice is made, an inferior wife-receiver.

Finally, a glance at the sacrifice permits also a statement about the cosmological conditions. As the different beings in the universe differ in character and temper, the best thing is to keep them apart, each kind in its own territory. Far from aspiring with the sacrifice after a mystical or simply symbolical communion between man and the supernatural beings, its creators have understood that only a sharp demarcation of boundaries can guarantee a tolerable coexistence of beings, each in its clearly defined domain : *good fences, good neighbours*. The sacrificial rite draws and consolidates these borderlines.

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Interactions of an Oral Tradition : Changes in the *muddum* of the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal

Martin Gaenszle

THE MUDDUM (M.) [1]

The Mewahang Rai of the Central Arun Valley refer to the totality of their indigenous oral tradition, which links them with the world of their ancestors, as *muddum*, a term which is known in cognate forms among most Kiranti groups [2]. This concept semantically implies a certain unity, both in a spatial as well as in a temporal sense. On the one hand it emphasizes the common root of the oral traditions of the various Kiranti groups in East Nepal, and on the other hand it depicts the tradition as a divine knowledge which has been handed down in a basically unchanged way by a long line of ancestors since times immemorial. This, however, does not mean that the people do not recognize the variation between groups (or within groups), or that they ignore the possibility of change. It simply indicates that such deviations are considered not essential. A rather similar attitude seems to prevail even vis-à-vis the tradition of other castes. When certain elements of the Hindu tradition, for example, are incorporated into the *muddum*, it is not so much an emulation with the aim of status raising but rather a process of identification based on the assumption of an essential identity.

The following essay explores – more programmatically than descriptively – the various ways in which the *muddum* of the Mewahang Rai has been subject to change. This process has to be seen primarily as the result of the interaction of cultural agents, people endowed with authority to transmit and perpetuate the traditional knowledge. First, I will deal with the interaction of the Mewahang Rai with other neighbouring Rai groups; then I will consider their cultural contacts with representatives of the « great » traditions, especially the Hindu castes. In both cases I will try to elucidate the general effects of these interactions in the domain of myth as well as that of ritual.

The quality of change depends on the mode of interaction between the cultural agents involved. In an entirely oral milieu Mewahang knowledge is constantly re-created and thus always in flux – there are no canonized versions. Mewahang priests and shamans « receive » their special knowledge in dreams, and according to these dreams they perform their rites. Thus, the source of the *muddum*'s ritual texts is a kind of ancestral inspiration – they cannot be taught and learned intentionally. Contrary to this mode of transmission, the written word, which has appeared more and more in the hills of East Nepal during the last two hundred years, tends to fixate a tradition and allows of a higher degree of rigidity [3].

INTERACTION WITH OTHER RAI

Due to the immigration of numerous « Khambu Rai » (mainly Kulunge) from the west into the Arun Valley, it is not only in the marginal areas that the Mewahang live side by side with members of other Rai subtribes. There is no restriction on marriage across subtribe boundaries, and so through kinship ties the Mewahang social and cultural system has become more and more interwoven with that of neighbouring groups. Thus, for example, it is common for Kulunge priests to be called to Mewahang households (or *vice versa*) to celebrate the maternal ancestor rites, and occasionally the elders of both groups sing in the same choir, even though both languages are clearly distinct.

Among the Mewahang, the actualization and preservation of the *muddum* is the task of the village elders (*pasung masung* M., *purkhā* N.), the tribal priests (*ngo :pa* M.) and the shamanic mediums (*makpa* M.) [4]. Because the social categories of cultural transmitters are more or less equivalent among the other, neighbouring Rai groups, interaction among them is guided by the same concepts and social forms. During ritual gatherings the elders in general and the ritual specialists in particular are treated with special respect and given certain privileges : for instance they are seated in the upper half of the house, they are given a *tongba* (M., 'bamboo container for drinking beer'), etc. On such occasions the elders and « knowledgeable men » are treated almost like ancestors, and they are expected to show their knowledge in ancestral matters, such as origins and genealogies. Therefore during such gatherings the myths about the origins and deeds of the ancestors are frequently evoked, told and discussed, so that the ancestral past is continuously commemorated – and its 'truth' negotiated. As the *muddum* is regarded as essentially the same for all Rai, it becomes clear how it is possible that different versions of myth intermingle or are created [5].

Consider the following example. There is a particularly wide variety of origin myths and few are identical in detail. In most versions the snake deity *nāgi* (Skt. *nāgī* or *nāgin*) forms a mud clod from which the first beings originate. In the Kulunge versions it is a certain grass, called *bairipcong*

(M., *Imperata arundinaria*), which grows out of the mud and develops into a plant from which other beings emerge. In most Mewahang versions, however, the mud clod bursts and produces the first beings, such as the Creator Mother Horemma, directly. But also here, the haulm *bairipcong* plays a role in the process : it is said that it has pierced the mud clod, thus causing it to burst.

This little example indicates how the process of assimilation works. As there is a structural homology in the symbolism of the myths, they are perceived as essentially identical. Elements which diverge in other accounts, such as the occurrence of *bairipcong* in the Kulunge version, have been, so it seems, integrated into the Mewahang versions, though their role may be changed (as here from effect to that of cause). It is evident that such processes of assimilation are potentially infinite.

Another possibility of how the encounter of different traditions can manifest itself in myth is the mythic description of that encounter. Thus, for instance, there is a myth recounting how Mewahang and Khambuhang, who are regarded as two of the original four brothers, met again generations after they had parted on their way upwards from the plains. Now they come across each other again in search of suitable land for agricultural usage. They exchange gifts of beer and eventually decide to make a bet : whoever drinks his beer first will get the bigger share of the land. Whereas Khambuhang had received a bamboo container (*tongba*) which is easy to drink, Mewahang had only received a calebass (*cindo* N.) with a narrow neck, and thus it took him much longer to empty it. Being cheated in this way, Mewahang had to give up much of his ancestral land (*kipat* N.) to the Khambuhang, and this is often given as an explanation by the Mewahang for the high population of Kulunge in the area.

Very similar myths about such bets deciding on occupational rights (and the trickery involved) can be found among other Rai groups (*e.g.* Thulung, Chamling)[6]. This indicates that although the actual content of the myth obviously reflects historic experience, the underlying structure is probably much older. So again, there is a common mythical concept that is shared by the interacting groups – though it may be given different interpretations.

Turning to the domain of ritual, I will concentrate on the ancestral cults. As already mentioned, there are ancestor rites which are inherited from the maternal side, or, to use another term : from the affinal side. When, for example, a Mewahang man marries a Kulunge woman, the household generally calls a Kulunge priest to celebrate the Kulunge *nāgi* rite, a sacrifice to the primordial snake deity. There also exists a Mewahang *nāgi*, called *Bhārte nāgi*, but it is said to have « come in » through the Kulunge : after several generations of intermarriage the Mewahang in Bala started to introduce a *nāgi* rite of their own. Similarly, the Kulunge claim that their *nāgi* has ultimately come from the Khalinge, with whom marriage relations exist.

If not given regular sacrifices these ancestor deities can harm the living and « appear » in the form of pain and illnesses in their body. This can happen even up to twelve generations after the affinal link with the other group was

established, and it is the task of the ritual specialist to trace back the line of ancestors in divination to find out the cause. Though subtribe membership is inherited patrilineally, ancestral influence is clearly not restricted in this way – it is cognatic in principle (*i.e.* it may run through men or women) and thus easily cuts across subtribe boundaries.

This shows that the ritual system of ancestral cults is not a fixed and rigid one but rather open to changing conditions. As group migrations are not only a recent phenomenon among the Rai, it is clear that forging ties with new marriage partners has always been a social reality for them – there are many myths recalling such encounters[7]. This probably explains the great variety in the ritual systems among the Rai : it is well known that there are considerable differences between subtribes, but often there are significant differences even between villages. In Bala, for example, each of the three original clans is associated with a specific ancestor rite, and though one of these rites, *Waya nāgi*, is said to have come from the Sampange Rai (living to the south), the ways all these rituals are celebrated are peculiar to that village. Not only are the harmful influences of the ancestors transmitted lineally, but also the ability to cope with them is inherited through a specific line of ancestors. Thus, fission of Rai groups and the intermarriage between different groups lead to a multiplication of lines of ritual traditions.

It becomes clear at this point that the Mewahang view the neighbouring Rai subtribes not as different cultural units, but rather as other branches of the same tree : all subtribes have the same mythic origin and thus equal ritual status. This egalitarian attitude in matters relating to the *muddum* persists even though politically there may be a status difference. As later immigrants, the Kulunge in the Sankhuwa Valley have until recently been dependents of the Mewahang, who controlled the ancestral *kipaṭ*-land. But this has not undermined the ritual authority of Kulunge shamans, who in many cases have been the preceptors (*guru*) of Mewahang shamans. Political domination and cultural domination are not necessarily congruous.

INTERACTION WITH WRITTEN TRADITIONS

Situations of contact are different in the case of the transmitters of the so-called « high » or « great » traditions. Interactions with Brahmans, *sādhu*s, *jogi*s, lamas or high-caste tax collectors occurred less frequently than those with other Rai; moreover, as a common social background is absent, they are formalized to a high degree and usually asymmetric, *i.e.* characterized by a status difference. Therefore these situations of contact were not so much determined by an atmosphere of unconstrained communication, conversation and dialogue on a more or less equal footing as dominated by the monological authority of the written text which represented a wider regional framework. Copies of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or Puranic texts found their way into the hills, land documents were kept by the local élite as tokens of power, and the lunar

calendar, commented by Brahman astrologers, became an important tool in structuring the agricultural and ritual cycle. But the authors of these texts remained largely invisible – which rather enhanced the authority of their word.

Nevertheless, the Rai have not regarded these written traditions as entirely different from their own. For them, the Vedic or Puranic texts, for instance, deal with essentially the same problems : the origin of man and the universe, the primordial and divine ancestors, their heroic deeds, etc. So being confronted with these other traditions, the Rai have assumed that they were somehow like their own *muddum*, thus interpreting them in terms of their own traditional concepts. For example, the Hindu god *Śiva* as a male creator of primordial times was identified with Paruhang, the First Father of all natural species, and the *dewi* (N.) of Salpa *pokhari* was likewise identified with Somnima, the Mother of all natural species. Similarly, the mythic place of origin, *khowalung* (M.), located down in the plains, was identified with the city of *Kāśi, i.e.* Benares.

However, besides such identifications the corpus of Mewahang mythology has been little affected by outside influence. Even though Nepali, the national language, is in the process of being substituted for the indigenous Rai language, and the myths are often recounted in Nepali (or some mixture), the contents of the stories remains unchanged. Non-Rai narratives are clearly distinguishable from those of the *muddum* and are rarely integrated into it.

But still, the translation into a wider, regional idiom shows some deep effects, not so much in the stories themselves but in the attitude towards them. For example, the myths of the *muddum* are usually referred to in Nepali as *bamśāwali*, reflecting the view that they recount the story (or history) of the ancestors from the origin down to the present day. However, this translation is not only a matter of words; it has a feedback effect on the original concepts and attitudes. The Hindu concept of *vamśāvalī* (Skt.) implies a notion of linear irreversible time, whereas the Rai origin myths, which traditonally are embedded in a ritual context, can be and must be reenacted, thus fusing the present with the divine time of the ancestors. With the introduction of the concept of *vamśāvalī* this aspect tends to get lost : As the words of the ancestors go into print they no longer need to be reenacted.

A very similar dialectic of interpretation can be observed in the field of ritual. In the encounter with different and new cults, deities and rites, the Mewahang have perceived basic similarities and eventually adopted some of these practices, not so much for reasons of status mobility (which is clearly irrelevant in the adoption of Lamaist elements)[9] but rather for the sake of becoming part of a wider regional framework. This explains the adoption of festivals like *dasaī*, the sacrifice to *dewi*, or the *pujā* at the Bauddha or Khembalung shrines[10], as well as certain Hindu elements in life-cycle rituals or shamanism, etc. Generally, these rites and ritual symbols have simply been added to the indigenous ones without really altering them : the festival of *dasaī* has not been substituted for the indigenous territorial cult for the *ca:ri* (M.), though both similarly emphasize the traditional political structures[11];

the *dewi* sacrifice has not taken the place of any indigenous blood sacrifice; and also the Bauddha festival is nothing but an addition.

It seems that Lévi's often quoted statement on the « Kirātas » still holds some truth : « En pays bouddhiste ils marmonnent le *Om maṇi padme hum* ! et font des cadeaux aux lamas ; en pays hindou, ils se donnent pour des çivaïtes et adorent Mahādeva et Gaurī. » (Lévi, 1985, II, p. 78). In fact, both assimilations even occur in one and the same village ! I have witnessed how a wealthy *jimmāwāl* called a Brahman to do a *rudrī* (Skt.) on the first day and a Tamang lama to do a sacrifice to Khembalung on the second day, both at the same village shrine. And still, this syncretism does not mean that the indigenous tradition has dissolved or been integrated into the « great » traditions. Rather it is a mutual « inclusivism » : in the view of the Rai, the « great » traditions are part of their own – though somewhere at the periphery –, whereas in the perspective of a Hindu, for example, the Rai are basically Hindu – though somewhat unorthodox ones [12].

Generally, it may be said that for the Rai the « new » ritual symbols and concepts make sense in terms of the « old », traditional ones, but they are not straightforwardly identified with them : they exist side by side. However, the very existence of the new concepts does not remain without influence on the older ones, as the indigenous concepts are more and more interpreted in terms of the newly introduced ones. For example, the notion of *mang* (M.), which can be glossed as «ancestral being», is translated by the Mewahang themselves as « *dewā* » (N.), which assimilates these beings to those of Hindu origin. A similar process seems to have taken place on a wider scope in the case of ritual specialists : the translation of M. « *makpa* : » ('medium', 'shaman') as N. « *dhāmi* » or (less frequently) « *jhãkri* » was not only a translation of words but coincided with the transformation of an institution – the assimilation to and creation of the regional tradition of « Jhãkrism » [13]. Clearly in this processes of reinterpretation the attachment to a wider cultural framework has had its price : to some degree the « closed world » of an ancestral cosmology was dissolved, thus de-emphasizing kinship relationships and putting more stress on bounded individuality.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the following general observations can be made. In both encounters, that with other Rai groups as well as that with the written traditions, the Mewahang Rai have in principle assumed that the other tradition is not essentially different from their own. In the first step of such encounters the carriers of tradition recognized similarities, thus constructing what we could call a conceptual scheme [14]. With the help of this the new symbols could become incorporated and be interpreted in terms of the indigenous ones, but also, in a kind of feedback process, the indigenous symbols were eventually interpreted in terms of the « imported » ones. It is due to this latter process that the tradition has changed.

Now, when one compares the changes in both kinds of encounters, some crucial differences can be seen. In the case of intra-Rai interactions there indeed are a lot of similarities and common concepts, and thus the process of assimilation has not brought about any basic alteration. Based on the principle of fraternal equality this encounter has been a real and fruitful dialogue, resulting in a creative multiplication of indigenous traditions.

The interactions with the « great » traditions have also had an innovative impact. However, the integration of certain symbols and concepts of the regional traditions into the local one, even though having increased the number of cults, has on the whole brought about a unification (or universalisation) by assimilating the local peculiarities to the general framework of a pan-Nepalese textual tradition. The written word, which is alien to the whole concept of the *muddum*, has come to be regarded as an authoritative source of knowledge. Especially the « translation » of indigenous knowledge into the national language, Nepali, has had a powerful, unifying influence [15].

This process of translation and reinterpretation has often implied a subtle, but fundamental alteration, twisting the meaning of indigenous concepts and institutions in a way unnoticed by the people, thus slowly alienating them from their past.

Notes

1. The following abbreviations are used : M. = Mewahang, N. = Nepali, Skt. = Sanskrit, Tib. = Tibetan. Nepali terms are transliterated according to the system of Turner (1980). In the transcription of Mewahang terms I use « : » to signify the lengthening of a vowel (for further details of Mewahang phonology see Gaenszle 1991, Appendix 1). – The field research in the Sankhuwa Valley (Sankhuwa Sabha District) on which the following observations are based was mainly carried out in 1984-1985. I am grateful to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for its financial assistance during this period. – Also I wish to thank Philip Pierce for revising my English.

2. Compare, for example, Limbu *mundhum* (Chemjong, 1966, p. 21), Sunuwar *mukdum* (Werner Egli, personal communication), Thulung *diumla* (Allen, 1976, p. 256-261), Chamling *dum la* (Karen Ebert, personal communication) or Kulunge *ridum*. These terms seem to share a common root **dum*, which possibly is related to Tib. *sgrung*, « fable », « legend », « tale » (Jäschke, 1987, p. 120. I owe this suggestion to Charles Ramble). In pre-Buddhist Tibet there was a category of bards called *sgrung-pa* whose task was to « celebrate the divine manifestations of ancient times and the glory of the ancestors » (Tucci, 1980, p. 207). The *sgrung* were tales that « formed part of the narrative material described here as making up the "religion of men" » (Stein, 1972, p. 193).

3. Though historically literacy has played a crucial role in developing critical and sceptical attitudes towards traditions, it also has encouraged the « orthodoxy of the book » (see Goody, 1977, p. 37). Within certain limits, the oral mode of transmission requires an imaginative reinvention of the texts : there is no possibility to compare with « correct » versions (Goody, 1977, p. 116f.). When – according to a story in one of Plato's dialogues (*Phaidros*) – the Egyptian king was presented with the invention of script and was told that this will strengthen the memory of men, he rejected it as an invention which would actually weaken the capacity for memorizing. As Gadamer points out, the story is not meant to criticize script as such, but to warn against the « seduction » of the written word, which easily can become « dead letters » (see Gadamer, 1983, p. 15). Especially the illocutionary quality of ritual invocations defies the reading from written versions. When villagers in the research area heard that in a neighbouring village some

elders had to invoke the house god with the help of a written text, they just laughed about them, clearly objecting to this practice.

4. One becomes a member of the first group, the elders, by reaching a senior age (usually when one has « seen one's [first] grandchild »), but the status also depends on the level of knowledge. Belonging to the two classes of ritual specialists requires certain initiatory experiences, such as dreams, illness and – especially in the case of mediums – periods of « madness ».

5. During the initial stage of field work it was difficult to tape-record myths as the elders were reluctant to present their knowledge for fear of not being able to give the « true » version. When variants were compared, in principle no distinction was made between myths of the Mewahang and that of the Kulunge, for instance.

6. For example, among the Thulunge Allen has recorded a myth in which two brothers, Chamling and Ombule, have an unequal meal before partitioning their land : whereas the clever Chamlinge eats parched rice, which is easy to eat, Ombule has only ground meal. So when Chamlinge asks Ombule where he would like his land, the latter only can say « Om-om-om », and therefore receives the place called Ombu (Allen, 1976, p. 151f.).

7. One myth even recounts how the Mewahang ancestor married a *Bhoṭya* woman ; others tell about establishing marriage ties with the Rai of the Dudh Kosi or those on the other side of the Arun (Gaenszle, 1991, p. 300f., 314f.).

8. In several cases Rai elders, usually ones who have had acquaintance with the outside world (for instance through service in the British Army), started to write down myths of the *muddum* and the remembered genealogical lines of ancestors, and some have published such material in small booklets printed in local presses (for example, *Madan Dāś Rāī : Mewahāṅg Kirātīko vaṁśāvalī* B.S. 2046). Though among the Mewahang Rai this has not yet had a visible effect on the narrative tradition, that seems to have been the case in other groups. I was told by Werner Egli (Zürich University) that among the Sunuwar Rai there are few myths which can be recounted, as even illiterate persons refer to a written *vaṁśāvalī*.

9. According to the Muluki Ain of 1854 the *Bhoṭya* and the Rai both belonged to the category of « enslavable alcohol-drinkers » (Höfer, 1979, p. 141ff.). This reflects a basic equality still valid in the present-day context, though the Mewahang usually avoid eating rice from the hands of unknown *Bhoṭya* for fear of being « poisoned ».

10. The Bauddha shrine is a *stūpa* of fairly recent origin (built two generations ago), whereas Khembalung is a natural rock figuration nearby which is much older. The deity called Khembalung obviously relates to the famous « hidden valley » in the Apsuwa Khola (see Reinhard, 1978), but for the Mewahang in Bala he is *Śiva* – and for those in Yaphu he is *Molu śikāri*, the hunting spirit.

11. The *ca:ri* is the original village territory first inhabited by the village founder, but the term likewise refers to the spirit inherent in it. The cult for the *ca:ri* in spring, like the festival of *ḍasaī* in autumn, is hosted by the local *jimmāwāls* and *tālukdārs* (N., categories of tax-collectors) for each *jimmā* (N., « area of taxation ») separately. In both cases the *raiti* (N., « subjects ») traditionally bring symbolic gifts and receive blessings in return.

12. Significantly, the population census of His Majesty's Government of Nepal classifies the Kiranti religions as either Hindu or Buddhist « on the basis of the resemblance of their death and birth rituals to Buddhist or Hindu practices » (*Population Monograph of Nepal*, 1987, p. 84). As a result of recent political changes, new parties like the *Rāṣṭriya Janamukti Morcā* have emerged, which reassert a distinct religious identity.

13. It is typical for these syncretistic shamanic sessions that Nepali deities, such as *Sansāri Māi* or *Aitabāre*, are addressed in Nepali, whereas the ancestral deities, such as the *burhenis*, are addressed in the indigenous Rai idiom.

14. I use this term in the sense proposed by Potter (1988), as referring to a translingual and transcultural concept defined through metaphorical links. With the help of such conceptual schemes a kind of « middle ground » (Burghart, 1989) is constituted, which is reproduced, achieved, or simply assumed.

15. In this context the distinction between « weak » and « strong » languages proposed by Asad (1986) seems useful : a « strong » language, being associated with political superiority, tends to dominate the forms of discourse of « weaker » languages. Thus the act of translation can be affected by power relations independently of the translator's intentions.

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About Bhūme,
a Misunderstanding in the Himalayas

Marie Lecomte-Tilouine

My purpose here is to examine some data concerning the Goddess Bhūme in order to discuss the following question : which differences can we observe in the Magar and Parbatiyā's (or Indo-Nepalese) conceptions of Bhūme ? More precisely : why did the Parbatiyās accept to attend the Bhūme rituals performed by Magars without playing the main role in them ?

BHŪME, THE TAMED WILD SPIRIT OF THE LAND

Bhūme is a well-known deity of the earth. Its name derives from Bhūmī, the Hindu Earth-Goddess. It is propitiated all over Nepal by most of its inhabitants. It is usually described as belonging to an ancient pre-Hindu tradition. At any rate, in the villages, it is obviously linked with the first settlement on the site and with the original ancestors. Bhūme, and more generally the soil deities, are described by the villagers as previously malevolent spirits (Toffin, 1987). It is not necessary to consider this transformation as the hinduisation of a previous tribal deity, but more probably, it describes the process of domestication of a wild area and the taming of its dwelling spirits as the founding gesture.

THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF BHŪME CULT
IN GULMI AMONG MAGARS AND PARBATIYAS

I will consider here the data I have collected in the district of Gulmi, Central Nepal [1]. The population consists mainly in two groups : Parbatiyās

and Magars. The Bhūme cult is performed by both communities but it assumes different forms in them.

We have gathered these forms according to three configurations :

– In the first, the Magars live without any high caste neighbour. A private Bhūme cult is performed on many occasions; it is conducted by the householder in the fields belonging to the family. There is also a collective one, once a year. For the latter, the social unit of worship is either the village or the Panchayat. The main officiant is the former *mukhiyā,* the village headman, or a new officiant, a medium chosen after the Panchayat reform [2].

– In the second, the Magars live in a pluri-ethnic Panchayat or village. Each household has, on many occasions, its private Bhūme cult, but the collective one is conducted by Magars, and high caste people attend the rituals and participate in the offerings.

– In the third case, high caste people live without Magar neighbours. Then, no collective Bhūme cult is performed but only individual ones.

We note first, there are two attested forms of Bhūme cult : a collective one and a private one. Whereas all groups have a private one, only the Magars perform collective ones in the Gulmi area.

Let's first consider the individual ones.

THE INDIVIDUAL CULTS TO BHŪME

The cults adressed to Bhūme follow the agricultural cycle. In Gulmi district, a *pāthi* (four kilograms) of rice and corn is given to a virgin girl in the name of Bhūme : it is called « the Bhūme portion ». This portion is given at the harvest time, as first fruits. Here the girl is a substitute for the deity, which is totally unusual in other cases where the girl might only receive a sacrificial salary or the remaining of the sacrifice but not the sacrificial offering itself. This first conception of Bhūme is common to Magars and Parbatiyās. Bhūmī is a beautiful woman in Hindu iconography and the Magars of Darling use to say that Bhūme appears to them in dreams as a beautiful young Brahman girl of dark complexion.

Apart from this offering of first fruits, Bhūme receives two cults in the fields of each landlord in the months of *sāun* and *mansir.* The ritual of *sāun* is important, because, according to the Hindu calendar, all the gods are leaving the earth for the underground during this month. Only the evil spirits remain. At this time, Bhūme, the only good evil spirit, is propitiated : it will protect men and crops from the attacks of malevolent spirits. According to C. Jest [3], the Tamangs of Temal perform also a ritual adressed to Bhūme at the same time during « the closing of the door for deities » which might correspond to the Hindu disappearence of the gods.

During those individual cults, Bhūme is followed by other deities. Among the Magars of Sikha (J. Kawakita, 1974), Bhūme has *garne bharne* or ser-

vants as well as among the Tamangs of Temal[3] where Bhūme is surrounded by many servants. In Darling (Gulmi district), Bhūme has no such followers, but it appears very often as a couple. The other deity is usually Sime or Jal Jhãkri, the spirits of humid land. Very often too, some deities such as Nāg and Nāgenī and Śikāri receive something along with it.

The relation between Bhūme and the humid land deities is obvious, but there is also a very close relation between Bhūme, Nāg and Śikāri. The Nāg are divine snakes dwelling in the underground. Śikāri is a forest godling presiding over the wild animals. Bhūme is associated to both of these two categories. Very often Bhūme is described itself as a Nāg as it is clear among the Northern Magars described by Michaël Oppitz (1986). In the village of Darling, Bhūme is also said to be a *picās*, a malevolent spirit « from the forest ».

, But Bhūme is also the one who protects the crops and who owns the earth. Is this a contradiction in terms ? This problem is easily solved if we consider the world conception that prevails all over Gulmi. People usually think that the world was first covered by jungle. In that sense it seems logical that Bhūme, the owner of the land, is itself a forest deity. But Bhūme is quite different from other jungle spirits in that sense that it has been domesticated and established in little shrines in each field and sometimes in a big common village shrine.

It appears to be a wild deity who accepts to protect human's fields from the attacks of evil spirits in exchange for regular offerings. Its role of guardian is very central in Gulmi district, where a teenager explained to me for example that during the night, if some danger appears to occur it is very safe to jump from the path into a field where the Bhūme deity will protect you from the evil spirit, and the safety will be greater if this field happens to be yours.

In that sense, Bhūme is ubiquous and entertains preferential relations with each land-owner who venerates it. The villagers of Darling Panchayat distinguish between *āphno jamin jaggāko Bhūme* and *sapai gāūko Bhūme*, or the Bhūme of one's own field and the Bhūme of the whole village. The deity seems to be the same in both cases, although in individual cults it is often divided in a masculine and a feminine part : Bhūme and Bhūmenī, and in the collective cult it is usually described as a Goddess, *devī.* In the two cases it is the social unit of worship which defines the power of the deity and its nature. It seems that the whole village Bhūme is not only the protector of all the fields.

If Bhūme protects crops and men from the attacks of evil spirits, it is also more generally the owner of the land.

This ownership is shown clearly during some ceremonies where one has to pay a rent to Bhūme in order to use the land. During the initiation of the Twice-Born described by Lynn Bennett (1983), the father of the initiate has to offer a plate of *sidhā* food to Bhūme as rent for the sacrificial area. In Gulmi, when Magars and Kāmī used to bury their dead, they had first to put some money in the grave for its rent.

In fact it was also possible for them to give this money to the *mukhiyā* in the name of Bhūme. We can see here the first link that ties the *mukhiyā* and Bhūme. The *mukhiyā* is the one who distributes the land and who collects the land taxes. As the virgin girl is a substitute for the Bhūme of one own's field, the *mukhiyā* is the one of the whole village Bhūme.

Among the Magars of Gulmi, the collective Bhūme cult was done by the *mukhiyā* up to the Panchayat reform. The *mukhiyā* was the headman because of his land control and the earth deity was then tightly related to power. Whereas most of Tibeto-Burmese groups of Nepal have a tribal priest who performs the Bhūme cult, Magars have no religious specialist apart from the shaman and the medium, and the *mukhiyā* cumulates religious and political power.

If many other tribal groups use religious specialists for the Bhūme cult, we can observe that the *mukhiyā* also plays an important role in many cases. Thus in a village of Tanahun it is the *mukhiyā* who organizes the Bhūme cult and who eats the sacrificial offerings along with the Magar or Gurung *pūjārī* according to Marc Gaborieau (1968). And in Temal, C. Jest notes that the Tamang Bhūme officiant receives not only a very big salary for his office but a member of each house of the village has to work two days for free on his fields, a prerogative that was, as far as I know, reserved to *mukhiyās*. The link between Bhūme and the *mukhiyā* appears to be very strong among Magars.

THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE BHŪME CULT AFTER THE PANCHAYAT REFORM

In fact, in the village of Darling, the whole village Bhūme was nothing else than the headman's own Bhūme. The cult was held at his house and the main offering was the sacrifice of a pig. At that time, no high caste people were living within the village.

After the Panchayat reform, some close villages of high Hindu castes or Bāhun-Chetris have been included in the new Panchayat of Darling. What happened then to the Bhūme cult ? Three main changes appeared.

First the place of the cult moved. From the headman's house the shrine of Bhūme was shifted onto the top of the hill. Secondly the main offering changed. The pig was prohibited in the Panchayat by the decision of Magars mediums after some disaster. Instead, a goat is sacrificed. Then the officiant changed. The *mukhiyā* lost his right to the land and along with it, his legitimacy to venerate the village Bhūme. Instead, a Magar medium started to officiate. In fact these changes have been more the effect of the new political system than of the integration of the Bāhun-Chetris.

The power of the new headman, the Pradhan Panch, has no religious base : he is not a representative of the king but simply a delegate of the

villagers. This is why he is not able to perform the Bhūme cult. The disjunction of the political and the royal function has led to the emergence of a new religious specialist. However, in the case of Darling, the Pradhan who was also the former *mukhiyā* has in a sense kept the religious power by designating one of his *bhānjā* or nephews as officiant. As the *bhānjā* is under an obligation to his uncle (among Magars), the officiant appears subordinated to the headman, who himself still organizes the ceremony and decides its date.

The Bāhun-Chetris, although their presence has certainly induced the prohibition of the pig sacrifice, have accepted to participate in this cult without changing it and without having any religious role in it.

WHY DO THE HIGH CASTE PEOPLE PARTICIPATE IN TRIBAL BHŪME CULTS ?

This phenomenon is common in Gulmi and more generally in Nepal. It seems that everywhere the Bhūme cult is associated with the first inhabitants of the place and with the first lineage of headmen or priests. But the question we would like to ask is why the high caste people who have taken the power more or less everywhere in Nepal have left the control of Bhūme to the tribal groups ?

We have little material concerning the Bhūme cult among the Parbatiyās in Nepal. But some Indian data (Crooke, 1986, reprint) might help us.

It seems that in some places in Punjab the foundation of a village starts by the installation of a Bhūmiya shrine. This deity is more than the guardian of the place because if the villagers have to move to another place for some reason, they still have to venerate the Bhūmiya of the village they have deserted. Bhūmīya appears in this case to be the tutelary deity of the lineages originating from the place of its shrine.

In other regions of India, the Bhūmī deity is the spirit of the first man who died after the creation of the village. Among the Tharus of Nepal (Krauskopff, 1989), the Bhaīyar are the ancestors of the priests' lineage.

In many respects Bhūmī appears to be an ancestor linked to a territory, guarantor of the protection of the inhabitants, but apparently not linked with power. In ancient India, Bhūmī, the earth, is a Goddess in danger, and the avatar of Viṣṇu, Varāha the boar, saves her.

In this mythology, the king or the powerful man is the boar, the one who protects Bhūmī, the earth. It seems that among the Guptas, the image of Varāha was taken by the leaders to represent themselves. The political metaphor of this myth is to my mind still prevalent among Parbatiyās.

For the high caste Hindus, the powerful man is not the one who gets his power from the first domestication of Bhūme, but the one who gets a divine mandate to protect and venerate Bhūme, the land of his ancestors.

As is well known, for the high caste people, especially in Nepal, territorial attachment is not an important factor of identity. The caste and especially the lineage unity are prevalent on territorial appartenance. Thus the village unity is less important for the Indo-Nepalese than for the Magars. In Gulmi district the Magars and the Kāmi have very little notion of lineage unity outside the village whereas the Bāhun-Chetris have a very strong trans-village lineage unity that one can observe during the *kul devatā pūjā*, the cult of lineage deities.

As pure social units unattached to a territory, a fact that their migration might have amplified, the Indo-Nepalese have no common cult to Bhūme. But still they venerate the ones of the previous inhabitants.

This fact is especially striking in the village of Aglung, located at the north-west of the Gulmi district. There, mostly Chetris are living today. But once a year for the Bhūme *pūjā* they call a special *pūjārī* from another village located to the north in Bāglung district. This officiant is a Magar. He receives a very big sacrificial salary as more than four hundred houses have to give him half a kilogram of rice or four kilograms of millet *kodo*. Here one can observe a strange phenomenon, as the divinity of the soil is propitiated not by the villagers themselves but by a tribal neighbour. The explanation is also very simple : Aglung was previously inhabited by Magars and when the Chetris came they drove the Magars to the north. The present day officiant is precisely a member of the original community of Aglung. For the Chetris, Bhūme should not be venerated by someone other than the original inhabitant of the place.

In the same way, in Musikot, a previous royal capital of the Chaubisi kingdoms, during the Dasain festival, all the fertility rites are performed by a Magar, whereas the main officiant is a Thakuri (M. Lecomte-Tilouine, to be published). This phenomenon has again the same explanation. The Magars were the first kings there also and after the coming of Thakuri rulers they only kept their religious role with the earth divinity.

What can be concluded ? Its seems that it is possible to observe two different conceptions of Bhūme : for the Parbatiyās, Bhūme is overall the guardian spirit of each landowner's fields and a deity connected with ancestors, *i.e.* with the first inhabitants of the land. But it doesn't appear as a guarantor of power. Of course this fact might have been induced recently by their migration from India. But for them, the rights to the land are given by the intermediary of the king though they settled very often in wild places.

On the other hand for the Magars, as is obvious in their origin myths, the right to the land and the power over the people settling on it is given to the first lineage who cleared the jungle, who domesticated the local Bhūme without any royal intermediary.

For the two groups, Bhūme is very tightly related with the original inhabitants of the place and nothing can erase this fact. Thus the high caste Hindus, while taking power have shown a great respect for the Magars' Bhūme cults, those cults which were precisely the Magars' rituals of power. One consequence of this fact, if it is true, might help us to understand the

great cooperation the Magars have shown towards their invaders. As the Magars have kept their political emblem, Bhūme, the soil deity, they might have misunderstood that they were dispossessed of their territory in other ways, because, for the new rulers, Bhūme was only the god of the village foundation.

Notes

1. The field work was done between 1986 and 1988.
2. In 1962, the Panchayat reform substituted a new elected headman (the Pradhan) and a new administrative unit (the Gaun Panchayat) to the traditional headman (Mukhiya) and the village territory.
3. Unpublished documents. I am very grateful to Corneille Jest who communicated to me his personal notes about some Bhūme cults.

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Portrait of a Tantric Healer :
A preliminary Report on Research into Ritual Curing in the Kathmandu Valley

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Uttam Sagar Shrestha

THE MAN [1]

Healing styles vary from the genteel to the ecstatic. Jitananda Joshi's is forceful, business-like, and frequently very earthy. His consulting room is full every day of the week, except for Sundays and Wednesdays when he does not see patients. The use of the word « patient », and indeed the word « healer », raises at the very outset the question of the most appropriate language in which to describe what Jitananda does. Many of the people who come to consult him are ill neither in body nor in mind; they wish rather to have information or ritual assistance which will help them to solve the problems of everyday life.

By his own account Jitananda was sent to « Madras » in South India by « Mahendra *sarkār* », *i.e.* by the king or the government, in order to learn how to cure madness by Tantric means. It was Bikram Samvat 2014 (1957-8) and Jitananda was eighteen or nineteen years old [2]. Before he left for India, Jitananda had received both his sacred thread and Tantric Initiation (*dekhā*) from his family's Brahman priest. His father told him to leave his sacred thread on a tree at Guruju Dhārā above Thankot as he walked out of the Kathmandu Valley. That way he would not have to worry about where he slept and what he ate while in India; and he would not have to do his daily worship every morning. When he returned five years later the thread was still hanging from the tree, but the string turned to dust when he picked it up. He went to Paśupati, performed « the gift of a cow » (*sā dān*), and received another thread.

While in India he studied with two celibates (*brahmacārī*) called Śānta Bā and Svasti who lived close to each other; Śānta Bā was his main *guru*. Their students could wear what they liked below the waist, but above it they had to wear « *jogi* clothes », *i.e.* yellow. Wherever he goes Jitananda still carries with him three pieces of his *guru's* matted locks tied with copper wire. The teaching was primarily in Sanskrit; Jitananda did pick up some Tamil but has forgotten it. He stayed in South India for five years. On his return home he began to practise as a healer, but he found that his training was not complete, so he went back for a second stint of one year and nine months in B.S. 2028 (1971-2). At the end of this period there was a test in which he had to sit over a fire in meditation; thanks to the powers he had acquired the fire could not touch him.

Above the seat where Jitananda sees his clients and patients there is a picture of him going through the test (though no fire is visible) : he is bare-chested and carries a trident. There are also old, standard pictures of King Mahendra and of his queen, Ratna, as well as the usual more recent ones of King Birendra and Queen Aiswarya. Down each side of the long consulting room are benches for those who wait, though many also squat or sit cross-legged on the floor as they patiently make their way to the front. There are three painted signboards (in Nepali) on the lefthand wall : one requests people not to take off their shoes; another announces that Jitananda is at people's service from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m.; and the third states that in life the greatest thing is to cause (others) to have faith and it concludes : « (One should have) faith so that whatever is required (*kārya*) may be carried out successfully. (Your) servant Jitananda. » Although he thus describes himself as the servant of suffering humanity, his patients or clients address him respectfully as *gurubā* (« *guru* father »). On the opposite wall, with its two windows onto a small and unsalubrious courtyard, a sign states : « It is in times of suffering that one gets to know what a person is really like.[3] » Other signs state that the service of suffering orphans is the worship of God and that in life one should work with the sweat of one's brow but not with tears.

Thanks to his success as a healer Jitananda possesses houses in Kirtipur, Kathmandu, and elsewhere. He has two wives, two sons aged 14 and 11, and a small daughter. He lives in a frugal manner and a proportion of what he receives in donations (*dān*) from grateful clients he spends on religion, particularly on commissioning new statues of the gods and establishing them. Dharatī Mātā is a particular favourite of his, and he had an unusual icon of her made and consecrated in the compound of the Bāgh Bhairav temple. Among others he has established a Gaṇeś image in Naya Bazaar and put a railing around Kirtipur's Cilāco *stūpa*. Once he cured the bewitched daughter of a rich Rana and was given 16- or 17,000 rupees. Thinking that he could not « digest » so much *dān*, he bought five identical male buffaloes and had one sacrificed to each of five Bhairavs : Bāgh Bhairav, Kāl Bhairav and Ākāś Bhairav (both in Kathmandu), Unmatta Bhairav (in Cā Bahī), and Pacalī Bhairav. (This ritual is called *Bhailadyah śikegu* and many local people formed a procession behind him with their own offerings.) He told Bāgh

Bhairav : « This is the *kali* age. I cannot offer a human sacrifice *(narabali)*. This buffalo's head is a substitute for my own. »

Usually clients are already waiting when Jitananda emerges in the morning. Before starting to see them he cleans his consulting board with pure water *(nīlah)*, lights incense, and performs a two- or three-minute worship of his *guru* in front of the waiting clients. He worships his *guru* in the form of two books tightly wrapped in red cloth with a peacock feather stuck in the bundle. One of the books is written in blood, he says. There is also a *bīr* inside (a powerful spirit, usually of a murdered man). Once this ritual obeisance is over, he begins with consultations. Although he takes occasional rests during the day to smoke a cigarette, he only eats rice after all the patients have gone, a remarkable feat of endurance to keep up on a regular basis. Such fasting generates great ritual purity (and power) for his curing sessions. However he does not supplement it with the other recognized method of acquiring purity, bathing. Rather, he admits to being afraid of water and that he bathes only when he has to, for instance before performing *śrāddha* on behalf of his father. When there are no more patients, he takes ritual leave of his *guru*; once completed, if more patients arrive, he refuses to see them.

THE HEALING

In the Kathmandu Valley there are many *jhārphuke vaidyas*, *i.e.* healers who cure by using the technique of brushing with a broom and blowing mantras onto the patient's body [4]. They come from many castes; the most heavily represented caste is that of the Vajrācāryas, Tantric Buddhist priests. Jitananda is somewhat unusual in being a Jośī, *i.e.* Astrologer. It does him no harm, however, because very many of the consultations have to do with astrological information. Not infrequently a woman will arrive with the horoscopes of all the family and ask for progress reports on all of them. If a more complex diagnosis is necessary Jitananda draws a diagram with a kind of chalk on a wooden board plastered with red clay in front of him. He then drops grains of rice onto it; their position tells him what he needs to know. The other main technique used in diagnosis (as will be seen from Table 2 in the appendix below) is feeling the pulse, both on left and right wrists. Very occasionally he uses a stethoscope to listen to that part of the body where the patient's problem is located.

Jitananda has a vigorous manner of treating patients, often chatting and joking with those who have accompanied the patient he is treating, as well as with others in the consulting room. He cracks risqué jokes, teases people, and is quite capable of stating bluntly to an elderly person that they are old and must expect to be weak. Thus the waiting patients and caretakers are frequently drawn into discussions of particular cases. If Jitananda considers that it is a question of bodily weakness, he sells patients bottles of coloured

tonic (one for the blood, one for the flesh) and he prescribes certain dietary restrictions. The single biggest category of problems is caused by human malevolence, *i.e.* by witchcraft or the evil eye. Many people who come may suspect this as a cause of their misfortune, and healers such as Jitananda often confirm them in their suspicions. We heard Jitananda telling patients to bring horoscopes on Monday, Thursday, and Friday, whereas Saturday and Tuesday are for « Tantric work », *i.e.* combatting witchcraft. However consultation of Table 2 below will show that lay people do not heed these instructions and that both types of work seem to be brought on all days more or less equally.

In the vast majority of cases of witchcraft the diagnosis is simply « you have been harmed » (literally « spoilt » *syākāḥ tahgu*, Nep. *kaiphaṭ* or *bigār*). It is not necessary to name a suspected culprit, and ritual action to reverse the harm done does not require them to be identified or harassed [5]. In a small number of cases diagnoses of the evil eye are made (literally « the eye has gone », *mikhā wāgu*, or : « the eye has struck », *mikhā dāhgu*); and in others the magic is described as *tunā* (bewitchment of someone's affections, usually by a member of the opposite sex).

It is relatively rare for someone to state explicitly that they suspect such magical harm. The tables in the appendix give some idea of the range of complaints for which Nepalese consult healers and mediums in general. A large number make no specific complaint but simply present their horoscope or pulse for the healer to deduce any problems they may be facing.

Where clients specify a symptom, those one can broadly classify as social or psycho-social slightly outnumber physical complaints. Astrological problems or requests for astrological information generally outnumber both. A considerable number of physical complaints are ascribed to supernatural or social causes. Diagnoses of magical harm may result either from physical, social, or astrological complaints [6].

Treatments are not exclusive. Symptoms of weakness caused by magical harm may be treated both by reversing the magic and with bottled tonic. Magical harm is treated either by brushing and blowing mantras, to remove it from the patient's body, or by the procedure called « feeding in reverse » (*ultā nakegu*) [7]. In this the afflicted person brings sacramental foods (known collectively as *samay* : beaten rice, buffalo meat, beans, vegetables). The food is empowered by the healer and then divided in half. One half is kept by the client so that they can repeat the ritual at home in the evening. The other half is then divided in two again. Of this one half is eaten by the patient, and the other, the « enemy share » (*śatrubhāg*) is fed to the healer's dog. The dog is an unlovely mongrel with a lame leg, the deformity being ascribed to his diet of hostile magic. Jitananda says that reversing human malevolence is particularly complex when compared to problems caused by gods or ghosts : « If it's a god's fault, two grains of rice are enough; if a ghost's (*bhūt*), two grains of broken rice (*cwaki*); but if it is a human's fault you have to do so many things. »

The broad categories used below in Tables 2-4 to classify the symptoms/problems, diagnoses, and treatments are ours. For the purposes of quantification some system of classification has to be used. The assignment of some complaints to one category rather than another is not an unambiguous and simple matter; the distinction between physical symptoms and psychosocial symptoms is obviously not absolute. As Wiemann-Michaels (1989 : 45) points out, even swelling can be a psychological symptom in the Nepalese context. The problems « no desire to work » and « no desire to study » could equally have been put in the latter category. It is also important to remember that, although some ailments are often seen as purely physical, neither patients nor healers are concerned to impose these kinds of classifications on all or even most problems. As far as the broad categories used in Table 2 below are concerned, they are purely heuristic, introduced in analysis, and should be discarded where not helpful. In the cases of diagnoses and treatments shown in Tables 3 and 4, however, we would argue that the broad categories used here *do* correspond more closely to local conceptions, each category requiring a different type or course of action (though a single complaint may well require more than one such remedial action).

THE INTERPRETATION

To begin with a methodological observation : the pace at which things occur in the consulting room, the banter and noise which accompany them, and the fact that two languages, Nepali and Newari, are used side by side, as well as Jitananda's wide-ranging mythological, religious, and idiomatic asides, all mean that no foreigner, however well they may feel they have learnt the local languages, is capable of following every nuance, of grasping what is happening in every detail. Collaboration such as that of the present two co-authors is necessary, as well as desirable for its own sake, in investigations such as these. Moreover, the phenomenon under study is so multifaceted that interdisciplinary cooperation is also advisable. Any truly comprehensive study, as this does not pretend to be, needs to combine biomedical, psychiatric, and anthropological expertise.

Jitananda is used to the attention both of foreign and Nepalese scholars. He is probably the most intensively studied healer in Nepal. To cite only those studies available to us (there may have been others) : he figures in Padam Lal Devkota's (1983, p. 112-9; 1984) study of traditional medical practitioners in Kirtipur; his practice was the basis of a comparison between the psychiatric treatment of a traditional healer and a hospital out-patient clinic by Skultans (1988); and his practice was the source of Wiemann-Michaels' (1989) detailed analysis of forty-six patients diagnosed as suffering from witch-attack (this is undoubtedly the most sophisticated analysis of the problems which arise in trying to compare Jitananda's practice to biomedical diagnosis).

Of these, Skultans' is the most ambitious interpretation of the healer's role. Unfortunately Skultans has not published the figures on which her conclusions are based. What she says does make it clear that there are some differences in the details of our samples, and these should perhaps be taken to illustrate the dangers of relying on statistical samples which are restricted to a brief period of days in one part of the year. Skultans reports that just over half of her sample of 137 patients came from outside the Kathmandu Valley; Table 1 below shows that the overwhelming majority of our sample came from inside it[8]. She says that « the majority are literate and affluent »; we would judge this not to be so. She says that men outnumbered women by 3 : 2; according to our figures, women generally outnumber men.

This last discrepancy may be due to her focus on the 67 cases in her sample whom she deems to have complaints « related to mental illness ». This is a very difficult concept to use; she may have picked out the cases which we have classified as « psycho-social problems » in Table 2 below. She is certainly right that such patients are « seen as failing to fulfil their obligations to their families » (p. 973). However, in many such cases, people consult without actually bringing the disturbed person, or the person acting in an anti-social manner, with them, and the conclusion that they are mentally ill should only be made with great caution. There is a concept of madness in Nepali and Newari; not a single case of it was brought in the time of our investigation, although Jitananda has a reputation for curing it.

It is the sociological part of Skultans' fluent and stimulating article, however, with which we wish primarily to take issue. Here Skultans' interpretation hinges on a contrast between traditional rural healers and modern « popular » healers, a designation she uses for both Tantric *vaidyas* and *jhākris* (hill shamans) who operate in an urban environment. Skultans writes :

> The present study found that while the majority of patients show a reluctance to consult doctors, they have forsaken village healers in favour of popular healers who have taken over some of the less desirable features of western medical practice such as speed and routinization of treatment (p. 979).

Earlier she had written that

> rural healers are very much like family practitioners. Since the ratio of healers to general population is extremely high, such healers necessarily see few patients and are able to devote considerable time to those they do see. By contrast, there are also healers in the [Kathmandu] valley who offer a new style of treatment... Their practices are vast. Scores of patients are seen daily and hundreds weekly... As a consequence the healer has little personal knowledge of the clients, background and problems. The more sought after the healer the shorter the time he is able to spend with any one client. The waiting time, in contrast to the consultation time, is long (p. 971).

Thus Skultans presumes that whereas traditional rural healers make use of « detailed theoretical elaboration of witchcraft beliefs [which have] diverse social functions », where the urban healer is concerned (*i.e.* Jitananda) these « appear to have been left behind. »

No evidence is presented to substantiate the picture of rural Nepalese healers, other than the estimated (and surely exaggerated) statistic of Shrestha and Lediard (1980) that there are between 400,000 and 800,000 *jhãkris* in the Nepalese hills. Thus, while she is certainly right that the diagnoses offered by Jitananda are stereotyped, that he spends little time with each patient compared to their long wait, and that his use of witchcraft terms is « loose », we find no reason to believe that what he does is distinctively modern or urban. Any impersonality which may creep in to practices such as Jitananda's is due not to its urban context but to his very success and reputation which draw people from considerable distances, a point Skultans herself makes (p. 978).

Skultans attacks the tendency of medical anthropologists to view the practice of traditional healers as holistic, but she herself seems to think that the traditional, rural healers, with whom she contrasts Jitananda, do practice in a more holistic way, an assumption for which no evidence is advanced. There is one sense in which Jitananda's practice is holistic, however, and that is in not distinguishing types of problem requiring different specialists : physical ailments for the doctor, psychological problems for the psychiatrist or psychoanalyst, social problems for the social worker, spiritual problems for the priest. From a Western perspective Jitananda is all of these and an astrologer and exorcist too. Skultans is right, however, that Jitananda makes no attempt to incorporate all such aspects in a rounded diagnosis in the manner of a Western holistic healer.

We have no quarrel with Skultans' argument that women generally receive less health care of all types than men. Her description of how witchcraft diagnoses work (the healer providing a vague diagnosis which has to be made to fit by the family) is certainly cogent[9]. But such vagueness is a feature of the diagnoses of ritual healers of all types, whether they are the supposedly traditional *jhãkris* of the hills or the possessed and usually female mediums (*dyaḥ waipĩ*) of the towns. These latter, unlike Jitananda, are, by all local accounts, a new, relatively urban and modern phenomenon. A fully sociological theory of ritual healing has to take them into account as well[10].

Notes

1. This research was carried out in August and September 1989 supported by grants from the British Academy and the Max Müller Fund, Oxford. Thanks are due to D.P. Martinez, Axel Michaels and Simon Sinclair who commented on an earlier draft. None of them is responsible for the shortcomings which undoubtedly remain; nor, *a fortiori*, is Jitananda Joshi. We are aware that the statistics published in the appendix raise many questions which we have not answered, and are not yet in a position to answer. But we hope that they will stimulate others to ask similar questions and come up with more adequate formulations.

2. He told Wiemann-Michaels (1989, p. 15) that he was born in 1931 and went to India when he was 20. He confirmed to us that he was born in B.S. 1993, *i.e.* 1936-7.

3. It concludes with the enigmatic statement : « Therefore in both truth and untruth » (*tasartha satya tathã asatyamã*).

4. A typology of traditional *vaidyas* is given by Durkin-Longley (1982), p. 162.

5. Wiemann-Michaels (1989, p. 54) writes that only in a single case known to her was Jitananda asked to identify the witch, and he did so only under duress.

6. Wiemann-Michaels (1989, p. 41, Table 8) lists 35 symptoms recounted to her by her sample of 46 victims of witch-attack (she performed two medical examinations of each of them, two to three weeks apart). Symptoms experienced by more than two of them were as follows, in order of decreasing frequency : tiredness (reported by 31 subjects), anxiety (25), aggression (20), nightmares (19), headaches (18), apathy (15), lack of desire to work (14), sleeplessness (11), abdominal pain (10), lack of appetite (10), avoiding home (9), nausea (8), chest pain (7), irritability (6), back pain (5), fever (3), leg pain (3), cough (3), arm pain (3), weakness (2), weepiness (2), thoughts of suicide (2), swellings (2). It is probable that only those symptoms considered more important will have been reported to Jitananda.

7. *Ulṭā garnu* or *ulṭā khuwāunu* in Nepali (cf. Mcdonald, 1976, p. 384).

8. Wiemann-Michaels', (1989, p. 26, Table 2) figures for her much smaller sample of 46 are roughly similar to ours.

9. Though on this point much greater detail is to be found in Wiemann-Michaels (1989).

10. A preliminary attempt at such a theory is put forward in Gellner (1988, n.d.). Recent articles on such women are Dougherty (1986) and Coon (1989).

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Appendix

Data on clients consulting Jitananda Joshi on seven different days.
Data collected by Uttam Sagar Shrestha.

Table 1
The clients

	I Thu 24/8/89	II Sat 26/8	III Tue 29/8	IV Sat 1/9	V Mon 4/9	VI Tue 5/9	VII Thu 7/9/89
Total consulting (accompanying and non-consulting people in parentheses)	71 (24)	71 (67)	60 (24)	55 (11)	36 (10)	48 (14)	73 (23)
Number consulted for in their absence	9	1	9	8	2	3	9
Number coming for second time or more	11	14	11	7	9	10	11
Male	31 (10)	34 (25)	27 (11)	26 (6)	19 (4)	21 (7)	39 (10)
Female	40 (19)	37 (42)	33 (13)	29 (5)	17 (6)	27 (7)	34 (13)
Ethnicity							
Newar	49 (16)	53 (46)	41 (16)	43 (7)	35 (10)	44 (12)	60 (20)
Parbatiyā	18 (10)	12 (12)	14 (14)	4 (2)	1 (0)	4 (2)	13 (3)
Tamang	3 (3)	2 (4)	5 (0)	7 (2)			
Other	1 (0)	4 (5)		1 (0)			
Origin							
Kirtipur	6	7	8	15	3	6	9
Nearby villages	7	5	10	1	2	5	8
Lalitpur (Pāṭan)	13	14	3	9	4	6	3
Greater Kathmandu	26 (37%)	28 (39%)	22 (37%)	20 (36%)	14 (39%)	13 (27%)	24 (33%)
Lubhu, Thimi, villages south of Lalitpur and north of Kathmandu	4	5	10		8	6	5
Panauti, Sankhu, Bhaktapur, Banepa	8	10			3	9	14
Beyond	5	2	3	3			5
Not known	2		1	7	2	3	5

Table 2
Symptoms and problems

Day	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Total cases	71	71	60	55	36	48	73
Physical symptoms	15	19	20	9	7	12	9
Spots		1	1	2			1
Headache		1	1	2		3	1
Pain in chest		1	1		2		
Stomach ache	1		7	1	1		1
Knee, legs, hips		2			1	1	
Other specific pain		4		1			
Generally unwell, weakness, body « heavy »	9	8	4	1	2	1	2
No desire to eat	2	1					
No desire to work	2						1
No desire to study	1	1		1	1		
Sleeps all the time/Inactivity			1			3	
Baby unwell/cries/can't walk			2			2	1
Buffalo/cow doesn't give milk			1				1
Other			·2	1		2	1
Pulse shown	28	28	21	23	14	19	15
Social and psycho-social problems	16	15	7	5	4	6	8
Fights at home		3	1	2		1	3
Young man goes out at night	2	2				1	1
Problems caused by alcohol	2		1	2			
H attracted to other women/spoilt by friends	2	1	1			2	1
H bringing in 2nd wife	4	4					
Problems with wife	1	1	2	1			1
Work/things not going well	1	2					
Suspected magical harm	2	2	1				
Customers not coming to shop	1		1		2	2	2
Others	1				2		
Astrological/About auspiciousness,	25	25	31	24	17	20	44
Showing horoscope/rice	10	12	25	22	11	11	36
Shop earth/incense for shop	6	6	1		2	2	2
House earth shown	5	5	5	1	4	6	3
Others*	4	2		1		1	3

Note : the broad categories are for purposes of exposition only. Neither the broad nor the minor categories are exclusive. It is quite possible to show one's pulse *and* one's horoscope.

* Includes asking : whether horoscopes fit for a couple intending to marry ; about a child's future ; whether an operation should be proceeded with ; if a car should be purchased (determined by considering its number) ; if this a case of a god's *doṣ* (punishment, literally « fault »).

Table 3
Diagnoses

Day	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Total cases	71	71	60	55	36	48	73
Nothing wrong/ improving/ no doṣ	5	5	4	3	5	4	3
Physical or psychophysical	16	8	8	10	9	9	7
Types of wind (*vāyu*)			1	2	3		1
Hot and cold (*sardi garam*) unbalanced	3	3	1	3	3	3	1
Fever (various types)	3				1		
Weakness	5	5	2	1		3	
Problems with *man*	1		1	1		1	1
Just ill	1		1	1			
Other specified illness	3		2	2	2	2	4
Magical	28	34	31	15	14	20	22
Harm (*syākāḥ, kaiphaṭ*)	24	30	28	14	12	10	20
Bewitchment (*tunā*)	2	2	1			6	1
Evil eye (*mikhā*)	2	2	2	1	2	1	1
Other						3	
Religious/supernatural causes	6	8	3	4	1	1	2
doṣ	1	3		3	1		1
vow (*bhākal*) or ritual outstanding	4	1	1				
nāg	1					1	
mulkaṭṭa		1					
narapiśāc		1					
bīr/masān		2	1				1
siṃha (ghost)			1	1			
Astrological	22	·17	12	15	11	10	34
Bad conjunction (*daśā*)	10	10	8	12	5	6	18
daśā OK	3	2	3		4		5
Information about house	1	3	1		1	4	2
Other	8	2		3	1		9

Note : A diagnosis is not specified in every case; sometimes two problems are diagnosed in a single case. A few cases in which the data were unclear have been omitted.

Table 4
Treatments

Day	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Total cases	71	71	60	55	36	48	73
Physical	16	10	11	6	9	11	5
Gives bottled « power »	15	7	11	6	9	11	4
Other medicine	1	3					1
Magical	28	47	32	22	17	26	27
Brushing, blowing, and/or giving empowered water	6	24	8	11	9	13	13
« Feeding in reverse » (*ultā nakegu*)	14	18	20	7	6	13	11
Gives empowered powder (*sinhaḥ*) or bewitching powder (*mohanī*)	8	5	4	4	2		3
Religious	22	16	19	15	11	8	20
Worship *nāg*		1	1	1		1	1
Gaṇeś/Siddhi Vināyak	2	2		3	1		1
Sūrya	2	1	2	2			2
Eight Mothers/*pīṭh*	2		1	1	2		2
peepal tree	1	1					
Dharatī	2	1	3		1		3
Other divinities*			2	3		3	2
Give *dān* of fruits/*sagā*	2		2	2			
Bathe/keep purity rules	2		2	2			
Use incense on shop/house	9	10	6	1	7	4	9
Astrological	6	6	1	4	2	4	2
Bad conjuncture will pass after (date specified)	5	3	1	4	2	4	2
Other astrological information	1	3					
*Other**	3	2	3	5	2	3	3

* Includes : Bhīmsen, Mahākāla, Ākāś, Viśvakarma, placing an offering (*bau*) at the cremation ground at night, determining what the unfulfilled vow is.

** Includes : giving advice, requiring materials for a specific ritual to be brought, requiring the afflicted person to be brought, and declarations that there is nothing to be done.
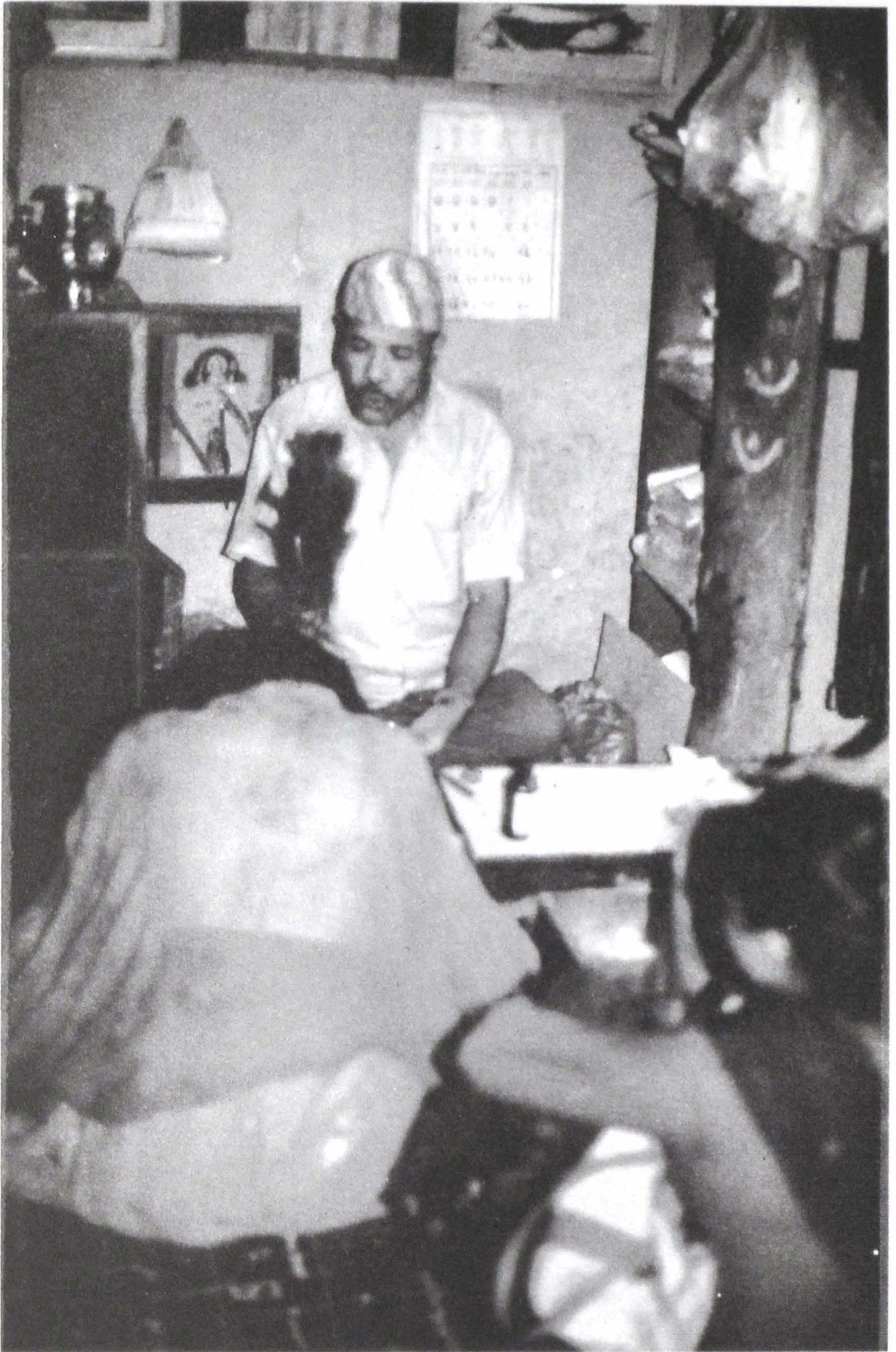
FIG. 1. – Jitananda Joshi performs *jhārā*, the removal of evil influences by brushing, on a Parbatiyā woman patient.

NEPAL AND TIBET

Zhabs-dkar Bla-ma Tshogs-drug rang-grol's Visit to Nepal and his Contribution to the Decoration of the Bodhnāth Stūpa [1]

Christoph Cüppers

Those who approach the stūpa of Bodhnāth in the NE of the Kathmandu Valley may see from some distance the sight of its « glittering spire », reflecting the bright Nepalese sun. Hardly any of the countless pilgrims who circumambulate the stūpa are aware that a Tibetan from Amdo is responsible for the gilt copper decoration of the pyramidal part of this edifice, which adds much to its delightful sight. But fortunately, we have quite a detailed account of the story of how the stūpa was embellished, in the voluminous autobiography of Zhabs-dkar Lama Tshogs-drug rang-grol [2] (1781-1851). In the following, I give a short description of the events of his visit to Nepal and the Nepalese borderlands, found in the 12th and 13th chapter of his autobiography.

Zhabs-dkar Lama set out from Amdo in the year 1818 together with many students in the direction of central Tibet. On the way, he preached the Buddhist Dharma to Mongols whereby, « he cut off their streams of bad deeds and established them in the stream of virtue. » The Mongols gave him offerings such as horses, silver, gold, tea and butter (p. 684, 4 : *hor dpon phrug sogs yon bdag rnams la chos bshad sdig rgyun bcad / dge rgyun btsugs pas / rta dang gser dngul ja mar mang po 'bul mkhan byung*). He told them, that it was a very bad deed to kill animals (*ri-dvags*) and he was able to collect about 5 or 6 yak-loads of slings used for hunting, which he later burnt. This is only one example which illustrates that he was a very impressive and strong character who was able to raise funds and influence people. Slowly he proceeded to Lhasa stopping on the way in several monasteries, where he gave and received offerings. From Lhasa, he went via Lha-rtse, to Muktinah. There he met the Mustang king *'Jam-dpal-dgra-'dul* and other Mustangis, who, after having received Buddhist teachings, offered him Nepalese silver coins and their turquoise ornaments. The Lama stayed a few

days in Muktinath, washing himself in the springs, admiring the fire appearing from stone and water, and visiting the few shrines there.

After a short visit to the cave *'od-gsal-phug*, in which Milarepa meditated, he went to Kyirong to visit the Avalokiteshvara statue *Jo-bo wa-ti-bzang-po*. People who saw him there started wondering to which Buddhist school Zhabs-dkar Lama belonged. Since he was wearing a monks robe, he must be a *dGe-lugs-pa* monk; but because he had long hair, he must be a follower of the *rNying-ma-pa*'s (*'di pa tshang rnying ma yang ma red grva chas byas 'dug / dge lugs pa yang ma red dbu ral bzhag 'dug* [p. 707]). He replied that he was neither a *dGe-lugs-pa* nor a *rNying-ma-pa*, but a Yogin following the teachings of both schools[3]. He stayed a few days in Kyirong and composed a song, in which he anticipated his gladness to be able to go to Kathmandu with some of his students, and to see the two big stūpas of Svayambhūnāth and Bodhnāth. Then he proceeded to Kathmandu via the Tri-shūlī-Bālāju road which led him at first to the stūpa of Svayambhūnāth. Here he offered about 500 Nepalese silver coins for whitewashing the stūpa [p. 709].

Zhabs-dkar Lama's next destination in the Kathmandu Valley was the stūpa of Bodhnāth, where he offered about 600 silver coins for its whitewashing and, in order to avoid a buffalo cow being killed for the *gaṇacakra*, he gave money to buy the necessary meat for the *pūjā*. Although he is full of praise for Kathmandu, « the godlike abode, where even in wintertime flowers and trees blossom and beautiful girls with golden nose-rings are found » ([1986, 2] : *dgun yang sngo ljang me tog bkra / nyams dga' lha yi yul dang 'dra / sna la gser gyi a long gi / rgyan gyis mdzes pa'i bud med mthong*), he stayed there only one month. Apart from the two big stūpas, he visited Matsyendranāth in Patan and the Palace of the King in Kathmandu, where he observed, with amusement, the feeding of horses, elephants, deers, rhinoceroses, tigers and leopards. Thereafter he went back to Kyirong the same way he had come. In Kyirong he visited the monastery *sKyid- grong bsam-gtan-gling*, which was founded by *Tshe-gling yongs-'dzin rin-po-che ye-shes rgyal-mtshan* in 1756. From here he went to the Milarepa cave in *Ri-bo-dpal-'bar* and to the shrine of *Kaḥ-tog Rig-'dzin-tshe-dbang-nor-bu*. *Tshe-dbang-nor-bu* had renovated the Bodhnāth stūpa in 1727/1728 by order of *Pho-lha-ba bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas*, who was preparing himself to become ruler of Tibet[4]. Later he had also renovated the Svayambūnāth stūpa, during the years 1751 to 1758. From *Ri-bo dpal-'bar* Zhabs-dkar Lama went to *Brag-dkar-rta-so* and to *mNga'-ri-rdzong-dkar*, preaching and giving offerings to the monasteries and monks everywhere.

Finally he reached *La-phyi* near the Nepalese border. *La-phyi*[5] is famous among Tibetans as an area in which Milarepa lived and meditated. It is an important pilgrimage centre often linked with *Ti-se* and *rTsa-ri*. While in *La-phyi*, Zhabs-dkar Lama received the message that the regent Demo Rinpoche *Blo-bzang-thub-bstan-'jigs-med-rgya-mtsho*[6] had died. It was the year 1819. He decided to stay some days in seclusion in an isolated cave near the Milarepa cave *bdud-'dul-phug-mo-che* to pray for the deceased regent. After this meditation, he had a dream in which he saw the stūpa of Bodhnāth and

the *chos-'khor*[7], the so-called umbrella part (of 13 rings) of the stūpa, covered with a gilt copper cover or, as he names it, a gilt copper cloth (*na-bza'*). Remembering the legend of the stūpa construction and the spiritual merit the mother and her four sons had accumulated, he decided to cover the *chos-'khor* of the stūpa with a gilt copper « cloth » (*na-bza'*) as he had seen in his dream[8]. I assume that the Bodhnāth stūpa at that time must have looked similar to the Dharmadeva stūpa of Chabahil, where the *chos-'khor* is still today only painted yellow.

Zhabs-dkar Lama sent a letter from *La-phyi* to the Gorkha king Rajendra Bikram Shah (1816-1847), in which he requested the king to kindly grant permission to cover the *chos-'khor* of the Bodhnāth stūpa with a gilt copper « cloth » for the benefit of the Buddhist Dharma and all living beings. The letter reads, after an extremely polite salutation, as follows :

> [Your majesty's] palace is flanked left and right by the two main big stūpas as if [earth is flanked] by the sun and the moon. If the upper part of the stūpa of Bodhnāth is similarly covered with gilt copper [as the stūpa of Svayambhūnāth], it would be a very great achievement for the Buddhist Dharma and a magnificent sight for the people. Therefore, I would like, for purely religious reasons, to create a benefit for the Dharma and all sentient beings in general and happiness in particular – which should [for ever] shine like the morning sun – for the people of Nepal and Tibet. I would like to cover the upper part of the stūpa of Bodhnāth, this earthly ornament, which is like a wishfulfilling gem, with a beautiful and shiny « cloth » of gilt copper. Since the coming year is a very auspicious year, I would be extremely glad, if his Majesty and his Majesty's ministers would grant me permission to do this. Further, his Majesty should issue an order allowing me to buy from his majesty's subjects, the necessary copper and hire the necessary workers, etc.

> [p. 804 :... *bal-yul yam-bu'i ngo-mtshar rgyal-khang gi g.yas-g.yon nyi-zla rnam gnyis zung du shar-ba las kyang mdzes-pa'i ngo-mtshar mchod-rten rin-po-che rnam gnyis kyi nang nas / bya-rung-kha-shor gyi sku'i stod kyi cha la 'phags-pa-shing-kun dang mtshungs-pa'i gser-zangs kyi na-bza' zhig byung na / bstan-pa dang 'gro-ba'i mig-rkyen mchog-tu 'gyur-bar 'dug-pas / de'i phyir bdag gi lhag-bsam rnam-par dag-pas bstan dang 'gro-ba yongs la phan-pa dang bde-ba 'byung-ba'i phyir dang / khyad-par-du yang bal-bod gnyis yi skye-'gro sems-can rnams la bde- skyid kyi nyi-ma gsar du 'char-ba'i rgyu kho-nar dmigs nas 'dzam-gling rgyan gcig phyag-mchod zhing mchog 'brel tshad don ldan gsol-ba btab na dgos-'dod 'byung-ba'i yid-bzhin gyi nor-bu lta- bu'i mchod-rten chen-po bya-rung-kha-shor zhes mtshan snyan gyi ba-dan dkar-po phyogs kun-tu ches-cher g.yo-ba 'di-nyid sku'i stod kyi cha chos 'khor bcu gsum la / blta na rab-mdzes gzi-brjid 'od-zer phyogs brgyar 'phro-ba'i rin-chen gser-zangs kyi na-bza' phun-sum-tshogs-pa zhig bsgron rgyu byung na snyam yod-pas / lo rjes-mar de bskal-pa bzang-po zhig shar tshe / sa-bdag chos kyi rgyal-po chen-po bka'-blon byang-chub sems-dpa' rnams kyi thugs rab-tu dgyes-pa'i sgo nas / de bsgrub chog-pa'i rnar snyan yid 'bab kyi gsung gi gnang-ba stsol-ba dang / khyed kyi mnga-'bangs zangs kyi thon-khungs yod-pa rnams nas zangs gang dgos nyos chog-pa'i bka'-shog dang / gzhan yang bzo-bo las-ka byed-mi sogs / gang-ci'i thad nas grogs-ldan mthun 'gyur gang drag mdzad dgos zhes /]*

He received a positive answer from king Rajendra Bikram Shah and his minister, Bhim Sen Thapa (1806-1837).

In November 1821 Zhabs-dkar Lama sent some of his disciples from *La-phyi* to Kathmandu to start this decoration work. Among those disciples was his treasurer (*phyag-mdzod*) *sKal-bzang-'phrin-las*, to whom he gave a letter for the Gorkha king, in which he thanked the king very much for granting his permission and requesting him, again, to give the promised support. The disciple *sKal-bzang-rgyal-po* befriended the king and the minister Bhim Sen Thapa while dealing with them and organizing this decoration.

By this time, news about the embellishment of the Bodhnāth stūpa must have reached Lhasa. The incumbent Chinese representative there, the so-called Amban, did not like this close Tibetan-Nepalese relationship and became quite suspicious about the activities of Zhabs-dkar Lama in Nepal. At the time when ne was sending a message to the Chinese emperor, the horse, ridden by the official who was carrying the sealed letter, stumbled, fell down and broke its leg. In addition, the official's hand was dislocated and the sealed letter fell and was damaged. The Amban then got a chance to air his suspicions and accused the Zhabs-dkar Lama of destructive activities against the Tibetan government, because he did not inform the authorities about his activities in Nepal. A dispute arose between the ministers and the Amban about Zhabs-dkar Lama and the ministers defended him saying, that he had been a religious person since childhood, doing only good to everybody and giving many offerings to Buddhist shrines, especially to the statue of Avalokiteshvara in Lhasa and the temple in Samye [9]. Being a religious person, he should be excused for not knowing worldly matters. And now he was offering « long-life » prayers for the chinese emperor and was sponsoring for the benefit of all sentient beings the gilt copper cloth for the stūpa, which by now, it had been heard, should be half finished [10]. But this did not calm down the Amban. He thought again and again (*a-'ban gyis bsams bsams nas...*) and reiterated his accusation, that it was absolutely necessary for Zhabs-dkar to inform the Tibetan government and the chinese emperor of his activities (*gong-ma rin-po-che la snyan-sgron zhig 'bul dgos-par gda'*). Since the Lama did not do this and consequently this problem of accusation and quarrel had arisen, he risked serious punishment. They continued to quarrel like this until the chinese emperor himself (or his office) put an end to the quarrel by defending the Lama, saying that as a religious person, he should not know worldly matters and when he therefore did not give notice to the authorities of his intentions, there was no fault at all. But indeed, if he had not instigated this decoration of the stūpa, it would have caused trouble and punishment [11]. After all this quarrelling the message finally reached Lhasa, that the decoration had been completed. Nearly 10,000 devotees attended the consecration ceremony (*rab-gnas*) of the newly decorated stūpa, which was held by his disciple *Grub-dbang sKal-ldan rang-grol*. Zhabs-dkar Lama held a small ceremony on his own in *La-phyi* in which he threw some flowers into the sky. He watched a vulture which flew around, higher and higher, in circles above him and finally came down near the monastery of *La-phyi*. The Lama regarded this as a very auspicious sign and composed a song in which he prayed that

the *chos-'khor* of all stūpas may be covered with a copper and golden « cloth ». It is obvious from the following part of his autobiography that this deed was one of his more important works, since it appears again and again in his songs and prayers.

Having now spent about 3 years in this area he decided to return home to Amdo and left *La-phyi* in 1822. The Lama made his way slowly back home during which time he continued to raise funds, give offerings and influence people to abstain from killing animals. But I would like to mention one more incident : when he was in Tashilhunpo near Shigatse the 4th Panchen Rinpoche *Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma* (1782-1853), a contemporary of Zhabs-dkar Lama, called for him and granted him an audience. He thanked the Lama and praised him for his eminent deed concerning the Bodhnāth stūpa and asked him whether he could do the same for the stūpa Tashi Gomang, which was erected by the famous Yogin *Thang-ston rgyal-po* (1361-1485) in 1456 [12]. The *chos-'khor* of this stūpa had been burnt. Zhabs-dkar Lama agreed and undertook that restoration as well. Here he repaired the *chos-'khor* and the whole top of that stūpa including the *ganyji-ra* (904, 19 : *chos 'khor bcu gsum dang rtse-mo'i gdugs ganyji-ra dang bcas-pa gser zangs las grub-pa byas*).

Zhabs-dkar Lama's account of his restoration of the Bodhnāth stūpa is quite detailed compared with the account of other Lamas and we are fortunate to know what he actually contributed to the construction of Bodhnāth and to be able to date the gilt copper cover of the Bodhnāth stūpa to the year 1822 A.D.

In comparing the first illustrations of the Bodhnāth stūpa like those of Le Bon (1885), Oldfield (1880), Hamilton (1819) and Landon (1928), we find an additional peak or *ganyjira* supported by four bars in Landon's illustration. This embellishment must have been done after 1885 and before 1928 and can probably be ascribed to *rTogs-ldan Shākya-shrī*, who renovated the stūpa at the beginning of the 20th century or to *Bya-bral dam-pa sku-zhabs rkyang-phyag bla- ma*, whom Shel-dkar bKa'-'gyur bla-ma *Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-'dzin tshul-khrims rgyal- mtshan* met in 1902 in Bodhnāth [13].

Notes

1. I am indebted to Anne-Marie Tootell and Juliet Nicholas for proofreading this article.

2. As early as 1895 A. Waddell mentioned in his *Buddhism & Lamaism of Tibet* « the great Lāma Z'ab-*d*kar ». In Waddell's description of the Bodhnāth stūpa on p. 315 we find the remark that, « this ... Lāma, I am informed, lived about thirty years ago, and gilded the short spire of the stūpa and built the present investing wall ». A brief account of Zhabs-dkar Lama was given by E. Filibeck (1980). F.K. Ehrhard (1900) devotes a thorough study of Zhabs-dkar Lama's text *'od gsal rdzogs pa chen po'i khregs chod lta ba'i glu dbyangs sa lam ma lus myur du bgrod pa'i rtsal ldan mkha' lding gshog rlabs*. There Ehrhard gives a more detailed account on Zhabs-dkar Lama's life and corrects some of Filibeck's results. A translation of the voluminous

autobiography of Zhabs-dkar Lama is currently being prepared by Konchog Tenzin (Matthieu Ricard) *et al.* and has already been completed up to chapter 10.

3. Regarding Zhabs-dkar Lama's influence on the « ris-med-movement » *in* Amdo, cf. Ehrhard, 1990, p. 43.

4. Cf. Petech, 1972, p. 122.

5. Cf. Filibeck (1988) and Macdonald (1990).

6. Zhabs-dkar Lama had met the regent during his stay in Lhasa (p. 456).

7. For the symbolical meaning of the *chos-'khor* see Roth, 1980, p. 189-190.

8. The details of the autobiography contradict Filibeck's (1980, p. 40) statement that, « he asked from the Tibetan government permission to go and restore the decoration of the Bya-run k'a-śor *mc'od-rten* in Nepal, which he did employing gold and copper given by himself or gathered from other benefactors » (*Autobiogr.*, 369b-373b). It is clear from the above passage of the autobiography that Zhabs-dkar Lama got the idea to decorate the stūpa of Bodhnāth in *La-phyi*, which he visited after his visit to the regent Demo Rinpoche in Lhasa. It will be seen from the following, that the government of Lhasa was not involved in the initial stages of the decoration work.

9. Both shrines belong to the very centre of the spiritual life of the Tibetans and the Tibetans regard all their kings and rulers as incarnations of Avalokiteshvara.

10. Zhabs-dkar Lama described the Amban as quite a suspicious person and leaves out the fact that the power of the Ambans in Lhasa was officially enlarged in 1793 after the Gurkha invasion into Tibet in 1788. The Chinese (Kolmaš, 1967, 47f), « aim was to create in Tibet a situation which would preclude an occurrence of any unwanted change of internal conditions in the future, and at the same time protect the country against any foreign intervention. These goals could only be achieved by placing all responsibility for the military, political, economic and administrative control over Tibet upon the Chinese central government acting through the Ambans as its intermediaries ». To this effect measures were taken as follows : « (1) The Imperial Residents (Ambans) were empowered to take part in the administration of Tibet, conferring with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama on all matters affecting Tibet, on a perfect footing of equality. (2) All Tibetan lay and clerical officials were to submit all questions of importance to the Amban's decision, including high appointment, judicial, financial and other matters. (3) The Ambans were made responsible for the frontier defences, the efficiency of the native levies, the administration of the finances, and took control of all foreign intercourse and trade. (4) The Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama were deprived of their right "to memorialize the Throne", and were authorised only "to report [to the Ambans] and ask their orders" ». Without going further into the question of how much influence the Ambans in Lhasa still had in 1822, it seems to be quite obvious that the ministers distanced themselves from Zhabs-dkar Lama's activities in Nepal by pointing out that these activities were issued from an absolutely religious intention and were by no means official undertakings of the Tibetan government. Indeed Zhabs-dkar Lama's renovation of the Bodhnāth stūpa belongs to the renovations which F.K. Ehrhard calls « Einzelrenovierungen », renovations which are not done by the incarnation lineage of the *Yol-mo-ba sprul-skus*. These renovations have been legimitated by the *Bya-rung kha-shor* – myth and politically sanctioned. But it is interesting to note that Zhabs-dkar Lama likes to join the sequence of the mythically (and by this politically) legimitated restorers, when he includes himself in the prophecy of the stūpa restorer (*Autobiography* 14, 7-15), but the prophecy is in reality refering to *Śākya bzang-po* (F.K. Ehrhard, personal communication of 22.7.1990).

11. This passage shows that the Ambans in Lhasa had been quite aware of the political implications or intentions of the Tibetans, if they undertook to renovate one of the bigger stūpas. Was it not *Pho-lha-ba bSod-nams stobs-rgyas* (1689-1747), the ruler of Tibet from 1728-1747, who, « decided, as an auspicious deed of preparation for victory, to restore the decayed Stūpa of Bya-run K'a-śor in Nepal » (Petech, 1972, 122 and cf. Ehrhard, 1989, 3).

12. See Schuh, 1981, 345 : « Nach Petech 1 ließ der *Than-ston rgyal-po* hieraufhin an der Grenze zwischen *Hor* und Tibet einen großen *Stūpa* errichten. Der Zweck dieser Errichtung wiederum wird aus den folgenden Worten deutlich, die dem *Than-ston rgyal-po* in seiner Biographie zugeschrieben werden : (*Than-ston*, Bl. 134v, 6) *hor bod mtshams* (135r) *kyi mchod rten ma žig gi bar du bod la hor dmag mi yon bas* "Weil, solange der *Stūpa* an der Grenze der *Hor* und Tibet nicht zerfallen ist, nach Tibet *Hor*-Truppen nicht kommen werden." Dies bedeutet, daß der nach einer angeblichen Prophezeiung des *Padmasambhava* erbaute *Stūpa* zur Verhinderung weiterer *Hor*-Einfälle errichtet wurde ».

13. Kanjur Lama, 1975, fol. 245 : *dus der bya-bral-dam-pa-sku-žabs rkyaṅ-phyag-bla-ma-rin-po-che nas mchod rten chen por ñams gso mdzad pa'i sgaṅ yin pas sku žabs sku 'khor daṅ* / ...

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Tibetan Texts

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The Newar Merchant Community in Tibet :
An Interface of Newar and Tibetan Cultures
A Century of Transhimalayan Trade
and Recent Developments [1]

Corneille Jest

The political events of 1959 in the Tibetan autonomous region of China have had a serious effect on the relations between populations living on both sides of the Himalayan divide. These populations have strong historical links, based on social, economic and religious relations which persisted through successive conflicts. (The historical aspects of these relations have been studied in detail by historians, and will therefore not be developed in this paper [2]).

The purpose of our note is to promote further socio-economic studies of a particular group of Newar merchants who traded with Tibet for several generations. These Newars established themselves in key locations in the most important centres of Tibet as well as on the border of Tibet and Nepal, establishing trade networks and points of exchange. Some of them married Tibetan women; they constituted communities : small in size but extremely powerful and having, during the period which we will examine (1850 to 1990), a quasi-monopoly of trade in important commodities such as wool and salt between Tibet and the Indian sub-continent.

Having been in contact with members of these communities since 1960 I would like to present their former way of life and their social and economic organization, as well as to examine the evolution of their life style and possible future developments.

The relations between the Newars and the Tibetans are indeed complex and a Newar legend expresses these relations in the following way : « A long time ago, a Newar merchant from Kathmandu, Sinha Saratha Bahu, was trading with Tibet, making a good profit. Because of his success he managed to convince five hundred of his friends to join him in a common venture. Once in Lhasa all of them were seduced by the ableness and beauty of Tibetan

women; they decided to settle there and forgot their parents and friends at home. Sinha, who was a devoted Buddhist, discovered that all the women were in fact demons. He invoked Lord Buddha who later helped him by sending a magic horse which he could ride with his five hundred friends to return safely to Kathmandu on the condition that they did not look behind them. The horse took off in the air, heading towards Nepal, but the women-demons were crying, full of grief, and one after the other the merchants looked back, fell off and were eaten by the female demons... Sinha was the only one who safely reached Kathmandu [3]... »

If the Newar merchants of today are not the offspring of those legendary characters, they are nonetheless considered as a particular group by both the Newar and the Tibetan communities. In common language the Newars and Nepalese call them *khaccara* (or *khacara*), lit. « mixed breed » and the Tibetans *bal-po* « those from Nepal » [4].

These traders were originally from Patan, a Buddhist city, where they were members of the *Śākya* caste, from Kathmandu where they belonged to the *Urhāy* (Tulādhar, Tāmrakār, Kansākar, Mānandhar) and from Sankhu [5].

The Kathmandu valley is situated on the most direct and easy route between India and Tibet and is the meeting point of many trails at a convenient altitude. Thus, until the closing of the frontier, the Valley was a transit point. Two commercial centres have developed on the border between Nepal and Tibet and they occupy a strategic position in the central part of the Himalayan range [6].

Kyirong (*skyid-rong*, the « happy valley » in Tibetan) at an altitude of 1 500 m, is located on the southern slopes of the great Himalaya between the Langthang Lirung and the Ganesh Himal massives (85° 18' long. East / 28° 28' lat. North) [7].

Local biogeographical conditions privilege agriculture and cattle breeding. A number of villages occupy the valley floor and near the confluence of the Kyirong-chu and Lende-chu is located the administrative and commercial centre. It is there that a small Newar community resides.

Nyanang (*snya-nang* in Tibetan, *Kuti* in Newari) is located to the northeast of Kathmandu at an altitude of 2 800 m, above a torrent originating from the glaciers of the Tingri range ((85° 58' long. East / 28° 10' lat. North) [8]. The Thangla pass (5 200 m) provides direct access to the central provinces of Tibet. In addition, this trail is part of the itinerary of pilgrimages to the major Buddhist shrines of which Kathmandu is one of the most important.

By way of illustration two testimonies are presented, one from a merchant of Kyirong and the other from a merchant of Nyanang.

Tashi, merchant from Kyirong, aged 65, states : « Kyirong is known as the community of "twenty-two Newar houses", *bāis: koṭhi*, the official expression used in the records and treaties. In fact there were 45 Newar households in 1959 [9].

« Each household was given a name. Among the better known were : *bahari, tsong-khang* ("the shop"), *Ramdashing* (name of a person), *mul-kothi* (the "oldest house"), etc.

« My grandfather, a Newar from the Śākya caste in Patan who traded with Tibet, married a Tibetan woman and settled in Kyirong. He became quite prosperous and had the patronage of the abbot of *bsam-ldan-gling,* an important monastery of the *dge-lugs-pa* order.

« The male members of the family remained Nepalese citizens and could obtain support from the Nepal jurisdiction. Under this system the Tibetan wife owned the house as the males were not allowed to possess land and practice agriculture. Income came from trade. Four houses, ours was one of them, were traders of some importance and wealth, and were called *tsong-pa*; the others were engaged in barter on a smaller scale [10].

« Our work consisted of two types of transactions. On the one hand we acted as middlemen between farmers of the upper valleys of Nepal and the cattle-breeders of Tibet whose production is complementary, acting as "bankers" and guaranteeing loans [11].

« On the other hand we bartered salt and wool from Tibet against products from India with, at a certain point, the use of currency. »

Tashi, who presents himself as a *tsong-pa* (a merchant of high status), organized his transactions in a yearly cycle as follows :

« The first lunar month of the Tibetan calendar (Mid February-mid March) which starts with the *rgyal-po lo-gsar* "new year of the king", when all passes are closed by heavy snow fall, was spent in festivities in Kyirong [12]. During the second lunar month (mid March-mid April) the loads of goods bought in India (cotton fabric, clothes, soap, matches, horse bridles, stirups, tea [13], spices...) making up to a total of 50 to 60 loads, were prepared in the courtyard of the house. The pack animals, dzos (a cross-breed of yak and common cow) adapted to lower altitudes left Kyirong for Dzongkha at the end of this second month. Dzongkha, a small trading centre at an altitude of 4 000 m was reached in a three days' journey to the North. Two Newars resided there during the summer months and their houses were used to store the merchandise collected [14].

« From Dzongkha one could easily reach with yaks the pasture grounds of the Changthang, the Tibetan plateau on the North of the Tsangpo where the Drog-pa reared their cattle [15]. First one visited the area of Yangjö-thangkha, then towards the West, successively encountering the nomad groups of Trewa, Shungru-me, Saka, Tradün and the vast area of Bompa, the distance being counted in number of days on horseback.

« The products from the « south » (India or Nepal) were bartered for wool but as the sheep were only sheared three months later a system of credit (*pu-lon tang*) existed, based on mutual trust. From the same region were collected rock salt from lake Trabye-tsakha, wool, goat's hides, yak tails, woolen fabric and horses [16].

Calendar of the cycle of trade activities
of the Newar merchants in Kyirong (for 1958)

Tibetan lunar month (western calendar)	Activities of the Newar	Occupations of the Tibetan pastoralists	Occupations of the Nepalese farmers
1st lunar month (mid February-mid March)	new year festival	winter pastures	
2nd lunar month (mid March-mid April)	caravan from Kyirong to Dzongkha	winter pastures	
3rd lunar month (mid April-mid May)	caravan from Dzongkha to the Drog-pa settlements	transfer to summer grazing grounds	harvest of winter wheat
4th lunar month (mid May-mid June)	barter with the Drog-pa	lambing period, the-Drog-pa collect salt	cultivation of rice
5th lunar month (mid June-mid July)	barter	summer pastures	
6th lunar month (mid July-mid August)	barter	summer pastures shearing of the sheep	
7th lunar month (mid August-mid September)	return to Kyirong	summer pastures	
8th lunar month (mid September-mid October)	barter of salt and grain	descent to winter pastures	harvest of rice
9th lunar month (mid October-mid November)	from Kyirong to Kathmandu Tibetan products sold	winter pastures	cultivation of winter crops
10th lunar month (mid November-mid December)	from Kathmandu to Calcutta and Kalimpong	winter pastures	
11th lunar month (mid December-mid January)	return to Kathmandu	winter pastures	
12th lunar month (mid January-mid February)	return to Kyirong	winter pastures	

By way of example the following rate of exchange was practiced in 1959 : rice, one measure for 2,5 of wool (in weight). The other commodities were bought with Nepalese rupees which were also valid in western Tibet : a goat's skin 2 Rs, a yak tail of white color 6 to 8 Rs, a black one 5 Rs, a piece of woolen fabric 8 Rs.

« The goods were collected and stored in Saka and visits to the encampments of the nomads continued for three months, selling, buying, taking orders for the next year. Once the shearing of the sheep was completed, a yak caravan transported the salt and the wool to Dzongkha where in turn the dzos carried them down to Kyirong.

« During the 8th lunar month (mid September-mid October) another type of activity took place in Kyirong. Nepalese farmers from the adjacent southern valleys brought rice and different grains to Kyirong. A barter took place by which 3 measures of rice were exchanged against 4 to 5 measures of salt. Maize, chilli, ginger and spices were also bartered.

« The second major period of trade started during the 9th lunar month (mid October-mid November) with Nepal and India as destinations. The first stop was Kathmandu, easily reached on foot in six days, where wool was sold 7 to 9 Rs for 2,5 kg, goats' hides for 6 to 8 Rs, woolen fabric for 13 to 15 Rs.

« From Kathmandu one moved on foot to India, up to Raxaul, the Indian border town, and by train to Calcutta and Kalimpong to buy cotton fabric, dyes, corals, turquoises, silk fabric, horse saddles, Benares brocade [17], tea, etc.

« Back in Kathmandu at the end of the 11th lunar month (mid December-mid January) one had to assess the trade problems, meeting with other merchants in Katashimbu and Chetrapati to decide upon the value of the merchandise and establish the rates of exchange for the year to come. In 1950 the total of goods transactions amounted to 60 000 Rs. »

Lobsang Nepali, aged 48, from Nyanang, who holds today a souvenir shop in Bodhnath, comments :

« "Nyanang Tsondü", the commercial centre of Nyanang, was a settlement of forthy households, *cālīs koṭhi*, of Newar merchants (this figure is quoted in all trade agreements between Tibet and Nepal).

« My ancestor, a Newar from Patan, settled in Nyanang and married a Tibetan. He was a member of the *cālīs koṭhi* and payed tribute to Nepal. My father traded cotton fabric which he bought in India or in Kathmandu and sold in Shigatse. In Nyanang he kept in store products from the lower valleys of Nepal such as rice, maize, wheat, and buffalo hides which were in great demand in Tibet to make boot soles. He used to travel to central Tibet in spring and summer but had to be back in the 8th lunar month, period which coincided with the end of the pasture season of yak and sheep in high altitudes and the rice harvest in Nepal.

« From the North, the nomads from Pogrong, Saka, Yangjö-thangkha brought salt, wool, butter, dried cheese, dried meat and animals on foot. The Nepalese brought rice, beaten rice, maize and wheat. The Tibetans and the Nepalese were not allowed to trade directly with each other, this was forbidden by law, so the barter took place in two phases for which we were responsible and made a good profit out of it.

« After 1959 this form of trade was almost totally stopped and only carried on at the border points. The Newars lost their major source of income and this forced them to move to Nepal in 1966.

« During the time of the Cultural Revolution in China, trade came to a standstill and I left Nyanang with my family for Kodari, on the Nepalese border, then to Kathmandu where I married a half Tibetan, herself the daughter of a Śākya from Patan and a Tibetan woman from Nyanang... »

These two testimonies help to understand the mechanism of the trade network in which the Newars from Tibet played a decisive role. Trade was more than a source of income, it was a way of life with a constantly changing activity for the men, and also for the rest of the family who took care of the administration of domestic affairs and of the merchandise, a function in which the Tibetan women excelled.

This network was anchored both in Tibet and in Kathmandu where members of the lineage organized the shipments with porters or caravans, took care of the accounts and kept a regular private mail service [18].

The way of life was strictly Tibetan, including social customs, language, and food habits. The group being a minority had a strong sense of unity and held regular meetings, strengthened by comunity structure.

Thus the Newar merchants belonged to a community with binding social rules and attitudes and married Tibetan women whose traditions were quite different. Their children continued to marry Tibetans. However a few merchants led a « double life ». They had a Tibetan wife in Tibet and a Newar wife in Kathmandu (marriage according to the rule of the Newar caste system). This state of affairs did not pose any problems until the recent political events but worsened when the « Tibetan family » took refuge in Nepal, the Tibetan wife not being accepted in the Newar community.

The double identification of the Newar merchant communities with both Newar and Tibetan cultures also concerns religious beliefs. The Newars from Tibet have very strong religious feelings as have all the members of their community of origin. They have adopted the rituals and behaviour of Tibetan Buddhism which is different from the one practiced in Nepal [19].

The Newars of Tibet are Buddhists and accepted as *nang-pa,* « the buddhists from the inside ». They follow the rituals and call the lamas for the different ceremonies of the life-cycle and after-death ceremonies. They are the benefactors of specific shrines such as the temple of *phags-pa* and *bsam-dan gling* monastery in Kyirong or the monastery of *dpel-gye-gling* in Nyanang. Moreover, each household has a chapel containing statues of Lord Buddha and a number of sacred books which are regularly read by monks invited for this purpose.

But in addition to this regular practice they have retained a special devotion to a deity, the *skyes-lha* considered as the « protector of life and religion » and associated with the birth of a person. The *skyes-lha* is also considered to be *bsam-yas rgyal-po,* « the king of Samye », god of the lineage; he is worshipped to obtain long life and wealth.

At this point some precision is useful to underline the complexity of these beliefs. In Kyirong the Newars worshipped *bsam-yas rgyal-po* represented by a mask of small dimensions, decorated with gold and silver ornaments, kept in a shrine in the *mul-kothi*. Offerings were made at regular intervals and for the festivals of the Newar ritual calendar *dasaī, tihār, indrajātrā*. During the festivity of *dasaī* the effigy of *bsam-yas rgyal-po* was taken in procession from the *mul-kothi* out to a shrine erected close to the river Kyirong-chu at Chu-lu-og. Each household had to sacrifice a white ram or a male goat. The same deity was worshipped in Nyanang, with a similar series of rituals but instead of sacrificing animals, a major sin for a Buddhist in Tibet, the animal was replaced by a cucumber cut into pieces with a sword covered with vermilion, representing sacrificial blood [20].

When the Newars left Kyirong in 1960 they brought *bsam-yas rgyal-po* with them to Kathmandu. He is now worshipped in the Bhimsen shrine inside the royal palace of Hanuman Dhoka where the members of the community honor him on the 9th day of the *dasaī* festival with offerings of vermilion and coins. The *bsam-yas rgyal-po* of Nyanang is now kept in the temple of Bhīmsen in Patan [21].

An association called *tshog* (in Tibetan) *(guthi* in Nepali) was in charge of the cult of *bsam-yas rgyal-po*. The head of this association, the *ditha*, assisted by a *dino-dpon* (Tibetan) organized the different festivals including the Newar new year, during which the local Tibetan chief administrator was invited to a ceremonial meal [22].

In the mind of the Newars, *bsam-yas rgyal-po* is the protector of trade equivalent to Bhimsen. He came to represent the cultural expression of the trading community and this religious dimension is certainly one of the major links between the Newar and the Tibetan religious beliefs.

Most of the Newars from Kyirong and Nyanang resettled in the Kathmandu valley after 1960-1961. A number of families are now living in Chetrapati, a place where they used to stay during the trading operations prior to 1959. They have contributed to the expansion of the urban area of Chetrapati, building modern houses which they rent mostly to Tibetans, their former clients.

Retaining part of their privileges and feeling that they were a specific group with its own individuality, the Newars from Tibet established the *Kalyankari sewa samiti*, a committee comprising members of the merchant community from Kyirong, Nyanang, Lhasa, Shigatse, Gyangtse, Tsetang, Tromo, Shashingma, Rongshar and Dram/Tatopani [23]. This committee provides help for obtaining import licences and gives support in social welfare.

A few merchants however continued to trade with Tibet and are now the middlemen of the wool trade which provides the material for the carpet industry. This activity was started in Nepal in 1961 by Tibetan refugees. It has become the second source of income for Nepal (over 50 Million US D. in 1989). Not only do the Newars from Tibet control the wool trade market but they have become importers of wool from Australia and New Zealand and have invested heavily in the carpet industry.

In May 1980 the political situation in China and Tibet changed due to a new policy of the Chinese government; trade between Tibet and Nepal resumed and people were allowed to move between the two countries. A few Newars returned to Nyanang, this locality being situated on the newly built Kathmandu-Lhasa road, an important commercial link between Nepal and China.

For over a century the Newars from Tibet have been trading in a variety of political and social situations. Entry into Tibet was forbidden to foreigners and in Nepal an autocratic regime strongly controlled all trade but authorized commerce to the advantage of the Newars. Even the pressure of the British to open Tibet in 1904 did not diminish the activity of the Newars. They developed quite a specific type of trade on a medium scale. Since they were bankers without money, their wealth was in kind.

Their modality of trade was at two levels, barter of local products such as salt and wool against grain, and commerce of manufactured goods imported from India, Tibet providing some gold dust and musk. In this economic process the Newars were the first to introduce convertible paper currency into Tibet (in 1945) developing its use and giving confidence to the buyers.

The skill developed by Newars in transhimalayan trade and the organization of a complex system of relays between the producers and the manufacturers helped them to survive in a situation of terrible stress (1959-1960) and find new solutions for trade problems leading them to participate in commercial and banking activities following the Western model. However, this group, small in number, manages to maintain its traditions in the mold of Tibetan culture.

The purpose of this note is to present a series of ideas and to encourage further research on the historical development of the Newars in Tibet, a community in the process of radical change.

Notes

1. I would like to thank all the Newars from Kyirong and Nyanang who contributed to the preparation of this paper, in particular Mr Tashi and his son Lobsang Shrestha, and Kesar Lall Shrestha who is currently associated with this research and is collecting documents on the trade relationship between Nepal and Tibet.

2. Trade and border agreements between China and Nepal were established formally in 1854 and onwards, with a revision in 1961 (Boulnois, 1972).

3. Shrestha, K.L., *Lore and Legend of Nepal,* Kathmandu, 1961, p. 28-30.

4. Turner, R.L., *A comparative dictionary of the Nepali language : khaccar* (offspring of parents belonging to castes between which marriage is forbidden), 1931, p. 111.

This term is often used among Newars to designate an offspring of a Newar and a Tibetan woman : it has no pejorative connotation. In Newari the merchants who commuted between Tibet and Nepal were called *khep yaiyin-* « business back and forth ».

5. The most well known trader is Mani Jothi (Kansakar) from Kathmandu; his ancestor was nicknamed *shamo-karpo,* a Tibetan word for « white hat ». This name is still used to designate the family and a signboard of a shop in Lhasa has this name on it. In Patan the Dhakhwa,

a Śākya lineage, used to trade with Lhasa. A Śākya family from Patan Sundara settled in Kyirong, another one in Nyanang.

6. According to the Tibetan tradition there are 13 passes between Nepal and Tibet. Some of the trails follow the bottom of the valleys up to the Tibetan plateau along the Arun, Bhote Kosi and Karnali rivers.

7. See a description of Kyirong in Brauen, 1983, p. 92-93.

8. Nyanang – Nyalam on maps – in Newari *Kuti*, has been described by Fr Desideri who spent some time there in 1721 on his way back from Lhasa (Desideri, 1932). Kirkpatrick, 1803, mentions this place in an itinerary towards Lhasa, p. 315-321.

Brauen, 1983 : « Nyanang had 120 houses and about 800 inhabitants. More than half were katsaras : though smaller than Kyirong, Nyanang was more important than Kyirong from the commercial point of view. More than 20,000 loads of salt were bartered each year and departed for the south. There was only one shop, which belonged to a Newar from Patan... » (p. 182).

9. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 106b, *kothi* : a large house, a shop. *Kothi*, in Newari designates the house of a merchant. In Kathmandu one used the expression *bātis kothi*, the « 34 houses », meaning the houses of the richest merchants in town, an élite which had certain privileges on the occasion of festivals and official ceremonies.

10. The Tibetan expression *tsong-pa* is used when designating a rich merchants who is a money lender ; it is a term of respect.

11. A description of the socio-economic systems of the Nepalese populations living to the South of Kyirong is given in *Les Collines du Népal central* (J.F. Dobremez *et al.* ed.) 1987, Paris, Editions INRA.

12. The Tibetan year starts at the beginning of the 12th lunar month in mid January, the official new year in mid February of our calendar.

13. Tea in the shape of small cones called *Ja-ril* is produced in Darjeeling ; Chinesa tea from Sechuan came to central Tibet in a brick shaped form. Its price was very high compared to the Indian one.

14. Dzongkha is an important administrative centre in West Tibet.

15. The Tibetan nomads *Drog-pa* live in tents, rear yaks, sheep, goats and horses. Each group of tents has its own pastures.

16. See Jest, 1975, p. 165-170.

17. Brocade is in great demand for making hats and clothes.

18. All shipments were announced by letters. The following document gives an idea of the trade : letter dated 1865 A.D. from Kathmandu to Shigatse « May Tarini (goddess Khaḍgayogīnī from Sankhu) help us ! May Bhīmsen help us !

Greetings and good wishes to elder brother Buddhi Man Singh from Ram Das. All of us here are in good health. It is hoped that everyone there is in good health and happy. Everyone should take care of his health. This much about health and welfare. Now, regarding business, did you receive one package containing corals sent from here before with Raj Bir Daroga of Itum Bāhā ? This time I am sending with Indra Newa of Chautara Khani, on the responsibility of Jog Narasingh of Ipatwa of Sako (Sankhu), five loads marked 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, which you must examine carefully upon receipt.

The packing list is as folows : sandalwood, black pepper, turmeric, cotton cloth, herbs... cost of transport, customs duty... dated 985 Jeṣṭha, waxing moon 7th. » (translation by K.L. Shrestha / private archives).

19. Concerning Buddhism among the Newars see Snellgrove, 1957 ; Toffin, 1984 ; Lewis, 1984.

20. According to the abbot of *dpel-gye gling* monastery, *skyes-lha* is a deity of a site to which a clan is related, equivalent to *gshi-bdag*, protector of the site.

For the Newars of Lhasa their *skyes-lha* is *rnal jor-ma* or *lha-mo*. On the 10th day of Dasaī they make an offerring to *lha-mo* and the *tikā* is given by the *gubhāju* (priest) ; the ceremony ends with a meal.

Concerning *bsam-yas rgyal-po* : in the monastery of Samye in central Tibet, (built by Padmasambhava in the VIII c. AD) there is a chapel called *u-khang* (the room containing the « vital breath ») where one can hear the heavy breathing of the souls of the dead. On the new year's day a lama puts a wooden block (*rtseb-gdan*) and a sword in the chapel. Nobody may enter and, at the end of the year, one discovers that the block has been worn out by many cuttings and the blade of the sword is worn out. *bsam-yas rgyal-po* is another term for *pe-har*.

21. Bhīmsen is a god of the Hindu pantheon specially venerated by the Newars and Hindus as well as by Buddhists.

22. *Guthi* see Toffin, 1984, p. 177-217.

23. Tromo and Shashingma are located to the south of Pari Dzong on the trade route linking Gyangtse to Kalimpong in India.

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ART AND MUSIC

Medieval Stone Temples
of Western Nepal

Ram Niwas Pandey

Western Nepal roughly includes the area spread between the longitudes of 80° and 84° E and 27° to 30° N. It covers about 40 percent land of the country located between the rivers Mahakali and Gandaki, and the Gangetic plain of India and Chinese plateau of Tibet. Although this area was under occupation by the man since the boary past, the population has been always very thin there owing to inhospitable landscape and unfavourable climate. No evidence of building activities has come to light from the region till the rise of the Malla at Semjā and Dullū. During the rule of the Malla a large number of temples of the Hindu deities, chaityas and monasteries of the Buddhists and stone reservoirs (*nāulo* or *vāpī*), water-conduits and forts were built in the region. The Kalyāla, Rainkā and Bāisī Rājā who came to rule the region after the Malla also provided their patronage to the growth of art and architecture in the region. That is why numerous cluster of temples came to be built at all the state capitals in the later-medieval period which even today grace the vicinities of Jumlā, Dullū, Dailekh, Ḍotī, Ajyamerakoṭ, Bājurā, Bajhāṅg, Achām, Thalārā, Benī, Kusumā, Jājarkoṭ and Sallyān. These temples of Western Nepal go a long way in revealing the magnitude of architectural activities in the region. The stone temples of Western Nepal, built in *śikhara* (curvilinear) style, are quite different from those of the gable-fronted wooden shrines of the region called *māndū* or *thānh,* housing the idols of the deities of various faiths workshipped in the region [1].

The stone temples of Western Nepal, called *devala* in the region, are supposed by the illiterate people of the locality to have been built by the Pāṇḍava heroes. However, they were built during the twelfth and eighteenth centuries by the followers of different religions on the incentives and generous contributions of the kings of various dynasties who ruled the region, as well as the nobles of the area. After 1790 A.D. for about a decade most of the temples of the regions lost their patronage and *guṭhī* – land and, therefore, their worship discontinued. Although the dates of construction of a few temples of the region are available to us, they do not help in studying the

process of evolution and development of the art of temple – architecture in Western Nepal. According to Sharma the temples of Western Nepal seek their origin from the twelfth-thirteenth century temples of Kumaon [2] but there is positive influence of the eighth-twelfth century temple-architecture of North and Central India in the temple-architecture of Western Nepal. An inscription of the Lāṭīkoilī temple (fig. 13) in the Surkhet valley provides us with the information that, when a devotee of the Nāth sect began the construction work of the present temple, he summoned some architects from Vārāṇasī for this task [3]. Again, there is considerable influence of the Katyūrī temple architecture in the architecture of Western Nepal. The Rainkā Rājā of Dotī and Ḍāḍeldhurā (Ajayamerakoṭ) were in fact a branch of the celebrate Katyurī themselfes. Their inborn love for the development of art and architecture is explicit from the temples, baiṭhaka (pillared pavilions) and stone reservoirs of the neighbourhood of Ajayamerakoṭ, Jagannāth and Pilkoṭ, located in the district of Ḍāḍeladhurā. The temples of Western Nepal are characterized by the same features and details which are found in the stone temples of Ajayamerakoṭ.

The temples of Western Nepal have been built with dressed slabs of whitish and greyish to yellowish stones of sedimentary rocks and affixed with a kind of primitive mortar and iron nails. Most of the complexes consist of five temples, one in the centre and four on the cardinal points (fig. 2, fig. 3 and 4). The cardinal shrines are always smaller in dimensions. The concept of pañca-devalā originated in the eighth century, however the pañca-devalas of Western Nepal are in no case older than fourteenth century A.D. Some dui-devala (fig. 7 and 8) are also found in Western Nepal. Often they face to each other and stand on a common platform. The dui-devala of Ajayamerakoṭ are beautiful monuments of this group (fig. 7). The eka-devala, because they required very little resources and time for construction, were often built in the region (fig. 9 and 10). In some temples of the region, whether it is a pañca-devala or a dui-devala, an ardhamaṇḍapa or vestibule is also seen (fig. 2 ; fig. 3 ; fig. 6 ; fig. 9). Often these vestibules or porches are very small and serve no purpose of their name.

The important temples of the region generally open in the southern direction but subsidiary ones in all the directions. In the case of dui-devala their gates have been relieved in the northern and southern walls and, therefore, they face to each other (fig. 7 and 8): In case of the ekadevala the entrance is generally found made in the eastern jaṅghā-wall of the temple. The Lāṭikoilī temple (fig. 13) of the Surkhet Valley opens in the eastern direction. Bhurtī, located in the Dailekh district, is the most important temple site of Western Nepal. It has got twenty-nine temples (fig. 1) and most of them are set in the fashion of a pañca-devala.

A few temples of the region, such as Jārkoṭ and Ukālī, have been built on the levelled top of the water-conduits (fig. 9) and their vestibules have been nicely made by the architects [4]. Sectarian character of these temples is clear but owing to the non-existence of idols in their sanctuary today it is difficult to properly attribute them to any particular deity. However, a large number of them were dedicated to Lord Śiva. In the temples of Dullū (fig. 14)

and Muktināth gas-flame is worshipped by the devotees. The temples built at Devalahāṭ (fig. 5), Jagannāth, Asīgrām (fig. 12), Kuikāndā and Ajayamer-akoṭ contain either a *liṅga* or an image of Lord Śiva (fig. 23). At Pāṭan, located between Dāḍeldhurā and Baitaḍī, Viṣṇu was worshipped in the past (fig. 20).

The temples of Western Nepal are either square or rectangular on plan and consist of a sanctum surmounted by the spire. In their elevation part one can see the shallow basement (*adhiṣṭhāna*), *jaṅghā*-wall, cornice portion and superstructure containing *bhūmi, āmalaka, kalāsa* and *vāyupūraka* on the neck in ascending order (fig. 1-4). The *adhiṣṭhāna* is found made of the rubbles and covered by the medium-sized dressed stone slabs. The temples are not very high. Even the bigger temples do not measure beyond seven metres. Some temples of Jagannāth and Dāḍeldhurā are so small in size that no person could enter in their sanctums for worship (fig. 10). For worshipping the deities installed in them one has to sit with oblations on the ground near the gate-opening. The cornice portion of the temples is always plain. The superstructure is often pyramidal and cut either with three or five *ratha*-projections. In most temples the corner-stones have been relieved with boldly incised vertical lines and they give the resemblance of fluted melons. *Śukanāsā* or parrot nose design is the most important feature of these temples (fig. 15).

In the bigger temples it is seen in the form of a jutting out rectangular stone over a *gavākṣa* (ventilation) type of construction. The *śukanāsā* is a necessary part above the entrance and it generally contained a foliate design of the rolls. P.R. Sharma has written that « these projecting quadrangular stumps » were given to carry lions as in Kumaon [5], however the present researcher did not find the figure of a single lion placed on any of these quadrangular stumps. The *śikhara* terminate in a flat shoulder on which is placed the neck stone that surmounts the components of the finial [6]. At Lamjī the finial is even today intact. It consists of two *āmalaka-śilā* (stones relieved with the design of fluted melon), surmounted on the neck-stone (fig. 2; (fig. 3). The upper *āmalaka-śilā* carried an inverted bell, *kalaśa* and *vāyupūraka* of lotus-bud design [7].

Sharma is of the opinion that « the form of an *ardhamaṇḍapa* never fully developed in the temples » of Western Nepal and the *śukanāsā* « creates an illusion of *ardhamaṇḍapa* » [8]. However, some temples of the region have got fully developed *ardhamaṇḍapa* (fig. 6; fig. 7; fig. 13; fig. 16) and in no case the *śukanāsā* gives the illusion of an *ardhamaṇḍapa*. At Ukālī two pillars are holding aloft the roof and the *śukanāsā* and *garbha-gṛha* have been placed successively behind it in a straight axis [9]. In the *pañca-devala* of Manmā double pillars are seen on its four sides « irrespective of the doorway just to support the flimsy load of a cornice running at the base of the tower or the *śikhara* » [10]. The pillars are most ill-suited and they indicate the fact of declining trend in the forms in the realm of architecture.

On the *adhiṣṭhāna* of a few courses stand the *jaṅghā*-walls executed with *nāgabandha* band running horizontally on all the sides and finally terminating

in the form of a hooded canopy on the head of the deity, carved out within a niche in the lintel. The *ratha*-projections of the spire commence from the portion of entablature. These re-intrant projections provide remarkable display of light and shade to the monuments. The doorway of the temple is generally « a quadrangular frame of two jambs and two lintels. The edges of the door frame along the opening are grooved; in the middle of the jambs this groove is interrupted by the design of the tuft. From the centre of the linted head usually projects a square stump containing a carving of a flower or occasionally a four-armed figure of Gaṇeśa » (fig. 17). The door frames display the designs of spirals set vertically one upon the other. Occasionally lotus medallions are also seen within these spirals. This is a « simplified derivative of sineous flower stems which were very popular motifs in Indian temples » [11].

In some temples the representation of *stambha-śākhā, nāga-śākhā,* and *patra-puṣpa-śākhā* are also found. The threshold is normally plain and consists of a single stone only. At Devalabānjha-Jhalārā the façade of the temple shows a projected construction above the pillared vestibule. It consists of several dressed slabs of stones increasing in the shape of a fan as it goes up and is made triangular at the apex (fig. 3). The ceilings of the temples shows lantern design everywhere [12]. « It is arranged in several reducing tiers of squares made up of triangular blocks placed diagonally to one another in each tier and with their boarder facetted. Finally hanging from the topmost square is a lotus rosette » [13]. The ceilings of the Devalahāṭ temples show the spaces left between the triangular blocks and the rosette-carved stones carved out with the figures of the swans and Gandharva flying in the sky with the garland of flowers in their hand (fig. 18). One temple of the site shows the carving of the face of a cat at the place of the blossom of the lotuses. The rosette-carved stones hang exactly above the idols of the temples. The interior portion of the spires was built with long beam-like blocks of stones by keeping them in oblong fashion which provided circular, hallow and tapering space inside the superstructures above the sanctums. The sanctums are generally square in shape and house the idol of worship in the centre.

In the bigger temples there is enough space within the sanctums around the idol. People use it as inner circumambulatory path at the time of the worship of the deity. The sanctum walls of the temples are plain and devoid of ventilation for admitting light in the chamber. Only a few temples have got pillars which are often monolithic, of square variety and decorated with *ghaṭa-pallava* (vase with foliage), floral and geometrical design. The brackets of the capitals are generally very huge. Some pillars have been carved out with shallow niches and embellished with the figures of the human beings and animals. The pillars of the temple of Jārkoṭ are square in the bottom, octagonal in the middle part and round at the top (fig. 16). Their abacuses have been executed in the style of the *āmalaka-śilā*. However, they are not of *taraṅga* type, as in the temples and *baiṭhaka* (pillared-pavilions) of Ajaya-merakoṭ.

CHRONOLOGY

In the absence of inscriptions and copper-plates it is difficult to assign proper dates to the temples of Western Nepal. The temples of Lord Śiva began to be made in Uttarākhaṇḍ and Western Nepal after the visit of the region by Śaṅkarācārya in the reign of the Katyūrī. However, no temples of the tenth-eleventh centuries are extant to us today. Only very few temples could be assigned to the age of the Mallas. The Vināyaka-devala of Achām and the temples of Lamjī (fig. 2) were built in 1280 A.D. [14]. A few temples of Jumlā and Dullū, which are similar to them in style, seem to be the constructions of the Malla period.

Most of the temples of the region are of the age of the Kalyāla, Painkā and Bāisī Rājā. The temples of Chilikhā and Jhellī [15] have got close resemblance with the temples of Bhurtī and Ajayamerakoṭ and they seem to be the constructions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The temples of Ajayamerakoṭ, Ḍoṭī, Pilkoṭ, Jagannāth, and Asīgram have got close similarity with those of Jāveśwar, Baijanāth and Gopeśvar [16]. The temples of Ajayamerakoṭ bear the inscriptions of Nāgamalla (1378-93 A.D.). This shows that the temples of Ajayamerakoṭ were built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. [17]. An inscription of the Ukālī temple dated 1486 A.D. [18] shows that most of the temples of Jumlā and Tibrīkoṭ, which are very much similar to this temple, were built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D.

The last date comes from the Lāṭīkoilī temple of the Surkhet Valley. It is 1582 A.D. and at that time Pratāpaśāhī Mānaśāhī was the ruler of the region [19]. The temples of the Dailekh district which stand at Bhurtī, Kuikāndā, Jārkoṭ, Rāvatkoṭ, Dullū, Padukāsthān Kimbūgaon etc. were built during the rule of the Dulāla; the temples of Achām at Vināyaka, etc. on the command of the Samāla; the temples of Jalpādevī, Devalabānjha, Jujī, etc. at the time of the Bajhāngī and Jhalārā Rājā and the temples of Benī, Kusmā, Muktināth, etc. on the incentives of the Parvate Malla. There are the temples of the time of the Bāisī Rājā in the districts of Jājarkoṭ, Salyān, Bājurā, Roalpā, and Pyuṭhān also [20]. However, they are not properly reported and studied so far as in the Kathmandu Valley. Competitive spirit of the rulers of different States was the most important reason for the building of the temples on large scale in Western Nepal during the later-medieval period.

THE TEMPLES

It is very difficult to provide proper chronological order and explicit description of the stone temples of Western Nepal. That is why, personal account of some temples have been given here for providing an idea of the temple architecture in Western Nepal.

The village of Bhurtī in the neighbourhood of Dailekh Bāzār has got twenty-nine temples and all of them have been built with precisely dressed slabs of stones (fig. 1). The temples stand on low platforms and are grouped in the sets of five and, therefore, they are all *pañcadevala*. The spires of the most temples are of *tri-ratha* variety and their interiors have been made by the process of corbelling. The topmost stones of the interior above the idols are executed with beautiful eight-petalled lotus flower and the lintels of the gates also show the carvings of the eight-petalled lotus-flower. In front of the spire the *śukanāsā* rests immediately on the topmost slab of the architrave. The sanctum walls and superstructures of all the temples are of the same type, however, their gates open on different directions.

One temple of the site has been built on a three-tired platform, shows *vedibandha* (basement), *madhyavandha* (middle-band) *daṇḍachādya* (cornice) and *varandikā* (architrave) mouldings and is opened on the east by a rectangular gate. Its spire is rather of imposing dimensions but the finial components are missing. Because of the representation of the *bhūmiāmalaka* (fluted-melon designs) on the cardinal points in five tiers the superstructure gives the resemblance of a four-storeyed spire from the exterior. The cardinal shrines of the temple are missing today.

Another temple of the site shows two *rekhādevala* type of structures built mixed up with a *pīḍhādevala* in the centre. The *pīḍhādevala*, serving the purpose of prayer ball to both the *rekhā-devala,* is of rectangular type and its gates have been relieved in the eastern and western walls. The roof of the *pīḍhādevala*, resting on the columns erected facing the *rekhādevala* is made with dressed stone slabs kept horizontally in diminishing order from the bottom to the top and finally crowned by a stone carved out with the designs seen in the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the temple. The finials of both the *rekhādevala* and *pīḍhādevala* are intact. The corners of both the spires have been beautifully executed with the designs of fluted melons and their ornate *śukanāsā* facing each other above the entablature, gracefully gleam in the atmosphere. The jutting out stones of the *śukanāsā* have got exquisite carvings of pendant lotus, buds which gracefully hang in the bottom above the gates (fig. 15).

The temple of Jārkoṭ (fig. 9), built on the levelled top a water-conduit, is fronted with a pillared vestibule which is used by the worshippers for worshipping the idol of the sanctum. There are five mouldings in the *adhiṣṭhāna* and the sanctum-wall is broken into two parts by a horizontal band executed in the centre. The cornice portion below the architrave shows simple linear decoration at its bottom. The other architectural features of the temple are similar to those of the temples at Bhurtī.

The *pañcadevala* of Kuikāndā was of *triratha* type in the beginning but changed into a *pañcaratha* type in the subsequent phase. This fact is evidenced by the position of its eastern and southern shrines which stand on the same platform and open in the same direction (southern). However, the northern and southern cardinal shrines open towards the main shrine, stand on a different platform and show different constructional features. Two

temples of Dullū, called Paṭakānī temples, show the figures of Gaṇeśa in their lintels. The *duidevala* of the village, although built on the same platform, had its temples of different heights of which the southern temple is smaller in size in comparison to the northern one.

Because seven of the eight temples of Kinbugaon are located at one place, people of the village call them a *sapta devala*. The biggest temple of the group is housed by a *śiva-liṅga* on a circular *arghyapaṭṭa*. The jambs of the doorway are carved out with spiral designs which extend upto the *lalāṭabimba* and terminate in the form of an eight-petalled lotus flower. The cardinal shrines of the temple are smaller in size and their spires are dilapidated.

The documents of Dullū reveal that temples existed in the village of Lamjī during the rules of Jitārimalla and Malaibama also [21]. However, the temples which grace the site today are of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only. In 1620 A.D. Saimalaśāhī donated 27 pieces of land (*kheta*) as *guṭhī* for the maintenance of the temples of Lamjī [22]. The main temple of the *pañcadevala* of the village is square on plan. The sanctum and the spire of the temple reveal that it was once rejuvanated after its original spire collapsed on account of some earthquake or defects. The finial shows an inverted bell, *bhūmi-āmalaka*, *kalaśa* and *vāyapūraka*. The finials of the cardinal shrines are also intact and similar in workmanship to the finial of the main shrine (fig. 2).

The temples of Devalahat-Baitaḍī have been built in a row and dedicated to Lord Śiva (fig. 5). They consist of a sanctum and spire only. The *ardhamaṇḍapa* virtually does not exist in them; and when present, it is not functional in character. The temples of Devalahāt are similar in style and workmanship to those at Dullū and Ajayamerakoṭ. The doorway of the westernmost temple of the complex is elaborated. The floral carvings of its threshold and the niches of the pilasters of the gate showing the figures of the *dvārapālas* are quite illustrative at this place. The throne of the deity in the sanctum is another notable feature of these temples. It is set in the walls facing the entrance, elevated from the floor of the sanctum and adorned like a *maṇḍapa* with pillars and *chajjā*. The spires of the temples have been built with long beams of stones kept in oblong fashion in several courses which has produced circular shape and tapering up-going hallow in the interior. The ceiling of each temple contains a huge stone which is executed either with a rosette and encircled by the swans flying cheerfully or a cat encircled by the Ghandharva holding garland of flowers in their hands (fig. 18). The rosettes and the figures of the cat are always exactly above the idols. Stylistically these temples are older than those at Dullū, Dailekh and Ajayamerkoṭ.

The Ranikā Rājā of Ḍoṭī and Ḍāḍeldhurā provided excellent patronage to art and architecture in their dominion. Asīgrām (fig. 11), Jagannāth, Pilkoṭ (fig. 6), Silgadhī and Ajayamerkoṭ (fig. 7) were important places of temple building in their State. There is great similarity in the temples of Ḍāḍeldhurā and Kumaon built at Jāveśvar, Dvārāhāṭ and Baijnāth [23]. The temple of Asīgrām built in curvilinear style and housing the *liṅga* in the sanctum, contains

a big *maṇḍapa* (vestibule) which was later on added by the custodians (fig. 11). The temples of Ajayamerakoṭ do not follow the plans and pattern of Asīgrām, Devalahāṭ and Dailekh temples. Here generally two temples have been built on one rectangular platform with their entrances facing each other and joined by a *maṇḍapa* which serves as common prayer-hall to both the shrines (fig. 7). The sanctum-walls, spires and finials of these temples are, however, similar to the other temples of the region. One temple of Ajay-amerkoṭ has an inscription of Nāgamalla dated in the Śāka era 1315 (*i.e.* 1393 A.D.) [24]. The temples of Ajayamerkoṭ display more symmetry and elegance in comparison to the other curvilinear temples of Western Nepal.

During the reign of the Malla and Kalyāla several curvilinear stone temples were built at Jhellī, Kālīkoṭ, Marmā, Dākācaur and Nāgmā between Dullū and Jumlā [25]. One temple of Jhellī [26] shows its plan, size and elevational details similar to those built at Bhurtī and Rāvatkoṭ (fig. 8). In the Bārahavīsa Darā of Jumlā at Chilakhāyā there are two stone temples of curvilinear variety of which one temple had got a beautiful *ardhamaṇḍapa* [27]. The door of the enclosure surrounding the temples is quite imposing and is beautifully carved out with floral designs and deities.

The stone temples of medieval period found in the districts of Ḍoṭī, Achām and Bājurā display the same architectural features which one finds in the curvilinear temples of Dullū and Ḍāḍeldhurā. One temple of Vināyakadevala village in Achām is dated in the Śāka era 1202 (*i.e.* 1280 A.D.). Thus, it was built during the reign of Rājā Jitārimalla [28]. Two copper-plates of Puṇyamalla dated Śāka era 1258 and 1259, discovered from Jaugaḍh-Bājurā, reveal that the temples of Bājurā, particularly of Koltī, were built during the second quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. [29].

In the Surkhet Valley at Kãkre Vihār there are ruins of a big curvilinear stone temple (fig. 12). A few stone slabs of the temple have been executed with fine niches containing the figures of Lord Buddha (fig. 26) and Bodhisattva Padmapāṇī, stylistically datable to fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. An inscription of the Lāṭīkoilī temple of Śāka 1504 (*i.e.* 1582 A.D.) reveals that it was built by Yogi Ātmānātha with the help of Rāma Kṛṣṇa Thavaī, an architect of Vārāṇasī, in the reign of King Pratāpśāhī Mānāśāhī of Dailekh [30]. The temple is rectangular on plan and consists of a *sanctum-sanctorun* and pillared *maṇḍapa,* the latter faces the entrance and is used as prayer hall by the devotees. It is a flat-roofed structure and the abacuses on its pillars show the motif of lotus flower carved in *taranga* fashion. The door of the sanctum is artistically made and its jambs, threshold and lintel show the carvings of beautiful floral and geometrical designs. Naraharināth is of the opinion that in 1582 A.D. Ātmānātha only rejuvanated the temple and it existed at the site in delapidated condition since a very long time [31].

The districts of Jājarkoṭ, Salyān, Rukum, Rolpā Pyuṭhān, Myāgdī and Bajhāng are not explored by the archaeologists so far. However, there are reports of the temples built in curvilinear style during the medieval and later-medieval periods when the Malla, Bāisī and Caubīsī Rājā ruled the region. An appraisal by the scholars reveals that in the past Western Nepal was vari-

egated with stone temples of curvilinear type and idols of the gods and goddesses of various faiths were ardently worshipped in them or in their princepts (fig. 19-30) by the devotees. Śaivism was the most popular religion of the region. That is why the *liṅga* and images of Lord Śiva often graced these temples in the past. Because of the sacred temples of Dullū and Muktināth, Western Nepal, as in the past, is even today visited by the religious people who warmly worship the gas-flames and the esteemed images of the important curvilinear stone temples of Western Nepal.

Notes

1. P.R. Sharma, *Preliminary Report on the Art and Architecture of Western Nepal,* Paris, Recherche Cooperative sur Programme, 253, CNRS, 1973, p. 20.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 22.

3. Y. Naraharināth, *Itihāsa Prakāśa, Aṅka 2, Bhāga 1,* First Edition (Mrigasthali-Kathmandu : Itihāsa Prakaśakasamgha, V.S. 2013), p. 168-69.

4. R.N. Pandey, « A Short Prolegomenon to the Archaeology of Bheri Zone, Mid-Western Nepal », *Tribhuvan University Journal,* Vol. IV, No 2, 1969. Pl. I, fig. 2.

5. Sharma, *op. cit.,* n. 1, p. 25.

6. Pandey, *op. cit.,* n. 4, Pl. III, fig. 2.

7. *Ibid.,* Pl. II, fig. 2 and Pl. III, fig. 2.

8. Sharma, *op. cit.,* n. 1, p. 24.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.,* p. 25.

12. G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal,* Rome, Js.M.E.O., 1956, p. 46-49.

13. Sharma, *op. cit.,* n. 1, p. 25.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Tucci, *op. cit.,* n. 12, p. 43, fig. 38-42.

16. K.P. Nautiyal, *Archaeology of Kumaon,* first edition : Varanasi, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1969, fig. 1-4, 14 and 17.

17. S.M. Rajavamsi, « Seti-Mahākālī Bhramaṇako Etihāsika Sārāmśa : Dotīko Rājanaitika Itihāsako Rūparekhā », *Ancient Nepal,* Nos 30-39, 1977, p. 124.

18. Sharma, *op. cit.,* n. 1, p. 24.

19. Naraharināth, *op. cit.,* n. 3, p. 168-70.

20. Jānch Būjh Kendra (ed.) *Mechīdekhi Mahākālī (Bhāga 3 : Paśchimānchala Vikāśa Kendra (Kathmandu :* Gorkhapatra Corporation, V.S. 2031), p. 457-627 ; Jānch Būjha Kendra (ed.) *Mechīdekhi Mahākālī (Bhāga 4) : Sudūra Paśchimānchala Vikāśa Kendra,* Kathmandu, Gorkhapatra Corporation V.S. 2031, p. 63-1080.

21. Y. Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśamā Sandhipatra Samgrah, Bhāga 1,* Mrigasthali-Kathmandu Itihāsa Prakaśaka Samgha, V.S. 2022, p. 380-97.

22. *Ibid.,* p. 381.

23. Nautiyal, *op. cit.,* n. 16, Pl. VIII-XIX, fig. 3-25.

24. Rajavamsi, *op. cit.,* n. 17, p. 124.

25. Tucci, *op. cit.,* n. 12, p. 43-44, fig. 40-46.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 43, fig. 40-42.

27. *Ibid.,* p. 43, fig. 38.

28. Sharma, *op. cit.,* n. 1, p. 21.

29. *Ibid.,* p. 47-48.

30. Naraharināth, *op. cit.,* n. 3, p. 168-69.

31. *Ibid.*
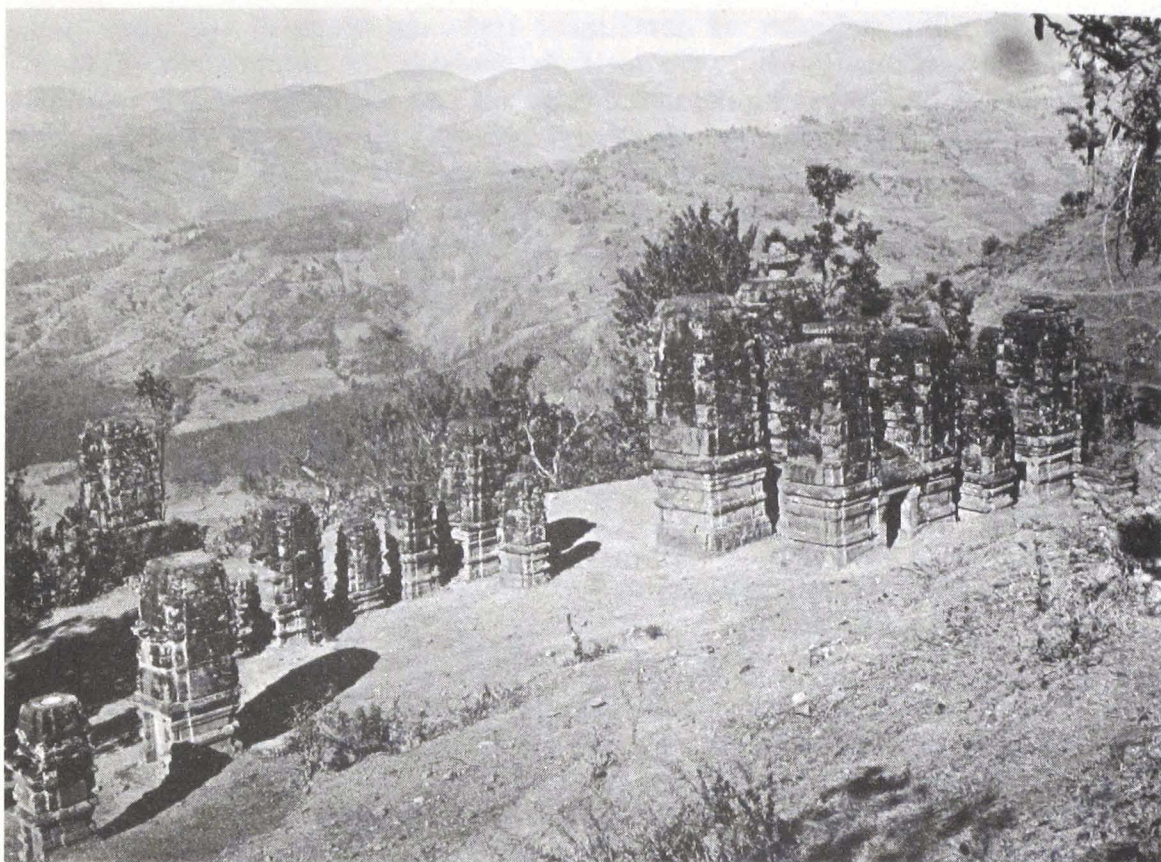
Fig. 1. – General view of stone temples, Bhurtī-Dailekh.
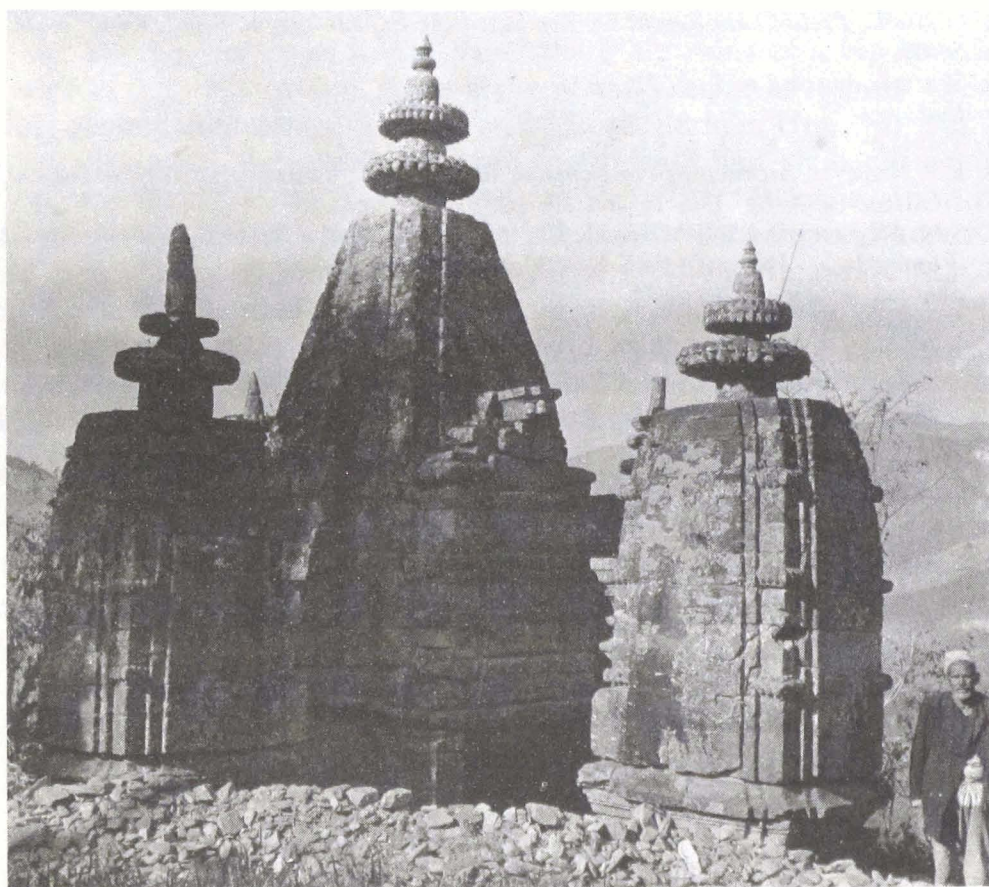
Fig. 2. – Pañcadevala, Lamjī - Dullū.

Fig. 3. – Pañcadevala,
Devalabānjh-Jhalārā.

Fig. 4. – Pañcadevala, Kuikāndā-Dailekh.
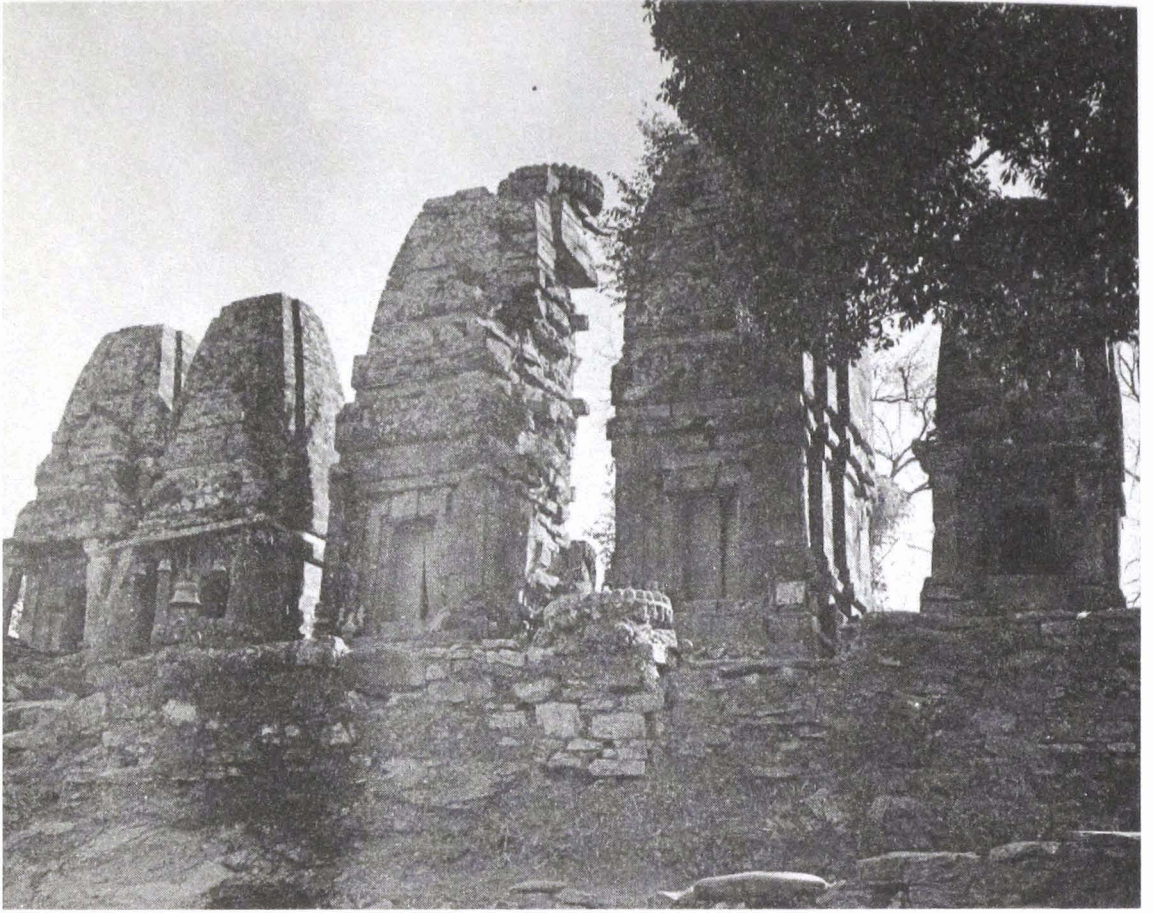
Fig. 5. – General view of stone temples, Devalahāṭ-Baitaḍī.

Fig. 6. – Stone temple, Pilkoṭ - Ḍāḍeldhurā.
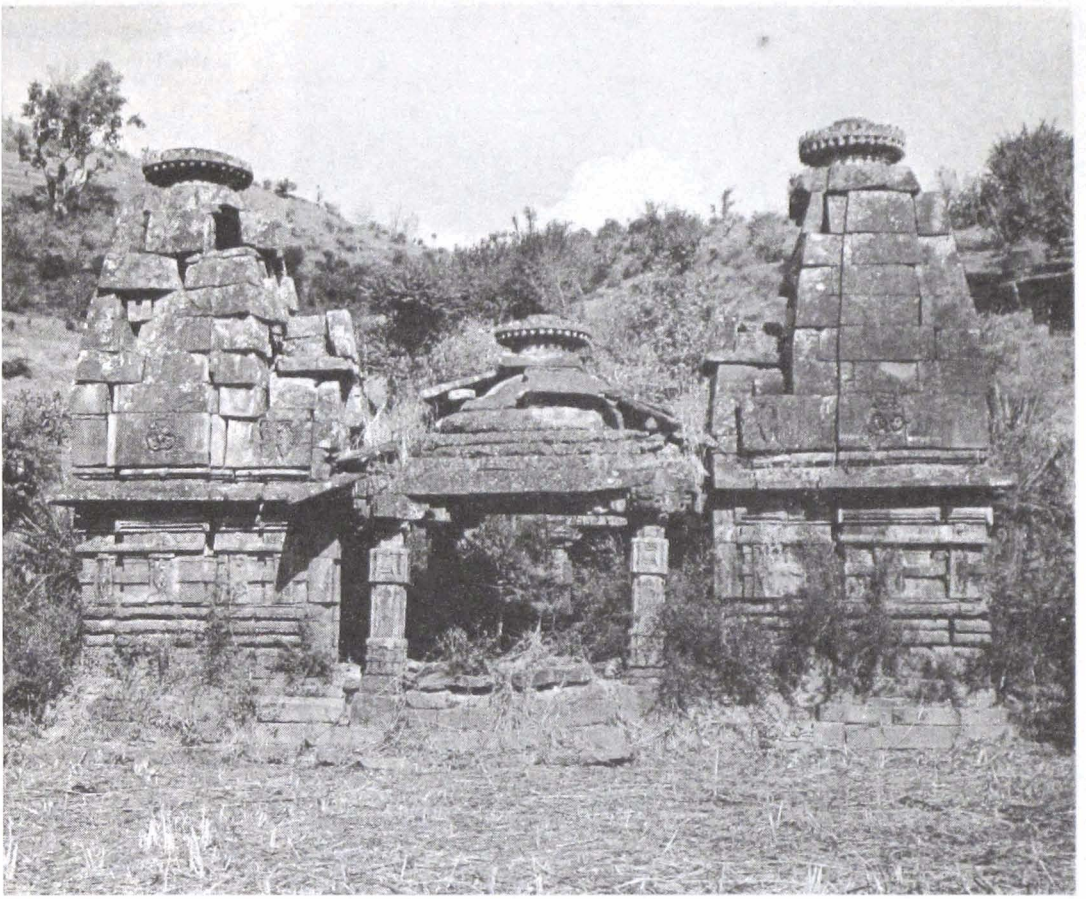
Fig. 7. – Duidevala, Ajayamerakoṭ-Ḍāḍeldhurā.

Fig. 8. – Duidevala, Ravatkoṭ - Dullū.

Fig. 9. – Ekadevala, Jārkoṭ - Dailekh.

Fig. 10. – Ekadevala, Asī-grām - Ḍāḍeldhurā.

Fig. 11. – Main stone temple at Jagannāth, Ḍāḍeldhurā.
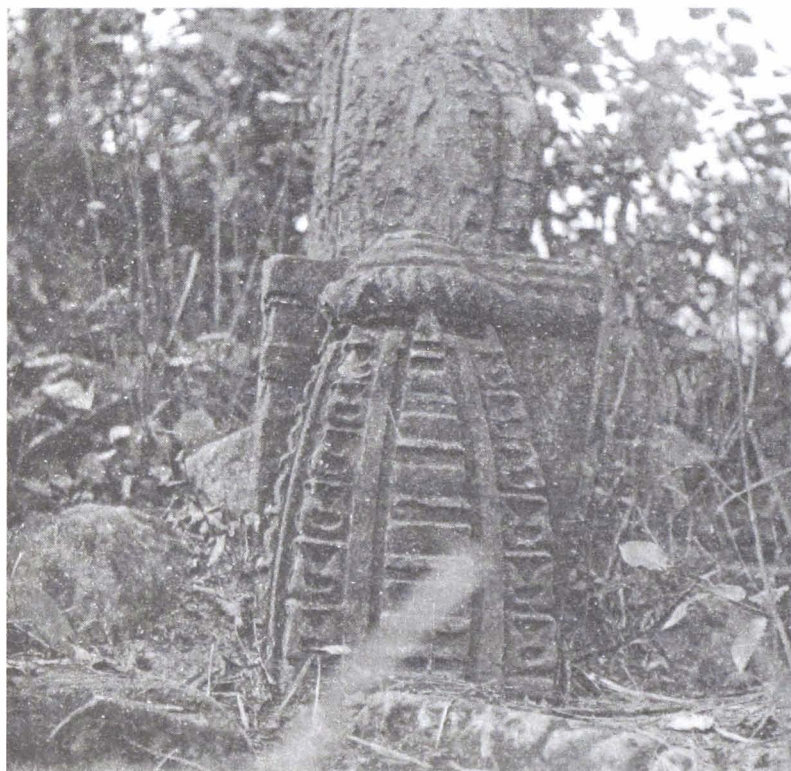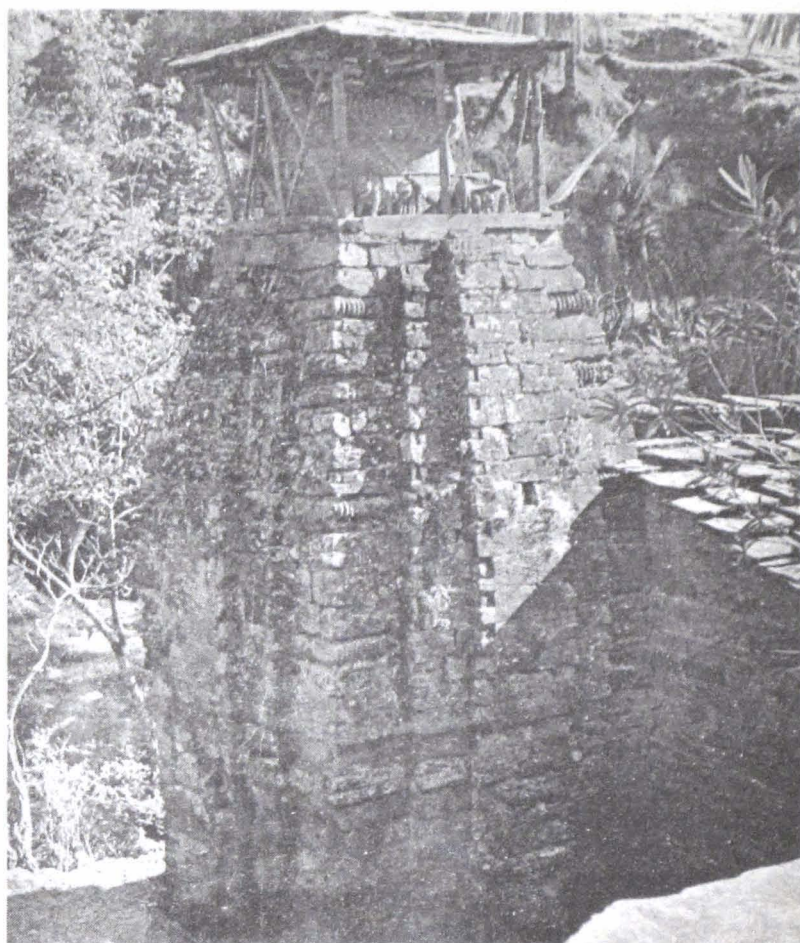
Fig. 12. – Fragment of a stone carved out with the details of spire, Kānkrevihār-Surkhet Valley.

Fig. 13. – Lāṭīkoilī Temple, Surkhet Valley.

Fig. 14. – Śirasthān Jvālādevī Temple, Dullū.

Fig. 15. – Śukanāsā
details from a temple
of Bhurtī, Dailekh.
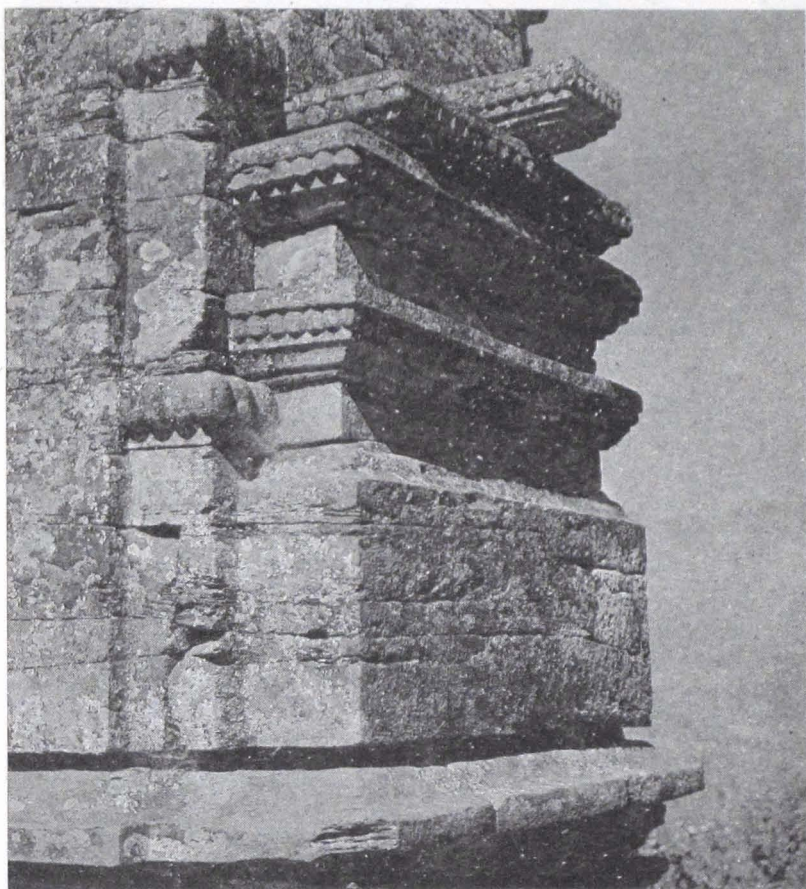
Fig. 16. – Ard-
hamaṇḍapa details,
Jārkoṭ Temple -
Dailekh.
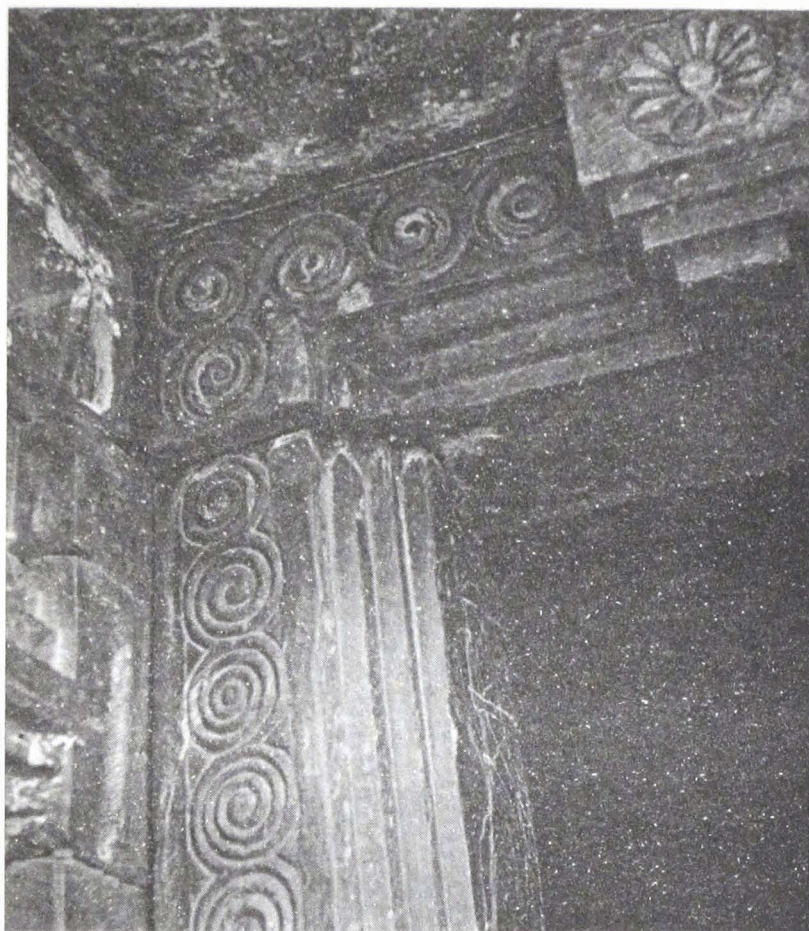
Fig. 17. – Details of the door-jamb from a temple of Bhurtī-Dailekh.

Fig. 18. – Ceiling details from a temple of Devalahāṭ-Baitaḍī.

Fig. 19. – Umā-Maheśvara from
Asīgrām, Ḍāḍeldhurā.

Fig. 20. – Viṣṇu, Pāṭan -
Ḍāḍeldhurā.
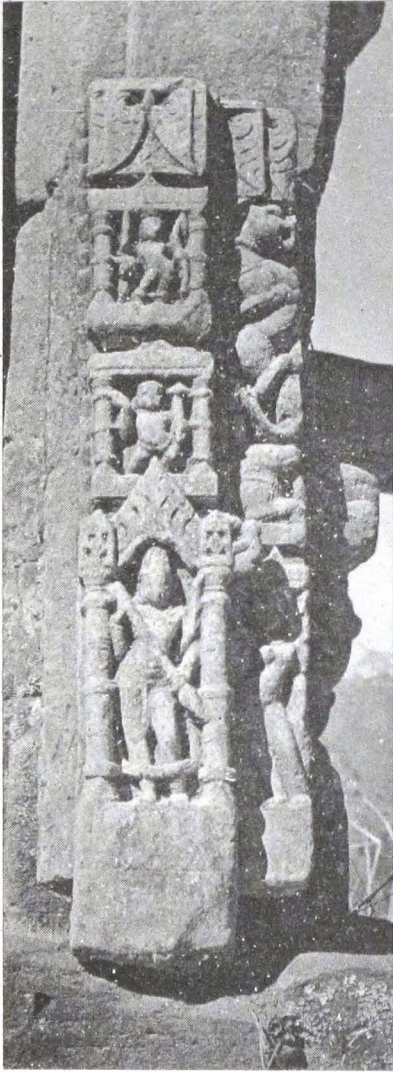
Fig. 21. – Door-jamb of an earlier temple at Deval-abānjh, Thalārā.

Fig. 22. – Sūrya, Lamjī - Dullū.

Fig. 23. – Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ, Thalārā.
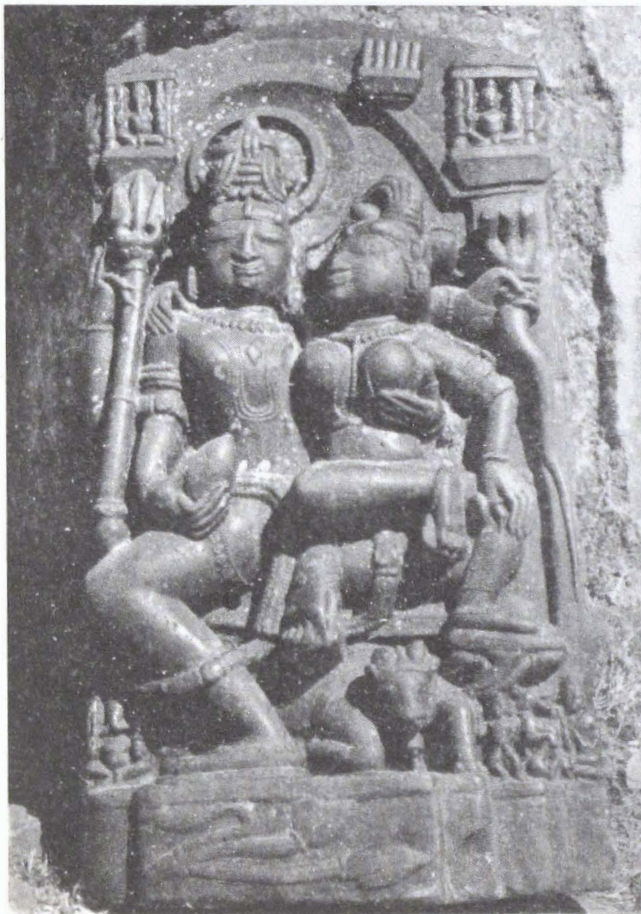
Fig. 24. – Umā-Maheśvara,
Dhūlīśvara - Dullū.
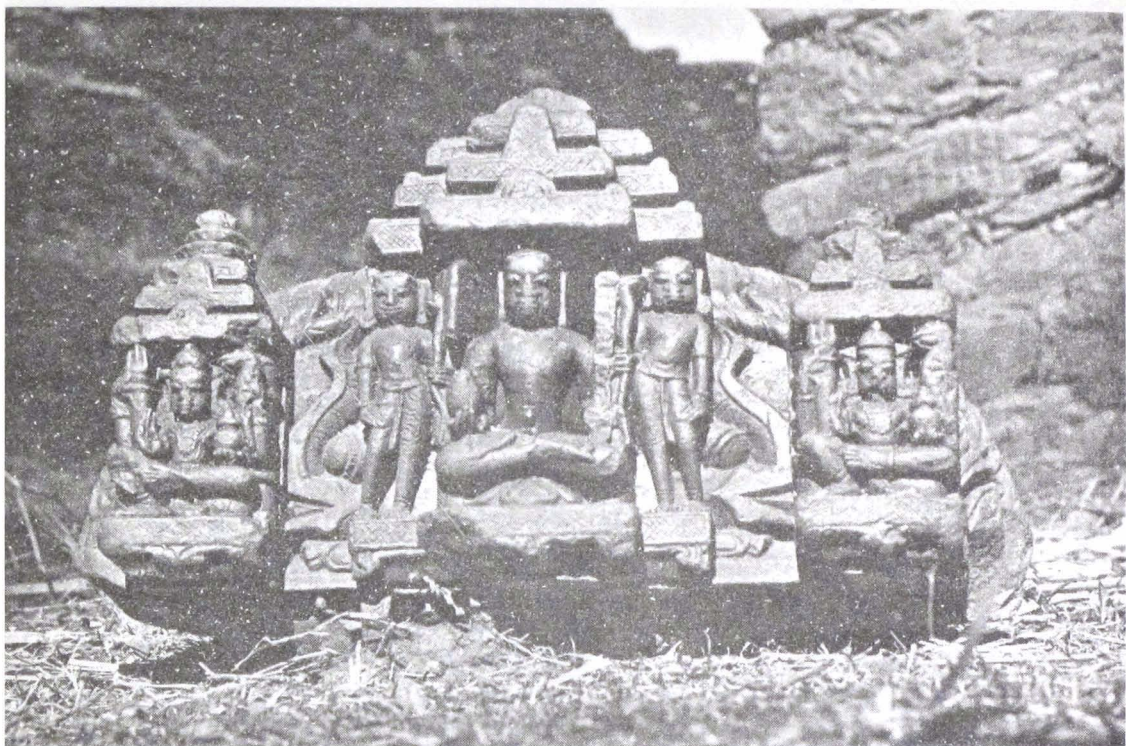
Fig. 25. – Lakulīśa Śiva in cross-legged position, Jagannāth-Dāḍeldhurā.

Fig. 26. – Buddha in meditation, Kānkrevihar - Surkhet Valley.

Fig. 27. – Sūrya, Devalabānjh - Thalārā.
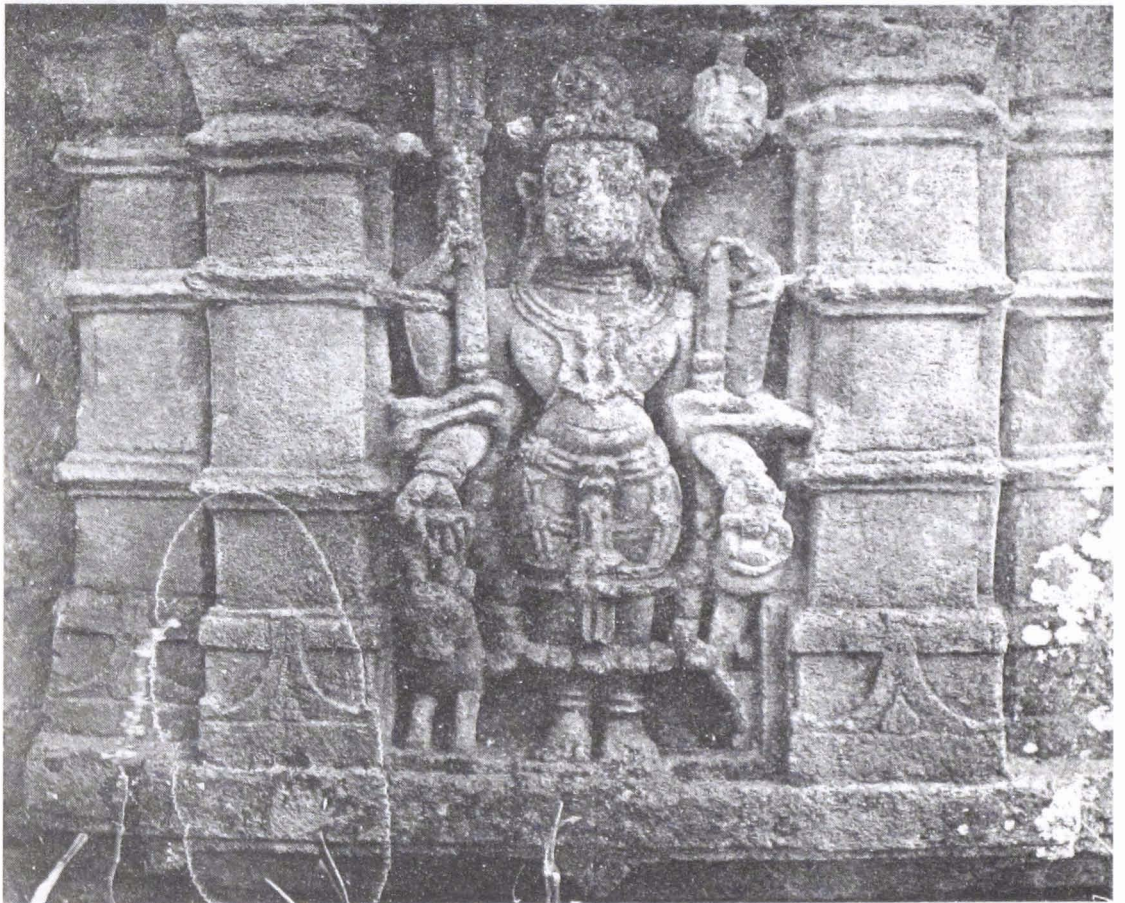
Fig. 28. – Standing Śiva, Ajayamerakoṭ-Ḍādeldhurā.

Fig. 29. – Mahiṣāsuramardinī-Durgā, Jagannāth - Ḍāḍeldhurā.
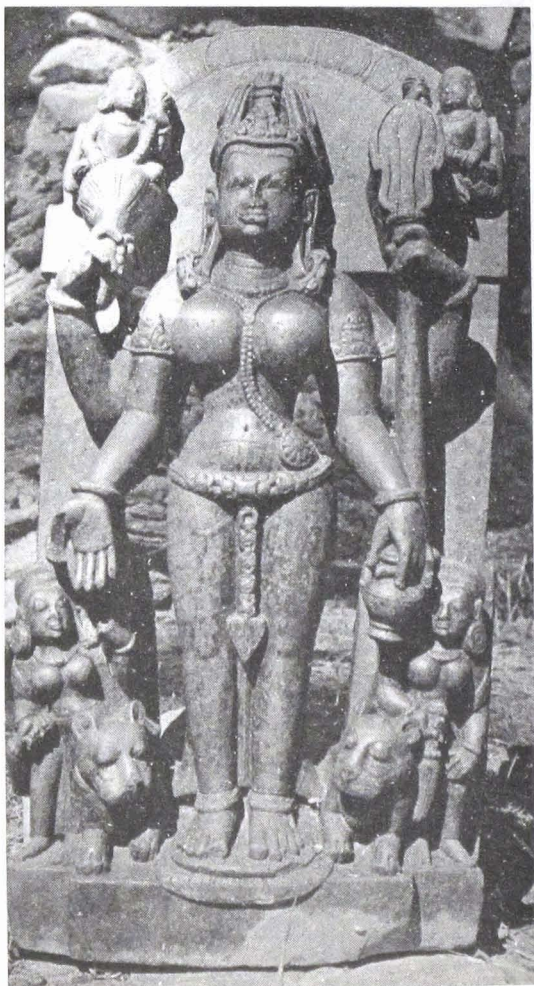
Fig. 30. – Devī, Jagannāth - Ḍāḍeldhurā.

Narrative Paintings in Nepal
and in Rajasthan

Anne Vergati

Research and publications have, in the course of the past twenty years, extended and deepened our knowledge of the different types of painting available for study in Nepal. By and large, all painting in Nepal, up till the twentieth century, was concerned with religious subjects. The earliest mobile paintings (*paubhā*), of which we have knowledge, date from the thirteenth century. In shape, they are rectangular and usually represent a divinity or a group of divinities. Mobile paintings, known as *vilampu*, which are narrative in intention, date from the sixteenth up to the end of the nineteenth century : they too are rectangular but are of quite different dimensions from the *paubhā*, being often between 2.20 metres and 3 metres in length. They manifest strong Indian, notably Rajasthani influences [1].

Vilampu are painted on rough cotton cloth in two or more registers which are always horizontal. The story runs from the viewers' left to right. Occasionally the painted surface may be practically square, thus ressembling the lay-out of a *paubhā*, but the horizontal register will nonetheless be present. The *vilampu* also deal with religious subjects. However they are more vivacious, they show scenes of everyday life in the valley of Kathmandu : houses, temples, rituals are illustrated in remarkable detail in these paintings. Sometimes they are indeed the only contemporary sources available for studying daily life in Newar society in the 17th and 18th centuries. The painted scrolls depict Buddhist and Vaiṣṇavite stories and legends. Curiously enough, representations of Śaivite themes, if ever they existed, have not survived the ravages of time.

The most common subjects treated in *vilampu* emerge from a list of those published. At the Musée de Genève, J. Eracle has published a painting illustrating *ekādaśī vrata*, the ceremony of worshipping Viṣṇu which takes place on the eleventh day of every month [2]. Paintings of Kṛṣṇa Līlā held by the Bharat Kala Bhawan at Bènares and by the Patan Museum have been made known [3]. Sometimes *vilampu* illustrate stories and legends of previous lives of the Buddha (*avadāna* or *jātaka*) like the story of Viśvantara published

by S. Lienhard[4], the story of Sudhana Kumāra. A « life of the Buddha », dated 1725, is in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay[5]. Another Buddhist painting from Patan illustrates the legend and the festival of Rāto Avalokiteśvara[6]. Other paintings belong to the same type : the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* which is in the collection of the Musée Guimet in Paris[7] and the history of Bānāsura, son of Bali, dated 1795, and the illustration of the ritual of *aṣṭamī vrata* dated 1860. All the paintings have the same pattern. All are to be « read » from left to right and Gaṇeśa is usually depicted at the extreme left of the scrolls, before the first images, this being indeed the place he occupies in any formal ritual sequence.

The technique employed in such pictures of separating scenes by trees and floral barriers goes back to eleventh century manuscripts (a manuscript published by A. Foucher provides an example)[8]. Ultimately this technique may have derived from the stone bas-reliefs at Sanchi and elsewhere. All Buddhist paintings which remain *in situ* in Nepal as the property of Buddhist monasteries may be exposed to view in these monasteries during the sacred month of August (new. *gunlā*) when the Newar Buddhists of the Valley celebrate *bahi dyo boyegu* « looking at the gods in the *vihāra* » and can see the statues and paintings normally kept out of sight. On these occasions the paintings are hung on the walls of inner courtyards. Showing painted banners publicly on the occasion of certain ceremonies was already a practice current at Dunhnuang, Khotan and elsewhere in China and Central Asia, in the middle of the first millennium[9].

From the perspective of religious anthropology, rituals are illustrated clearly in such paintings but the pantheon of the Valley depicted in them is local. Great Hindu and Buddhist divinities rub shoulders in the scenes and their names also figure in the legends of the paintings as mixed together. The paintings illustrate local legends and festivals as well as rituals. A *vilampu* shows the celebration of *aṣṭamī vrata*, a ritual in which the main divinity is Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. A series of paintings from the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century depicting the procession of Rāto Lokeśvara and the illustration of the legend of the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* show the ritual of *aṣṭamī vrata* being celebrated in the presence of the king.

Through these paintings we realize that *aṣṭamī vrata* was also a royal ritual. This cult of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara which is combined with a sort of public confession of sins, is still very popular in the valley of Kathmandu and is celebrated on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of each month, usually at a *tīrtha*[10]. On such occasions, a *vajrācārya* lays out on the ground a cloth *maṇḍala* with a red background and white lines (similar to that which can be seen in our illustration). To ensure order and prosperity in his kingdom the king had to worship Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. In the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* illustrations, when Maṇicūḍā, son of Bandhadatta ascends the throne, the painter shows not only the king's enthronement but also the *aṣṭami vrata* carried out at that time. Such rituals guarantee prosperity for the kingdom. Another illustration of a king carrying out a ritual, this time for Viṣṇu, is the painting of king Rukmāṃgada at the *ekādaśī vrata*.

In Royal palaces of the Kathmandu Valley, mural paintings often decorate the inside walls of the first floor. These paintings are composed in a manner similar to the *vilampu,* in two or three horizontal registers. There is very strong influence from the type of paintings found in the palaces of Rajasthan where however it was the custom to paint both the inside and outside walls [11]. In the most ancien part of Hanuman Dhoka palace in Kathmandu one still finds horizontal strips of painting with floral separations which illustrate the exploits of Kṛṣṇa. These paintings date from the same period as the first painted scrolls, 17th and 18th centuries [12].

The paintings in the Royal palaces at Bhaktapur which were executed at the time of the king Bhūpatīndra Malla (1696-1722) illustrate also the exploits of Kṛṣṇa. As in the scrolls, each scene has a caption in Newari. Recent restauration work by an Italian team has brought to light an image of king Bhūpatīndra : this shows the identification of the king with Viṣṇu. Alongside the king is his *śakti* who perhaps had the features of his wife. Bhūpatīndra Malla's name is written in gold characters on the image of Viśvarūpa [13].

Painters and artisans may indeed have travelled between Nepal and Rajasthan : they used to paint houses and palaces. In Rajasthan as in Nepal certain divinities such as Lakṣmī and Gaṇeśa today are still painted on the walls of the houses when weddings are celebrated. Marriages between Nepalese and Rajput families have been frequent over the centuries and among the wedding presents was often to be found a portofolio of paintings.

Elsewhere in the Himalaya, for instance in Himachal Pradesh and particularly in the Kangra area with which Nepal exchanged many influences in the 18th and 19th centuries, there were similar techniques of composing mural paintings of Royal palaces [14].

Similar types of paintings are known from China and Central Asia [15]. Since Van Gulik, in his *Chinese Pictorial Art,* drew attention to mobile paintings in India, to Yamapaṭa and Yamapaṭṭaka, many more Indian materials have been brought to light and classified. Recently V. Mair, in the course of his doctoral study of *pien hsiang* and *pien wen* in China, sought out Indian antecedents for such Chinese materials. In his book V. Mair [16] analysed relevant material from Hindu, Buddhist and Jain written sources. Some of these date from before the beginning of the Christian era. The grammarian Pāṇini (6th-5th century B.C.) already refers to *devaloka* who carried images of Gods from door to door and begged from the inhabitants of the houses visited. *Śaubhika,* illusionists, and *granthika,* reciters are to be found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, composed c. 160-140 B.C. Picture story telling about hells, already mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa,* continued on in India up to the present day. In the eighth century Jain text, the *kuvalayamālā* a painting on cloth called *saṃsāra cakra paṭa,* the cloth (painting) of the cycle of transmigration, is described in detail. It would seem that those whose part or whole time occupation was to display, comment on and tell picture stories were generally members of lower social classes.

V. Mair reminds us that the narrative reliefs at Bharhut, Bodh Gaya and Sanchi are, in essence, picture scrolls in stone and he points to the fact that on the columns at Sanchi the narrative proceeds from the top downards. Mair has also brought together nineteenth and twentieth century ethnographic descriptions of story tellers in action. He draws the attention of his readers to the Killekyata of Mysore, to the Citrakathis of the North Konkon and Deccan, to the Citrakār, still active in Bengal in the 1950s, as well as to the *paṭua* in the same area. In his comparative study, the Nepalese *vilampu* are not analysed.

S. Lienhard has already pointed out that the *vilampu* serve as supports for narrators [17]. However we are still poorly informed as to the complex functional relationship between the Nepalese patron who orders a painting, the artist who executes it and the narrator who « uses » it to confirm his oral tale and the ever-changing spectator-listeners who constitute his audience. With this in mind, we should remember that P. Pal has analysed with great competence the style of the narrative paintings, in particular the Rajasthani influence manifested in the treatment of landscape but he has never analysed the function of the paintings.

In order to try to understand the relationships in Nepal between the narrator, his audience, and the painter, it is of interest to draw attention to the manner in which certain mobile paintings are executed and displayed in contemporary Rajasthan [18]. In Rajasthan today is to be found a certain type of painting known as *par*, which, in Marwari means « to fold » (Sanskrit : *paṭa*). The paintings in question are long scrolls, rolled on to a staff or pole. Painted on cotton cloth by a member of the caste of painters, *Cipa*, who traditionally are dyers of cotton, these paintings are made at the request of patrons who seek Nārāyaṇ Devaji's protection from illness or wish for success in business and are therefore prepared to pay the painters. The painter works under the instructions of a *bhopā*, the narrator who tells him which legends he must illustrate and who stays in his house during the painting. When the painting is finished, an « initiation ceremony » takes place at the patron's house. Relatives and friends are invited and the *bhopā* tells for the first time the story illustrated on the *par*. The names of the patron and of the artist as well as the date of the « initiation ceremony » are written on the *par*. The stories depicted are, in general, local legends concerning deified regional heroes like Pābuji Rathaur and Rāmdev, or local stories concerning a god such as Lord Dev Nārāyaṇ.

The *bhopā*, who are temple priests and healers, belong to the low castes : Gujars (cattle keepers and farmers), Kumbhars (potters), Balais (weavers) and Nayaks or Thories (tribal people). The first three groups are specialized in stories about Dev Nārāyaṇ while the last two favour Pābuji and Rāmdev stories.

The narrator treats the painting as if it were a divinity. He says three prayers and sings five hymns to Dev Nārāyaṇ daily. He carries the painting from village to village and shows it on village squares with the help of an assistant. One author has compared such a painting to a « mobile temple » :

the purpose of the performances is to «evoke the deity for the welfare of the audience». At this time, the *bhopā* dances and a three stringed *jantar* is played. A good *bhopā* may know 15,000 verse lines by heart but is also capable of improvising. As most *bhopā* are illiterate, the epic of Dev Nārāyaṇ remains for them an oral one.

No performances occur during the rainy seasons when the divinity is said to rest and the *par* remains in the temple where it is normally kept. In winter, when nights are long and when, after the harvest, the villagers have get money and the time to watch, performances are frequent. It is said that the custom of showing *par* goes back six hundred years : a bard, Chochu Bhat, a devotee of Dev Nārāyaṇ is believed to have commissioned the first *par*. The *par bhopā* travel in groups with two men : the *patavi* who is chief singer and the *diyālā* (the light-holder) who is his assistant and carries a lamp for lighting up the painting at night time. In the Pābuji tradition the *bhopā* performs with his wife. In all performances they use songs (*gav*) alternating with declamatory speech *arthav*, «meaning», hence explanation of the song. *Bhopā* do however use formulae both at the beginning and at the end of the spoken explanation of the painting, but these vary from singer to singer. Each *bhopā* follows his own patterns, which he learned from his own teacher.

Some authors distinguish three categories of *bhopā* : 1) the priest custodian or temple *bhopā* 2) the *jamat bhopā,* always member of the Gujar caste, and 3) the *par bhopā* who can be a Gujar, a Balais or a Kumbhar[20]. The calling of *bhopā* is not hereditary : to become a *bhopā* necessitates a talent for singing and dancing. Only someone who demonstrates genuine aptitude will be chosen by the *bhopā* as his apprentice. Often an individual is possessed before becoming *bhopā*. The period of learning is long, gradual and difficult. A disciple (*celā*) or a learner (*sikhdar*) will learn during the performances the dances, the verses, the explanation and the jokes : he assists the guru during the performance.

«The *sikhdar* learns the art of performing the *par* in several stages. In the first stage, he simply observes the performances given by his guru. In the second stage, he joins the Bhopā in singing at the time of performance. In the third stage, he sings while playing Jantar. In the fourth stage, he assists the guru at the time of performing the *par*. In the fifth stage, the *celā* performs in the presence of his guru to show his competence... After attaining the Bhopāhood, he is allowed to have his own *par* which either he buys himself or, as often is the case, is presented to him by a patron[21].» The *par bhopā* do not earn entirely their living by performances they present in villages and at fairs : they are part time assistant temple priests and, occasionally, are also healers. Sometimes they also have jobs as craftsmen or peasants.

The musical instrument, *jantar,* or the painting, *par,* are never sold in the market. When they are worn out, they are cast with appropriate funeral rites into the Pushkar Lake, the sacred place in Rajasthan. The funerary ritual for a *par* still requires the presence of five *bhopā* and the making of a fire altar before the used painting is thrown into the lake. To sell a painting would

be a sacrilege for it is the abode of divinities. The funerary rituals of the *par* remind us that in Nepal, at the end of each annual cycle, the masks of the Nava Durgā are treated like deceased human beings : when worn out they are burned ceremonially and their ashes, conserved in a pot, are placed in the Hanumante river, and used for making new masks for the following year in the month of August, one month before the festival of the Great Goddess called, in Nepal, Dasain [22].

Up till the end of the 18th century *par* painters worked in Rajasthan under the patronage of kings and wealthy landlords. While the subject matter illustrated in their scrolls was on the whole similar, it is possible to distinguish different styles of painting from Mewar, Kotah, Bundi, Jaipur, Bikaner and Kishingarh. In the course of the 19th century painters found fewer patrons. At the present day, tourist interest has motivated a certain revival of *par* painting. Paintings made for tourists, however, are never signed by the artist.

In Tibet too, there are *thañ-ka* rolled up and carried around from village to village by *manipa* and other story tellers [23] who tell of the wonders of the paradise of Padmasambhava or recount the life of Milarepa. However such paintings do not make use solely of horizontal registers. In illustrations of the life of Gesar, as in the *thañ-ka* just mentioned, the hero, the divinity or the saint, is placed in the centre of the picture with episodes from his life portrayed in registers which frame the centre of the picture with episodes like a square; the episodes usually follow one another in a clockwise direction. Even when distinct registers are totally absent, this technique of depicting successive events on one and the same surface is frequent in Tibetan painting.

We have seen that the *vilampu* take their place in a tradition of picture story-telling which is widespread in India [24] and in Asia. Today, in Nepal, the tellers of Hindu and Buddhist tales are Brahmins and Buddhist priests (*vajrācārya*). Neither the Brahmin, when he recounts the *Swasthāni vrata Kathā* for women, nor the *vajrācārya* during the performance of the ritual of *aṣṭamī vrata* has recourse to images or paintings. It would seem that in Nepal the painters of *vilampu* are never their narrators. The style and the method of composition of the Nepalese scrolls, like those of the mural paintings in the Royal palaces of Kathmandu Valley, seems much closer to those of Rajasthani paintings than to Tibetan ones; however the content of the Nepalese narrative paintings conserves its local specificity, particularly in the treatment of monuments, houses, landscapes and rituals. The Nepalese scrolls are to be found in towns close to royal courts and Buddhist monasteries. In the Nepalese countryside, in contrast to Rajasthan, we do not find illustrated popular tales.

Notes

1. The most thorough study of Nepalese painting so far undertaken is that of P. Pal, *The arts of Nepal*, part II. *Paintings*, Leiden, Brill, 1975 (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 7, Bd III). He was the first author to use the term « narrative paintings » for Nepal (Chapter : « Narrative Paintings », p. 94-115).

2. J. Eracle, « La tentation du roi Rukmāṃgada » in *Bulletin Annuel du Musée d'Ethnographie de Genève*, n° 13, 1970, p. 15-33.

3. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 101-102. Cf. also A.W. Macdonald and A. Vergati Stahl, *Newar Art. Nepalese Art during the Malla Period*, Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1979, p. 135.

4. S. Lienhard, *Die Legende vom Prinzen Viśvantara. Eine Nepalische Bilderrolle Aus der Sammlung des Museums für Indische Kunst*, Berlin, 1980.

See also M. Cone and R.F. Gombrich, *The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara. A Buddhist Epic* (translated from the Pali and illustrated by unpublished paintings from Sinhalese temples), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977.

5. We find a short description of this painting *in* P. Pal, « Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum », in *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, n° 4, 1967, p. 1-26.

6. A. Vergati, « Le Roi faiseur de pluie ou la Légende de Rāto Avalokiteśvara » in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, t. LXXIV, 1985, p. 287-303.

7. The painting was published for the first time by S. Lévi, in *Le Népal. Étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, 3 vol., Paris, E. Leroux, 1905. Vol. 3 : « La légende sacrée du Népal », p. 161-178.

8. A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, 2 vol., Paris, E. Leroux, 1905.

9. R. Jera Bézard et M. Maillard, « Le rôle des bannières et des peintures mobiles dans les rituels du bouddhisme d'Asie centrale », *Arts asiatiques*, t. XLIV, 1989, p. 57-68. Parmi les textes de la littérature bouddhique retrouvés par A. Stein et P. Pelliot à Dunhuang, certains manuscrits donnent des informations sur l'utilisation des bannières au cours de cérémonies qui se déroulent dans la ville de Dunhuang elle-même. Ainsi dans une formule de vœux pour le roi du Tibet, datée vraisemblablement entre la fin du VIIIe siècle et le milieu du IXe siècle, nous apprenons que « deux fois par mois, lors des cérémonies, les bannières resplendissent de toutes leurs couleurs ». Ailleurs nous lisons que « la nuit, quand les moines se réunissent au son des tambours, chacun porte une bannière ou un parasol ». Le même texte décrit également une procession dans la ville de Dunhuang à l'occasion des fêtes du Nouvel An : « Quand on réunit les religieux, ils viennent avec les bannières et sortent les statues et font ainsi le tour de la ville » (p. 59).

10. J.K. Locke, « L'Upoṣadha Vrata d'Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara au Népal », in *L'Ethnographie*, t. LXXXIII, n° 100, 1987, p. 159-191.

11. G.H.R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces. The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450-1750*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1987.

12. M. Slusser. *Nepal Mandala. A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, vol. I, p. 189-198. « Every room was adorned with Rajasthani-style polychrome paintings, in which brilliant reds predominated. The plastered walls were covered with murals, wooden room divider screens were painted with diverse bands of floral and geometric designs and images of the gods » (p. 197).

13. « Nepal. Preliminary Report on the First Campaign for the Preservation and Study of the Mural Paintings in the Royal Palace of Bhaktapur », *East and West*, vol. 34, n° 4, 1984, p. 549-556.

See also « Nepal. Campaign Held between November 1986 and January 1987. Conservation Program on the Murals », *East and West*, vol. 36, n° 4, 1986, p. 546-553.

14. M. Seth, *Wall Paintings of the Western Himalaya*, New Delhi, Publications Division of Government of India, 1976.

15. R.H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as viewed by the connoisseur*, Roma, ISMEO, 1958.

16. V. Mair, *Painting and Performance. Chinese picture recitation and its Indian Genesis*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

17. S. Lienhard, *op. cit.*

18. O.P. Joshi, *Painted Folklore and Folklore Painters of India,* (a study with reference to Rajasthan), Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1976.

19. O.P. Joshi, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

20. O.P. Joshi, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

21. O.P. Joshi, *op. cit.,* p. 32.

22. J.H. Teilhet, « The tradition of the Nava Durga in Bhaktapur, Nepal », in *Kailash,* vol. VI, n° 2, p. 81-98.

23. C. Jest, *Dolpo. Communautés de langue tibétaine du Népal,* Paris, Éditions du CNRS, 1975, p. 332-335. « 1ᵉʳ mois, 5ᵉ jour... au début de l'après-midi tous les assistants se rendent dans l'enclos de tissage de Tsering Puntsog pour écouter le récit de la vie de Milarepa (...) Urgyen Gyaltsen suspend la peinture représentant les principaux épisodes de la vie du saint. Tsering Puntsog, le lecteur appelé *ma ṇi pa,* commence par une invocation à Spyan- ras- gzigs puis entreprend la lecture de la biographie (...). Lorsqu'il convient d'expliquer un épisode, T.P. montre la peinture avec une baguette de fer à pommeau en forme de vajra. » See also p. 375-377.

R.A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet,* Paris, PUF, 1959, p. 324 : « Selon le barde Rin-chen dar rgyas interrogé par SAR, le Prince Pierre de Grèce, si lui-même n'en fait pas usage (d'images), d'autres bardes s'en servent et montrent les aventures de Gesar avec une flèche enrubannée *(mda'dar).* Telle a aussi été l'information recueillie par Roerich en 1942. »

24. In Bengal we also find narrative paintings with Hindu subjects influenced by islamisation, it is often the painter himself who is the narrator. This is never the case in Nepal nor in Rajasthan. Once again the parallel between Rajasthan and Nepal is a closer one. For the narrative paintings in Bengal, see S. Sen Gupta, ed., *The Patas and Patuas of Bengal,* Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1973.

Fig. 1. – The story of Bāṇāsura from the Harivaṃśa, dated 1795. Nepal, Musée Guimet
(photo : M. Ravaux).
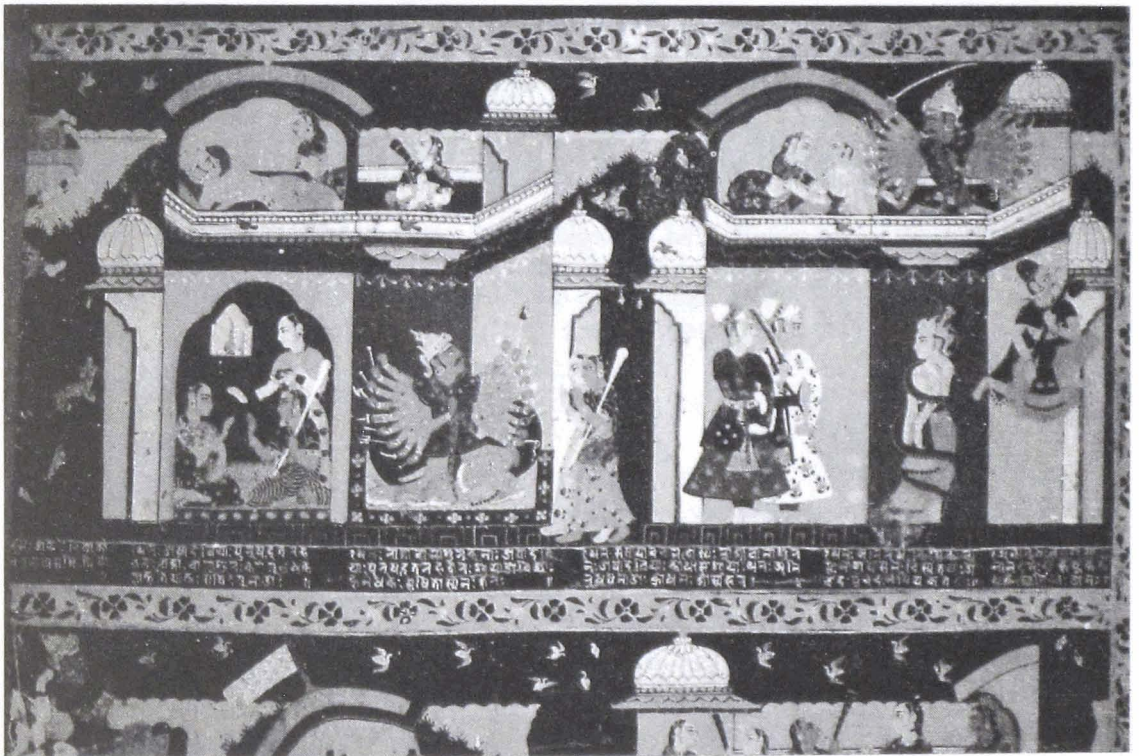
Fig. 2. – The story of Bāṇāsura from the Harivaṃśa, dated 1795. Nepal, Musée Guimet
(photo : M. Ravaux).
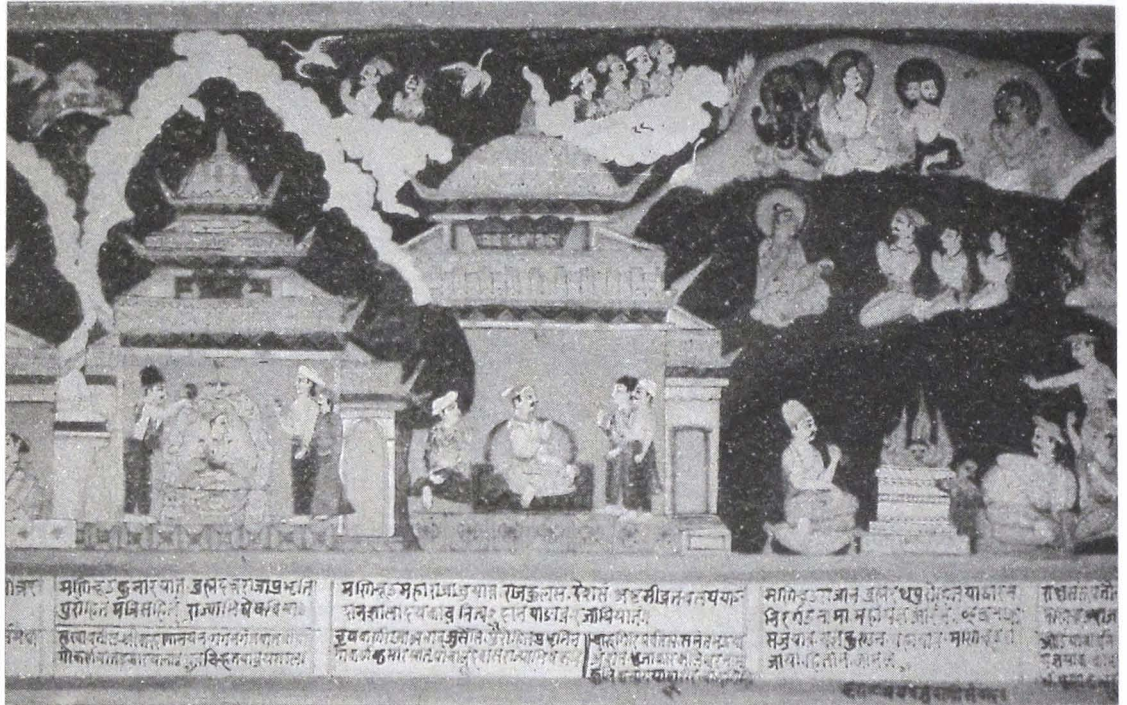
Fig. 3. – A detail of the holy legend of Nepal, the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, from the Hodgson
Collection, beginning of the 19th century. Musée Guimet. The scene shows king Maṇicūḍā
celebrating the ritual of *aṣṭamī*.

Tibetan Monasteries in the Valley of Kathmandu and their Role in the Preservation of Musical Traditions : The case of the monastery of Zhe-chen

Mireille Helffer

According to the legend, the great stūpa (Tib. *mchod-rten*) of Bodhnāth, known in Tibetan under the name of Bya-rung kha-shor – as is told in the *Mchod-rten chen-po Bya-rung kha-shor gyi lo-rgyus thos-pa grol-ba* –, would have been built by Tibetans (Snellgrove, 1957, p. 91-120, Dowman, 1973). Situated on one of the trade routes connecting Tibet and Nepal, it has at all times attracted numbers of Tibetan pilgrims travelling to visit the holy sites of Buddhism.

During recent decades, and especially since the 1970's, we have seen a remarkable proliferation of Buddhist monasteries of diverse allegiances [1] built around this stūpa. There are fifteen to be counted today, and every year the pressure of the growing number of monks and pilgrims intensifies. One of the most imposing among them is without doubt the monastery of *Zhe-chen bstan-gnyis dar-rgyas-gling*, built at the instigation of H.H. Dilgo Khyentsey Rinpoche [2] (b. 1910), doyen and recognized Supreme Head of the *rnying-ma-pa* school. This monastery, which is modelled on the Tibetan monastery of the same name (founded in 1735 by Rab-'byams 'gyur-med kun-bzang) is often referred to in the Valley as «the Monastery of Khyentsey Rinpoche» or even as «the Bhutanese Monastery», because of the numerous Bhutanese artisans called upon to build and decorate it, and will henceforth be referred to by its short name, Zhe-chen.

The main construction of the Nepalese Zhe-chen, which owes its design to a Tibetan physician living in the Kathmandu Valley, was completed in 1982-83. Situated within a radius of 100 metres north-west of the stūpa, it is orientated towards the south and includes a central block of several stories. It has a vast prayer-room on the ground floor, while on other floors there are meeting-rooms, the «Protectors' Chapel» (*mgon-khang*), quarters for the monastery's religious authorities, and the library. The great courtyard sur-

rounding the monastery is bordered by conventual buildings for the housing of monks, classrooms, and to the north there is a chapel dedicated to Padmasambhava which shelters his giant statue, 7 metres in height, with more modest statues of his 25 principal disciples, finished in 1989. The decoration of the buildings has been meticulous : frescoes cover the prayer-room walls; some 300 statues of different sizes have been installed; numerous masks, garments and accessories are available for performances of 'cham ritual ballets. Construction of 7 stūpas and 3 great prayer-wheels is in progress along the road bounding the monastery; they will bring to an end the [major] works envisaged for this location.

There are about 120 persons living in the monastery today, with a large proportion of young monks and boy monks receiving religious and general education. The direction of this has been entrusted to Rab-'byams Rinpoche Chos kyi Seng-ge (born 1965), grandson of H.H. Khyentsey Rinpoche, and recognized himself as the seventh reincarnation of the founder of the Tibetan Zhe-chen. Teachings at an advanced level are regularly provided, either by H.H. Khyentsey Rinpoche (when he is in residence) or by other invited religious masters. Added to this, connexions between the monastery and France are well established : H.H. Khyentsey Rinpoche visited France for the first time in 1975 and has numerous French disciples, among whom is his personal secretary Matthieu Ricard (whose efficiency and competence have been shown countless times in the translation and publication[3] of texts in the *rnying-ma-pa* tradition, and whose obliging availability a goodly number of French researchers have been able to appreciate).

In such favourable surroundings, the liturgical life of the monastery is gradually becoming structured, under the guidance of the religious authorities whose names have already been mentioned. After many years of exile, H.H. Khyentsey Rinpoche, with Rab-'byams Rinpoche and several disciples, was able to reach the Tibetan Zhe-chen in 1985, from whence he brought back basic ritual texts belonging to the specific tradition of Zhe-chen, also inviting an experienced former « chant-master » (*dbu-mdzad*) to come to Nepal, someone able to instruct future leaders in the Nepalese Zhe-chen.

During a period of fieldwork at the beginning of 1989 – as the relics of H.H. Bdud-'joms Rinpoche (1903-1987) were transferred from France to Nepal, to be placed there in a specially constructed stūpa – I was, thanks to the kindness of Rab-'byams Rinpoche (personally most concerned to have a transmission as faithful as possible of the musical traditions of the monastery of origin), able to follow and partially record two major rituals in the liturgical calendar, being the occasion of particularly imposing manifestations :

1) the ritual to avoid obstacles aroused by harmful divinities (*gtor-zlog*[4]) celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th day of the 12th month of the Tibetan calendar (29 January to 5 February in 1989), whence the name *dgu-gtor, i.e. gtor-ma* for the 29th (day), by which it is often designated;

2) a ritual of « great realization » (*sgrub-chen*), performed in order to compel the numerous divinities of the *maṇḍala* of the *Tschogs-chen 'dus-pa*[5]

to exercise their protection, but whose celebration was delayed that year because of teachings in course at the monastery.

By relying on observations made during the *gtor-zlog* of 1989, I shall try to show how the written traditions inherited from the Tibetan Zhe-chen (which came in turn from the monastery of Smin-grol-gling, founded in Central Tibet in 1676) are progressively coming to life in the very new Nepalese Zhe-chen.

PRESCRIPTIONS RELATING TO THE CELEBRATION OF gtor-zlog

It must first be remarked that the deity who presides over this ritual is a form of Gshin-rje-gshed (Skt. Yamāntaka), «the conqueror of Yama, god of death», who is considered as the «wrathful» manifestation of the bodhisattava Manjushri. The worship of Gshin-rje-gshed, known as «destroyer of the arrogant» (*dregs-'joms*)[6], is based on the «hidden text» (*gter-ma*) discovered in 1667, in the valley of Yarlung, by Gter-bdag Gling-pa, the founder of Smin-grol-gling (Dargyay, 1977, p. 179). Given the ties which unite the monasteries of Smin-grol-gling and Zhe-chen, it is not astonishing that Gshin-rje-gshed dregs-'joms was chosen as the «tutelary deity» (*yi-dam*) of the monastery of Zhe-chen.

The texts relating to the celebration of the *gtor-zlog* are divided, as is usual in all Tibetan rituals, between different books : the celebrant and the chant-master must thus carefully prepare the sequence to follow from among the different texts[7] which, in the case under consideration, were distributed in the following manner :

— printed ritual texts borrowed from the Smin-grol-gling tradition :
1) *brgyud-'debs*, extract of the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*[8], vol. TSA : 1-2;
2) *Jam-dpal Gshin-rje-gshed dregs-pa 'joms-byed kyi **las-byang** Bdud-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i dga'-ston"*, short title : *las-byang*, i.e. «list of actions» (to carry out), extract of the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*, vol. TSA : 3-30;

— manuscript texts relating to the practice of the ritual :
3) *'Jam-dpal Gshin-rje'i-gshed dregs-'joms byed kyi drag-po zor gyi man-ngag "rdo-rje'i thog-mda'"*, short title : *zor-phrin*, 26 fol. (incomplete);
4) *'Chi-bdag las kyi Gshin-rje'i phrin-las "pho-nya myur-mgyogs"*, short title : *las-gshin*, 6 fol.;
5) *'Jam-dpal Gshin-rje dregs-pa 'joms-byed kyi dmar-chen gtor-zlog gi **lag-len***, manual in two parts which details all the liturgical actions to be carried out during the seven days of the ritual, with references to the texts to use, to the chants to «develop», to instrumental interventions, 37 fol. + 31 fol.;

— technical texts relating to the manner of chanting and to the instrumental repertoire, preserved in manuscript form. These texts are mainly concerned with the musical notations used as mnemonics for the performance

of solemn chants, designated by the name *dbyangs,* literally « vowels » charac-
terized by the large number of meaningless syllables (*tshig-lhad*) occuring
between the significant syllables of the text, and favouring the prolongation,
in time, of a chant :

6) *Gshin-rje dregs-pa 'joms-byed dbyangs-kyi yi-ge "Senggeï nga-ro",*
i.e. « Musical notation (*dbyangs-kyi yi-ge*) for Yamāntaka, who destroys the
arrogant, called "the roaring of the lion" » ; the manuscript I was able to
photocopy was incomplete, ending with folio 33 ;
7) *Chos-skyong rnams kyi dbyangs-yig "bstan-srung dgyes-par byed-pa", i.e.*
« Musical notation for the protectors of the religion (Buddhist), called "That
which delights the Protector" », 80 fol. ;
8) *Dung-tshig gi yi-ge "mchod-sprin rnam-par bkod-pa'i rol-mo",* which il-
lustrates the notation of seven pieces to be played by the long metal trumpets
dung-chen, 7 fol., followed by the notation of seven formulae for playing
the short trumpets of bone or metal (*rkang-gling*), according to the tradition
of Smin-grol-gling, 2 fol.

A detailed analysis of the contents of these texts relating to musical prac-
tice is outside the scope of this article, but it is worth underlining how ex-
ceptional it is to have at one's disposal the complete range of texts needed
for the performance of a ritual, and above all a « user's manual » (*lag-len*)
as complete as that found in text n° 5.

Given the date of foundation of the monastery of Zhe-chen (1734), the
conventions adopted for the notation of the *dbyangs* would not be very an-
cient, and the documents available do not allow saying whether they were
directly borrowed from Smim-grol-gling, or whether they represent the prac-
tice of a particular chant-master (*dbu-mdzad*) of a definite period ; however
that may be, they give evidence of an appreciable number of facts concern-
ing :

— The text or the first lines of text of the chants, with the numerous
interpolated syllabes (*tshig-lhad*) inserted at predetermined places, which
characterize the *dbyangs.*

— The presence of circles placed under the syllables of the text to in-
dicate, when required, the moment for a beat on the drum *rnga.*

— More or less complex curved lines placed above certain syllables to
indicate variations of pitch, of timbre or of intensity (loudness), to apply to
the chanted syllable and thus reveal differing degrees of ornamentation : these
signs are proportionally more numerous when the chant is considered solemn,
such as in the section of the ritual devoted to « praises » (*bstod-pa*).

To the notations concerning the use of the voice are added :

— Indications relative to the intervention of the different instruments
accompanying the chant, such as the hand-bells *dril-bu* to be either rung
continuously (*dril-bsil*) or to be used at the same time as the small drum
damaru (*da-dril 'khrol*).

— Indications relative to the entries of the conch-shells, the long and
the short trumpets ; as for playing the short trumpets, more precise details
are added by the mention of formulae such as « blow five times with cut-offs »

(*lnga-'bud bcad-ma*), «blow four times with cut-offs» (*bzhi-'bud bcad-ma*), «blow four times with flashes» (*bzhi-bud glog-ma*).

— Reminders of the rhythmic formulae to perform simultaneously on the drum *rnga* and the cymbals *sbug-chal* or *rol-mo*; those which intervene the most frequently being :

a) «to strike three (times)» (*gsum-brdung*) which in its simplest form is a sequence of :

sbram sbram byas – 1.2.3. byas – 1.2.3. thang

The beats corresponding to the onomatopoeia *sbram* are noted by circles below the figures; the beats corresponding to the syllable *byas*, performed more softly, are noted by a circle of smaller size; the syllable *thang*, which also has an onomatopoeic character, indicates that a tremolo must be executed on the cymbals. These conventions are represented as follows :

Fig. 1. – Facsimile of the notations for *gsum-brdung*.

b) «to strike nine (times)» (*dgu-brdung*) with the seventh beat always played softer than the other eight beats, the cell of nine beats being preceded by the onomatopoeia already mentioned (*sbram* followed by *thang*) and then concluded by a *thang* which involves the following notation :

Fig. 2. – Facsimile of the notations for *dgu-brdung*.

In the complementary manual mentioned above (n° 7), which contains the *dbyangs* for the «protectors» (*chos-skyong*), used in the part of the ritual corresponding to the *bskang-ba* [10] of these divinities – *i.e.* different forms of Mgon-po, Lha-chen dbang-phyug chen-po, Gza'-bdud, Rgyal-chen rnam-sras, Zhing-skyong – the conventions relating to the musical notations are identical, but one may observe that several of the *dbyangs* have titles of a more or less descriptive character, such as : «Great drum of the god Brahmā» (*Tshangs-pa lha'i rnga-chen*) or : «the succession of water-ripples» (*Chu-bo rlabs- 'phreng*) for Mgon-po with four arms; «The crow's flight» (*Bya-rog 'phur-'gro*) for Las-mgon «with a crow's face» (*bya-rog gdong-can*), «the harp of the Gandharva» (*Dri-za'i rgyud-mang*) for Rnam-thos-sras, the god of wealth, etc. ...

Several manuscript leaves relating to the use of blown instruments give a summary notation which make graphically explicit the way to perform the different formulae of the repertoire, for example :

a) three variants of «to blow three (times)» (*gsum-'bud*) demonstrated as
   follows :
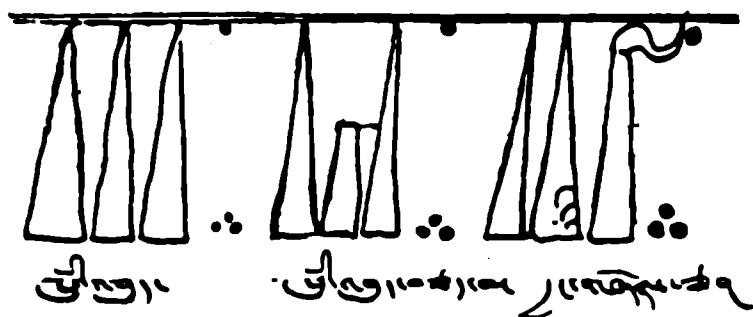
b) three variants of «to blow four (times)» (*bzhi-'bud*) :
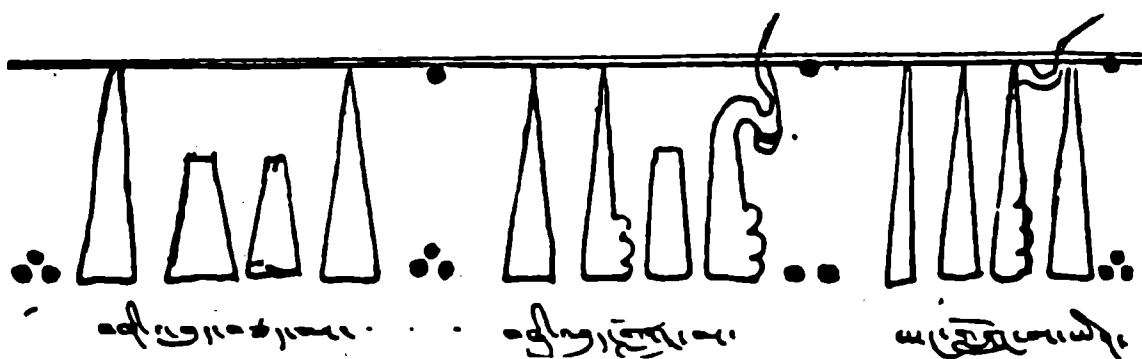
The existence of all these written sources could certainly serve as a basis
for establishing a repertoire at the Nepalese Zhe-chen, but the indications
given in the manuals remain too compendious for those who have not been,
since childhood, in the habit of practising these rituals, and Rab-'byams Rin-
poche has not hesitated to use recording techniques to keep the testimony
of a former «chant-master» (*dbu-mdzad*) whom he had invited to come from
Tibet; he himself recorded ten cassettes of performances of the *dbyangs* of
Zhe-chen, as references to consult in case of need.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE *gtor-zlog*

In 1989, during the celebration of the *gtor-zlog* which I attended, the
presiding part in the ceremony was taken by H.H. Khyentsey Rinpoche, the
active role of celebrant was the responsibility of Rab-'byams Rinpoche and
the musical direction of the operations was entrusted to the *dbu-mdzad* Phrin-
las. The latter was a young man born in Nepal, shy and inexperienced, who
showed great willingness but whose voice was not very powerful. The pre-
liminaries of the *gtor-zlog* had little to do with the sound element, since it
was the time devoted to preparation of the dozens of sacrificial cakes (*gtor-*

ma), in colours and forms differing according to the corresponding divinities, which had been placed on a great credence-table; two of the larger of these *gtor-ma* were placed in front of the credence, and one of them – triangular, black in colour, supplied with three eyes and garnished with numerous miniature flags – was dedicated to *Gshin-rje-gshed.*

In conformity with directions given in the manual of practice (*lag-len*), the young monks charged with playing the short trumpets (*rkang-gling*) or oboes (*rgya-gling*) were positioned to the left of the celebrant (placed on a raised throne), then the players of the long trumpets (*dung-chen*).

The celebrant himself had in front of him, besides other liturgical utensils, the bell *dril-bu* and the small drum *damaru* which his functions require.

The *dbu-mdzad* not only intoned the chants, but also struck the *sbug-chal* cymbals, with their voluminous central bosses, whose sound is associated with divinities of the « wrathful » type; he was aided by another monk who played, when necessary, the *sil-snyan* cymbals, which have a more crystalline sound.

Several *rnga* drums were spread to different points of the sanctuary : two of the bigger ones were supported in wooden cradles, and these were the *mchod-rnga*; meanwhile 16 drums of the smallest size, provided with handles (the *lag-rnga*) were confided to the boy monks who, holding the handles in their left hands, vigorously struck the skins of their drums with a crook-shaped stick. Added to this great number of instruments, the presence of which shows the monastery has all that is needed for the holding of solemn rituals, were two *dung-dkar* conch-shells, whose sound was generally lost in the fracas made by the other instruments.

Throughout the seven days of the ritual, the same liturgical sequence of operations (*i.e.* invitation to the main divinity and his acolytes to evince their presence, offerings, propitiation of the Protectors of Buddhist faith, praises, ritual dances...) were accompanied by the continuous (day and night) recitation of the mantra of *Gshin-rje-gshed.*

On the final day, outside the monastery, a ritual dance performed by the « black hat » (*zhwa-nag*) was held-named after the costume worn by the celebrant Rab-'byams Rinpoche, exercising the function of an exorcist; this dance was followed by a solemn bonfire of the great *gtor-ma* cakes which had in some way presided over the ceremonies.

As for the chanted parts, one could remark that the style of Zhe-chen (by comparison with the style of other *rnying-ma-pa* monasteries) was particularly slow and soft, rendering it very difficult, if not impossible, to follow the texts sung, even when one had the texts to refer to; on the other hand, the small number of adult monks in the assembly, and the still fewer number who knew the *dbyangs,* did not allow a very high level of performance, despite the considerable effort which had been made to put on a ritual, let us remember, held only once a year.

This effort is being pursued without let up, since in the course of the summer of 1989 a *dbu-mdzad* from the Tibetan Zhe-chen, 'Jigs-med kun-

bzang, who is gifted (according to the evidence of my Hungarian colleague Alice Egyed) with a superb voice and extensive knowledge of the traditions, arrived in Nepal, where he had been awaited since the spring. Since that date the musical training of the monks has become more profound, even if some among them have not appreciated all the traditional methods employed by this venerable *dbu-mdzad*.

If one considered only the celebration of a single *gtor-zlog*, it may look as though all has been put in order, that the Nepalese Zhe-chen might from now on be considered a faithful holder of the tradition of the mother-monastery. But, if it were indeed an important ritual (since it concerned the tutelary deity of the monastery), this ritual was far from being the only one. Some weeks later I was able to attend a still more solemn ritual : one which mobilized an even greater number of musical instruments, such as the *sgrub-chen* of the *Tshogs-chen-'dus-pa* already mentioned.

The recordings made on these two occasions will serve as a basis for a study of the musical traditions of Zhe-chen; they will be completed by another series of recordings which I intend to do during 1991, to evaluate how far the presence of a more experienced *dbu-mdzad* has modified the aesthetic qualities of the rituals. However, it must not be forgotten that these ceremonies are not performed to please human beings; they are primarly dedicated to deities whose goodwill is crucial for humanity.

If the monastery of Zhe-chen has been taken as exemplifying the way liturgical traditions of Tibetan Buddhism resume a new life in Nepal, it is because of the number of documents brought there from Tibet; but the presence of other *rnying-ma-pa* monasteries of different allegiances, in the close proximity of the stūpa of Bodhnāth, would equally allow the study of other living musical traditions, such as the more recent one of Mchog-gyur gling-pa (1829-1870) as followed in the monastery of 'O-rgyan sprul-sku (Orgyen Tobgyal 1988), a few steps from the monastery of Zhe-chen.

It is only by attentive comparison of these traditions that it will become possible to establish the musical heritage of the core of the *rnying-ma-pa* school and to detect foreign elements, notably *bka'-brgyud-pa*, which have been able to infiltrate here and there.

N.B. For Sanskrit and Tibetan terms, the transliteration system followed is Wylie's, with the exception of words nowadays well-known to the western reader (*e.g.* Buddha, bodhisattva, mandala, stūpa, rinpoche) and for which a phonetic orthography has been used.

Notes

1. The four main schools in Tibetan Buddhism represented here in the monasteries are *rnying-ma-pa, bka'-brgyud, sa-skya-pa,* and *dge-lugs-pa.*

2. The title «His Holiness», in French «Sa Sainteté», has been adopted in English to designate the highest dignitaries of the several orders.

3. To be noted in particular is the publication in 12 volumes of the *Gnam-chos* – the collection of «treasures» compiled by the master Mi-'gyur rdo-rje at the end of the 17th century – which appeared in 1984 under the joint aegis of H.H. Dilgo Khyentsey Rinpoche and the Venerable Pema Norbu Rinpoche, based on texts preserved in Paris in the library of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient.

4. According to Samten Karmay, a *gtor-zlog* may be defined as a «rite for turning away or back or averting noxious spirits» (Karmay, 1988, p. 239). The *gtor-zlog* rites celebrated at this period of the year are not limited to *rnying-ma-pa* monasteries : great rites of expulsion of the past year's maleficence[s], reinforced with sacrificial cakes (*gtor-ma*), were observed in the greater part of the Tibetan monasteries (cf. for example Tucci, 1973, p. 193, 197-8, and for the tradition *bka'-brgyud-pa,* Ellingson, 1979, p. 721-62).

5. A manual of the texts needed for the celebration of this ritual has recently been printed under the title : *Zhe-chen bstan-gnyis dar-rgyar-gling gi 'don-cha.*

6. The epithet «arrogant» (*dregs-pa*) is applied to a multitude of divinities of inferior rank, of whom a great number were originally part of the bon-po pantheon (Nébesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 253-317). According to the text of the ritual, Gshin-rje-gshed dregs-'joms is presented as having three faces and six arms, but I have not seen any iconographic representation up to now.

7. Thanks to the kindness of the monastery authorities, I was authorized to photocopy all the texts utilized ; they were also photographed by my German colleagues of the Nepal Research Centre.

8. The compilation «Précieux trésor des *gter-ma*» or *Rin-chen gter-mdzod* brings together a monumental collection of «hidden texts» (*gter-ma*) of the *rnying-ma-pa* school; it was the work of Kong-sprul Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1813-1899) and in 1974 H.H. Khyentsey Rinpoche commissioned an edition in 135 volumes of it, from whence comes this reference and those which are going to follow in the course of this article.

9. It should be noted that these sources, which apply to specific graphic conventions, were not available during the preparation of my article on musical notation in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition (Helffer, 1990).

10. The performance of the ritual of atonement called *bskang-gso* (from *bskang-ba,* «to fulfil» plus *gso-ba,* «to restore») is supposed to fulfil the wishes of the «protectors» (*chos-skyang*).

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ETHNOECOLOGY

AND GEOGRAPHY

Nepalese Hydronomy : Towards a History of Settlement in the Himalayas [1]

Michael Witzel

1. The prehistory and the early history of Nepal are largely unknown – certainly, as far as the major part of the country is concerned, because it is not situated closely enough to such early cultural and political centers such as Kapilavastu, or medieval ones such as the Kathmandu Valley, Tibet, Chamba or Jumla. Nor can we expect, except from future extensive archaeological surveys, more information for those areas that have not left us with written documentation.

In this situation, it may be useful to try to elicit more information not only from the « unwritten history » contained in legends, etc., but also from language itself, where such information can be found in an « undiluted » state. For changes in language occur, as is well known, mostly unconsciously and over a period of many years and they are, for the greater part, not directly influenced by official policy or by individual habits.

It is well known that place names such as those of streams, rivers, localities, and mountains often are very persistent. This especially applies to names of rivers. In Europe, for example, where such names have been studied in great detail [2], river names were found to reflect, quite frequently, the languages spoken before the influx of the Indo-European speaking populations. They thus are older, dependent on the date of the spread of Indo-European languages in the various parts of Europe, than c. 4 500 to 2 500 B.C.

It would be fascinating to gain a similar vantage point for the prehistory of Nepal. A toponymical study of Nepal is bound to provide some insight into the settlement patterns of the present and past populations of the area. Such an attempt has not yet appeared though some authors [3] have hinted at the desirability of such an undertaking. In the following pages, I will limit myself to the names of the rivers of the Nepalese Himalayas, to hydronomy, as such names seem to be more conservative than those of settlements (and easier to explore than for example those of local fields or mountains).

However, except for the Kathmandu Valley, little has been done so far in studying the names of Nepalese rivers and other points of topographical interest. On the other hand, there exist many and elaborate theories about the early inhabitants of the country, founded on legends and a few entries in the various *vaṃśāvalīs*.

Yet even a brief survey and a first interpretation of the toponymical materials at our disposal opens the possibility to investigate the early strata of populations in and around the Valley. The same can be done for various other areas of the country, after the investigations described above have been carried out.

1.1. The West

In the context of the Himalayas there are, however, two disturbing factors, first, the influence of Sanskrit name-giving [4] and, secondly, the steady spread of the Nepālī language as a *lingua franca*. Both obscure the original distribution of names. For example, name such as *Nārāyaṇī, Kamalā, Bāgmati* < Skt. *Vāgmatī, Uttār Gaṅgā* (in Dhorpatan) are comparatively late Sanskrit substitutes for often unknown local names. Similarly, the continuing eastward spread of śpeakers of Nepālī, which has been occurring since the Middle Ages, frequently obliterated, and still continues to efface more and more of the local names.

Apart from this, river names in all of Nepal are formed according to the following general pattern : where one layer of river names is superimposed on an older one, for example by the movement of Nepālī speakers eastwards in the Middle Ages, only a « suffix », and mostly that of *kholā* [5], is added to the old name so that we find names like *Daron-di Kholā, Yan-guwa Kholā*. The original Tibeto-Burmese names, before the addition of *kholā* already mean « *Daron* river » in the Magar and « *Yan* river » in the Rai language. In other cases, a Nepālī name has obviously supplanted an older one, for example names such as in *Andheri Kholā* « dark, gloomy river » [6], *Khālṭe Kholā* « depressed gorge river » [7], etc. which can be found in Western as well as in Eastern Nepal. These words, *kholā, -di, -guwa*, etc. have the function of a kind of « suffix », a determinative supplement that is automatically added to river names, not unlike the English « prefix » *river* in designation such as *River Thames, River Nile*, etc.

This diffusion of Nep. *kholā* and of W. Nepālī *gāḍ* is due to the eastward spread of the Nepālī speaking Khaśa/Khas. The whole west of the country, that is the area west of the Bheri, has been Indo-Aryanized thoroughly and early enough (note the Simjā kingdom of the Mallas) as to eliminate most traces of earlier, Tib.-Burm. names (but see below, for some exceptions).

1.2. The North

The situation, however, is different in the North, that is in the areas beyond the main range of the Himalayas. This region, has only been mentioned sparingly in this paper : names in this area are « Bhoṭya », in other words,

they are based on a South-Tibetan dialect [8]. They often follow certain stereo-types, just as the bulk of the Nepalese river names, by adding certain suffixed determinatives such as *-chu, tsangpo (gtsaṅ.po), drangka*, etc. These Northern Bhoṭ groups were one of the last population groups to enter Nepal [9], especially the well-documented Sherpas who came to Eastern Nepal from the North only around 1 500 A.D.

The comparatively late Tibetan nomenclature is found as an overlay above some earlier strata, including an older substratum of quite differently formed names (see below : *Langu, Manduwa*).

It is surprising to note that in this area Gurung and Tamang names for rivers and streams are relatively absent on our maps. Both languages are closely related to Tibetan and one could assume that these tribes have migrated a little before, or along with, the expansion of Tibetan speakers about the middle of the first millennium. However, they apparently only supplied a few names high up in the ranges of the Himalayas while the areas at the higher altitudes, adjacent to present day Tibet, show only (Southern) Tibetan nomenclature. (See, however, below [6], for the commentary of A. Höfer on this situation.)

1.3. The South

In the Terai, however, the situation is even more complicated. There has been a large influx of North Indian as well as hill populations of the Nepalese midlands during the past hundred years or so. This immigration intensified after the eradication of malaria and still is continuing due to the increasing pressure of population in the hills. Before that, the area, the notorious malaria infested jungle belt « of 8 *kos* », was sparingly populated by Tharus, Mech, and other tribes. Most river names in the Terai, however, now are Indo-Aryan, *i.e.* either Sanskrit or they are based on the Indo-Aryan language that is actually spoken in the area, that is from west to east : Awadhī, Bhojpurī, Maithilī, and Bengalī (in the extreme south-eastern corner of Nepal).

1.4. The «Hills»

Even if the areas mentioned so far are largely excluded, enough names remain to draw a first map of the designations common in various areas, especially of the middle, «hilly» *(pahāṛī)* belt of the country. In this study, I therefore concentrate on the midland hill area between the high Himalayas and the Mahābhārat range where we can find the broadest scale of original, non-Indo-Aryan names.

Even a brief survey which can be based on any large scale map of Nepal results in several larger areas in the hills, with several typical clusters of names. Each of them is characterized by the seemingly endless, stereotype repetition of the *same* type of river names within each cluster.

In fact, one can easily distinguish, in addition to the Tibetan speaking North and the Awadhī/Bhojpurī/Maithilī speaking South, eight or nine distinct areas as characterized by their river names. The westernmost one represents

the core of the Nepālī speaking population while the others reflect various Tibeto-Burmese tribes. All these areas will be discussed in some detail, and special attention will be paid to those names which do not fit the general pattern of the particular area under investigation. In a few cases, evidence from early Indian and from medieval Nepalese sources can be compared; this sheds light both on the age of the names as well as on their early forms.

The results of such an investigation are of great interest and suited to start a discussion which I would very much like see to be carried further by specialists of the various Tibeto-Burmese languages spoken in the Himalayas [10].

1.5. At this instance, that is before beginning to deal with the bulk of the toponymic material from the hills, it may be useful to add a few more general remarks.

One problem that cannot be overcome easily in any evaluation of the hydronomical evidence from Nepal is the quality of the maps on which such an investigation is necessarily based.

All maps basically are variations of the old British survey maps. In these maps only·the short and long vowels are differentiated by macron marks; all other sounds that do not fit the Roman alphabet have been represented by those closest to the Anglo-Indian system. While this creates some problems for Indo-Aryan consonants (*e.g. gāḍ* is spelled *gad*), it is not very problematic for most Tib.-Burm. languages. For these, the missing indication of the quality of certain vowels (*ü* represented by *u, ö* by *o*, etc.) is more severe, as is, in several languages the absence of the tonal accents. The breathiness that characterizes certain vowels in some of the Tib.-Burm. languages of the Himalayas is often represented by aspirated voiced consonant in our maps and lists [11]. As the personnel who recorded the names were not accustomed to hearing such Tib.-Burm. sounds they may have misheard quite often. Nevertheless, these problems may be rectified by a thorough study of the name material as it is precisely this kind of mistake, which is by its very nature, regular and discernable.

It is more difficult to deal with another set of problems. How did the recorders of names in the field actually assemble their name material ? It must very much have depended on *whom* they asked for the name of a village, a stream, etc. Whether they got the general Nepālī name or the local Tibetan, Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Rai, etc. name. Many villages, rivers, etc. have multiple names, *e.g.* the *Dhobī Kholā* of Kathmandu, whose Newārī name is *Hijā Khusi* but which also has «proper» Sanskritized name, *Rudramatī*.

Even a brief study of A. Höfer's comments on the Kathmandu Valley maps and other «Schneider» maps published in Khumbu Himal, or a look into Snellgrove's *Himalayan Pilgrimage, Buddhist Himalayas* and *Four Lamas of Dolpo* shows that a certain system indeed was at work :

1. the local names were transcribed as closely as possible so they could be perceived by a speaker of an Indo-Aryan tongue, thus Tib. *ts > c, tsh > ch*, etc.;

2. often a *determinative* such as *gāon* «village», *kot* «castle», and of course, *kholā*, etc. was added;

3. in some cases a completely different name was entered stemming from the local non-Tibetan language (of the guides ?) or from the accepted *lingua franca* designation based on Nepālī usage.

It is obvious that this «method» led to the miswriting and omission of many local names. While a misrepresentation in Nāgarī-based Roman transcription often can be corrected, and certainly so on the spot, the omission of local names and their substitution by Nepālī ones is not always detectable, unless one carries out extensive research in the field. It then becomes clear, for example, that *Mustāng-bhot* is the partly Nepalized form of local *Lo Mön-thang (Blo sMon-thang)*, or that *Jom(o)son* stands for Thakāli *Jhongsampa* (which speakers of Tibetan understand as *Dzongsarba (rDzong gsar-ba)*. Other names are altogether changed, such as the Takhāli place names *Kyula* > Nep. *Lete*, Kobāng > Nep. *Debisthān*, or are translated such as Newārī *Hijā Khusi* > Nep. *Dhobi Kholā*. M. Aris [12] gives an interesting example from Kutang : Tib. *Serang* (g*Ser brang* «golden field» or g*Ser thang* «golden fly») has been misunderstood by the Indian survey as Sringi < Skt. *śṛṅgī* («having a horn»).

In the manner described above, the recorders of our Anglo-Indian maps may have missed many names which the tribes living at higher altitude use, that is, apart from the Tibetan ones, especially those given by the Gurung and Tamang [13]. This may explain the relative absence of such names on the maps (see below [5.3.]).

If only the general *lingua franca* name (in Nepālī) is given, this may severely disturb the evidence of a certain area. Nevertheless, due to the settlement patterns in Nepal which, not unlike those of S. China, are arranged not in contiguous areas but according to altitude levels, we still get a certain amount of good evidence. It is well known that Nepālī speakers usually settle in the valleys where they can have irrigated rice fields, or a little higher, in maize growing country. The (various groups of) earlier inhabitants thus are (successively) pushed up vertically, on to the higher slopes.

This provides for a very much broken settlement pattern which, nevertheless, retains enough vestiges of the original spread as to ensure larger area clusters of the original names. In the case of hydronomy, the older names are mostly retained anyhow, with the addition of *gāḍ* or *kholā*, or the various local determinatives. This kind of «suffixation» results in a quite fragmentary but clear areal picture. Sometimes we even get a longer series of such supplements in one *name*, such as *Mud-khyun-kholā* (→ Madi Kholā, S. of the Lamjung Himāl) with a Gurung and a Nepālī supplement, or *Kyung-ri Kholā* (→ Modi → Kāli Gaṇḍaki). In some of these cases, the names on our maps may be due to the mother tongue of the translators employed when the names were collected. For example, a Hindī or Nepālī speaking collector may have asked a local Magar person for the name of a river, who gave him a Gurung name, with a Magar hydronymical determinative added in Magarī.

Another set of problems, akin to the last one, is the fact that rivers often carry different names along their courses. The upper reaches of a river may have a name different from that in its lower course, or they may have a still another name for their middle course. Even in a homogeneous, monolingual country like Japan, one and same river can have three names, for example the *Kumano-gawa* in the Kii peninsula, South of Osaka, which is called *To.tsu-gawa* and *Ama.no-gawa* in its upper reaches, or the *Ki* river which is called *Yoshino-gawa* in its upper run. In these cases, the name changes as soon as the river leaves one of the small traditional provinces (*kuni*) and enters another one, thus changing its name practically every time after having passed through a major mountain range.

There are other cases, well known from various countries, where the headwaters of a stream have different names, such as the northern German rivers *Werra* and the *Fulda*, which from their confluence onwards are called *Weser.* How far this can go is seen in southern Germany where two small rivers near Nuremberg, the *Rednitz* and *Pegnitz*, undergo a sort of phonetical *saṅgam* as well and the combined river is then known as *Regnitz*. In northern India we find the *Bhāgīrathi* and *Alaknandā* (but cf. also *Kalindī*, the name of tributary of the *Gaṅgā*, Rām. 2.55.4, 12, 13, and *Mandākinī*) which become the *Gaṅgā*.

In Nepal, a similar phenomenon is that many rivers are called *Bhoṭe Kholā* in their upper courses, as they come from Tibetan speaking territories. The spread of the names *Kosi* (Skt. *Kauśikī*) and *Gaṇḍi, Gaṇḍaki* (Skt. *Gaṇḍakī*) is a comparable occurrence. The suffixed determinative *Kosi* and *Gaṇḍi / Gaṇḍaki / Gaṇḍakī* is added to all major rivers in their respective area, forming the «*Sapta Gaṇḍakī*» and «*Sapta Kauśikī*» rivers, that is : *Bari Gāḍ, Kāli Gaṇḍaki, Seti Gaṇḍaki, Madi Gaṇḍaki, Marsyandi, Burhi Gaṇḍaki, Trisuli Gaṇḍaki* and the *Sun Kosi, Tāmba Kosi, Likhu Kholā, Dudh Kosi, Aruṇ Kosi, Tamur.*

Even under the present conditions, taking into account all the constraints mentioned so far, the materials collected in the sequel are copious enough to establish a clear picture of the Tibeto-Burmese hydronomy of Nepal. It will, I believe, speak for itself [14].

2. If one compares some of the typical designations of rivers in the Nepalese hills that form patterns with the local word for «river» or «stream», a few clusters of river names emerge that have a common suffixed designation. A particular cluster generally agrees with the region of a particular present day population group speaking a common language, or with that of some individual tribe of Nepal.

2.1. *gāḍ*

It is the western Nepālī word for «river, stream» instead of the standard Nepālī word *kholā*. Rivers which nowadays incorporate this word as second

part of the compound which forms their name are found in the area west of
the Bheri river. A north-eastern outpost is the Suli Gāḍ, a tributary of the
Barbung Kholā in Dolpo.

2.2. ri

It is the Northern Magar (Kham Magar) word for « river »; hydronomy
with this supplement is found in the area east of the Bheri and west of the
Kāli Gaṇḍaki/Myandi Kholā; the northern limit of this Magar speaking area
is in the along the Jairi, another tributary of the Barbung Kholā.

2.3. di

The Magars living more towards the east and south use a phonetical
variant of the same word for « river », di.

River names with this supplement are found east of the Myandi
Kholā/Kāli Gaṇḍaki, up to the Buṛhi Gaṇḍaki in the east, and up to the
Galesti Kholā and the Annapūrṇa Range as the northern limit, and the bend
of the Marsyandi towards the west. East of this follows a central area with
mixed types of nomenclature.

2.4. khu

It is typical of the Kathmandu Valley [15], and indeed, in Newārī a stream
is still called khu or kho and a streamlet is khusi, such as Hijā Khusi =
Dhobi kholā (in Nepālī) or Rudramatī in Sanskrit. It should be noted, how-
ever, that this designation extends beyond the Valley to its western approaches
and far into the east (see below). On the western and northern rims of the
Valley, however, there also are some traces of -di/de, -gu.

2.5. -ri, -si, -ku, -ti

East of the Kathmandu Valley, up to the Tāmba Kosi and the Likhu Kholā,
we find names with the four supplements -ri, -si, -ku, -ti. Their distribution
forms no obvious pattern.

In this area live the Thāmi, Sunwar, and some Western Rai. However,
during the last hundred years or so, Tamangs have steadily been immigrating
into this region from the north [16].

Further east, between the Liku Kholā and the Arun Kosi the local hy-
dronomy displays variations of the Rai designations for « river ».

2.6. -khu, -ku, -gu; -khuwa, -guwa; -wa

There is a great variation of names in the area between the Likhu Kholā
and the Arun Kosi, which is typical of the many dialects of the Rai language.
In this area, we find river names formed with supplements meaning « water »
or « river » in the various Rai dialects. The words meaning « water » are : wa,

wā, cuwa, cūwa, cūāt, cwa'l, kū, yowa, etc., and those for «river» : *hongku, kawā, kāwā gulo, kāku,* etc.

The distribution of the determinative supplements in the Rai area forms no obvious pattern and the «suffix» changes from valley to valley. However, a few clusters of names in *-kuwa, -khuwa* and *-wa* can be observed. The suppletion *-wa* is also found east of the Arun Kosi, on the Upper Tamur River in the area of other Rai tribes, the Lohorung and Yakka.

2.7. The rest of the midland country up to the eastern border where the Lepcha territory begins, is occupied by the Limbu. However, the Limbu word for «water», *cuā, cwa'l, cwāt* or that for «river» *cua, wohong,* is not directly reflected in the river names of the East, beyond the Arun [17].

Otherwise, this is the only contiguous area of Nepal where river names have not a typical supplement but each river is given its own individual name, without the addition of a local (Limbu) word meaning «river». (Only *-wa* is relatively frequent in the areas occupied by the Lohorung and Yakka Rai).

2.8. These observations lead to the following general results : there is an enormous area of Magar names reaching from the Bheri to the Buṛhi Gaṇḍaki, a second cluster with Newārī affinities in and around the Kathmandu Valley, and the large Rai area between the Likhu Kholā and the Arun, in addition to the heavily Indo-Aryanized area of Western Nepal, *i.e.* the land west of the Bheri which is characterized by the W. Nepālī form *gāḍ.* It will be interesting to investigate the areas with a more mixed nomenclature. Even now, however, a few general statements can be made in the light of the foregoing discussion.

Some tribes, even those found dispersed over a large area, are absent in this scheme of river names, such as the Kusunda who live on the Mahābhārat Range west of the Kathmandu Valley [18], or the Danuwar [19] who live on south of the Valley [20]. In the case of the Kusunda, this is perhaps most regrettable as their language, which is said to have no connection with either Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burmese, nor with Muṇḍa [21] and Dravidian, nor with such stray remnants of language families as Burushaski (in Hunza, N. Pakistan) or Nahalī, north-west of Ellichpur in Maharashtra, which shows traces of a lost stratum that precedes, subsequently, a Muṇḍa, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan level [22]. The Kusunda certainly are one of the oldest populations of Nepal and it is therefore an urgent matter to carry out a detailed survey of the remnants of their language and their toponymy.

The various cluster areas described above are now taken up in detail as to present some name material and for some additional remarks on factors that disturb the pattern.

3. Western Nepal

3.1. As has been mentioned the western Nepalese rivers bear names with the local supplement *-gāḍ.* The names often are taken from the most typical

characteristic of the stream in question : *Tila Gāḍ* « sesame river » is the water course for the irrigation of the fields of the Jumla area; or they indicate their origin : *Giri Gāḍ* « mountain river ». The Skt. forms *tila* and *giri* are a feature that indicates the strong Sanskritizing (Hindu and Buddhist) influence under the W. Nepalese Malla (Siṃja) kingdom of the Middle Ages. Other rivers are called in accordance with their color : *Lohare Gāḍ* « the copper brown river » < Skt. *lohara* « copper », cf. Nep. *lohār* < Skt. *lohakāra* « blacksmith ». Other typical names are, *e.g.* Nilgarh Gāḍ, Iswari Gāḍ, Runighat Gāḍ, Surnaya Gāḍ, Loli Gāḍ, Lamuni Gāḍ, Ghatte Gāḍ near Baitadi. The word *gāḍ* itself is of uncertain origin. Turner *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, does not offer a solution, see *CDIAL* 3981, 3967, 3968, 3979 [23].

3.2. In this area the names based on a local form of Tibetan reach far down southwards as a large part of Nepal in this part lies to the north of the main Himalayan range. The areas of Humal, Mugu etc. have a Tibetan hydronymy, with names such as *Ngyar-Gāḍ* [24], the *Phalung-Chu*, etc.

What is remarkable, however, is that some of the names of these northern areas seem to indicate a substratum that is neither Tibetan nor Indo-Aryan.

3.3. Mu-*gu*, Lan-*gu*, Madu-*wa*, Ka-*wa* Lungpa instead remind of more eastern types of names such as found in Rai hydronomy, with suffixed determinatives in -*gu*, -*wa* (see 2.6. and 8.1-3.).

3.4. Even names such as *Phulung, Garpung, Barbung* (Tib. spelling *bar. roṅ*) [25] rather fall into a more general Tibeto-Burmese pattern than into a Tibetan; cf. also such names as that of the *Arung* (→ Raptī) [26], *Ghustung* (→ Pelma → Sano Bheri), *Mailung* (→ Trisuli). Cf. also, in the Jomosom area, *Panga, Panda, Pang*-(kyu), *Yomkim, Tangdung* Kholā, all flowing into the Kāli Gaṇḍaki, and cf. below, for similar names [27]. However, regardless of what the (sometimes rather accidental, secondary) Tibetan orthography for these names may be in each case, some of them may indeed be interpreted as being of Tibetan origin : *Mugu* is written as Tib. *Mu.gum, Phulung* could be < Tib. *phu.kluṅ* « upper valley », *Garpung* < Tib. *sgar.spuṅs* « camp pile/hill » [28] ?

3.5. However, a linguistic substratum is perhaps more probable. C. Jest [29] has noticed, on the basis of his anthropological data, that the population of the Dolpo (Tib. *rdol.po*) and Tarap (*rta.rab*) area shows traces of an earlier substratum. Apparently, the area was one of retention, a conservative niche, cut off by the pre-dominant Magar population of this region further south and from other Tib.-Burm. speakers further east [30]. The river names in -*gu* and -*wa* are reminiscent of those in the Rai area. Indeed, some Rai groups have a tradition that they originally have come from Mugu [31] !

3.6. In addition, a few names even in the heartland of the speakers of W. Nepāli (the -*gāḍ* area) indicate a Magar settlement that must have extended

much more towards the west before the immigration of the Nepālī speaking Khaśa/Khas in the Middle Ages [32]. Examples are the Maubhe-*ri* river near Baita-*di*, the Jama-*ri* Gāḍ (→ Lali Gāḍ → Purchaun-*ḍi* Gāḍ → Chaulyani → Mahākāli).

Note also that the Magars were apparently known already to the Mahābhārata as *Maga* 6.12.33-34 = *Maṅga* 6.436-7 (Bombay), to the Purāṇas under the name *Maṅgara* [33], and in a Nepalese copper plate inscription of 1100/1 A.D. as *Maṃgvara* [34].

3.7. The River *Ba-bai*, to the south of the Bheri, may have a Magar name as well : *b y, b yh* is a Kham Magar word for « river ».

4. The Magrāṭ

4.1. This huge area, mainly settled by the Magar tribe, extends from the Bheri in the west to the Buṛhi Gaṇḍaki in the east and is fairly uniform in its nomenclature : river names invariantly end in -*ri* or -*di*. The names in -*ri* are found in the western part, that is in Kham Magar territory, and those in -*di* in the eastern part.

For curiosity sake, a local name supplied by the Kashmiri historian Kalhaṇa, who wrote /in 1149/50 A.D., may be mentioned here. In his Rājataraṅgiṇī, at 4.531-586, he describes in great detail the expedition of the Kashmiri king Jayapīḍa (c. 752-773 A.D.) to the east. The king of Nepal with whom Jayapīḍa fought was called *Aramuḍi*. No such king is known from W. Malla sources or from the chronicles of the Kathmandu Valley, such as the *Gopalarājavaṃśāvalī* [35]. As it happens so often, the author (or already his sources) may have misunderstood a local name [36]. Now it is well known that many peoples, also in South-Asia, name their kings after the name of the tribe or people they govern. A conspicuous example from early India is that supplied by Pāṇini's grammar, 4.1.175, (5th c. B.C.) which teaches that the *Kamboja* (in E. Afghanistan) call their king by the same name. Alexander fought, in the eastern Panjab with king *Poros*. This, obviously, is a Greek transcription of the Ṛgvedic tribal name *Pūru*. The word underlying the name of king *Abisárēs* (Arrianus, Anabasis 4.27.7, etc.), he meets in the same area re-appears in the Rājataraṅgiṇī under its proper Sanskrit form (Darva)-*abhisāra*, Greek (gen. pl.) *Abissaréōn*, (Arrianus, Indikā 4.12). Closer to Nepal, we find, in the Pāli Canon [37], a king named *Mahākosala*, « the great Kosala », called after his country, *Kosala*.

After king Jayapīḍa had fought another enemy, called Bhīmasena, « in the eastern region », a battle between the Kashmiri king and the « Nepalese king » *Aramuḍi* took place on the *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, the modern *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*. The Kashmiri king was defeated and kept a prisoner in a fortress built high above the bank of the *Kālāgaṇḍikā* [38]. The place where the Kashmiri king was kept temporarily [39] is called by Kalhaṇa *aśma-veśman*, « stone house ».

In modern Nepal, there is a *Gulmi* district, situated on the west bank of the Kāli Gaṇḍaki; *Gaṇḍigulma* is already known from two documents of 998 and 1165 A.D. [40] and *Gaṇḍigulma-viṣaya*, a district, is mentioned in a Buddhist ms. of 1092/3 A.D. [41]. Now, *gulma* means «police station, toll station», and M. R. Pant [42] conjectures that king Aramuḍi's «stone house» is intended here.

We are therefore led to think that Aramu-*ḍi* (or *Ara-moḍi* [43] ?) might represent a Magar name for the area this «King of Nepal» had under his reign. If this indeed was the case, a Magar word, probably the name of a river and a region, would be attested already in the 8th century A.D.

4.2. In the Magrāṭ area there are, however, a few exceptions in its otherwise constant hydronomy, such as *Seng* (→ Dogra-ri → Uttār Gangā → Sano Bheri), *Pelma, Ghustung, Lukum* → Uttār Gangā, *Bhurung* (→ Modi Kholā → Kāli Gaṇḍaki), *Harpan* (→ Phewa Lake), *Bagar* (→ Thulo Kholā → Kāli Gaṇḍaki), *Midim* (→ Madi Kholā → Seti). They seem to agree with the phonetic pattern of the non-Tibetan names found in the northern areas (see above [3.4.]); cf. also *Sarda* (< Skt. *Śāradā* ?), *Sansar* Kholā (→ Kāli Gaṇḍaki < Skt. *Saṃsāra* ?).

4.3. Exceptionally, the Ba-*ri-gāḍ* (→ Gaṇḍaki near Ri-*ri*) still has the designation *gāḍ* instead of the more common *kholā* in an area which lies much to the east of the western Nepālī cluster using – *gāḍ* [44].

5. The Eastern Magar land

5.1. This area is very homogeneous as well and generally has river names ending in -*di* only, for which there are numerous examples.

5.2. An exception are two areas which contribute words for «river» otherwise known from Eastern Himalayan languages, namely -*ti*. The word, however, is one of the oldest, commonly attested Tib.-Burm. words for «water», **ti(y)* [45]. Examples are :

a.	Migris-*ti*	}	both eastern tributaries of the northern
	Ghale-*ti*	}	Kāli Gaṇḍaki, just south of the Thak area,
b.	Ris-*ti*	}	both eastern tributaries of the Modi Kholā,
	Kales-*ti*	}	→ Seti,
	Surau-ti		→ Seti,
c.	Nis-*ti*		a tributary of the Bari Gāḍ → Kāli Gaṇḍaki,
d.	Las-*ti*		a tributary of the Kali Gaṇḍaki, near Baglung.

The only other area with river names ending in -*ti* is that of the Sunwars on the Tāmba Kosi (see below [10.2]). To think of a Sandhi variant form of Magar *di* in these names, due to the preceding voiceless -*s*-, is not likely,

as -*ti* also appears in the counter-example Ghale-*ti* where -*ti* occurs after a vowel. The origin of these names remains open for the time being. *Prima facie*, they look like old local names, containing the old Tib.-Burm. word for «water», *-ti(y)*, (cf. below [10.2]).

5.3. There are just a few Gurung names that actually can be found on the maps of this area. The Gurungs who now occupy the ranges of north of Pokhara seem to have left the earlier Magar names intact : even small rivers high up on the course of the Marsyandi such as *Nga-di* still have Magar designations [46]. One may attempt to explain this in two ways : either the Gurungs living high up on the slopes as shepherds until the last century, were not interested in coining new names for the valley streams and simply took over the local (Magar) names, even without adding their own determinative supplement *kyu/khwon* [47]; or they could indeed not form new names as they had only a relatively limited contact with the population of the lower courses of these rivers, and thus had even less influence on the name giving and certainly could not influence the nomenclature of the maps. Another possibility is, of course, that the persons who collected the names for the maps heard them only from local Magar people, and not from the Gurungs who lived at higher altitudes [48]. (Cf. below [6] for A. Höfer's notes on the similar situation in the Tamang speaking area of the Ānkhu Kholā).

Gurung designations in the area are :

— Mud-*kyun* Kholā (→ Madi → Setī) [49];

— *Khyung-ri* Kholā (→ Modi → Kāli Gaṇḍaki), which is of special interest. In this case, the W. Magar supplement -*ri* seems to have been added to a Gurung word for «river», *kyu/khwon,* thus extending the usual system of renaming of rivers in Nepālī to the Magar area as well. The obvious conclusion is that the Nepālī speakers took over a Magar designation which already was based on a local Gurung name, in case is a very simple one : the local people simply called their stream «river».

To be differentiated from these Gurung names are the river names ending in -*kyu* in the Jomosom area, all of which flow into the Kāli Gaṇḍaki. They have the Thakāli determinative -*kyu* «water» :

Dhin-*kyu*	(S. of Thangbe),
Kyu	(E. of Jomosom),
Pang-*kyu*	(Marpha).

S. Gauchan and M. Vinding [50] have collected the following names in the Tukuche dialect of Thakāli, with some local variants (of the northern villages of Thin, Shyāngtan and Cimtan), and with the standard Nepālī equivalents.

Thakāli	Nepālī	Local form (north)
Omdo-Kyu	Kāli Gaṇḍaki	
Thināng-kyu	Thini Kholā	Khā-kyu
Shyāng-kyu	Shyāng Kholā	Sāl-kyu
Dhumphā-kyu	Dhumphā Kholā	
Pāng-kyu	Mārphā Kholā	
Ghāng-kyu	—	
Dhon-kyu	—	
Hum-kyu	Cim Kholā	
Cimāng-kyu	Cokopāni	
Mhārshyāng-kyu	Thāpā Kholā, Thāro Kholā	
Nimung-kyu	—	
Mhansin-kyu	—	
Tama-kyu	—	
Cindhong-kyu	—	
Lhāng-kyu	Lārjung Kholā	
Dhyushutā-kyu	Ghatte Kholā	
Khal-kyu	—	
Mlāng-kyu	Kālopāni	
Pāngbu-kyu	Chayo Kholā	
Cā-kyu Dhong	Lete Kholā	
Ghaiku-kyu	—	
Hop-kyu	—	
Chārā-kyu	—	

To add a small note on another river name of the Magrāṭ : *Seti* is, of course, a Nepālī word meaning « white », and thus is a natural name for quickly flowing rivers. It is, indeed, one of the most common designations for rivers anywhere in the world, taken from the appearance of mountain rivers and streams, as opposed to slow moving ones (which often are called black, blue, etc.).

Yet, since the *Seti* river flows through the heartland of the Eastern Magar area, and it may very well be the case that an original Magar word *Se-di*, has been Indo-Aryanized to *seti*[51]. It is notable that the other Gaṇḍaki tributary has an antonym name : it is the *Kāli* Gaṇḍaki or *Kṛṣṇā* Gaṇḍakī, « the black Gaṇḍakī ».

5.4. The name of this river must have been Sanskritized very early as it occurs already in the Changu Narayan inscription of Mānadeva of A.D. 464, as *Gaṇḍakī*, though it is not clear to which one of the Gaṇḍakīs he refers to. The word is also found in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī 4.546 (1149 A.D.) as *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, obviously the modern *Kāli Gaṇḍaki* in Central Nepal. As has been pointed out above *Gaṇḍigulma* is already known from two documents of 998 and 1165 A.D. and *Gaṇḍigulma-viṣaya*, a district, is mentioned in a Buddhist ms. of 1092/3 A.D.; this area probably is the *Gulmi* district, near the confluence of the Bari Gāḍ, Kāli Gaṇḍaki near Riri. The shorter form is also preserved in Skt. literature : *Gaṇḍī* Mbh. 2.794, 3.8091, 6.325, 13.7647, Harivaṃśa 7736; Hit. 14.16, VP. 182.

The longer form Gaṇḍakī[52] is preserved in a number of shapes in Skt. texts : *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, Rājataraṅgiṇī 4.546 ; *Gaṇḍakavatī* = Gaṇḍakī, LIA 1.59 N ; cf. also *Gaṇḍasāhvayā*, name of a river, Mbh. 3.14320 ; *Gaḍḍārikā*, name of a quickly flowing river ; *Apara-Gaṇḍikāḥ* Mbh. 6.320 and *Pūrvapūrvānu-Gaṇḍikā*, names of localities, Mbh. 6.282.

The interesting point is that the Gaṇḍakī river, viz. the Gaṇḍak in the Northern Indian plains, is called *Sadānīrā* « always having water » in a Vedic text (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ŚB). This obviously is an epithet[53] hiding the original name, probably a Muṇḍa word **Gaṇḍ* or **Gaṇḍak'*. From ŚB it appears[54] that *Sadānīra* was the name of the river forming the boundary between the Kuru-Pañcāla and the Kosala-Videha, *i.e.* Uttar Pradesh and Oudh, viz. between the Kosala and the Videha, *i.e.* further east, between Oudh and N. Bihar. While the western boundary of this region (Oudh-N. Bihar) thus may have a Muṇḍa name, its eastern boundary, the Kosi river, probably has a Tibeto-Burmese one (see below). The country between these two rivers is called *Kosala* in the same Vedic text (ŚB) and *Gaṇḍakāḥ* (« the Gaṇḍaka people ») in the Epic. If all of this is correct, we get an inkling of the variety of the early populations in the eastern parts of North India in the Vedic and Epic periods, that is well before the begin of our era, and earlier than the (rather maximizing) lists extracted by Shafer (*Ethnogr. of Ancient India*) from the Mahābhārata.

The names Nep. *Gaṇḍi, Gaṇḍaki* or Skt. *Gaṇḍakī* (Tamang *Gèndi*), appear to have a Muṇḍa etymology : the Muṇḍa word for water is *gad, gand;* and **gaṇḍak'* is one of the Muṇḍa words for « river » ; cf. Ho *gaḍa* « river », Santalī *gāḍa*, see Pinnow, BzN 5.3 *sq.*[55]. One can also compare the name of the Ganges, Skt. *Gaṅgā* found already in the oldest Indian text, the Ṛgveda, in a late hymn (10.75) which may have been composed towards the end of the second millennium B.C.[56]. Compare, finally, Chin. Yangtse-Kiang, Thai etc. : Me-khong, < **-ghang* (?).

5.5. The question which is of interest here is the following : how far into the Nepalese hills did the settlements of a Muṇḍa speaking people reach ? It may be recalled that Muṇḍa influence has been alleged in some of the Nepalese Tib.-Burm. languages, (see above, n° 21). On the other hand, the Kusundas living in this area bear witness to an even earlier substratum of languages[57].

5.6. It is also be noted that one of the tributaries of the Marsyandi is the *Musi* which may be analyzed as *Mu-si,* and cf. Dhāng-si (→ Māri), is comparable to the eastern river names *Ro-si* and *Ko-si, Junbe-si,* east of the Kathmandu Valley (see below [10.4]).

A few other names in this area deviate from the usual Magar pattern : *Char Kholā* → Kāli Gaṇḍaki ; *Rohu* Kholā → Kāli Gaṇḍaki ; *Rohu* Kholā → Kāli Gaṇḍaki ; *Chepe* → Marsyandi (cf. the name of the Chepang tribe ?) ; *Andhi* → Kāli Gaṇḍaki, which may be a Nepālized form of an older name **an-di; kyumnu* Kholā → Modi → Kāli Gaṇḍaki, for which one may compare Chepang *kyu* and Gurung *kyu* « river ». Note also : *Khu-di,* a village near

Pokhara, and *Khu-di* (→ upper Marsyandi), and Tilak-*khu-di* north of Barekot in Jajarkot, with *khu-* which otherwise is found only further eastwards, in the Kathmandu Valley and its surroundings, and in the Sunwar/Rai areas.

6. Kathmandu Valley and surroundings; the Tamang area

The central area of the Nepalese midlands, around Kathmandu, is left out here, for the moment, and will be taken up last in this paper.

It may be mentioned, however, that there is a surprising absence, on the maps, of Tamang (formerly called Murmi) names in the area. They settle north of the Valley and in the areas east and west of it. The Tamangs have been moving south during the last hundred years or so and now settle even on the southern rims of the Valley. It has been surmised above that their and the Gurungs' relative late immigration into Nepal is the reason of this lack of Tamang names.

However, I can add some more detailed observations by G. Toffin [58] and those with which A. Höfer has kindly provided me. Toffin describes the upper Ānkhu Khola area as settled by Tamang, with some more recent Gurung settlements, at Khāding, Lapchet, Tira, Chālis. There also are some recent Kami and Newar settlements. A. Höfer's field notes [59] refer to the Western Tamang settling between the Trisuli and the Ānkhu Kholā. Their immigration, he assumes, has probably taken place in mid-18th century.

According to Höfer's observations, the larger rivers in the area indeed do not have Tamang names while the smaller streams do have Tamang designations which, however, are not reflected on the maps due to their insignificance. Höfer thinks that about half of the names of the smaller streams have a clear Tamang etymology, while one quarter is Nepālī and the rest 50 % !) is unclear.

The streams and rivers with the supplement *Kholā* in Nepālī have the Tamang supplement *syoṅ* «river, streamlet», for example Nep. *Mailung Kholā* = Tamang *Mèluṅ Syoṅ* [60]. Those which have the Nepālī supplement *Gaṇḍi* receive the Tamang form of this designation, *gèṇḍi,* for example *Bùri Gèṇḍi* = *Burhi Gaṇḍaki.* In addition, there are a few non-Tamang names in *-khu* such as *Ān-khu* [61], *Salān-khu* [62], *Phalān-khu Kholā,* notably the larger rivers in the area.

It should also be noted, that the area of the upper Ānkhu Kholā abounds in names of the «general Tib.-Burmese» type mentioned above [3.4.], n° 23, 27, and below [4.2.], [6]. For example, there are place names such as *Khading, Hindung, Tipling, Sertung, Kimdang,* and immediately east of it, along the western contributories to the Trisuli such as the Mailung, we find *Gadlang, Gholjong, Combāgāng.* These areas are now inhabited by Tamang, partly also by Gurung and Ghale [63].

7. The Thāmi, Sunwar and Rai region

In contrast to the more western areas of Nepal, this region is very much fragmented in its hydronomy. This is typical for the division of the Rais into many subtribes which are reflected by as many dialects.

In the west of this area, some names in -ku are found : Po-ku, Lar-ku, Bu-ku, Dhikure [64] → Maulung.

The western tributaries of the Dudh Kosi exhibit a different pattern, one of the few clusters in Nepal of river names without any addition of a word signifying «water» or «river». Such names are :

Lumding,
Loding,
Tsading.(→ Shisha → Dudh Kosi),
Sarrang,
Pukting (→ Maulung),
Yolung (→ Maulung),
Maulung (cf. Mailung in the Tamang area, another name which looks generally Tib.-Burm.; see above, names such as Phulung, Garpung, Barbung, Arung [3.4], Seng, Lukum [4.2.], Mailung [6.]); cf. also Liding (→ Rawa → Dudh Kosi).

8. The Rai proper (Khambuvan)

8.1. It is on the Dudh Kosi that a new type of names ending with the typical Rai [65] «suffix» -wa begins to make its appearance :

Ra-wa   (→ Dudh Kosi), (→ Dudh Kosi)   Me-wa
Sogo-wa   (→ Hunku)   (→ Hunku)   Khalami-wa

Nyambua-chu on the upper Dudh Kosi is found already in Tibetan speaking territory and therefore has the Tib. supplement -chu. The suffixed determinative -wa can be reconstructed as Tib.-Burm. *r-wa «rain, water» (Consp. 443).

These observations set the pattern for almost all western tributaries of the Arun Kosi. Directly formed with the supplement -wa are, in order of occurrence from north to south :

Is-wā,
Kasu-wā,
Sis(u)-wā,
Ka-wā (probably only a dialect form of kuwa, see below).

8.2. Most rivers in the area have names which combine the appellative part of the name with another well known word for water, that is khu viz. ku. On the right and left banks of the Arun Kosi, we get, from North to South, among a few others, the following names [66] :

Phung Chu

	Karma Chu	Nakthang-Chu
		Wakang (← Piling)
		Bagāng (← Lhese, Syāmjung)
	Tiju	
	Chong	
	Barun	Dīmà
		Wabāk
	Kāsu-*wā*	Māghāng
	Is-*wā*	
	Choyang	
	Le-*khu-wa*	
		Le-*khu-wa*
(Sang-*khu-wā* →)	Sis-*wā*	
		Indu-*wa*
Ir-*k(h)u-wā* →	Cir-*ku-wā*	
	Chintalung	
	Ya-*ku-wa*	
	Kha-*ku-wa*	Hinwān (← Sabhāya)
Yan-*gu-wa* →	Na-*ku-wa*	Pilu(*w*)ā
		Khen-*wa*
		Legu-*wa*
	Mādhuā	Māngme (Mangmaya)
A(n)-*khu-wa* →		
Pi-*k(h)u-wa* →	Kā-*wā*	
		Mungā
		Tamur
	I-*khu*	
	La-*ku*	

The word *khu* is well known from other parts of Nepal. While its etymology remains unclear[67] its distribution seems to have been influenced by the various words for « water, river» in the Rai-Limbu cluster. The Eastern Rai, the Chamling Rai, and some Limbu, at least, have among other designation, -*wa*[68] and the western groups of the Rai have -*ku(ṅ)* and compounds of -*ku(ṅ)*. Typically, the Central Rai have the conglomerate form -*kuwa* (*kuṅwa*), see below [13] (list). The particular spelling *khu(wa)*, etc. seems to be due to the recorders of the place names of the Anglo-Indian maps only[69].

As part of a river name, -*k(h)u* occurs, outside the Rai area, first of all, in a more western territory, the Kathmandu Valley. Occasionally it appears even in the Magar land, as has been mentioned above : we find *Khu-di*, a village near Pokhara, and *Khu-di* (→ upper Marsyandi), see above [5.6]. Himalayan *k(h)u* is, indeed, one of the better known words for « water» (see below [13]). However, in Rai territory, it occurs separately, without the extension -*wa*, only in a few isolated river names : Hin-*ku*, I-*khu* (→ Sun Kosi, near the Arun), and in the Likhu area : Poku, Larku, Buku, etc. (see below [8.3]).

8.3. The word frequently appears in a form *without* aspiration. Thus, we find, on the Dudh Kosi :

Hin-*ku*	Kan-ku (→ Dudh Kosi), De-*ku* (→ Dush Kosi),
	Shi-*ku* (→ Dudh Kosi),
Hon-*ku*	
Ghi-*ku*	(→ Rawa),
Shi-*ku*	(→ Dudh Kosi),
La-*ku*	(→ lower Sun Kosi),
Lar-*ku*	(→ Likhu),
Po-*ku*	(→ Likhu),
Bu-*ku*	(→ Likhu).

A singular deviant form, probably due to local Sandhi, is Hon-*gu*. It will be useful to bear this in mind for an explanation of the central Nepalese river names in -*khu*.

9. Limbuvan

9.1. The Rai pattern is continued even east of the Arun. A number of river names there have the same supplement -*wa*, or -*wan* : Me-*wā*, Si-*wā*, Mae-*wā*, Ta-*wā*, In-*wā*, Simbu-(w)a, Sān-*wān*, all in the catchment area of the Tamur; further : Hin-*wan*, Legu-*wa*, Pilu-*wa*, Nibhu Pu-*wa* (north of Kankai/Ilam), Khen-*wa*. It is obvious that the occurrence of these names is largely congruent with the territory of two Rai tribes, the Lohorung and Yakka.

9.2. The rest of the area of the Arun, however, shows more inventiveness, and can be compared to the region of very much mixed names in the territories west of the Dudh Kosi and in part of the Magrāt.

The name of the Arun itself is not without interest. It looks, *prima facie*, typical Indo-Aryan, a derivative from Sanskrit *aruṇa* «reddish». One may think of related formations, the names of the Sun Kosi < Stk. *sona* «gold», Tam(b)a Kosi < Skt. *tāmra* «copper colored», Dudh Kosi < Skt. *dugdha* «milk», *i.e.* «white colored».

However, the matter may be different altogether : one of the smaller northernmost tributaries of the Arun is called *Barun*. This word, too, looks Indo-Aryan, it could be the Nep. form of Skt. *varuṇa* «Varuṇa», the god of the ocean or of certain other aquatic locations, or from *vāruṇa* «belonging to Varuṇa». However, as the river *Barun* is situated so high up in the Himalayas, in fact in Tibetan speaking territory, a Sanskrit name is highly unlikely. The question therefore rises whether *Barun* does not preserve the older form of the same name which, in the lower reaches of the stream has been given the Sanskritized form *Arun*[70].

10. At this stage, it is more profitable than before to take a closer look at the area between the Kathmandu Valley and the Likhu Kholā.

10.1. First of all, the western parts of the area exhibit some heavily Sanskritized forms [71]

Sindhu	= Skt. « river », « Indus » → Rosi → Sun Kosi,
Indrāvati	= Skt. « connected/belonging to/ with Indra » → Rosi → Sun Kosi; older name *Milam-chi/-chu* [72],
Carṇāvat.	= Skt. *caraṇa* « moving, behavior, grazing », cf. the Nep. equivalent *Carenge* → Bhote Kosi/Tāmba Kosi,
Mahādeva	= Skt. « great god », « Śiva » → Tāmba Kosi,
Mohabir	< Skt. *mahāvīra* « great hero » → Khimti,
Sindur-pa	< Skt. *sindūra* « red (paste) » → Khimti,
Gopi	< Skt. *gopī* « cow girl » → Yarsa → Bhote Kosi.

Most of these names occur on the trade route to Dolakhā and Tibet. It should not be forgotten that Dolakhā (Rājagāma) has been a separate Newar kingdom in the Middle Ages. It is occasionally mentioned in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī* [73]. The very fact that Dolakhā also has a Sanskrit name points to the strong influence of Sanskritic culture event in this comparatively remote area. Sanskrit or sanskritized names for many of the local rivers should therefore not surprise.

Apart form these names, the area has a few typical supplements in the designations for rivers.

10.2. The suppletion *-ti* is rare in river names, and is otherwise found only in some pockets of the Magar territory (see above [2.5], [5.2]. However, **ti(y)* is the old and quite generally attested Tib.-Burm. word for water [74] and its occurrence would not surprise. Yet, there are some indications which may connect the sporadic evidence for *-ti* in the Magrāt with that in the area east of the Kathmandu Valley. This is the territory of the Thāmi tribe, who live higher up in the Tāma Kosi valley [75]. Their language resembles most closely, according to Shafer [76], the Western Himalayish of the Bodic division of Tibeto-Burmese, (notably the early immigrant Kanauri [77], etc.). It is thus completely isolated among Central Himalayish (Vayu, Chepang, Magari) and Eastern Himalayish (Rai, Limbu, etc.). Indeed, the Thāmi seem to remember a more western origin. They claim to have immigrated from Humla [78]. This is one indication among others (see below [12]), that there was a west-east flow of population and languages, similar to the much later one of the Nepālī speaking Khas tribe. – Names in *-ti* include :

Khim-*ti*   → Tāmba Kosi,
Pala-*ti*   → Khimti,
Le-*ti*   → Likhu,
Mil-*ti*   → Bhote Kosi = Tāmba Kosi,
Dol-*ti*   → Bhote Kosi = Tāmba Kosi, near Dolakhā.

This river name seems to be the basis for the name of the town : Do-*lakha* < New. *la*, *(lakha-)* «water», Old New. *lankha*, seems to be a Newārī translation, the «*Do(l)*-river».

10.3. Secondly, in the same area, the supplement -*ri* is found here and there :

Jyan-*ri*   → Rosi
Han-*ri*   → Indrāwati
Chaun-*ri*   → Sun Kosi
Yā-ri   → Sorung → Sun Kosi
Ji-ri   near the town of Jiri : a toponym obviously taken from the
              river name [79],
Sik-*ri*   → Khimti near Jiri
Sie-*ri*   → Tāmba Kosi → Bhote Kosi
Su-*ri*   → Tāmba Kosi

As this originally is not a Magar area which has typical river names in -*ri* (see above [2.2], [4]), nor do we know of an Eastern Magar settlement here, the river names must be based on local forms in -*ri*, perhaps those of the Thāmi tribe [80].

Further, on the Sun Kosi, there are some names in -*di* : note that there is *Wa-di* [81], near to Lyang, on the Sun Kosi, south of its confluence with the Khimti. This probably is the westernmost occurrence of the Rai word *wa* «water», and interestingly, it is compounded with a form of the Tib.-Burm. word for «water» which looks like the common Magar form, *di* (see above). A little further down the Sun Kosi, after its confluence with the Likhu Kholā, near the village of Cūplū, there is another name ending in -*di*, the Phe-*di* *Kholā* [82] which flows into the Molang.

10.4. Most interestingly, there are a few names with the otherwise unattested supplement -*si* :

Ro-*si*   flowing down from the eastern slopes of the Kathmandu
              Valley [83],
Ko-*si*   as the name of the several Kosi rivers,
Junbe-*si*   in the eastern part of the area; note that the river is called
              Be-ni.

The only form which is comparable is Mu-*si* Kholā, an eastern tributary on the upper Marsyandi, in the Magar territory (see above [5.6]). However, the variant of Newārī *khu* occurring in many names of streams, that is *khu-si*, can be compared (cf. also, n. 23 nepālī *kholsi/ci*, etc.).

10.5. Now it cannot be doubted that the supplement -*si* found in *Kosi* is very old indeed. The river *Kosi* appears in Sanskrit literature as early as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata under the form *Kauśikī*, where -*ś*- is due to the pressure of Sanskrit phonetical rules that do not allow an *s* to follow *o*, *u*, etc. In the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī* [84] the river is called *Kośakī*.

However, the older form of the name seems to have been preserved as early as in the middle Vedic text Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (c. 6-7th century B.C.), in the name of *Kosala*, the country to the east of Oudh. In this Vedic text, the authenticity of the form of the name with intervocalic -*s*- cannot be doubted. As is well known, the transmission of Vedic texts has been so extraordinarily faithful that words, sounds, and even the tonal accents went unchanged for more than 2 0000 years. We thus have to regard Kosala, with its sequence of -*os* -, as a foreign word in Sanskrit [85].

But in later Sanskrit, under the pressure of the *ruki* rule, which would require **Kauṣikā*, **Koṣala*, etc. the names have assumed different forms : Kauśikī (cf. also the later forms with the normal development of *ś* > *s* or retention of the older -*s*- : Prākṛt *Kosiyā*, Pāli *Kosikī* [86], Hindī *Kosī*), *Kośala* (Pāli *Kosala* [87]).

The Vedic word *Kosala* can be explained as follows. There are a number of names of tribes or countries ending in -*la* (viz. -*ra*, almost an allophon form in early Vedic) such as :

Śākala [88] (AB), *Śākalya* (ŚB), *Kosala* (ŚB), -*Tosala* [89] (AV-Par., Hariv.), *Valkala* (Mbh.), *Kuntala* (Mbh.), *Kauśala*, *Kerala* (*Patañjali*), *Utkala*, *Mithilā*, *Prasthala*, *Mek(h)ala*, *Kayaṅgalā*; cf. also : *Pañcāla* (KS, MS +), *Nepāla* (AV-Par.) [90].

The rest of the word, *kosa*- then would have to be explained along the lines of the other Tib.-Burm. river names, especially those ending in -*si* that are found just east of the Kathmandu Valley in Thāmi/Sunwar/Rai territory. Otherwise, it is closest to such Newārī designations as *Khu-si* « streamlet », and Rai *hongku roksī* [91]. The designation of a streamlet, however, can hardly be the origin of the territorial name *Kosala*; one can imagine only that of a large stream, such as the Sarayu/Gogra, or the Gaṇḍakī. Note that in the Mahābhārata the Kosala people are called *Gaṇḍakāḥ* (see n. 23). Also, the Vedic form has *ko*- and not the equally possible *kho/khu*-. Therefore it is more likely that the word indeed is based on an old Kirāta (*i.e.* Rai) word *ko/ku* [92].

The Kirāta, however, are mentioned already in some of the earliest Vedic texts, such as the Atharvaveda and the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, as mountaineers and cave dwellers : *Kírāta* [93], *Kilāta* [94], *Kailāta* [95], *Kairātika* [96], cf. also Prākṛt *Cilada* [97].

We do not know much, of course, about the identity of these mountain tribes, which one should rather place in Himachal Pradesh and perhaps also Western Nepal, in the border areas of the Vedic areas of settlement [98].

The linguistic problem remaining is the -a- in *Kosa-la*. However, it can be explained as having been formed in analogy to other tribal or territorial names ending in -*ala* / -*āla* / -*ara* / -*āra*, such as the Vedic words *Śakala, Tosala, Pañcāla, Gandhāra* or the late Vedic a Epic *Tosala, Nepāla, Valkala, Kuntala*. A Vedic form *Koṣila / *Kosila is unlikely as there are only few words with the suffix -*ila* in early Sanskrit, see Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altind. Gramm. II 2, p. 362 *sq.* They are, however, found in later Sanskrit. This proposed explanation of the name *Kosala* should be evaluated in connection with the following item.

10.6. In the area between the Kathmandu Valley and the Li-*Khu* Kholā the determinative -*ku* is well distributed, which we have already met with in Rai territory (see above [2.6], [7]). It is well represented on the northern Dudh Kosi (see above : *Hinku, Hunku, Kanku, Ghiku, Burku, Depku, Shiku, Deku*), and also on the Li-*kh* Kholā, where we find :

Lar-*ku*, Po-*ku*, Bu-*ku*, Phas-*ku* → Carṇāvati → Bhote Kosi.

In this connection, the question rises whether the modern name of the *Likhu* Kholā is the correct one. One will at once note the difference between the designation of the larger river Li-*khu* and the supplement -*ku* in the names of its tributary rivers. Indeed, in the last century, Hodgson[99] heard the Sunwar, who live in this area, pronounce their word for «river» as *liku*. This pronunciation fits the local evidence for the designations of other rivers exactly. Unfortunately, the modern word for «river» in the area seems to be the Nepālī one, *kholā*. River names in -*ku*, however, are found even further to the west. For example, two rivers flowing into the upper Bhote Kholā, north of Barahbise are : Ca-*ku*, and Jema-*ku*.

This special form of the word for «river», therefore, is attached to river names between the Sun Kosi and the Arun Kosi, in the whole of the Sunwar, Jirel and Rai territories. It is somewhere in this area that the word *kosi* must have been coined, because *ku/ko*[100] occurs here and -*si* is attested at least in one river name of the same region, in Ro-*si*, cf. also Rai *hongku rok-sī* «small river». Interestingly enough, Hodgson noted that the Kuswar, another name for the river tribe of the Kushar or Majhi who live in this area as boatmen, have the Indo-Aryan loan *pāni* for «water», but *kōsi* for «river»[101].

10.7. We do not know much, of course, about the early history of this area, except that already the Licchavi king Mānadeva had made an expedition «to the east» before 464 A.D. There is an alleged inscription of Aṃśuvarman (of c. 600 A.D.) at Dumjā[102] near the confluence of the Rosi and Sun Kosi, and Dolakhā was a semi-independent kingdom during the Middle Ages, under its Skt. name *Rājag(r)āma*.

During the last few hundred years at least, the area has been inhabited by Sunwars (on the Tāmba Kosi and Likhu Kosi rivers), and its western part by the little studied Thāmi[103] tribe (with western Himalayish connections) who now are being absorbed by the Tamangs. These have been advancing, as has been noted above, during the last hundred years or so, down from

the mountains to the western and eastern rims of the Kathmandu Valley and now settle even south of it, on the Mahābhārat Range.

However, the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī* (GRV) is of interest here. After giving the list of 32 Kirāta kings who ruled the Kathmandu Valley and its surroundings before the emergence of the Licchavis, the text has a sentence about the Kirātas which has not been understood quite correctly by the translators. The text reads [104] :

ete dvātriṃsa kirātarājāḥ tāmarjjuna-kośakī-ṭaṭād bhavā yeḥ || [105]

Dh. V. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla translate : « These Kirātas now occupy the land between the Tāmākośī and Aruṇakośī / *jun kirāta. haru (ahile) tāmākośī ra aruṇakośī.ko bīc.ko bhūbhāg.mā bastachan*». However, the text neither has «now/*ahile*» nor does it say that the Kirātas live between the two rivers Tāmākośī and Aruṇakośī.

First of all, the sentence is parallel to several others in the early parts of the GRV which sums up lists of kings of a dynasty that has come to its end, see :

evam aṣṭā gopāla-rājā bhavati (17b.3)
ete traya mahiṣapāla-rājā (17b.5)
ete dvātriṃsa kirāta-rājāḥ... (18b.1)
ete āyaudhyā-nṛpāḥ vartta (19a.5)
ete vaṃsāntare mahīpāla gavuḍeśvara āgate nṛpa (22b.2)

The sentence thus refers to the Kirāta *kings* and not to the Kirāta *people*, as some scholars understand the line. The second part of the sentence is, of course, a relative clause marked by *ye* referring to the Kirāta kings : *tāmarj-juna-kośakī-ṭaṭād bhavā yeḥ* || If we make a very minor correction [106] in the text and read *tāmarjjuna-kośakī-*ṭaṭodbhavā *ye*, we can translate «who have/had their origin (*udbhava*) on the bank(s) [107] of the Tāma and Arjuṇa Kosakī».

If we do take *bhavā* as a separate word [108], we run into a slight difficulty : it usually is a noun, meaning «birth, origin, existence, prosperity», etc. The sentence then would read : «the origins of whom is from the bank(s) of the Tāma and Arjuṇa Kosakī» which basically is the same as the emendation proposed above, but is quite different from that of Vajrācārya and Malla [109].

The two rivers are to be indentified as the Tām(b)ā 'copper colored' < Skt. *tāmra* and the Arjuṇa 'white' i.e. Dudh «milk» Kosī rivers, in the territory of the present day Sunwar and Rai.

Malla takes this sentence as referring to the Rais and Limbus, whose land is commonly called *Kirāṃt* and who, in his and already in Hodgson's opinion, have been «banished» from the Kathmandu Valley [110]. One can indeed refer to the place name *Kirantichāp*, on the Tāma Kosi, near Carange. The whole area east of the Katmandu Valley, *Kirānt*, is divided into three parts. In Nepālī, they are called, from west to east : *pallo kirānt, majh kirānt, wolo kirānt*. Hodgson, however specifically calls [111] only the inhabitants of the area between the Dudh Kosi and the Arun *Kirānti*. – Easternmost Nepal is called Limbūan [112].

The case rests, however, not so much on the later, 19th century chronicles but on the correct interpretation of the GRV clause *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī-ṭaṭād bhavā yeḥ*. It certainly does not mean «they were living» or «they are living (now)». Note that the translators smuggle in «now» / «*ahile*» to justify their translation.

The Kirāta kings apparently were defeated indeed [113] and succeeded by the Licchavis in the Valley of Nepal, but this does not, of course, mean that the local population was killed or left the Valley. Indeed, several strands of humanity seem to have contributed to the Newar people : even the physical appearance of the present day Newars shows various mixtures of Australoid (Veddoid), Mongoloid and Indian (Mediterranean/Caucasian) features [114]. Nor did the people in the Valley change, along with the emergence of the Licchavis in the Valley, their language to some form of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prākṛt), imported from the plains. We can only say so far that the inhabitants, at some unknown time, adopted a form of the Old Newārī language. This must have happened, in any case, well before 983 A.D., the date of the (so far) earliest land grants on palm leaves which contain local names in and influences of contemporary Old Newārī, as well as, somewhat later on, some actual words and sentences in this language [115].

We do not yet know whether the Tib.-Burm. place names in the Kathmandu Valley, as found in Licchavi time inscriptions, represent an archaic form of Newārī earlier than that of the land sale documents or whether they stem from the language of the «Kirāta» [116]. Therefore the GRV sentence on the Kirāta kings, quoted above, though coming from a source written down only at the end of the fourteenth century, is crucial for our understanding of the early history of the Valley [117].

10.8. Just like the place names of the Licchavi inscriptions (see immediately), the names of the Kirāta kings, as given by the GRV, provide a hint about their obviously Tib.-Burm. language, its phonetical shape and syllabary structure. GRV f. 17b.5-18b.1 contains materials on the following Kirāta kings :

Elam, Pelam, Melam, Cammim, Dhaskem, Valumca, Humtim, Huramā, Tuske, Prasaphum, Pavaḥ, Dāstī, Camba, Kaṃkaṃ, Svananda, Phukoṃ, Śiṃghu, Julam, Lukaṃ, Thoram, Thuko, Varmma, Guṃjaṃ, Puska, Tyapami, Muga-mam, Śasaru, Gumṇaṃ, Khimbuṃ, Girijaṃ, Khurāṃja, Khigu.

While some names seem to be Sanskritized forms [118] (*Sva-nanda, Varmma, Giri-ja* ?), the rest looks Tib.-Burmese. Note the initial cluster *pr*, and the internal clusters *sk*, *st*, and the frequent syllable final *-m / -ṃ*. These features agree with the phonetical shape and the syllabary structure of the place names recorded in the Licchavi inscriptions [119]

However, the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Licchavis preserve place names in a perhaps still somewhat older, archaic form [120] which is characterized by a large number of *initial* clusters (*Cr-*, etc.), for example in *jñātikhṛṇ* (read [*gyāº*] ?), *praṅpriṅ, prītibru, proṅjñambu, bradul, bremgumco, stharu-draṅga*. On the other hand, resonants in second position, such as *Cy, Cr, Cy,*

are not very common, other than -r-, and Cv as in *gvalam* [golam] [121] : note
that *o/u, u/ū/o* sometimes interchange, *e.g.* in *śolla./ śullī / śulī* -adhikāra, *Jap-
ṭik Huḍikhū, Laṃkhu-laṃ, Vihliṇ-kho-srotaḥ* [122], etc.

Secondly, there are even more internal clusters, found at the syllable
boundaries, such as *-jña-* [*gya* ?], *-pc-, -pt-, -pś-, -lpr-, -rl-, -st-, -spr-* in :
*proṅjñambu, kompro-yambī, māpcok, japti-khū ripśiṅko, jolpriṅ, gorlaṃ,
testuṅ, hmaspriṅ*; further, various combinations involving nasals, such as
praṅpriṅ, bremguṃco, and occasional double consonants such as in
prayaṭṭikhā, bhumbhukkikā- [123].

(In addition, there are, of course, aspirated resonants such as *mh*, written
|*hm*| as in *hmaspriṅ, hmupriṅ, hrīmko, hnaguṃ*, sounds which survive in mo-
dern Newārī).

Some other words, however, such as the personal name *Kedumbāṭa*, or
the Kirāta terms of government offices such as the *śolla- / śulli- / śulī-* [124],
kuthera-, liṅgvāl-, and *māpcok-adhikāra*, all mentioned in the Licchavi in-
scriptions [125] hardly show these special features (such as *Cr-*), probably by
chance, as we have only a very limited corpus here.

The Licchavi inscriptions and the names of the Kirāta kings, as given
by the GRV only at the end of the 14th century, thus basically agree in their
still rather complicated syllabary structure. But already the names found in
the first post-Licchavi documents, that is the newly discovered [126] land sale
and mortgage documents on palm leaf, the oldest of which is dated 983 A.D.,
contain names in a much more modern form. The complicated initial clusters
and even the internal clusters at the syllable boundaries have been simplified
(except those few surviving types [127] Cy, Cr, Cv, those involving *h* : *hy, hr,
hv*, and except, of course, those in learned Sanskrit words).

Thus, we find in some of the earliest documents [128] : *Sātī-gvalaka-Von-
duḷ-nāma-* (a special case as the word is quote by *nāma*), *Yaṃ-gvala-,
Haṅkhā-ṭollaka* NS 159, *Tyagvalaka-, No-gvalaka-, Māṭi-, Mānī gvalaka* NS
185 (p. 103 *sq.*), and in the mortgages : *No-gvala-Yaluvi-* NS 103, *Te-
gvalaka-* NS 121, *Yusedem-* NS 159, *Duḷvaṃhmaṃ, ñanādul-* NS 189, *No-
gvalka-, Kasavạti-, Yulvī Vinai, Kām[o]ja Brahma-pucoṃ* NS 189 (p. 187 *sq*).

It appears that initial clusters are no longer attested, other than the ones
still allowed in modern Newārī in the conventional writings such as Cv [Co],
Cy [Ce] (see, though in internal position, due to noun composition : *No-gvala*
(-ka) NS 185, 189, etc., *Jyaṃā-khyela* NS 272).

At the syllable boundaries, too, only a few combinations occur, mainly
syllable final nasal resonants (*ṅ, ī, n, m, ṃ*), combination of resonant and
h, Vonduḷ NS 159, *Vaṃpuhlam* NS 262, *Temla* NS 193, and occasional double
resonants such as in the personal name *Hallu* NS 193. Two exceptions are
the family name *Yulvī Vinai* NS 189, and *Bhaṭkhocchem* NS 262 (for *bhaṭṭa-* ?).

Final consonants found in the older documents are the resonants *ṅ, n,
m, ṃ, l, ḷ*, as far as visible from the compound names. In actual word final
position we find only *-ṃ, -ṇ, -ḷ* : *Pakocchem* NS 294 (note that *-ṃ* of *-cheṃ*

frequently is not written), *Mayalaṃ* NS 261, *Vaṃpuhlaṃ* NS 262, *Thasiṅ* NS 211, *Duḷ* NS 189 *Vonduḷ-nāma* NS 159.

For the development of these features it is important to observe two parallel features in Old Newārī :

a. there is a strong tendency to simplify clusters in word initial and even in syllable initial position : thus *pranālī* (Licch. inscr.) > *panālī* (Kaiser Vaṃś., p. 7); and

b. there seems to be a strong stress accent which effects syncope of longer words : thus *pala* (an unit of coins) is also written *pla, pra* (Kölver-Śākya, *Docum.*, p. 85); *paṇa* «money» is also written *pna*, p. 42. Cf. also the common writing – *gla* in the documents, in word such as Mānigla < māni*go*laka [129] or *Yeglatyāgla* Kölver, *Documents*, NS 456.

The situation is quite similar in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, which was written a few hundred years later; the evidence from its many place names and personal names [130] indicates the following. Initial clusters are no longer found, other than the ones allowed in modern Newārī (*hy, hn, hm*, etc.), and those of conventional «spelling» such as *Cv* [*Co*], *Cy* [*Ce*] : *Thvakvāṭh, Jhvāṃpāna, Pvananti, Thyami, Hnola* [nhola].

At the syllable boundaries, only a few combinations occur, mainly involving syllable final nasal resonants (*ṅ, ñ, n, m, ṃ*), and occasional double resonant, such as in *Bhuṅgukacha, Meṅguhi, Yebdeceñceta, Menaṇṭuṭhi, Yāṭumbahāra, Bhomṭa, Sellakvāth.*

Final consonants found are the resonants *ṃ*, and (as far as indicated in the body of the text by *halanta, virāma*) -*m*, e.g. in -*ṭom*; other finals are not clearly marked but can perhaps be deduced from their composition with -*kvāṭ*, -*bahīri*, -*chem*, -*sthān*, -*pura, vihāra*, etc. (i.e. : *ṅ, n, m, r, l* ?).

These peculiarities of medieval Newārī features thus continue the development, already noticed in the Licchavi inscriptions, of a gradual disappearance of final stops : as in *co : cokh-parā* [131] probably via final implosive consonant. The final stage is reached, as is well known, only during the last few centuries, when the final consonant was lost, though it was still heard by Nepālī speakers when they took over the words from Newārī, as for example in the Nep. loan word *jhyāl* «window» or in the Patan toponym (Nep.) *Nugal* < New. *Nugaḥ* < Old New. *Nogvala, Nogola, Nogala* (see *Documents*) [132].

In modern Newārī the syllable final consonants (other than nasals) have virtually disappeared. There are but a few examples, such as *lapte* «leaf». Likewise, in modern Newārī only a limited number word initial clusters are common : such as *mh, lh*, and the clusters with -*y*- and -*w*- [133]. This makes much of medieval and certainly most of modern Newārī a language of open syllables, not unlike Japanese.

To return to the Licchavi inscriptions : a closer study of the toponymy and of personal names (see below [12.2]) may lead, in the manner indicated above, to a decision of the question whether speakers of Archaic Newārī were present in the Valley already during Licchavi time. The forms of the

words we find in these inscriptions, for example *(mā-)kho-priṅ* [134], definitely differ event form from the oldest attested Newārī. The persistence of various consonant clusters (*st, pr, spr,* mentioned above) and of postconsonant resonants such as *-r-* indicates, at best, a very early form of Newārī, if not another Tib. - Burm. language altogether. Note that such consonant clusters are very rare in medieval and certainly modern Newārī (other than in Sanskrit loans). K.P. Malla has explained some of such place names as being of Newārī origin (but see below [12.2]).

In any case, from 983 A.D. onwards, the Newārī forms of place names and names of persons [135], and even some occasional words or phrases in early Newārī are in evidence [136] : they are found in the recently discovered mortgage documents [137], in manuscripts colophons, and in the – mostly still unpublished – post-Licchavi inscriptions. We find, for example, *Khvapa* for Licchavi *Khopṛṅ, Khṛpuṅ* with a clear development of *ṛ/ri > o/u* [138].

10.9. The preceding discussion allows to draw the preliminary conclusion (a) that either there has been an immigration of Newārī speakers [139] after c. 750 A.D., the date of the last Licchavi inscriptions, or (b) that archaic Newārī, as perhaps found in Licchavi time place names, underwent a series of quick phonetical changes during the one or two centuries preceding the first attested Newārī forms in the mortgage documents. Obviously, the new pronunciation was introduced into the documents, following a phonematic spelling, after the downfall of the Licchavis. This problem, however, can only be mentioned here and is in need of a detailed investigation [140] (cf. below [12.2]).

When trying to identify the source languages of Licchavi time topography one should, in view of the possible historical developments mentioned above, take a close look at the Sunwar and western Rai languages and perhaps also compare the little studied Thāmi language [141]. Note also that the linguistic position of Newārī within Tibeto-Burmese and its Himalayish section is not yet determined well [142].

Whatever the outcome may be, one should not forget that already the second oldest Indian text, the Atharvaveda, of c. 1100 B.C., knows of the Kirātas. These tribes hardly are those reported as living in the Kathmandu Valley before the Licchavis, as the Atharvaveda, whether in its Śaunaka or its Paippalāda version, did not yet know of this area [143]. It is likely, as has been pointed out above, that the name was first given to a more western Himalayan tribe, in the Himachal Pradesh area, and was later, with the extension of the geographical horizon of the Vedic people, transferred to their more eastern Himalayan neighbours [144]. Another possibility is to suppose a steady eastward movement of the Kirātas from an area in Himachal Pradesh towards the Kathmandu Valley. This possibility indeed exists, as was indicated above [3.3] : the Mugu and neighbouring regions have some names which are of Rai type, and the modern Rai as well as the Thāmi sometimes claim that they migrated from that area towards their present habitat.

10.10. If one could indeed take the statement of the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī* as indicating a movement of the Kirāta (kings), a few names in the area could still bear witness to this : a tributary of the Tāmba Kosi has the Rai supplement in *-wa*, such as in Sanga-*wa* or Kirdu-*wa*. In the area of the Bhote Kosi (near Dolakhā) – Khimti – Likhu Kholā there are a number of names in *-wa*, however, mostly those of villages (which, nevertheless, may have got their names from a local streamlet) : Soktu-*wa*, Majhu-*wa*, Tanu-*wa*. In such cases, however, it will be better, for the time being, to exercice caution, until the population of these villages is either known or could be interviewed for the meanings of the streams and for eventual alternative names.

11. Kathmandu Valley

11.1. Finally, the hydronomy of the Kathmandu Valley [145] and its surroundings can be viewed in its proper proportion. The most common names for rivers and streams or streamlets in the Valley are those ending in *-khu*, such as *Na-khu, Bal-khu, Sāmā-khu, Tu-khu, Ga-khu Khusi* [146], or east of Patan : *Lu Khusi, Tyeta Khusi,* east of Bhaktapur : *Mu Khusi,* and west of Kathmandu : *Bhacha Khusi*. K.P. Malla [147], in his 1982 article, supplies the following list, *passim* :

Nwa-khu	> Bāgmati [148] [already mentioned in Changu inscr. of Śivadeva as *Vāgvatī*]
Khāsyaṅ-khu	> Hanumante
Tu-khu	> Ikṣumati
Sāṃ-khu	> Maṇimati [Changu inscr. of Śivadeva] [149]
La-khu	> Dhanāvati
Bal-khu	> Ratnāvati [or Kīrtipur Kholā]
Bhacā-khu	> Bhadramati
Tem-khu	> Tekhu
Hijā-khu (si)	> Rudramati [or Dhobī Kholā].

The word *khu*, though rare, does also exist separately in Newārī as designation of a stream. Already the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, fol. 61b.2, has it in the spelling *kho : kho vaṅāv* « after having gone to the river ». The confusion of the spellings cons. + *va / o / u* in Newārī manuscripts, however, is well known [150]. – Cf. also *khvapvā* « rain (water) and hail » Gop. 44a.4.

In modern Newārī the word survives as *khu* « streamlet, creak » which T.L. Manandhar, in his dictionary, derives from old New. *khwa*, and as *khusi* « river » < Old New. *khosi*. Cf. also, from Manandhar : *khwa haada* « confluence of two rivers in Bhaktapur Hanumān Ghāṭ » ; *Nakhu-ho*, « the confluence of the rivers Nakhu and Bagmati at Cobhar » ; *kho-sithae* « on the edge, bank of a river » < O. New. *sitha-sa* (*Śi, sitha* « edge, border of garment, path by the side of a road »). Interestingly, the word also occurs in another spelling, as *ko* « river » in the Amarakośa [151] ; for the lack of aspiration, however, note the variation *kh/k* in the royal name *Anekha*-malla for correct *Aneka-* [152].

11.2. Similarly, in the *Gopālarājavaṃśalī*, we also find place names with the same range of variation in writing aspirated and unaspirated occlusive and either *o* or *u* :

Bhīm-*ko*	61b.4; 62a.3, a place name
Muhiṃ-*kho*	51b.3, a place name
Saṅkhalaṅ-*khu*	45b.4, a place name [153].

The word even occurs, as has been mentioned above, in some Licchavi inscriptions as part of river names, and in the name of a village obviously based on that of a stream :

Cūllaṃ-*khu*	Licchavi inscr., ed. Dh.B. Bajracharya, p. 590 [154],
Theṅ-*khu*	p. 515.15, cf. modern Teko,
Japti-*khū*	a small river near Kathmandu, p. 566 *sq.* [155]
Huḍi-*khū*	a small river near Kathmandu, p. 567 *sq.*,
Pi-*khu*-grāma	p. 427.19 [156], but cf. also :

Vihliṅ-*kho*-srothạ [157] : a river near Chāṃgu Nārāyaṇ, p. 234 [158],

Ripśiṅ-*ko*-ṣetu : a river near Chāṃgu Nārāyaṇ, p. 234.

11.3. However, the area of river names in *-khu* is not congruent with that of Newār settlement, neither today, nor – as far as it can be seen from the inscriptions – in the Middle Ages. In the neighbourhood of the Valley, several river names in *-khu* are found :

Li-*khu* Kholā	north of the Valley, → Tadi Kholā- Trisuli
Ān-*khu* Kholā	north of the Valley, → Burhī Gaṇḍaki
Mal-*khu*	west of the Valley, near the road to Pokhara
Bel-*khu*	west of the Valley, near the road to Pokhara.
Salān-*khu* *Kholā*	
Phalān-*khu* *Khola*	

Belkhu is situated at a distance of some 60 km west of the Valley. Furthermore, even high up in the Trisuli valley, one can find place names such as Bar-*khu*, now located, in Tamang territory. It is questionable, and needs inspection on the spot, whether all these names can be ascribed to Newārī settlements or influence.

It must also be remembered that forms in *-khu* even found in Magar territory [159], where we have place names such as *Khu-di*, perhaps a combination of an old place name meaning «river» with the typical Magar supplement *-di*. The supplement is well attested in Rai territory and is also occasionally found in the Sunwar area [160].

11.4. What is surprising, however, is not so much the occurrence of the supplement *-khu* in the area north of the Valley (*Li-khu, Ānkhu*) but the variety

of designations for rivers that we find there : there are in traces of other systems of river names in this region.

Ta-di   → Likhu → Triśūlī, which resembles a Magar name;
Phalan-gu   → Trisuli, which looks like a Central Rai name;
Han-ku   a village west of Bhar-*khu* with a Sunwar/Rai supplement;
Len-de   a stream high up in Langtang, on the Tibetan border, which can perhaps pass for a Magar designation in -*di*.

This very diverse, but closely packed evidence north of the Valley tends to indicate an originally close settlement of various tribes rather than a «colonial» spread of a single name type over larger areas, as found in most parts of Nepal, especially in the Magar speaking territories. The concurrence of names in -*khu*, *ku* and *gu* in the area adjacent to the Kathmandu Valley may indicate an early settlement by a number of linguistically diverse Rai tribes, having various forms of the word for «river». The same supplements are now found with various Rai tribes in the *Kirānt* lands. However, the closely packed evidence in the area north of the Valley would point to an earlier settlement here and a subsequent spread eastwards to the new, more spacious territories in the *Kirānt*. If so, it is possible that these various dialects developed already in the general area of the Kathmandu Valley and its surroundings.

12. Evaluation

12.1. How this and the other evidence collected above can be explained historically is difficult to assess at this instance. One possibility is to posit a gradual eastward spread of certain tribes, similar to the recent and continuing eastward spread of Nepālī speakers ever since the time of the Malla kingdom of West Nepal. In that case, the Magar would have left a few traces even in westernmost Nepal such as Baita-*di*, Maubhe-*ri* (see above [3.6]).

Similarly, the clusters or river names ending in -*ti* / -*de* found in the north and the center of the Magar area could point to the remnants of an earlier Sunwar (or perhaps also a Thāmi, Chepang [161] population). Of course, since -*ti* is an old Tib.-Burm. word, it could just as well be a remnant of an older, non-specific Tib.-Burm. designation, which cannot be attributed to a particular tribe.

12.2. The names in -*khu* attested since Licchavi times in inscriptions as well as those in -*gu* in and near the Kathmandu Valley would then be an indication of an earlier Sunwar/Rai occupation. This can be substantiated to some extent by the statement of the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, quoted above, which perhaps indicates an eastward movement of the Kirātas, just as in the traditions reported by the Rai and Thāmi.

Of course, the Kathmandu Valley names in -*khu* could represent, as has been pointed out above [10.7], n. 67, a very early form of Newārī as well,

as the word *khu* is attested in the old New. of the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*. However, even in that case, one may deliberate whether the designation *khu* has not been taken over, along with the river names, from the earlier, «Kirāta» stratum of population in the Valley, and has been detached as a separate word in transparent compounds such as *Bel-khu*, etc.

Such cases are not unknown. I only remind of German *Alb* [162] (Schwäbische, Fränkische *Alb*, and *Alpen*, the general term for the Southern Mountains, the Alps, found also in French *Alpes*, Italian and Rumanian *Alpi*); similarly, the Germanic word **hafa* [163] which is used in several geographical designations in Eastern Germany/Poland has been taken over from a pre-Germanic substratum. A similar case in India is the word *gaṅgā*, most probably of pre-Indo-Aryan origin (see above) which can now be used as designation for many rivers [164] (The opposite case is seen in English *river-*, *mount-*, or *-ville* which has been taken over from Norman French and now designates rivers, mountains and towns in all English speaking countries).

In many cases, the words that make out part of the local topography, which now appear in Newārī and are already found in Licchavi inscriptions, simply can be either archaisms or loans even from a pre-Tib.-Burm. substratum. This is rather the normal case in any area, taken at random. Thus a name such a *London* or *Leiden*, both in Germanic speaking countries, go back, via Latin *Lugdunum* to a Celtic word meaning the «town of the god Lug» [165] or the Slavic (Bulgarian) designation for the Danube, *Dunav*, can be traced back via Latin *Danubius* to a North Iranian (Scythian) river name that also is found in Russian / Ukrainian *Don, Dnestr, Dnepr*; or the Arabic name of the Lebanese town Ṣaïdâ recaptures the biblical Sidon.

It is in this context that we have to try to understand the situation of the topographical terms of the Kathmandu Valley. Apparently, Malla (1981, p. 17) has misunderstood my brief remarks on the local toponymy [166] contained in an article on the location of the Licchavi time capital of Nepal. I wrote (note that the portion not quoted by Malla is given in [ ] brackets):

> [... we can only say that they are local names, belonging to some unknown language. It may be early Newari, which otherwise is attested only in the 14th century < *add* : now from 893/1152 A.D. onwards >. They may also belong to an older substratum which preceded the immigration of the Newars, the date of which is unknown [167]. It is therefore too early to decide to which language these names belong. The chronicles speak of an earlier *Kirāta* kingdom in the Valley, and the Hanumān Dhoka inscription actually mentions them]. The syllabary structure of the many names of localities and persons mentioned in the Licchavi inscriptions does not conform with that of early Newārī, but we do not know, of course, whether the structure of Newārī had changed considerably or not between the 8th and the 14th centuries. [This is a possibility as many of the names show sound shifts (allophones) and even words which are to be found in Newari, too. < cf. also p. 332, n. 90 [168] >. On the other hand, toponymy and especially hydronomy usually reflect very old strata, languages which may have disappeared since long].

I expressively did not exclude that the inscriptions capture an early form of Newārī, but as should be quite clear from the preceding sections [10.8-9],

this must not necessarily be the case. Especially so, since we now have access to much earlier texts in old Newārī than those available at the time, such as the Hitopadeśa, Amarakośa [169], the Malla time inscriptions, etc. The much earlier palmleaf land sale and mortgage documents edited by B. Kölver and H. Śākya, attest forms of Newārī for a period from 983 A.D. onwards. However, this language is not materially different from the old Newārī of early Malla time. For example, the grammatical elements *ma-du, jurom* (= *julo*), etc. are found right from 983 A.D. onwards; cf. also *.sa, ; .yā*, etc. [170]. The syllabary structure of these early Newārī words, too, is already that of the medieval old Newārī, and differs considerably even from the form that the toponymical words in the late Licchavi inscriptions take.

For example, Licchavi *Khṛpuṅ/Khopṛṅ* [171] is already found as *Khvapaṃ, Khvapo* [172], *Khopva/Khvapa*. Even if the manner of writing place names in the Licchavi inscriptions was traditional – a claim that cannot be made with much certainty – the sudden change [173] surprises by which 8th century spellings such as *Gullataṃga-grāma* (modern *Guita* in E. Patan), appear as old Newārī *Gusaṭalo* (-*nāmā°*) [174] of the inscriptions and sale documents, about two or three hundred years later. One can, of course, argue that Newārī changed exactly during this period of political (and presumably social) change, which saw the end of the Licchavi dynasty and varying degrees of political influence by the Tibetan kingdom in the affairs of the Valley. But it is also possible that the speakers of Newārī immigrated into the Valley precisely at this moment.

These facts alone thus cannot decide the matter, and Malla (1981, p. 17) therefore is wrong when he simply asserts : «Many of the roots and suffixes [175] that we have identified in the data are still in use in modern Newārī [176] ... in the same sense... we can safely postulate that the source language of *most* of these nominals is proto-Newārī». To maintain such a stance in other, well researched areas, would mean that nouns such as *mount, river*, and bound nouns in forms such as *-ville, -(Win)-chester*, or *(Lon)-don* are English (Germanic) and Norman French, Latin, Celtic words, or that *Danuv* is Bulgarian (Slavic) and not ultimately derived from Northern Iranian.

The provisional conclusion, delineated above, is just one of the possible scenarios, just as I indicated in my earlier note of 1980, — and it was nothing more than a brief remark since in that context, I could not enter into a longer discussion, such as the one presented here.

A firm solution would be reached if we could (a) show that some of the constituent parts of the Licchavi place names have demonstrably Proto-Tibeto-Burmese etymologies that are attested *outside* Newārī (which Malla has not done; a clear case is **ti*, perhaps also *co, ko*) [177], and better even, if (b) that these Proto-Tib.-Burm. words have a particular shape that is *only* found in later Newārī and that these phonetic developments are not found in the other Tib.-Burmese languages of the Himalayas (as for example in New, *la/lakh* «water» ? But cf. Danuwar *la-ri*, Sunwar *li-ku*).

Not being a specialist of Tib.- Burmese, I cannot, of course, vouch for the completeness of my investigation. (The Nepalese toponyms need a special

investigation which takes into account the evidence from the Licchavi ins-
criptions, the colophons of early manuscripts and mortgage documents, as
well as other medieval inscriptions and manuscripts, the *Gopāla-
rājavaṃśāvalī*, old Newārī sources such as the Amarakośa of Māṇikya, etc.).

To return to the areas neighbouring the Valley, the possible or even proba-
ble case of an earlier habitat of the Rai in Central and Western Nepal can
be supported, as has been indicated above [3.2], [3.5], by further evidence
from the Dolpo and Mugu areas. The occurrence of the supplement -*wa* in
Dolpo (cf. also the village *Murwa* in the Phoksumdo area), Mandu-*wa*, U-*wā*
(→ Lungri → Māri), Tek-*wa* (→ Bari Gāḍ) if taken together with the north-
western names in -*gu* such as Mu-*gu*, Lan-*gu* could point to a much older,
more western location of the Rai tribes than the one postulated in Licchavi
times for the Kathmandu Valley (before the Newār immigration) [178].

Finally, the forms in -*dil-de* north of the Kathmandu Valley could be
attributed, if not to a Magar then perhaps to an earlier Tib.-Burm. substrate
(cf. the Kachin, Dimasa forms) [179].

12.3. The preceding deliberations are preliminary and must, for the time
being, remain little more than speculation leading to some probable or, at
least, to some possible explanations. Only a thorough comparison of all the
available place names, including those of settlements, mountains, as well as
of fields, pastures and gardens (which are much more difficult to collect)
could substantiate the thesis proposed above. Our dictionaries and other mate-
rials do not allow me to go beyond these suggestions at this moment.

The next step clearly falls outside my competence : detailed knowledge
of the various Tib.-Burm. languages and dialects involved is essential. I have
therefore avoided to present, as far as possible or advisable at this stage,
etymologies of individual place names. Also, a check on the spot is necessary
of most of the river names and other place names collected in this paper.
One has to make sure that they have been recorded correctly and whether
they were given by the present population or, if not, whether they are rem-
nants from one or more earlier strata.

At this moment, the preliminary results of the above deliberations on
the hydronomy and the early settlement of the Nepalese Himalayas, as well
as on the early movements of tribes speaking a particular language can be
summed up as follows.

12.4. Western Nepal

— possible old stratum represented by the Kusunda (cf. also the presence
of the nomadic, though Tib.-Burm. speaking Rauṭe [180] nomads) ; some Muṇḍa
traces ? (*Gaṇḍi, Gaṇḍakī*, attested since the Mahābhārata, and in Nepal since
464 A.D.).

— an older substratum of Tib.-Burm. names (-*ti*), cf. [2.5], [5.2], [10.2] ;
if these belong to the « *Kirāta* » then this could have been already in Athar-

vavedic times (c. 1100 B.C.); cf. also names looking « generally Tib.-Burm.» such as : *Seng, Arung*, etc. see [3.4], [4.2], [6], [7]. One may think of an earlier presence of the Thāmi (who claim to have come from Humla), as the easternmost representative of Western Himalayish, or of the Chepang/Hayu of Central Himalayish.

— a possible Rai [181] (or Sunwar ?) substratum in Mu-*gu*, etc., and in the Magar area, represented by -*khu* names [5.6], [8.2, n. 79], and a subsequent movement towards the Kathmandu Valley and beyond, to present day *Kirānt* [182].

— a Magar colonization in all of W. and Central Nepal, the Magrāṭ area, with names in -*ri* and -*di*, extending from the W. border perhaps as far as the Ta-*di*, N. of Kathmandu; cf. the *Maṅga, Maṅg(v)ara* of the Mahābhārata and the inscriptions.

— a Khas overlay in W. Nepal of speakers of W. Nepālī (*gāḍ* area) taking place in the Middle Ages, before c. 1200 A.D.; Khaśa are attested in Manu (c. 200 B.C. / 200 A.D.) and on the rims of the Kashmir Valley (mentioned by the Rājataraṅgiṇī, thus well before 1149/50 A.D.).

— In the Northern areas, immigration of the Gurungs (together or a little earlier than the Tibetan expansion, about the middle of the first millennium A.D. ?), forming an overlay of an older Tib.-Burm. group in Mugu, Dolpo, Tarap [3.4], [5.6]. The time of the Thakāli migration is unclear so far.

12.5. Central Nepal

— An early substrate of Muṇḍa (?) or some other language. (The various substrates in Newārī and other Tib.-Burm. languages have to be investigated in detail, cf. n. 21).

— an early Tib.-Burm. substrate (cf. Danuwar, Chepang, Vayu and Thāmi, Bhramu -*ti*, and cf. [10.2]);

— the « Kirāta » level (= Rai, Sunwar ?) with names in -*khu*, and also with -*gu*, -*ku* north of the Valley (10.6). If Vedic Skt. *Kosala* is based on a Rai word (cf. n. 98), this tribe would be attested in this general area already by c. 600/700 B.C.; cf. Pāli *Kosikī* (c. 300 B.C.);

— the Newar immigration [183], at a still unknown time, perhaps in the (early) Licchavi period, but in any case before 983 A.D. (mortgage documents). Note that the exact linguistic position of Newārī within Tib.-Burm. still is uncertain [184];

— later, the immigration of the Tamang (« Murmi »), who still are spreading southwards now;

— the medieval Khas immigration, at first into the hilly rims of the Valley, but by the middle of the 17th century reaching into the Valley itself (Rāṇī Pokharī inscr.).

12.6. Eastern Nepal

— An early Muṇḍa substratum [185] ? Cf. also the legends of the Kulunge Rai about the earlier settlers of the Hongu valley, the *Rungsiupa* [186];

— immigration of the Thāmi and Bhramu, probably from Western Nepal, perhaps from Humla [187]. Note their close link with Western Himalayish (Kanauri, etc.);

— the Sunwar and Rai immigration, probably from Western and Central Nepal [188]. Note again *Kosala* in Vedic, c. 600/700 B.C.;

— immigration of the Sherpas, from E. Tibet, about 1500 A.D., into Solu and Khumbu, partly displacing Rai settlers;

— a late Khas immigration, mostly along the lower valleys, reaching Darjeeling and Sikkim already in the last century, and continuing eastwards into Bhutan and Assam until recent times.

12.7. The South

— an early Muṇḍa substratum (*Gaṇḍaki*, etc.);

— the Tharus with their various Tib.-Burm. (and other ?) substrates and a late Indo-Aryan superstrate;

— modern immigration from India (Awadhī, Bhojpurī, Maithilī speakers) and from the hills (various tribes, with Nepālī as *lingua franca*) [189].

13. List of designations for « river » in Nepal

Italicized words (and those from the Rai and Limbu dialects) are from Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays related to Indian Subjects*, London, 1880, vol. I, p. 161 *sq.*, p. 164 *sq.*, p. 171 sq., p. 1 *sq.* (vowel lengths are normalized : *ā* for *á*, etc.; the words in parenthesis ( ) are from publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics; further materials on Rai and Limbu dialects are from W. Winter, *Linguistic Survey of Nepal*, prepubl. draft, 1985; others include those from the phonetically not quite representative Dict. of the Royal Nepal. Acad. (In addition those in the three columns on the right of the following table, are from this dictionary). In some cases, actual pronunciation is indicated by [ ].

	« water »	« river »	« steep hill stream »	« small stream »	« juncture of two streams »
Nepālī	*pāni*	kholo/ā kholca, kholsi	khahare	kulo kholo, kholso	muhān
Thāru	*pāni*	kholā		kulavā suitī	moharaʾ\\
Kūsūnda [190]	*tāng, tān*	gimmekonā			
Tib.-Burm. (Benedict)	55 *ti(y), 168 *twiy	127 *kluṅ			
Tibetan [191] Sherpa	chu, chab [chú] [192] (ʾchuq)	kluṅ, chu-kluṅ [caṅbu gerpu] (cangbu gerpu)		[caṅbu] (cangbu)	
Kaike [193]	[tyu] (Tyu)	[chāṅpu] (chāngpu)	[syoṅ] (song)	[syoṅ] (syong)	
Gurung	kyu [kyú] [194] (kyuq)	kyu, khwon ■ [gāngyu] (gā:ngyu)	khari	kuli (syo)	monā
Tamang [195] (Murmi)	kwi [kì] (ʾki)	kwi, syoṅ [kanti] [196] (kahnti)	syoṅ, khahare [kahre ?]	kulā (syong)	kyūi mohan
Thākāli [197]	kyu (kyu)	(omto kyu) Òmdo kyu = Kāli Gaṇḍaki		(kāhng kyu)	
Kanauri	ti				
Manchati	ti				
Thāmi [198]	pāng-ku				
Bhrāmū [199]	*ā-wa*	gū-*dūl*			
Rauṭe [200]	*ti*				
Magar [201]	di (di)	kwi, khwon [gaṇḍāk] (ganDāk)	khahare	kulo kholā kuli	muhān
Kham Magar	ri, [rīh] (ʾri:h)	bəy, khola (bayhri) bəyri bəgar (dry river)		bəy (bayh) kholsā	
Cepāng [202]	ti *tī*	kyu, goro *kyū, gō-ro*	gagar	(ti ?.kholā) hodaṅ	s;ira
Vayu [203] (Hayu)	ti, ti *tī*	gan, bimbo, binmu *gang, bimbo*			
Newārī	la(kh)	khusi, khu, ko	(khusi-cā)	dhaḥ kusicā	mvāḥna
Kuswār [204]	*pāni*	kōʹ-si			
Daṅuwar [205]	*kyu* [*chi] [206]	*kyu, la-ri* laḍḍi [207], khola [208]	khahare	kulā kholca	muhān

Sunwar [209]	pan-khu, ti [bākku] (bā:kku) māk [210] pa-ku	li-ku, (kholā)	bagara	kulā (kholā) kholsā	nepu
Jirel [211]	[chūì] ('cyhuq)	[chūlùm] (cyhulumq)	[thāṅka] ('Thānkā)	[thāṅkạ] ('Thānḷā)	
Rai	ku, wa, ka-wa pwa-ku cu-wa, ca-wa	ku, kuṅ, yowa, gulo hoṅkoma	hoṅku-roksi	kulo hoṅku roksī	ḍolām
Bāhing-gyā	*pwā-ku* *bwā-ku* *pa-ku*	*gūlo*			
Chou-ras'ya	*kā-kū* *ka-kuṅ*	*gūlo*			
Thulung-g'ya [212]	*kū* *ku*	*kūrkū*			
Khaling [213]	*kū* (ku) *kuṅ*	*yō,* [yó] ('yo)	*kā-wā* káwa [kāwa] ('kawa)	káwa [kāwa] ('kawa)	
Dūmi	*kū* *koṅ-ku*	*ru*			
Rodong = Chamling	*wā < *r-* *wa* [214] *wa*	*wā hwāi*			
Dūngmāli	*chāh'-wa* *cak-wa*	*hong-ma*			
Sāngpāng	*wā* *kān-wā* *kuṅ-wa*	*hokoma* *hongkoma*			
Ku-lūng'ya	*kāū* *kuṅ-wa*	*yo wā*			
Nāchhe-rēng	*ka a wā* *kuṅ-wa*	*hūng kwāma* *hūng kōma*			
Bālāli	*kung-wa*	*hong'-ma*			
Lōhōrōng	*yo-wā* *yoṅ-wa*	*yū-wa,* *hong'-ma* *dīhongma*			
Yākha	*māng chūwa* *maṅ-cwak*	*hong'ma*			
Rūng-chhēnbūng	*chāwa*	*hongkū*			
Wāling	*chāwā*	*hong'ma*			
Lāmbi-cchōng	*chū-wā* *wēt*	*wāyā*			
Ching-tāngya	*chū wā* *cwak*	*wāhōh'ma*			
Limbu	cwak, wa-	yakhuṅ, wohoṅ	honkhon	vājika hoṅkhoṅ	vabun

<.senior's Limbu diction.>	cūat	yambā cūad	yoṅkhōn	wahōn	
Phedappe Limbu	cwa', *wa	.			
Lepcha	uṅ, oṅ	kyoṅ, oṅkyoṅ	khyoṅ	uṅkrūl kyoṅ	uṅrām
Dhimal [215]	ci *chī*	ci *chī*	*rāghā mhoika chī*		
Bodo	*dōi*	*dōi, dōi gēdēt*	*dōiśa*		
Kachin	ti m di «moist» m dit «to wet»	kruṅ «valley»			
Burmese		khyuíṅ [chãí]			
Shang	ti				
Kanburi- Lawa	ti				
Nung	thi				
Thai	nām	kloṅ da' [216]			
Ahom	nam	ta			
(S. China)					
Sui	nam				
Mak	nam				
(Hainan)					
Be	nam				
Li	nam				
Cham		krauṅ			
Chinese [217]	*d'iat 1190 'clear water' *gw@ng 117 'deep water' *kieu 222 'to water'	*kāng 350 (in : Yangtze- Kiang) *'k' âu 310 'river bank' *k 'ung' 469 'hollow' *t's'ⁱʷan 1261 'mountain stream'	*giweng 286 'rivulet' *kiek 329		

NOTES

capital (*Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6, 1980). In the sequel, I print all names *Anglo-Indice*, without diacritics, if I was not sure of their exact pronunciation. Wherever I found diacritics (even the rather limited set of the Anglo-Indian ones of the maps) I include them. The exact value of the vowel *a*, especially, is not always clear; *i* and *u* are short, however, in most languages of Nepal, whatever the «official» Sanskritizing Nepālī spelling might be.

2. See the work of H. Krahe and his school on old European hydronomy, treating the names of rivers, small streams, etc.; see *e.g.* H. Krahe, *Vorgermanische und Frühgermanische Flußnamenschichten*. Mittel zu ihrer Unterscheidung; *Die Struktur der alteuropäischen Hydronomie* Abh. Akad. Mainz 1962; *Unsere ältesten Flussnamen*, Fulda, 1964; cf. however, W.P. Schmid, «Alteuropäisch und Indogermanisch» *Akad. Mainz*, Jg., 1968, n° 6.

3. But note the occasional remarks *in* D. Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, London, 1961, and note his list of Tibetan names p. 279-284. It was Harka Gurung who actually pointed to the usefulness of a study of place names in his book *Vignettes of Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1980, for example p. 26 : «The suffix "Gad" for streams prevalent here extends as far west as Himachal Pradesh and in East up to Riri where the Bari Gad joins the Kali Gandaki»; cf. h\s-list of geographical and toponymical designations in the glossary appended to the book.

For Thakali toponyms, see S. Gauchan and M. Vinding, *Kailash* 5, 1977, p. 97-184; for the Kathmandu Valley, see K. P. Malla, «Linguistic Archaeology of the Nepal Valley, A preliminary report», *Kailash* 8, 1-2, 1981, K. P. Malla, «River names in the Nepal Valley: A study in cultural annexation», *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 10, 1-2, 1982-3. A large number of place names has now been collected by Kṛṣṇa Prasād Śreṣṭha, *Sthāna-Kośa*, Kathmandu (Nep. Rājakīya Prajñāsthan), VS 2044. Most of them have, however, not been explained beyond their Sanskrit, Newārī, Tibetan and occasional North-Indian etymologies.

For a study of place names in the Kathmandu Valley see author, *Studien zur Indo-Iranistik*, vol. 5-6 (Fs. P. Thieme, 1980), p. 311-337 *passim*; and see the articles by K. P. Malla, «River names» (1982-3), and «Linguistic Archaeology» (1981). For a list of medieval place names of the Valley, see also *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī*, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and K. P. Malla, Kathmandu/Wiesbaden 1985, p. 199-203, and Dhanavajra Vajrācārya, «The development of early and medieval settlements in the Kathmandu Valley. A review of the inscriptional evidence» in *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley*, ed. N. Gutschow and A. Michaels, St. Augustin, 1987, p. 355-364.

4. See K.P. Malla, *River Names*.

5. For *kholā* see R.L. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (CDIAL), London 1966, n° 3945 *kholl* «to open», *khōlla, khōḍa, khōṛa* : Pashai *khol* «ravine», Panjābī *khol* «cavity, hollow», W. Pahārī *khol* «stream», Hindī *khol* «cavity, cave», Bihārī *khol* «trough», Assamese *kholabā* «to hollow out», Oriya *kholibā* «to dig». The word *gāḍ* can perhaps be derived from *gaḍḍa* «hole, pit», Turner, CDIAL 3981; see, however, [3.1].

6. *Aṁdhero, aṁdhyāro, anyāro* «dark, gloomy, unhappy».

7. Nep. *khālṭo khaldo* «hollow, hole, pit, depression; ravine». Cf. also Nep. *khālci, khālsi, kolco, kholcā* «valley».

8. See D.L. Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, Oxford, 1961, reprint Delhi, 1991.

9. See M. Oppitz, *Kailash* 2, 1974, p. 122.

10. For lack of competence, I do not attempt, in the following paper, etymologies of Tib.-Burm. river names, except where they seem obvious.

11. Note that this often coincides with lower tone (cf. Höfer's remarks : aspirated consonant often indicates lower tone in W. Tamang). This is a feature also found in a reverse way also in Panjābī and Western Pāhārī.

12. Report, *Contr. Nep. Stud.* 2, p. 58.

13. See for example the lists given by Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, p. 279-284, or Gauchan and Vinding (see n. 3, 8, 50).

14. In the sequel, I base myself on the originally British, then Indian and American survey maps and on the more recent «Schneider» maps of Eastern Nepal and the various Kathmandu Valley maps (*Nepal-Kartenwerk der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für vergleichende Hochgebirgsforschung*, München, Geo Buch-Verlag Rosental) as well·as the maps of a few areas surveyed by the CNRS team, such as that in the Dhaulagiri area (J.-F. Dobremez), and the Giessen University research group (W. Haffner, U. Müller). I use the arrow → to indicate the river into which the river in question flows.

15. See already author, *Studien zur Indologie u. Iranistik* 5/6, 1980, p. 326, with examples from the Licchavi inscriptions and the present day Kathmandu area.

16. Cf. already Hogdson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1880, vol. II, p. 192, *sq.* referring to the «Mūrmi» in the area near Dūmja on the Rosi and Sun Kosi rivers and further east. – The Thāmi live higher up in the Tama Kosi valley, see D.B. Bista, *Peoples of Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1972, p. 52.

17. The Phedappe Limbu word for «water» is *cwa'l*, see G. van Driem, *A Grammar of Limbu*, diss. Leiden, 1987; note that several Phedappe words contain the root **wa* «water» which does not seem to occur independently in this dialect, but note *A Limbu vocabulary of the Limbu language*, by H.W.R. Senior, Kathmandu, 1977, who gives *cūāt* (written | *chúát* |) «water», *wā-dhārā* (< Skt. *dhārā*) «water-stand», and *yambā cūad* «river», *khāwā* «dried up river bed»; *yoṅkhōṅ, wahōṅ* «stream»; *wohong* (= *wahoṅ* ?) seems to be a compound of **wa* «water» and *hoṅ* «hole», cf. also *kuhoṅ* «hole».

18. Now also in Gorkha, Surkhet, etc., see J. Reinhard, «The Ban Rajas, A vanishing Himalayan Tribe», *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.* 4, 1 (1976), p. 1-21, «Aperçu sur les Kusunda». *Objets et Mondes*, 9, p. 89-106.

19. = Denwar, Donwar, spoken in Makwanpur District; see Klaus P. and Doris Kuegler, *Danuwar Rai. Phonemic Summary* (Summer Institute of Linguistics), Kathmandu, 1974, p. 1.

20. As well as other Danuwars in the Makwanpur, Chitwan, and Rautahat districts; Hodgson (*Essays* II, p. 202) mentions them south of Dhankuta, near the Thankhudā Nadī.

21. Cf. Shafer, *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, p. 145, n. 3, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 10. One had supposed a Muṇḍa substratum in some Tib.-Burm. languages of the Himalayas, see S. Konow, «On some facts connected with the Tibeto-Burman dialect spoken in Kanawar», *ZDMG* 59, 1905, 117-125. This is refuted by P.K. Benedict, *Conspectus*, p. 7, n. 23. Note, nevertheless, that Kusunda represents a stratum earlier than the Tib.-Burm. languages of the area. Note also that there seems to be a non-Tib.-Burm. substratum in Tharu. Finally, one would like to know a little more about the nomadic Rauṭe who speak a Tib. Burm. language (see D.B. Bista, *Kailash* 4, 1976, p. 317-327; J. Reinhard, *Kailash* 2, 1974, 233-271); see also Tim. Toba, *A brief introduction to Kusunda,* Kathmandu (Summer Institute of Linguistics), 1971.

22. See F.B.J. Kuiper, *Nahali, A comparative Study*, Amsterdam, 1962.

23. *CDIAL*, n° 3981 : **gaḍḍa* «hole, pit», W. Pahārī *gaḍḍ, gaḍḍrī, gaḍōr* «river», Nep. *gaṛ-tir* «bank of a river», Assam. *gārā* «deep hole». Hindī *gāṛa* «hole, pit», Singh. *gaḍaya* «ditch», etc.; but cf. also CDIAL 3967 **gaḍa,* «ditch», lex., Pkt. *gaḍa* «hole», Pashai *gaṛu* «dike», Khowar *gōḷ* «hole, small ravine», Beng. *gaṛ* «ditch», etc.; 3968 *gaḍa* «cultivated field», **gāḍa* : Kum. *garo* «field», N. *garo* «terraced field» («something dug»); 3979 **gaḍḍ* «dig, bury» : «cf. *kárta* !». Vedic *gárta* appears next to *kárta* «hole, pit»; note that Turner derives Guj. *garaḍ, garaḍo* «pit, ditch» < **graḍḍa* < **garda* ? cf. 4050 *gárta*, 4052 *gárda*; 2851 *kárta* «hole», which Turner/Burrow think to be of Dravidian origin. All these variants point, however, into the direction of an old loan even in Vedic, see below on Tib.-Burm. names in Vedic, and cf. note 69; cf. also Turner's note on 2851 *kartá*.

We can also compare local river names such as *Gaṇḍakī*, which is already mentioned in the Epic : Mahābhārata 2.1062 calls the Videha people in N. Bihar *Gaṇḍakāḥ*. The word is also found in the first inscription of Nepal by Mānadeva (464 A.D.) and in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī 4.546 as *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, obviously the modern *Kāli Gaṇḍaki* in Central Nepal. The word *Gaṇḍakī*, Nep. *Gaṇḍi, Gaṇḍaki* which itself could be connected with the Muṇḍa word for water : *gad, gand*, etc., Mundari *gāḍā* «river», cf. Pinnow, BzN 5, p. 4.

Note also the similar situation for *kholā* : *CDIAL* 3943 **khōla* «cavity, hollow», Paś. *khōl* «ravine», Panj. *khol* «cavity, hollow», W. Pah. *khoḷ* «stream», Nep. *kholo* «small river, valley», etc.; Pāli *kholla* «hollow», Lahnda *khola* «hollow», Or. *khola* «cave», etc.; Khowar *khōḷ* «cave, hollow», etc.; but cf. 3849 **khalla* «trench, creek, canal» : Nep. *khālṭo, khaldo* «hollow, hole, pit, depression; ravine», *khalḍo* «valley»; cf. also Nep. *khālci, khālsi, kholso, kholsi, kholco kholcā* «valley, ravine, small stream», *kholsa-kholsi* «streams, valleys»; Assam. *khāl* «pit», Beng. *khāl* «trench, canal», etc.; 3946 **kholla* «cavity» (and its variants), Nep. *kholnu* «to open».

24. Cf. also the Gurung *Nga-ḍi*, below [5.3]. – Note the secondary overlay by Nepālī «suffix», albeit a W. Nepālī one and not the usual Nepālī *kholā*. This underlines the strong local nature of the «suffixation» process of adding explanatory determinatives.

25. Note also the name of the valley of the upper Barbung river, *Tsharbung*.

26. In the sequel I use the arrow → to indicate the river into which the one on question flows.

27. Cf. *Mailung* in the Tamang area, another name which looks « generally Tib.-Burm ». Cf. above, names such as *Seng, Lukum* [4.2], *Mailung* [6], *Lumding, Loding, Sarrang* (note another *Serang* on the Upper Buṛhi Gaṇḍaki, in the Kutang area, see M. Aris, *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 2, p. 56 *sq.*, cf. above, note 12), *Maulung* 7.

28. Cf. however, Snellgrove's complaint that such names are « intractable, for no Tibetan speaker here is sufficiently educated to give the spelling correctly ». *Op. cit.*, London, 1961, repr. 1981, p. 36, 279 *sq.*); cf. *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, I, Oxford, 1967, p. 72; C. Ramble, « The Muktinath Yartung. A Tibetan harvest festival in its social and historic context », in *L'Ethnographie*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 222.

29. C. Jest, *Dolpo. Communautés de langue tibétaine du Népal*, Paris, CNRS, 1974; Jest-Dobremez, *Manaslu. Hommes et milieux du Népal central*, 1976. For the local form of Tibetan names in N. Nepal, see C. Ramble, « The Muktinath Yartung » *L'Ethnographie* 83, p. 222, n. 4. – Note that there is another Tangdung in Assam, now Arunaprachal Pradesh, in the Tawang District, just east of Bhutan); note also that the valley of Dolpo is called Nangkhong/Nangung (*nań khoń*), cf. *khu* ?

30. Or, as Snellgrove puts it, in *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, I, p. 8 : « completely off the beaten track ».

31. This sounds more plausible than the usually offered explanation that the Rais have come through the Barahkshetra gorge of the Kosi, from the south, and then split up, penetrating into the various river valleys of the Kirānt (Khambuvan), see Charles McDougal, *The Kulunge Rai*, Kathmandu, 1979, p. 3; cf. also p. 17 *sq.* on the aboriginal population of the Kulunge area (Hongu valley), the *Rungsiupa*.

32. Cf. Kalhaṇa's accounts of the Khaśa, settling around the rims and approaches of the Valley of Kashmir in the south and west, and see already Manu 10.44. Cf. also H. Gurung, *op. cit.*, p. 30 : « The suffix *bang* which means 'level land' in Magar language could be an indication of the past extension of Magar domain as far west as Phalabang » (on the Sarda river, north of the Babai).

33. Cf. Kūrma-P. 49.36; Viṣṇu-P. 2.4.69; For *Mańgara*, see Varṇāratnākara by Jyotirīśvara of Mithilā, in Radhakrishna Choudhary, *Mithila in the Age of Vidyāpati*, Varanasi, 1976, p. 138; see also Pant and Sharma, p. 22, n. 80.

34. See Mahes Raj Pant and Aishvarya Dhar Sharma, « The two earliest copper plate inscriptions from Nepal », Kathmandu, July 1977 (Nepal Research Centre, *Miscellaneous Papers*, n° 12), p. 7 *sq.*, 21 *sq.*; note that *Mańgvara* is close to *Mangar*, which Grierson gives for Darjeeling, *Survey* III, 1, p. 206.

35. *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī*, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal P. Malla, Kathmandu/Wiesbaden, 1985.

36. Cf. Rāj. 3.10, where he confused a teacher's designation, *stonpā*, with the name given to a stūpa *Lo-stonpā* (= of Leh).

37. See G.P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, 1937, repr. 1974; cf. also (Pāli) *Mahājanaka*, the king of the neighboring country of Videha, called *Janaka* in the Vedic texts.

38. *Sa Kālagaṇḍikā-tīrāśrayāty uccāśmaveśmani ninikṣepa Jayāpīḍam āptānāṃ rakṣināṃ kare* 4.546.

39. After having been liberated from this prison, Jayāpīḍa marches on to the mythical Strīrājya somewhere in the North of the Himalayas, in Tibet.

40. See L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal (C. 750-1480)*, Rome, 1958, n° 33, 12, cf. Pant and Sharma, p. 19.

41. See Petech, *op. cit.*, n° 4.

42. *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

43. Cf. [5.3], for the Mud-*khyun*, and Modi rivers.

44. Cf. also *Gur Gāḍ* in upper Dhorpatan; cf. Harka Gurung, *op. cit.*, p. 26 : « The suffix 'Gad' for streams prevalent here extends as far west as Himachal Pradesh and in East up to Riri where the Bari Gad joins the Kali Gandaki ».

45. See Benedict, *Conspectus*, p. 55.

46. Or is *nga* a Gurung word (*ńa*) with the common Magar suffixed determinative *di* ?. The word *ńa* is found in the *Gurung-Nepali / Nepali-Gurung Glossary* (by D.B. Gurung, J.R. Glover, W.W. Glover, Kathmandu, 1976) only with the meaning « I », not « fish », etc.

47. Gurung *kyu* « water » in *kyu jhās* « boat, ship », *kyu jhoṃb* « po water », *kyu gyu* « liquid », etc.; cf. *khrub* « to wash ».

48. Cf. F.-J. Dobremez, *Carte écologique du Népal, Annapurna-Dhaulagiri*, Paris, CNRS, 1974.

49. Note : Gurung *mud* for Magar *mo-ḍi* ?

50. S. Gauchan and M. Vinding, « The history of the Takhāli according to Thakāli tradition », *Kailash* 5, 1977, p. 97-184 ; see esp. p. 106-107 for river names and p. 173-176 for the toponymy of the region, also in Nepālī and Tibetan ; in the sample given I replace *aa* by *ā*, etc.

51. Note also the *Seti Beni* Kholā → Kāli Gaṇḍaki, S. of Baglung, near Bhattichaur.

52. It is obviously not based on a word with the Skt. suffix *-kī*, but on a Muṇḍa word form **gandak'*, see below.

53. Interestingly using the Dravidian loan word *nīra-* « water ».

54. See author, *On the localisation of Vedic texts and schools* (Materials on Vedic Sākhās, 7). India and the Ancient world. History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650. P.H.L. Eggermont ; « Jubilee Volume », ed. by G. Pollet, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 25, Leuven 1987, p. 173-213.

55. Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Etymol. Dict.* (KEWA I, 317, cf. III, 692 for *Gáṅgā* ; Turner, *CDIAL* 17a, 211a for Gaṅgā). Cf. also *Gandhāra*, which may be due to a popular etymology, Skt. *gandha-* « smell » ? The original word may very well have been closer to Skt. *gadha* « ford », or, of course, to some quite different, aboriginal word ; note again the similarity of some Skt. and Muṇḍa or Tib.-Burm. words (see above [2.1], [3.1] on *gāḍ* and n. 23 on *kholā*) ; cf. also Dhātupada 19.15 *gádati* « to flow », *gaḍa* « ditch », Śabdar. in Śabdakalpadruma, « name of an area », Rājan. sub radice *gaḍalavaṇa*, Śabdakalpadruma. These may reflect an early loan into Sanskrit of a Muṇḍa word *ga(ṇ)d* « to flow/river ».

56. Mayrhofer, *KEWA* I, p. 313 and Turner, *CDIAL*, p. 17a, 211a. Cf. also Eastern Nep. river name *Kankai* in the Terai, which looks like the Tamil form of the name *Gaṅgā* (there are, however, no Dravidians in the area and there are no traces of an earlier Drav. occupation. The Kurukh living there now have been imported as laborers from Central India, where they are known as Oraon, see K.H. Gordon, *Phonology of Dhangar-Kurux*, Kathmandu, 1976. For a different view of early Dravidian settlements in N. India, see R. Shafer, *Ethnography of India*, Wiesbaden, 1974 and cf. below, n. 76.

57. Cf. F.B.J. Kuiper, *Nahali*, p. 10, with lit. ; see already B.H. Hodgson, « Comparative vocabulary of the languages of the broken tribes of Nepal », in *Miscellaneous Essays related to Indian Subjects*, vol. I, p. 161 *sq.*, London, 1880 ; cf. « On the Chépáng and Kúsúnda Tribes of Nepál », *JASB* XVII/2, 1848, p. 650 *sq.*

58. G. Toffin, « The peoples of the upper Āṅkhu Khola Valley », *Contrib. Nep. Stud.* 3, 1976, p. 34-46 ; cf. also p. 49 (Ph. Arirol, « On pastures and ethnic groups in the area : Tamang, Gurung, Ghale »).

59. Kindly conveyed to me in his letter of 9-7-1990, and based on notes from the years 1969-1971.

60. I represent the low tone by the grave accent, thus *à, è*.

61. Should we compare, with Malla 1980, p. 60, the New. children word *ākhu* « water » and New. *āṅkhuˀlhā* « water pot with a spout » ?

62. Malla, *op. cit.*, wants to understand this as New. *Salamkhu < swalam-khu* « three-pronged-river », cf. Hodgson, 1874, p. 63-64. (B.H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, Trübner, 1874).

63. See G. Toffin, « The peoples of the upper Ankhu Khola valley », and P. Alirol, « Animal husbandry in the Ganesh Himal region : An essay in ecological synthesis », in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, vol. 3, n° 1, p. 34-61.

64. From **d(h)i-ku* with Nepālī suffix *-re* ?

65. Note, however, that *wa* also occurs in Limbu, though apparently not as a separate word but in compounds such as *wā-dhārā*, « water-stand », *yambā cūād* « river », *khāwā* « dried up river bed » ; *yoṅkhōṅ, wahōṅ* « stream », see above, n. 17.

66. On the Anglo-Indian maps the spelling is quite divergent and irregular. We have : *kuā, k(h)uwā*, etc.

67. Unless it is indeed connected with Tib.-Burm. **kluṅ*. Note that initial aspirated stops in Himalayish are not well represented in Shafer and Benedict. Nothing on *khu* in Benedict and Shafer, as far as I see.

68. See above, n. 17 on Phedappe **wa*.

69. Strangely, *khuwā* also occurs in Nepālī and Kumaoni : Nep. *khuwā, khwā* « small division of a country, district, province »; Kum. *khuwā* « direction, valley ». This may point to fact mentioned already several times : some of the words for « river/valley » such as *kholā, gāḍ*, etc., seem to go back to a pre-Indo-Aryan substrate, though they are widely spread in the various new Indo-Aryan languages of India as well.

70. Cf. also another *Barūn* (→ Kyān → Marin Kholā in the Sindhuli area) and such names as *Arung* → Rapti, cf. also n. 27.

71. For Indian rivers, see E.W. Hopkins, *The Sacred Rivers of India*, in Fs. Crawford Howell Toy, New York, MacMillan, 1912, p. 213-229.

72. K.P. Malla, 1980, p. 60 : « The so-called *Indrāvatī Kosi*, one of the Seven Kośi rivers, was actually called *Milamchi* or *Milamchu* (*milamha* = The third one) until the A.D. 1840s (Hodgson, 1848, p. 646, Hodgson, 1874, part. II, 5) ». See also Hodgson, II, p. 193 : *Milanchi*; actually, the maps still show this river (falling from the Gosainkund), with its old name *Malemchi* (now obviously derived from the name of the settlement, *Malanchi*, cf. Hodgson, II, p. 193).

73. *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī*, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal P. Malla, Kathmandu, Wiesbaden, 1985.

74. See Benedict, *Conspectus*, n° 55, p. 26; cf. **twiy* n° 168, p. 45.

75. D.B. Bista, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

76. Shafer, *Introduction*, p. 3, n. 1; however, the recent investigations into Sino-Tibetan by S.A. Starostin (see *Rekonstruktsiia drevnekitaiijkoi fonologicheskoi sistemy*, Moscow, 1989, and cf. als *Vneshnie svazi iaponskogo iazyka*, Moscow, 1990), seem to re-align the Himalayan languages in a different way. He supposes quite a large number of sub-families, and a homeland in the foothills of Himalayas for this language family. According to Starostin, the subgroupings are : Tibeto-Burmese (and Karenic), E. Himalayan, Abor, Newari, Kanauri, Gurung, Bodo-Garo, Lepcha, Kachin, Chinese. Starostin's new book apparently contains a new reconstruction of East Himalayan as well; see Vitaly Shevoroshkin, *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, Bochum, Brockmeyer, 1989, cf. especially V. Shevoroshkin, *Explorations in Language Macro-Families*, Bochum, 1989, p. 42-66.

77. For Kanauri, note the presence of early Indo-Aryan loans, which indicate their presence in the area since early times. Are they (including the Zhang-zhung) the original « Kirāta » of the Vedas ?

78. See Greta Rana *et al.*, Dolakha, « Trecking and sightseeing off the beaten track » (Integrated Hill Project), *SATA*, Kathmandu, 1984, p. 13.

79. Greta Rana *et al.*, p. 28, claim a different origin : « The name of Jiri is actually derived from the sound of wolves in the forests surrounding the village. "Ri" meaning forest and "Ji" meaning jungle noise in the language of the Jirels. The name of the Jirels must have been fashioned after the name of Jiri itself since the ancient Sunwar name was *Lincan* ». This looks like a folk etymology, especially when taking into account the river name Ji-*ri*.

80. Unfortunately Thāmi materials are not at my disposal. Note that some Thāmi claim to have immigrated from Humla, see Greta Rana, *et al.*, p. 13. This fits with the linguistic classification by Shafer who includes Thāmi among the Western Himalayish languages.

81. See Hodgson, *Essays*, II, p. 194.

82. Phe-*di* can, of course, simply be Nepālī *phedi* « bottom of the hill ».

83. The *biāsi* of Dumja, however, is the normal Nep. word for a *Doāb*, the land between two rivers; see Hodgson, *Essays*, vol. II, p. 192.

84. See above n. 35.

85. There are indeed a few words with -*s*- following on *o* or *u*, such as *busa, tusa* (RV), *musala* « pestle » (AV), *kusitāyī* (MS) *kusīda* (TS) *kusurubinda* (TS), *kusuma/kusumbha* (Manu), *kīsta* (RV). Note, again, that several words in Indo-Aryan look suspiciously similar to the corresponding Tib.-Burm. ones, cf. above and n. 23 on *kholā*, etc. Such words are : *kausitā* « pools » (MS), *kus-ra* « hollow », *kośa* « receptacle, bucket » but cf. Avestan *kusra* « bending ». Cf. also RV *kuṣāvā* (name of a river ?) RV 4.18.8, Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 1.245.

86. Jātaka 5.2,5,6; note that Pāli has only one sibilant, *s*.

87. Aṅguttaranikāya 1.213, 4. 252, etc., see G.P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pāli proper names*, London, 1938, repr. 1974, p. 695; note that there also is a rock near the Himalaya called *Kosika/Kosiya*, Apadāna 2.381; similarly, *musala* often appears as *muśala* or *muṣala*, etc.

88. From *Śakala* in the Panjab, cf. modern Sialkoṭ; cf. also Śaka, Śākya ? Apart from the *Sakya, Sakka, Sākiyā* attested in Pāli (= Skt. *Śaka/Śākya*, N. Iranian *Saka*) make their ap-

pearance into India only much later, after having immigrated first to Seistān (< *Sakastāna), from the area north of Iran.

89. The variation Kosala : Tosala is typical for Muṇḍa, see already Ind. Stud. 3, 169, Levy, JA 203,1, Przyluski, JA 208, p. 23, 40; see Mayrhofer, KEWA I, p. 274.

90. Cf. also words such as : jangala, jāngala «jungle»; vṛsala; devala (P.N., KS), Nārmā-ra ? (RV), Caṇḍālá, Kulāla, Maināla; cf. Karṇāli, river in W. Nepal, Gandhā-ri (RV) / -ra, further : Cumuri, Āduri, Sobhari, mayū-rī (RV), etc., tu-ra, tug-ra (RV), Śambha-ra (RV), Mad-ra (SB), etc.

91. See Paryāyavācī śabdakośa, Nepal Rājakīya Prajñā-Pratiṣṭhān, Kathmandu, VS 2030, no. 606, 607.

92. A comparison of the name of the Vedic tribe, the Kāśi, found from the Atharvarveda onwards, is to be excluded, however, as it shows -ś- as opposed to ŚB -s- in Kosala, quite part from the different vowel, -ā- : -o-.

93. Kirāta : VS 30.16, VSK 34.3.3; cf. Mayrhofer, KEWA I 211.

94. Kilāta : in PB 13.12.5, JB 3.167, ŚB 1.1.4.14 kilāta-ā/akuli/ī, the two priests of the Asuras.

95. Kailātā : PS 8.2.5a kailāta pṛśna upatṛnya babhrau; should compare also Kailāsa (a mountain, KaṭhB ed. Caland, Versl. 1920, p. 486) : kilāsa (an illness), which has its origin in the mountains ?

96. Kairātika : PS 16.16.4a Kairātikā kumārikā, ŚS 10.4.14.

97. Kuiper 136, 161; cf. Newārī, frequent change ky > cy, see also Shafer, Introd. p. 146 (Chaurasya Rai), p. 161 (New. ccheṁ «house»).

98. See author, on the localisation (above, n. 54). It is interesting to note that there are a number of names for non-Aryan tribes ending in -ta or -ṭa, such as Kīkaṭa (RV) and Araṭṭa (in the Panjab, ŚB, cf. Aratta in Mesopotamian records, see author, «Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda», Persica IX (1980), p. 86-128), Kulūṭa (Kulu Valley), Virāṭa (Berar); perhaps one should compare the Scythian plural suffix -tai suffix such as in the Ambautai ((K)ambautai ?) Ptol. Geogr. 6.18.3 (see Italo Ronca, Ostiran und Zentralasien bei Ptolemaios, Diss., Mainz, 1968, p. 121; cf. also Bulitai.) Shafer, Ethnography of India, Wiesbaden, 1974, assumed an early and excessively widespread Tib.-Burm. settlement in Northern India; cf. however now Ilya Peiros : «The linguistic situation in Southeast Asia», in V. Shevoroshkin, Reconstructing Languages and Cultures, Bochum, Brockmeyer, 1989, p. 66-69, according to whom contact of Tib.-Burm. with Proto-South-Dravidian seems likely.

99. Miscellaneous Essays related to Indian Subjects, vol. I, p. 161 sq., London, 1880; in vol. II, p. 206 sq., however, he uses the normal form, Likhū (written Likhú).

100. There often is little difference in the pronunciation, cf. the Newārī allophons kho/khu, above; o/u/va interchange since the old palm leaf documents and already in the Licchavi inscriptions : śolla-/śulli-/ śulī-adhikāra.

101. Which might, of course, have been taken from the name of the Kosi itself; see Hodgson, op. cit., I, p. 165; on the Kuswar and Danuwar : see now, C. Jest, «The Kuswar of Chaithali (Central Nepal)», Contrib. Nep. Stud. 4, 1977, p. 1-45. In the area Jest studied (near the confluence of the Rosi and Sun Kosi), the Kuswar are called Majhi which includes also the Danuwar and other river people. (For further vivid details on this location, cf. the novel by Śankar Koirālā, Kairinī Ghāṭ, Kathmandu, VS 2018/2033). According to Jest, The Kuswar proper are found along the Indrāvati, Bhote Kosi, Sun Kosi, Tāmba Kosi and on the Trisuli and its affluents such as the Dhare Kholā.

102. Alleged by Mohan Khanal, Abhilekha Sankalan, Kathmandu VS 2028, p. 1-3; however, already in 1953, D.R. Regmi found the stone «totally damaged» (see Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal, Delhi, 1983, p. 86). The same was told to me in the mid-seventies by M.R. Pant who had gone there to check it himself.

103. See above, n. 16, 75, 80, 103.

104. Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal P. Malla, Kathmandu/Wiesbaden, 1985, p. 26, fol. 18b.1.

105. The ed. has tāmarjjaṇakośakī (uncorrected in the attached suddhipattra) but the facsimile clearly shows tāmarjjakośakī with a small ṇa superimposed between rjja and ko; an -u seems to have been added between the lower parts of rjja and ko. This -u, however, could also be taken as the mark indicating the inserted letter, as can be seen for similar case on fol. 26a, cf. also fol. 29a.

106. This merely consists in adding another small «.wave», in addition to the one already present in this type of Bhujimo script, on top of the Akṣara *ṭā*, turning it into *ṭo*.

107. There remains the problem, however, how to translate *taṭād*. Literally, it means nothing more than «from the river bank». It entirely depends on the point of view of the speaker, whether this means east or west of the Kosi rivers. Since it is someone from the Kathmandu Valley who writes this sentence, one would, naturally, understand «(on the other side, eastwards) from the bank of the *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī* rivers», *i.e.* east of the two Kosis.

However, if *bhavā* was used with a verb in the past (which is not expressed here while it usually is), it would refer to the *former* area of settlement, *i.e.* westwards, viewed «from the bank of *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī* rivers». This has to be excluded as we would expect a past tense verb, see the beginning of GRV with *bhūta-, babhūvuḥ*, etc., and other participles in -*ta*.

Finally, the use of the ablative in topographical descriptions may be viewed from still another angle. B. Kölver (*Documents*, p. 17) has shown that *pūrvvataḥ* in the old land sale and mortgage documents means «east of», (and similarly for other directions), indicating the western boundary of a plot. The same could apply in the sentence from the *Gop. Vaṃś.* It would then mean «west of the *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī* rivers». However, it remains doubtful whether the technical terminology of such plot descriptions could have influenced the description as given in the chronicle.

108. The GRV does have one similar sentence in its Sanskrit part, while the Kaiser Vaṃś. does not, as far as I see. GRV 28b5/29a.1 reads :
tadanantare śrīdeveladevīnā smānīyāt | ... aṣṭalokapālāra, śrījayasthitimalladeva vijayī bhave, vivāham kṛtam...
This is corrupt even for the general Newārī-based type of Sanskrit used in the chronicle. Read *śrīdeveladevīnā sma - āniyāt = *ā aniyāt,* a contamination of *nayati : ā-anayat* «she led, brought» and absol. -*āniya* ? Secondly, *vijayī bhave* can be understood as locative absolute (missing the correct case in *śrījayasthitimalladeva* (which is construed otherwise), or one can take it separately as *vijayī-bhave* as a kind of *cvi*-formation (**vijayī kṛ*) «in becoming victorious», which is equally uncertain.

The sentence mentioning the Kirātarājas also is somewhat similar to the earlier statement in GRV (fol. 17a.4) about the immigration of the Gopālas : *Gopāla babhūvuḥ, tata paścāt mālākhātaḥ gogrāmasya āgamena...* «They were the Gopālas. Then, later, by their approach from Mālākhā to (?, of) Gogrāma ...» (This is, basically, the translation of Vajrācarya, «... *gopāla bhae. tyas pacchi Mālākhā.bāṭa Gogrāma.ko āgamana bhayo*», followed by Malla with the paraphrase «They (the Gopālas) came from Mālākhā to Gogrāma». Nepālī scholars take *Mālākhā* as an old name of Kīrtipur. Malla also refers to *Gopāla* Śreṣṭhas in the South-West of the Valley and compares such designations with the name of the *Mahiṣapāla*, and his own etymology of *Nepāla-* < Tib.-Burm. **ñepā* «cow / buffalo, cattle man / keeper» (see : «Nepala, Archaeology of the Word, Heritage Preservation, Souvenir» ed. by Souvenir Committee, PATA Nepal Chapter and Nepal Heritage Society, Nov. 1983, Kathmandu, p. 66).

109. It is perhaps possible to translate «whose prosperity/well being/settlement is/was on the banks...» – thus coming closer to Vajrācārya and Malla's translation.

110. Brian Hodgson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 397. See the following note.

111. *Ibid., II*, p. 196.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

113. *Athaḥ sūryavamsaprabhāvāt nepāle ki[rāta]rājā nirjjitya | licchavīvaṃsa pravarttateḥ* GRV 19b.2. «Then, due to the power of the solar dynasty, and having defeated the Ki[rāta] kings in Nepal, the Licchavi dynasty began/proceeded (to rule)».

114. Note already Hsüan Chwang's telling description, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, book VII, p. 81. «The manners of the people are false and very perfidious. Their temperament is hard and fierce, with little regard to truth and honour. They are unlearned but skillful in the arts ; their appearance is ungainly and revolting». Cf. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p. 154 : « Leur corps est laid et leur figure ignoble ».

Since Hsüan Chwang never went to Nepal himself, this probably reflects the standard Indian appreciation of the Mongoloid people. Note that *kirāta* means, among other things, «hunchback» in classical Sanskrit, and cf. alreday the characterization of *Kilāta-* as «Asura» in early Vedic literature (see n. 94).

115. Also, there are such Newārī endings as .*ṭoṃ*, .*yā* in the early parts of the GRV, called V2, which still is written in Skt., but already under heavy New. influence, for example in the

following sentences : *samvat 219 māgha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyā mūlanakṣatra yarham yethobahāra varapāla bhāro.ṭoṃ nāyaka nepāla.yā vikṣāta mahāprabhūtaḥ ubhayarājyakula udharaṇa dhāraṇasamarthaḥ || asta varṣā 87 ||.* «O Māgha, kṛṣṇā āṣṭāmī mūla nakṣatra, NS 219 Nāyaka Varapāla Bhāro of Yarham (Latitapura, Pāṭan), Yetho Bahāla (Vihāra), a well known (*vikhyāta*) person of Nepal, and a very influential man, capable of destroying or preserving both the royal houses (of Nepal) died at the age of 87». I suspect (cf. my paper « On Indian historica writing » in *Minami Ajia*, Tokyo, 1991) that these sections, as they stand now, go back to the time of their composition, *i.e.* Śivadeva's time, around 1100 A.D. At the same time the first sentence in Newārī recorded so far occurs in the land grants, see H. Śakya and B. Kölver, *Documents*, in 1152 A.D., see n. 126). Note that this period, King Śivadeva's time, seems to have been a one of considerable change : he issued new coins (see Kölver, *Documents*), new formulas appear in the grants (using *Lalitabrumā* for Patan), etc. He probably found a new location for his palace in the North-West of Patan, and it seems to be Śivadeva, hardly his father, who founded the Patan Agnihotra (see author, forthc.); cf. the article on Śivadeva by Dh. B. Bajracharya in *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.*

116. See below [11.1] ff. and n. 113, 117. Dh.V. Vajracārya, « Settlements» (see, above, n. 3), p. 358 straightforwardly takes the names of Licchavi time settlements as stemming «from the Kirātī language» but thinks that «the meaning of these words has not been established by scientific research».

117. And until archaeology will present a clearer picture, of course. The Kirātas are once mentioned in a Licchavi time inscription, but in a very fragmentary context dealing with birds, cattle, old trees, see the Hanuman Dhoka inscr., ed. by Gautamvajra Vajrācārya, « Recently discovered inscriptions of Licchavi Nepal», *Kailash* I, 1973, p. 126 (with *plate*), and D.R. Regmi, *Inscr. of Ancient Nepal*, New Delhi, 1983, vol. I, p. 85.

118. Note that the recent excavations indicate, at least, Kuṣāṇa time settlements with strong S. Asian influences; cf. Dh. V. Vajracārya, « Settlements... » (see, above, n. 3).

119. Note, however, that in this sample, most of the clusters occur at the boundary of two syllables, and only rarely at the beginning of a word. In this respect they resemble the sample, given below, n. 120 *sq.*, of names from the documents of 983 A.D. *sq.* In modern New. syllable final consonants have virtually disappeared.

120. A remote possibility is that even the Licchavi inscriptions present the place names in a pre-Licchavi (*i.e.* pre-« Kirāta » form. Indeed, they seem to differ in phonetic shape from « Kirāta » terms such as *śolla/śullī/śulī-(adhikāra*, see preceding note) – but not from that of the names of the Kirāta kings (recorded much later in the GRV ms.) ! Normally, however, one assumes that the Licchavi inscriptions preserve the place names of the Kathmandu Valley in a pre-Licchavi form, *i.e.* in « Kirāta » language, – unless this « Kirāta » was identical with a local language which already was identical with early Newārī. Which one of the three possibilities mentioned applies, has to be investigated in greater detail, cf. below. Note the many variant spellings of local names in the inscriptions, such as – *khu/khū/kho, Cva/Co, Cu, priṅ/pṛṅ, Sāmbhapura / Śānbhapura, Uttane : Uḍane-huśa*, see already StII 5/6, p. 327, nᵒ 60, 69, 72, 74, 75, 87.

121. Later pronouced *gola*, cf. already the last Licchavi inscription before the introduction of Nepal Samvat, 876 A.D. which as *gvalaka* (*Bajracharya* nᵒ 190), and cf. the medieval writings *gvalaṃ, gvalam, gvalvaṃ*, etc. in GRV, and *-gola, -gla* in inscriptions and documents : *e.g.* Māni*gla* < māni*gola*ka, see Umā-Maheśvara inscr. near Ko Bahal, Patan NS 307, *in* Regmi, *Med. Nepal* III, nᵒ XIX, p. 9, see author, StII 5-7, p. 315, n. 29-31.

122. See StII 5/6, p. 327.

123. This, too, is hardly possible in modern Newārī, except for combinations with preceding *-m/ṃ-*.

124. Note again, the uncertainty, even at this early period between *o/(va)/u/ū* (*e.g. śolla/śullī/śulī-*adhikāra) (cf. n. 154), a feature so typical for later Newārī. Such peculiarities are often retained over long periods, cf., for example, the case of proto-Indian retroflex sounds, which spread, in increasing frequency, not only to early Vedic Sanskrit but even to a fairly recent immigrant language, Baluchi.

125. See Dh. B. Bajracārya, *Licchavi kāla.kā abhilekh*, p. 127 *sq.*; cf. also the names of mountains (*-co(k)*), mountain passes, etc.

126. See edition and translation by B. Kölver and H. Śakya, *Ducuments from the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra, Pāṭan*, St. Augustin, 1985.

127. Not all of which are attested in the documents but re-appear in later inscriptions and in the GRV.

128. See the lists in Kölver, *Documents*, p. 95 *sq.* and also in personal names, p. 89 *sq.*

129. Umā-Maheśvara inscr. near Ko Bahal, Patan NS 307, see Regmi, *Med. Nepal*, III, n° XIX, p. 9.

130. See ed. *GVR*, p. 191 *sq.*, 199 *sq.*

131. Interestingly, final -*k* must still have been pronounced in the Middle Ages (taken from a different dialect ?) as it has been taken over into Nepālī, *e.g. Jama-cok, Pul-cok*, etc. It is doubtful whether Nepālī speakers could or would pick out the correct stems from the forms as declined in Newārī sentences.

132. Kölver, *op. cit.*, p. 96, cf. StII 5/6, p. 315.

133. See K.P. Malla, *The Newar Language : A working outline* (Institute for the study of languages and cultures of Asia and Africa), Tokyo, 1985, p. 14.

134. See B. Kölver, « Aspects of Nepalese culture : ancient inscriptions and modern yatras » *Proceedings of the First Symposium of Nepali and German Sanskristists*, 1978, Kathmandu, 1978, p. 157-172, on the probable segmentation of such names, and cf. author, StII 5/6.

135. Note that these already have the medieval form, without the complicated consonant clusters (especially at the beginning of a syllable), met with in Licchavi inscriptions (except those few surviving types mentioned in n. 119 and at the boundaries of compounds, and of course, in Sanskrit words).

136. For example NS 272 = 1152 A.D., Kölver, p. 202 : *damko lāko na hi vu hoyu madu vu jurom | devaka-rājika maju valah.*

137. B. Kölver and H. Śākya, *Documents*. A few manuscript colophons are earlier; the earliest dated manuscript. in Nepal go back to 810 A.D. For colophons see D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, and L. Petech, *Medieval history of Nepal*, Rome, 1984. For Ṭhākuri and Malla time inscriptions, see Regmi, *Med. Nepal*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1966 and the various journals, such as *Pūrṇimā.*

138. One may even posit an immigration of the Newars (cf. n. 139) at the end of the Licchavi period. Could this be connected with the establishment of the Nepal Samvat in 879 A.D. and with the repeated unrest due to the Tibetan expansion in the 7th and 8th centuries ? cf. Gop. Rāj.Vaṁś. fol. 23a.2 *tatpaścāt Bhoṭarājena <m>āyātih, Nepalamaṇḍale rājya karoti | | rājā śrīvasantadeva varṣa 27 ten cākumbhīṭatapratyanta niskaṇṭaka rājya karoti | |* Note the devian sentence in the Kaiser Vaṁś. : *tena puna Bhoṭāntapratyanta niṣkaṇṭakam rājyam karo[ti]* (GRV p. 215) which makes more sense than Vajrācārya's and Malla's « up to the banks of (the river ?) Cākumbhī». For the linguistic position of Newārī between Tibetan and Burmese see Shafer, Introd., p. 158.

For the spellings, see cf. n. 120, 152 and already StII 5/6, p. 327, n. 74 : *Khvapvam* Gop.Vaṁś 37a.4 *sq., Khvapo* 56a.2 *sq., Khvapo* Gop.Vaṁś, fol. 56 (NS 494) and fol. 59 (NS 500). The inscriptions and Thyasaphus have *Khvapa* or *Khapva* and the modern form is *Khvapa*. – cf. already StII 5/6, p. 327, n. 74. Note that the variation in spelling attests a pronunciation of [kh p] ort [kh p] for this early period, cf. already StII 5/6, p. 328, n. 75 and cf. above, n. 120.

139. For a recent discussion on the origins of the Newars, see V.S. Doherty, « Notes on the origin of the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal», in *Himalayan Anthropology, The Indo-Tibetan Interface*, ed. J.F. Fisher, The Hague, 1978, p. 433-445, esp. 438-440. It Starostin (see, above, n. 76) should prove to be correct with his assumption of a Tibeto-Burmese homeland in the foothills of the Himalaya, one may have to reconsider some of the proposals, made in this paper, on waves of immigration.

140. See already author, StII 5/6, p. 311-337.

141. Which is not possible for me at this instance, due to lack of materials.

142. P.K. Benedict, *Sino-Tibetan, A conspectus*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 5.

143. The easternmost peoples known to these texts are the Kāśi viz. Aṅgas. The Kāśi lived in the area of present day Benares, Skt. Kāśī or Varāṇasi ; the Aṅgas inhabited the area of the great E-S bend of the Ganges, near Bhagalpur / Sahibganj.

144. This procedure is well known from other areas. The name of the *Kambojas* in Vedic Afghanistan was transferred to the South-East Asian *Kamboja/Kampuchea, Kaliṅga* to the *Karen* in Burma, *Triliṅga* to *Telaing* in Burma, *Campā* to *Cham* in Vietnam; or cf. the name of the *Veneti > Wenden, Winden* = Slavic peoples as the eastern neighbours of Germanic speaking

peoples, and those of the *Welsch, Welch, Wallon*, etc. to their western neighbours (whether Celtic, French or Italian speaking).

145. See author, StII 5/6 (1980), 311-337; K.P. Malla, « River Names » (1982-3), and « Linguistic Archaeology... » (1981), see above, n.3.

146. See already StII 5/6, p. 326-327, see n. 3.

147. See K.P. Malla, River Names (1982-3), and Linguistic Archaeology (1981), see above, n. 3.

148. Malla (1980, 62) compare *Nwa-khu* (mouth-river or murmuring river) Newārī *nwa-wā-ye* « to speak », *nwa-sil-e* « to wash one's mouth » with *Bāgmati* < Skt. *Vāgmati* « (river) having speech ».

149. Cf. StII 5/6, p. 327, n. 71.

150. See above, n. 100, StII 5/6, p. 327, n. 74.

151. Indirectly referred to by Malla (1982, 60) with this statement : « A Sanskrit-Newārī lexicon, date NS 501 (A.D. > 1380), gives *kho* (sic !) as a gloss for Sanskrit *nadī* ».

152. Cf. also *sarkhār, ḍhokha* in GRV. This evidence reminds of the unsettled history of initial voiceless stops in the Himalayish section of Tib.-Burm. Does medieval Newārī have several dialects or substrate languages ?

153. Or divide *Saṅkha-laṅkhu* ? Cf. the place name *San-khu*.

154. Cf. *Śolla-adhikāra* ? – Cf. the similar office designation, derived from a place name as well, *Liṅ-gval-adhikāra*, cf. StII 5/6, p. 315, n. 31.

155. For a discussion of their location see author, StII 5/6.

156. Cf., however, also *Ya-ku*, p. 576;

157. In the Changu Narayan Inscr. of Śivadeva I (Gnoli 34, Dh.B. Bajracharya, p. 58, line 22).

158. For a discussion see author, StII 5/6, p. 327.

159. *Khu-di*, a village near Pokhara, and *Khu-di* (→ upper Marsyandi), cf. above [8.2].

160. Of course, it can be argued that *khu* is just another old word Tib.-Burm. such as *ti(y)*.

161. The Chepang now live on the higher slopes of the Mahābhārat range, in the southern Dhading, western Makwanpur, northern Chitwan and southern Gorkha districts, see D.B. Bista, *op. cit.*, Kathmandu, 1972, p. 99.

162. Cf. Latin *albus, alba* « white » : these are chalk mountains, like the Swiss Jura, their southern continuation.

163. German *Haff*, « lagune at the mouth of a river »; cf. Swedish *hav*, « sea ».

164. Cf. also other words for « river/water », such as *toya* and *nīra* which have pre-Indo-Aryan origins.

165. Therefore, there is no connection, as one might initially be led to think, with the equally frequent suffixed (Germanic) determinative -*town*, -*ton*.

166. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6 (Fs. P. Thieme), p. 326-327.

167. Cf. above, n. 139.

168. Where I compared -*bu*-, *dol/dul, co(kh), gal* of the Licchavi inscriptions with mod. New.; cf. also, p. 334, n. 94.

169. See K.P. Malla, *Classical Newari Literature : A Sketch*, Kathmandu, 1982, p. 35.

170. See also in the text of the Gop.Vaṁś., Samvat 219 : *bhāro.ṭom*.

171. *Khopṛṅ-grāma* in the Śivaliṅga Inscr. at Deopatan, [Śaka] Samvat 399 = 476 A.D., cf. *Mākho-dulum* in the Kumhale Tol inscr. and *Khṛpuṅgrāma* in the Tulachem Tol inscr. of [Śaka] Samvat 516 = 584 A.D.

172. *Khvapvaṁ* Gop.Vaṁś 37k.4 *sq.*, *Khvapo* 56k.2 *sq.* (replacing the Bhaktapura, Bhaktagrāma – including the Tripura palace – of the earlier parts of the text (V₁). Note that the more modern spelling *Khvapo* occurs only in the latest parts of the Gop.Vaṁś on fol. 56 (NS 494) and fol. 59 (NS 500), indicating a shift in the orthography at the time and bearing witness, incidentally, to the way the Vaṁśāvalī was compiled on the basis of older sources. The inscriptions and Thyasaphus have *Khvapa* or *Khapva* and the modern form is *Khvapa*; cf. already StII 5/6, p. 327, n. 74.

173. Note the many variant spellings of local names in the Licchavi inscriptions, such as -*khu/khū/kho, Cva/Co, Cu, priṅ/pṛṅ, Sāmbhapura/Śāmbhapura*, see already StII 5/6, p. 327, n. 69, 72, 74, 75, 87. (These are, it is true, also features of medieval Newārī, but they may as

well represent the sound system of the local substratum which has influenced, as is often the case, the subsequent Newārī !).

174. *Gusaṭalo-nāmarampo (?) vihāra...* in an inscription, on an image of Dīpaṅkara at Guita Bahil, Patan, see D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, vol. III, p. 11, n° XXI; for *Gullamṭaṅga-grāma* see Dh.B. Bajracharya, *Licchavi Kāla.ko Abhilekha*, p. 496 (an inscr. from Yāga-Bahāl in Patan).

175. By which he means the constituent parts of place names, such as – *co*, etc., and not, as would be required to decide the case, grammatical elements.

176. This is what I already demonstrated in StII 5/6, 1980 (*passim*, see esp. p. 332, n. 90) for such words as *khu, co, bu, dul, gvala*; but I was careful not to claim that the ultimate *origin* of these words necessarily must be Newārī, as Malla does; cf. also Dh.V. Vajracārya, « Settlements... » (see, above, n. 3), p. 358 who thinks that « the meaning of these words has not been established by scientific research) ».

177. *co* « hill, mountain top », mod. New *cwa, cwak-* (cf. Nep. form - *cok*); in Licch. inscr. *-co*, but also *cokh-parā* « hill (crossing) tax »; cf. Kaike *chwang*, Khaling '*cong* (= coṅ, with high pitch), Limbu *joṇ* (see A. Hale, « Clause Sentence and Discourse Patterns » in *Selected Languages of Nepal*, IV, Norman, 1973, p. 134, n. 50); but note also *cuk* « mountain range » in Gilyak, a non-Sino-Tibetan language of East-Asia, see Vitaly Shevoroshkin; *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, Bochum, Brockmeyer, 1989, p. 69; *-bu* « land »; O.New. *bu/bru*, Licch. inscr. *bu/bru*; cf. Tamang *pū*, Limbu *pyāṅji* ? – *-gaa* '*village*' ? cf. Mod. New. « classifier for round objects; part of Kathmandu » ; O.New. *gvala(ṃ)*, as in the name of Deopatan, etc., (Licch.) Inscr. *gvala, gvalaṃ*, post-Licch. inscr. *gola-ka* = gṛhamaṇḍala / *cakal*, but cf. Skt. *gola(ka)*, « ball, globe »; perhaps cognate with Tib. Burm. (Consp. 444) **r-wa / *g-wa*; cf. 91 **wal* « round »; – *ko* « slope », *kwa, kwaa* « down »; *pā-kā* « slope of a hill »; cf. Tamang *kyāhmpā* (= *kyāmpā*, with level low tone), Thakāli '*koh-plen* (= *kó-plen*), Khaling '*khotū* ? (*khótū* ? with high pitch), see Hale, « Clause... », p. 134, n. 53); for *khu/khū* see below [13], list of Tib. -Burm. words.

178. Cf. above, n. 134.

179. See Benedict, *Conspectus*, n° 168, p. 45, n. 149.

180. Dor Bahadur Bista, « Encounter with the Raute : The last hunting nomads of Nepal », *Kailash* 4, 1976, p. 317-327; Bista supplies a Swadesh list of their vocabulary (p. 322) which clearly shows that it belongs, other than Kusunda, to the Tib.-Burm. family. See also : J. Reinhard, « The Raute », *Kailash* 2, 1974, p. 233-271.

181. Note the legends about their origin in this area, see above n. 30 and cf. [10.9]; [12.2], [3.2], [3.5].

182. See above, n. 31.

183. See above n. 138, 139.

184. See the summary by Tej R. Kansakar, « Newari Language : A Conspectus », *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.* 8, 1981, p. 1-18; cf. now Starostin, see above n. 76.

185. Note that the Muṇḍa languages Satar and Santali are actually spoken in the extreme South-East of Nepal.

186. See above n. 30.

187. See above n. 80 and cf. n. 76 for a different view of the Tib.-Burm. homeland (S.A. Starostin).

188. See above [3.3], n. 31.

189. See G. Chand, C.R. Roy, N.M. Tuladhar and Subhadra Subba, *Studies in Bilingualism in Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1975.

190. See Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literatures and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, II, p. 45 *sq.* = JASB XVII, II, 1848, p. 650 *sq.*; Shafer,. *Ethnography on India*, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 10 *sq.*; see now cf. also Tim. Toba, *A brief introduction to Kusunda*, Kathmandu (Summer Institute of Linguistics), 1971; J. Reinhard, *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.* 4,1, 1976, p. 1-21, esp. p. 15, and a Swadesh word list, p. 19-21; see also *Objets et Mondes*, 9, p. 89-106; cf. also C.J.F.S. Forbes, « Affinities of the dialects of the Chepang and Kusundah tribes of Nepal with those of the hill tracts of Arracan », *Journal of the Royal Asiat. Soc.* 9 (new Ser.) 1877, p. 421-424.

191. For South (-Western) Tibetan, see, *e.g.* R. Bielmeier, « A preliminary survey of the dialect of Mustang », *JNRC* 8, 1988, p. 31-37.

192. I give a transcription derived from the somewhat cumbersome spelling due to the restrictions of the typewriter keys, *in* A. Hale, « Clause, sentence and Discourse Pattern » in

Selected Languages of Nepal, part IV, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, 1973, p. 24, 55 : *'chuq.*

193. James F.Fisher, *A Vocabulary of the Kaike Language*, Summer Institute, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, March 1971 ; also called Tarali Kham, spoken in 3 villages in Dolpa District.

194. Accented forms are given in [ ] brackets, transformed from the listings (given in parenthesis) according to A. Hale, *op. cit.*, part IV, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, 1973 (p. 55, Hale : *kyuq*).

195. Cf. M. Mazaudon in *Kailash* 6, 1978, p. 158.

196. With breathy pronunciation : *kahnti*, Hale, p. 137;

197. S. Gauchan and M. Vindig, « The history of the Takhaali according to Thakaali tradition », *Kailash* 5, 1977, p. 97-184, see esp. p. 106-107 for river names and p. 173-176 for the toponymy of the region, also in Nepali and Tibetan.

198. According to Grierson, *Ling. Survey of India*, vol. III. 1, p. 408 *sq.* He records Thāmi as heard in Darjeeling. For notes on the Thāmi, see above, n. 16, 75, 80, 103, 118, 141.

199. Cf. also Grierson, III, 1, p. 400 *sq.*; the Bhrāmu live in the Tarai, see Hodgson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 *sq.*

200. Dor Bahadur Bista, « Encounter with the Raute : The last hunting nomads of Nepal », *Kailash* 4, 1976, p. 317-327; J. Reinhard, « The Raute », *Kailash* 2, 1974, p. 233-271.

201. See Grierson, *Survey* III, 1, p. 206 ff. : Magarī.

202. See D.B. Bista, *op. cit.*, p. 98 *sq.*

203. See B. Michailovsky and M. Mazaudon, « Notes on the Hayu language », *Kailash* 1, 1973, p. 135-152.

204. See now, C. Jest, *Contrib. Nep. Stud.* 4, 1977, p. 1-45. The Kuswar now are Nepali speakers, see the examples of their ritual songs are found on pp. 26-37. For detail, see n. 101.

205. Denwar (Hodgson, Grierson), Donwar (Grierson); According to Jest, *Contrib. Nep. Stud.* 4, p. 5, the Danuwar are found in the Mahabhārat area, further away from the rivers than the Kuswar, on the Jhiu Kholā below Tinpipal, at Bewatar on the Indrāvati, at Pujeghat on the Sun Kosi, and at Orare, Rajagaon, Batauli, Mungitar, Manthalitar, Sukajor, and Karambot on the Tāmba Kosi (cf. H. Gurung, *op. cit.* p. 298 *sq.*; for the Kamala Valley, see p. 302); in the Bagmati valley, they live at Duku, and even in the Kathmandu Valley, at Nargapawar (p. 23).

206. *In chita* « water drop », see Klaus P. and Doris Kuegler, *Danuwar Rai, Phonemic Summary* (Summer Institute of Linguistics), Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, 1974, p. 26; cf. also *cua* « spring of water », p. 79.

207. Kuegler, p. 50.

208. Kuegler, p. 28.

209. Grierson, *Survey* II, 1, p. 198. « They say that they came originally from Simungarh near Bara Chhatri in Western Nepal ».

210. Grierson, *Survey* III, 1, p. 258 for Darjeeling Sunwar.

211. Ester Strahm and Anita Maibaum, *A Vocabulary of the Jirel language*, (Summer Institute), Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nov. 1971 ; the entry has *'cyhuq* for « water » but the other related words show that a typing mistake is involved and **'cyhu[i]q* must be meant in my transcription : ' = high level tone > *ā*, etc. ; ... *q* = high falling tone > *à*; etc. ; the mistake is carried on through to the dictionary contained in vol. IV of *Clause, Sentence and Discourse Patterns*, thus : **'cyhu[i]q = chūì*, *'cyhulumq = chūlùm*, *'Thangka = ṭhāṅka*, *'Thānkā=ṭhāṅkā*.

212. See now, N.J. Allen, « Sketch of Thulung grammar », (*China-Japan Program, East Asia Papers*, n° 6) Cornell Univ., Ithaca 1975 (includes a glossary of 1 600 words).

213. Sueyoshi and Ingrid Toba, *A Vocabulary of the Khaling language* (Summer Institute), Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, August 1972; Khaling is spoken by c. 12 000 people in the Solu and Khotang District. It has phonemic tones, high and low. ' = high tone > in my transcription *ā*, etc.

214. Benedict, *Conspectus*, p. 443.

215. See Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 115 : « do not exceed 15,000 souls, ... in the Saul forest between the Konki and Dhorla or Torsha, mixed with the Bodo ».

216. « River side », Shafer, *Introd.*, p. 470.

217. The numbers refer to B. Karlgrenn,*Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923.

Drinking Water in the Nepalese Tarai : Public Policy and Local Practice

Richard Burghart

At midnight on the 31st December 1990 drew the Water and Sanitation Decade officially to a close. Initiated by the United Nations, supported by the World Bank and other financial organizations and integrated within the national health policies of many third world countries, the Decade had two related aims : the provision of drinking water in communities in which the supply was deficient and the separation of the cleansing function of water from the nourishing function so that the quality of the water might be improved. To this end the Nepalese government committed resources to the sinking of handpumps in urban and rural areas and to the extension of municipal water supplies in urban areas. It further committed resources to the development of sewage systems in major urban areas and to the construction of private latrines in towns. This paper will compare two different public policies with regard to drinking water and to examine them critically in the light of local practices I observed in the town of Janakpur.

JANAKPUR : FROM PAST TO PRESENT

The town of Janakpur is an administrative, commercial and religious centre of the eastern Tarai comprising some 15,000 inhabitants and attracting up to 200,000 visitors from the surrounding countryside on market days and religious festivals. Until the 1950s Janakpur was a cluster of three rural hamlets, comprising the farmers, artisans, priests and clerks who worked for the three main monasteries that controlled the land. A small bazaar, only three or four streets long and deep, catered to the needs of local people and pilgrims. Ever since the construction of the railway system in northern Bihar, to which Janakpur was joined in the 1930s, the town became an important staging post in the export of grain and mustard oil to India. After Indian independence, Janakpur expanded rapidly as a commercial centre in the ex-

port of previously imported luxury goods. Further expansion occurred in the 1960s with the administrative reorganization of Nepal in which Janakpur was designated capital of the Dhanusa district. With a 60 % increase in population in the last two decades Janakpur is Nepal's second fastest growing town.

There can be no doubt that since the 1960s considerable development has taken place in the town itself : *e.g.* all-weather roads, electrification, municipal water supply, airport and so on. The town has also grown in size along the main roads linking the monasteries to the mill area and railway station, thereby enclosing the neighbourhoods of poorer agricultural workers whose rustic homes stand in ever greater contrast to the brick houses of their neighbours employed in commerce and administration. Development has brought to these residential areas a qualitative improvement in their drinking and bathing water at source, but there has been little improvement in sanitation : indeed, one could easily argue the case that public sanitation has deteriorated.

In the past, men and boys used to defecate in the paddy fields, which were not more than one or two hundred meters from a hamlet; by contrast, women – not wanting to undertake such journeys in the dark (when they must perform their ablutions) – used to head for the vegetable gardens or bamboo groves adjoining their houses. The village ecology of Janakpur supported such contamination, for the diluting action of rain and the viricidal effect of sunlight decontaminated much of the excretia. But as the town grew, cultivated land receded : houses took the place of gardens, administrative offices were built in orchards, and the bazar quadrupled in length across the paddy fields.

For families unable to afford a private latrine, the journey to the fields became so long that men began to perform their ablutions at their place of work. As for the women and children, the decreasing area of garden and waste land compelled them to perform their ablutions along the banks of the nearest tank, where the concentration of excrement became so dense that one was reluctant to breathe, except when absolutely necessary. It is evident that the increasingly urban ecology of Janakpur can no longer support the rural sanitation practices of the urban poor.

There are two public bodies that have responsibility for water and sanitation in the town. These are the Town Council and the Water and Sewage Corporation. The former is a locally elected body which raises funds through local taxation and receives development funds from the Pancayat and Development Ministry; the latter is a state corporation funded by central government and supported by soft loans from international agencies. The Town Council provides for the adequate supply of drinking water by sinking new tubewells. It also is obliged to maintain adequate sanitation by sweeping the streets, unblocking the roadside sullage ditches and, keeping the tanks and their embankments clean. The Water and Sewage Corporation maintains the municipal water supply, colloquially known as *pani tainki* water because of the large water tank that overlooks the town and was built with Indian aid. It is also committed to extending the water mains throughout the entire

town and to subsidizing private initiatives to construct latrines. The present paper focusses on the contrasts in public policy and local practices between these two organizations with regard to their provision of drinking water for townsmen.

THE TOWN COUNCIL

The Town Council was constituted under the «partyless» democratic arangements promulgated by King Mahendra in 1962. Citizens, both male and female adults, may vote for (or be elected as) the local councillors and the mayor. The Council has the authority to collect local trading and entertainment taxes from which funds are disbursed to maintain public health and hire sweepers to keep the town clean. Special funds may also be sent from the central government for particular purposes, such as the installation of tubewells in the various neighbourhoods of town. The core of these water and sanitation duties had in the past (pre-1950s) been held by one man, the local landlord who ruled the village; or in the case of Janakpur, the abbot who was landlord of the hamlet. Local lordship constituted differently those spheres of activity which in democracy are known as the public and private domains. The local lord incorporated both domains within the person of his rule. Notionally at least private gain was at the expense of neighbouring lords and public responsibility was for the benefit of the lord's tenants. One need not elaborate here that tenants often felt and alleged that the landlord's gain was at their expense. By virtue of his command of local labour, the lord made certain that the drainage ditches were cleared every year, the open wells were cleaned, the village rituals celebrated, and so on.

Although the time of the abbot landlords is not even a living memory for the majority of town people, the connection between lordship and public welfare perpetuated itself throughout Nepal's brief period of parliamentary democracy and the subsequent period of «partyless democracy» (at which time the present material was collected). The history of every public tubewell on the northern side of Janakpur is a story of local lordship, beginning with the first tubewell that had been sunk in the late 1940s by a Rana and ending with the tubewells that had been sunk as a result of deals struck between candidates and constituents in the pancayat elections of the 1980s.

Although lordship and popular democracy are ideologically opposite political systems, democratic electoral procedures did not controvert the lordly values of the Nepalese Tarai. If anything, they merely changed some of the rules by which one asserted lordship. The term for election in Maithili is *cunau*, derivative of the verb «to choose». An election is a time when responsible members of the public, that is to say male and female adult citizens of sound mind, cast their vote for a candidate for political office. Between the 1959 election and the election in 1991 political parties could not campaign. That is to say, there were no party electoral funds, no party mani-

festo, and no party slate of candidates. Candidates for public office were obliged to campaign for votes on the strength of their personal qualifications. In colloquial speech the term used for vote is simply *vot*. In newspaper Hindi, Maithili and Nepali one sometimes finds the compound word *matdan,* a neologism composed of *mat* which means opinion, theory, or doctrine and *dan* which means gift, especially the assymetrical exchange in which the donor offers some material gift and receives in turn a blessing from the recipient. Although the donor may eventually come to benefit from the blessing, the donor should not use the gift relationship as a way of extracting some material advantage. The implication of the neologism *matdan* is that the citizen should freely offer his or her political opinion in the public interest.

At the village level the voter's electoral preference is so contrained by pre-existent family, kin, caste or patronage ties that the vote often reinforces existing political groupings. But at the town level the electorate is less constrained, and considerable negotiation may take place whereby prospective candidates and the electorate come to agree on the conditions upon which the votes will be delivered. There are various kinds of deals which may be struck between candidate and voter. In some cases money changes hands. A vote cost between five and ten rupees (1981 prices) for election to the Janakpur Town Council. In short, the costs of mounting a political campaign at local election are prohibitive for most. The last local election in Janakpur reputedly cost each candidate for mayor about £10,000 in publicity and displays of largesse. The winner could easily, however, recoup his «investment» from his subsequent access to public funds and patronage. There are few, however, who are wealthy enough to consider the risk.

At the time of research many people condemned these electioneering practices. Some did so because votes should be freely given. Candidates who buy votes are thought to be the worst sort of corrupt person, for they also corrupt the public in whose judgement lies the political future of the country. Other people took, however, a more nuanced view. It is indeed corrupt to offer one's vote for personal gain, but not for public gain. When a candidate's agent tours the ward, it is important that the neighbourhood negotiate collectively with the agent. As a result of such negotiations in Janakpur entire neighbourhoods have voted *en masse* for candidates who have sunk tubewells in the neighbourhood, paved in brick the neighbourhood dirt paths and the constructed in cement and stone steps down the embankments of a nearby pond so that women can bathe and wash clothes conveniently. Well-publicized gifts to local temples and mosques also form part of electoral deals. Such deals not only develop the country, they also improve and give pride to local neighbourhoods. Politicians also seemed to prefer such arrangements, for it enabled them to cultivate the image of a «public servant», that is a *jan seva admi,* which is one of the qualities one looks for in a politician of stature.

Although the idea of serving the public seems quite modern to South-Asia (and certainly the expression *jan seva admi* is of recent coinage), the idea of providing for one's dependents is a customary duty of the lord. In one poor neighbourhood of fishermen, where I discovered that their communal tubewell had been sunk by a candidate for the mayorship, I asked the fisher-

men's wives, somewhat tendentiously : «isn't it a shameful thing the buying and selling of votes ?» One woman replied in the following manner. First, she asked rhetorically, aren't *atman* and *paramatman* the same thing ? Aren't they both worthy of veneration ? Here she made reference to the Hindu notion that a fraction of the supreme soul animates each living being in the universe, such that there is an identity between supreme soul and individual soul, saviour and saved. From this rhetorical question she concluded that persons (*admi*) are also gods (*bhagavan*). Then she went on to say that one can worship both people and celestial gods but only people can speak back. They are the only ones who can listen to one's problems and give support. Persons who give support are local gods. They are «divine benefactors». The word that she used was *data purusa*, *data* meaning a giver and *purusa* being the universal person, a synonym of the supreme soul. She then claimed that the poor are desperate. Food princes have increased over the last ten years. Before one could buy everything one needed to feed one's family for Rs. 5 ; now one cannot even buy the rice one needs for that amount. Then, referring to the neighbourhood tubewell, she said : «If some *data purusa* comes along at the time of the election and offers to relieve the poor of their suffering, we are willing to give him our vote.»

In the case of the fishermen's neighbourhood there was not a tubewell prior to the last election. The women had to collect water in clayports at a distance of one hundred yards from their homes (for scholars unused to carrying water, the image of carrying an armful of books from the library may give an accurate impression of the burden : each liter of water weighs a kilogram). Moreover, the old well was on the edge of another neighbourhood and the fishermen did not like their womenfolk being obliged to bathe in public in a different neighbourhood, surrounded by strangers. Having one's own neighbourhood well was convenient for the women and enabled the men to protect their reputation. When political agents canvassed the neighbourhood prior to the 1981 election, the neighbourhood got together and asked for a tubewell. The deal was struck.

It must be admitted, though, that elections are enough of a spectacle for local people to anticipate them with some irony. It is a commonplace that «at the time of election the poor eat well». One day I overheard a conversation between neighbours. The first person said : «I see the Town Council is having the drainage ditches cleaned.» To which the other replied : «Oh, I didn't realize the election was so near». Without official political parties, the election did not entail a choice between policies. It was about local patronage. Elections were a quinquennial reminder to patrons and would-be patrons that their office requires popular support and that during the period of the electoral campaign at least they ought to remember their duties of office. The ditches get cleaned while the public watch the spectacle.

The structure of these electoral deals between neighbourhood and candidate is identical to that of the agreements (*kabula*) that a pious Hindu makes to a god. Here the devotée vows to make some offering to the god, if the god should grant the devotees request. If the god does not bestow his or her

grace on the devotee, then the devotee is not obliged to keep his part of the bargain. In this commerce between candidate and electorate, it cannot be said unequivocally who puts one's trust in whom. In some cases the public are obliged to put their trust in the politician who promises to deliver after the election, that is after the votes are delivered. But most people are too suspicious of political promises to prefer such arrangements. If there is a sellers' market in votes then the candidate is obliged to fulfil his part of the bargain from his own funds prior to the election. If, for some reason, the people do not redeem their pledge to the politician then the candidate is entitled to reposses his gift. One unsucsessful candidate for office had a brick road put through a hamlet, which he subsequently lost in the election. Several days after the election, he sent workmen to the hamlet to dig up the road and cart the bricks away. My informants chuckled over how local people had tricked the high and mighty, but no one thought that it was incorrect that the unsuccessful candidate reclaimed his gift.

In the case of a « buyer's market » in votes, the completion of the deal had to await the outcome of the election in which the successful candidate made good his promise by resorting to public funds. « Pork barrel » politics, of course, is typical of democracies – in the United States and Europe as much as Nepal – and it is unlikely that the shift from a partyless to a party system will much change matters. In the Nepalese case the integration of the Pancayat Ministry, which looks after elected councils, and the Development Ministry, which administered funds for local development, provided some of the resources for local patronage. In this connection the national tubewell project figured prominently in Tarai politics. Many public tubewells in Janakpur were installed with Ministry funds ; and the sinking of such wells enabled several ward councillors to redeem their pledges to their constituents.

Interestingly, patronage lay not only behind the sinking of tubewells but also popular perceptions of the quality of the water. The cost of sinking a tubewell varies in relation to its depth, for the major costs are the daily wage of the labourers and the length of piping. The necessary depth varies from region to region according to the depth of the water table. In the Janakpur area local people believed that a depth of 125 feet is necessary to ensure that the water is both good and reliable. It is known that the water table rises and falls with the seasons, and that the table is liable to surface contamination. Hence the more shallow a well, the more likely it will go dry in the summer and become contaminated in the monsoon. Yet it is possible to strike water at a depth of as little as 30 or 40 feet. As soon as water is struck, local sceptics believed that the contractor is tempted to make a deal with the government overseer to stop work and to share between them the unused pipe and the allocation for labour expenses. Thus I received the unsolicited advice to drink the water of public tubewells in neighbourhoods of powerful people ; but not to drink the water of poor or untouchable nieghbourhoods. In such neighbourhoods the people are too powerless to keep the contractors honest. The well will be shallow and the work inferior ; the water will be unreliable in the hot season and contaminated in the wet.

One might bring this section to a close by noting that tubewells, or hand-pumps, are ubiquitous and, without any doubt, the locally preferred source of drinking water. Tubewell water is fresh, and it counterbalances one's body temperature throughout the year. The filters control for turbidity. The only complaint, which is occasionally voiced, is that tubewell water has excessive iron in it; or at least the water, after boiling, leaves a residue on the cooking pot which people attribute to iron. Water soluble iron is said to predispose one to constipation. This complaint did not, however, affect popular preference for tubewell water. It should be added that most people drink water which has been collected by women and nearly all women prefer handpumps to open, masonry wells on grounds of convenience in drawing water out of the earth. Hence tubewells were overall best. Bacteriological data collected on public tubewell water at source further indicated that the water was salubrious. Fecal contamination was in excess of World Health Organization standards for drinking water (10 coliforms per 100 ml), but nonetheless the contamination was, for the most part, at a tolerable level.

THE WATER AND SEWAGE CORPORATION

The Water and Sewage Corporation has its headquarters in Kathmandu and its branch offices in the cities and important towns of Nepal. It is staffed by Nepalese professionals and sees the provision of drinking water and of sewage networks as being primarily an engineering problem, not a health one. They think in terms of systems and environment; they are preoccupied by hydrology, not by health. To my knowledge the Corporation does not employ a bacteriologist to test the quality of the water they supply. Engineers head the branch offices and they are transferred every few years. The funds for the installation of public water and sewage systems comes from several national aid organizations (especially India and the US) plus soft loans from the World Bank in connection with the Water and Sanitation Decade. For the professional staff of the Corporation, there are no « cultural problems » in the implementation of and take-up of their services; rather the problems stem from the relation between professional person and client, that it to say, the people are « ignorant ». But the engineers do not actually have too much to do with the people, for it is the subordinate staff of the Corporation – the mechanics, clerks, and construction workers – who actually install the system and effect the link-up with customers of the service.

The municipal supply of water, managed by the Water and Sewage Corporation, is colloquially known as *pānī táinkī* water, for the water is stored in a large elevated, concrete tank near the centre of town. The tank, with a capacity of 100,000 gallons, was constructed with Indian government aid and inaugurated in 1967. It is filled from two artesian wells, and disperses water throughout the town in underground mains, varying, in size from 12 to 4 inches in diameter. Previously Corporation policy was to supply both public and private users, but the public service has been curtailed : public taps were

often misused or broken, and consumption was uncontrolled. Consumption is now controlled by the provision of water on a twice daily basis : in the morning between 5.30 and 7.30 a.m. and in the evening between 6 and 8 p.m. For private customers consumption was further controlled in 1983 by the installation of domestic meters and quarterly charges.

Some forty public taps (this figure, told me by a Corporation official, might be an overestimate) have survived, due to neighbourhood concern to prevent abuse of the facility ; otherwise the service is now almost exclusively private and fee-paying. Water is piped directly to the homes of subscribers who pay Rs. 7 for the first 10,000 litres and then Rs. 1.20 for every additional 1,000 litres. Most people in town do not have access to *pānī tāinkī* water, for they are not in a position to afford the connection charge which varies with the distance of the house from the mains. This works out at Rs. 114. for the first 100 feet and Rs. 0.75 per foot thereafter. The charge does not include the cost of the pipe and labourers to dig the ditch. Those who do benefit from the facility are merchants, administrators, and professional families ; or less well-off urban dwellers living in rented accommodation whose landlords have availed themselves of this facility. The control on consumption has enabled the Corporation to extend the service ; in 1984-1985, through a World Bank loan, the mains network was extended to other areas of town.

At the local level the Corporation chief is an engineer. His concerns are largely hydrological and managerial : that is to ensure that the water is delivered effectively to subscribers and that government resources are properly administered. Bleaching powder is regularly added to the water in the tank, but no tests are carried out to ensure that the water in the central tank meets WHO standards on drinking water. Nor is there any concern about the quality of water as it emerges from public and private taps. Policy decisions concerning water supply are largely taken on engineering and economic advice, not medical advice.

Water is abundant in the Janakpur region ; hence the main reason for the installation of the municipal supply was not to provide water, but to provide clean, drinking water to urban dwellers. Local people, however, are not entirely satisfied with its quality. There are three reasons for this. First, it is believed that Corporation water is stored in the tank for a day or more : hence the water is « stale ». Second, the « medicine » (that is, the bleaching powder) that the Corporation adds to the water is said to ruin the taste. Corporation water is not « sweet », like handpump water. Third, Corporation water causes bodily disequilibrium and may become deleterious to health. In winter the night air chills the tank, cooling the water so that by morning the water is much colder than the air temperature. In summer the noon-day sun heats the tank, rendering the water tepid and thereby reinforcing the heat of the day. By contrast, tubewell water is warm in relation to the morning air of winter and cool in relation to the midday air of summer. According to the hot-cold equilibrium theory of illness, which is pervasive in the region, tubewell water complements the air temperature and thereby sustains the drinker or bather in equilibrium ; Corporation water causes disequilibrium.

For the most part people thought that the advantage of Corporation water was its « convenience » in collection. But this was not a compelling enough reason for wealthy people to use it for drinking purposes. Families which could afford the installation costs and quarterly charges were also wealthy enough to afford a private handpump in the courtyard of their home. They drew drinking water from the handpump; and used the municipal supply for personal bathing and for washing clothes and pots. The people who relied almost exclusively on Corporation water were neither the rich nor the poor, but often the salaried middle class families whose homes are in villages and who rent rooms or flats in town in which the landlord has provided access to the municipal supply. Except in the hot season – when people crave cool water – women cannot by bothered to collect drinking water in pots from a neighbourhood tubewell and then carry it up several flights of stairs to their flat. They use Corporation water instead.

Women who rely on Corporation water are obliged, however, to economize their time. Tasks which require considerable amounts of water, such as personal bathing and washing clothes, are carried out during those hours in early morning and evening when water is available at tap. It follows that in many homes the tap was situated in a place convenient for bathing (out of view from the verandah so that women might bathe in seclusion) and near the latrine; rather than near the hearth on the verandah. From the tap, water is carried to the kitchen and stored there for drinking and cooking purposes. Most kitchens and verandahs were littered with buckets, basins and pots of all description to ensure that there was sufficient water during the intervals when the supply was turned off.

Women considered Corporation water to be « stale », « intemperate », and « unpleasant » to taste; but they also knew that it had been decontaminated with « medicine » and hence that it was clean. Furthermore they knew that water becomes impure through human use. What the women did not recognize was that stored water might become contaminated even prior to use. First, they overlooked the fact that by situating the tap near the latrine, they ran the risk of contaminating the tap so that the water periodically became contaminated at source. Second, they overlooked the possibility that the buckets in which they stored water might in themselves be contaminated and that this contamination might overcome the residual effect of the bleaching powder. Some women even thought that the residual effect of the « medicine » lasted forever, regardless of the container in which the water had been stored. Tests showed that although the Corporation water was pure at Corporation headquarters, it was, upon storage at home, contaminated. Indeed, it was often more contaminated than the water from public and private tubewells.

CONCLUSION

If one were search for a word which expresses the meaning and vision of development for Tarai women, it is « convenience ». It is convenient to have tubewells rather than open wells. It is convenient to have tubewells near at hand rather than at a distance. It is also convenient to have a private latrine because one does not have to walk so far to perform one's ablutions. It is also convenient for women who can answer the « call of nature » in daytime without embarrassment. The sense of the term convenience (*subidā*) is rather similar to that of the word « modern » in early twentieth century advertisements when « scientific management » modernized the kitchen : gas stoves being more convenient than coal, indoor plumbing more convenient than outdoor, etc. The rich can afford these conveniences; the poor must depend upon their patrons. Seen in this light, both the provision of additional public handpumps and the extension of the municipal water supply were appreciated locally, for they improved these resources and drew them closer to their homes. Insofar as women had a choice in their use of resources, private handpumps were a clear preference to private access to municipal water and persons who could not afford the municipal water could not also afford private handpumps. They resorted to public tubewells and drew some benefit thereby : not only in health, but also in « convenience ».

What is interesting in all this is not only the success of the Water and Sanitation Decade in Janakpur, and the relative success of the tubewell compaign over the improved municipal supply, but also the way in which the very idea of the « public » in public policy achieved some definition. The tubewell policy « worked » in Janakpur for the unintended reason that looking after the welfare of one's people, and nourishing them, is a traditional duty of lordship. The electoral system, for all its defects and its burdens on the political economy, did at least oblige local patrons to negotiate every five years their relationship with their constituency. Local ideas of morality encouraged block voting from the electorate and gifts for collective benefit from the candidates. The policy worked not because people were motivated to enact the policy, as policy, but because the policy was enacted as a consequence of certain structures in the political economy in which public responsibility was incorporated within the personal duties of lordship. In this relation between patron and dependent figured an idea of the body politic in which there was no legitimate expression of internal private interests.

The very idea of public in this public policy stands in sharp contrast to the idea of the public implicit in the policy of the Water and Sewage Corporation. Here the Corporation was controlled by the state but served the public interest. At the local level it administered a public facility for private consumers. The public was not a person nor a body politic. It was a collective sense of responsibility, constituted by the state in the name of the citizenry

serving a collectivity of private consumers. The public that benefited here was the urban, middle class : the clerks, teachers, administrators, businessmen. In this middle class world lay an idea of legitimate private interest that was served by, and yet separate from public institutions.

By all accounts the tubewell policy was overall more successful in its implementation, take up and intended and unintended benefits than the policy for developing a municipal supply of drinking water. And yet it would be as unwise to credit the former policy for its success as it would be to blame the latter policy for its failure : not only because the taste and temperature criteria of good drinking water were so important for local people but also because the gap between intention and outcome, between policy, implementation and result, is always somewhat indeterminate. What becomes apparent in the analysis, however, are two different state structures – lordly and civil – in which resources are distributed for public benefit. The two structures are not mutually exclusive : one must bear in mind the irony that one of the key institutions of civil society, the election, served so successfully to regulate patronage relationships. Yet the two structures do appeal to different social classes – the lordly to the lordless, the civil to the middle class – and, as such, public policies were adapted to, and by, the local practices of each social group. What is clear from the present material is that in the provinces the state lacks both the resources and the middle classes for the civil structures to work.

Acknowledgements

Tharus and Pahāriyas in Citawan : Some Observations Concerning the Question of Multiethnicity in Nepal

Ulrike Müller-Böker

In a multiethnical country like Nepal cultural assimilation and syncretism as well as persistence[1] can especially be observed in those places where different ethnic groups collide together or co-exist. Taking Citawan as an example of the changing process induced by an enormous immigration is traced back, by reporting about the development of the region from the « fever hell » to the so-called « melting pot of Nepal ». To elucidate what has resisted as an aggregate in this « melting pot » the Tharu and Pahāriya house exposition concept as well as their style of agriculture are compared. The last section of this contribution focusses on the interethnical notions and clichés, so an impression can be conveyed of how the varied groups react to the multiethnical constellation.

CITAWAN : FROM THE « FEVER HELL » TO THE « MELTING POT » OF NEPAL

Citawan, the largest of the broad valleys north of the Curiyā Range was only sparsely populated up until the middle of this century. The forested, undeveloped Curiyā Range in the South and the steep southern flanks of the Mahābhārat Range in the North made access difficult (fig. 1). Riverine forests and grasslands were, in addition, breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes (Haffner, 1979, p. 51ff.). During the period of Nepal's policy of limiting foreign influence (1816-1950) the interests of the government were consciously geared to preserving this protective zone of forests and swamps, all the more so for its constituting one of the best territories for hunting big game.
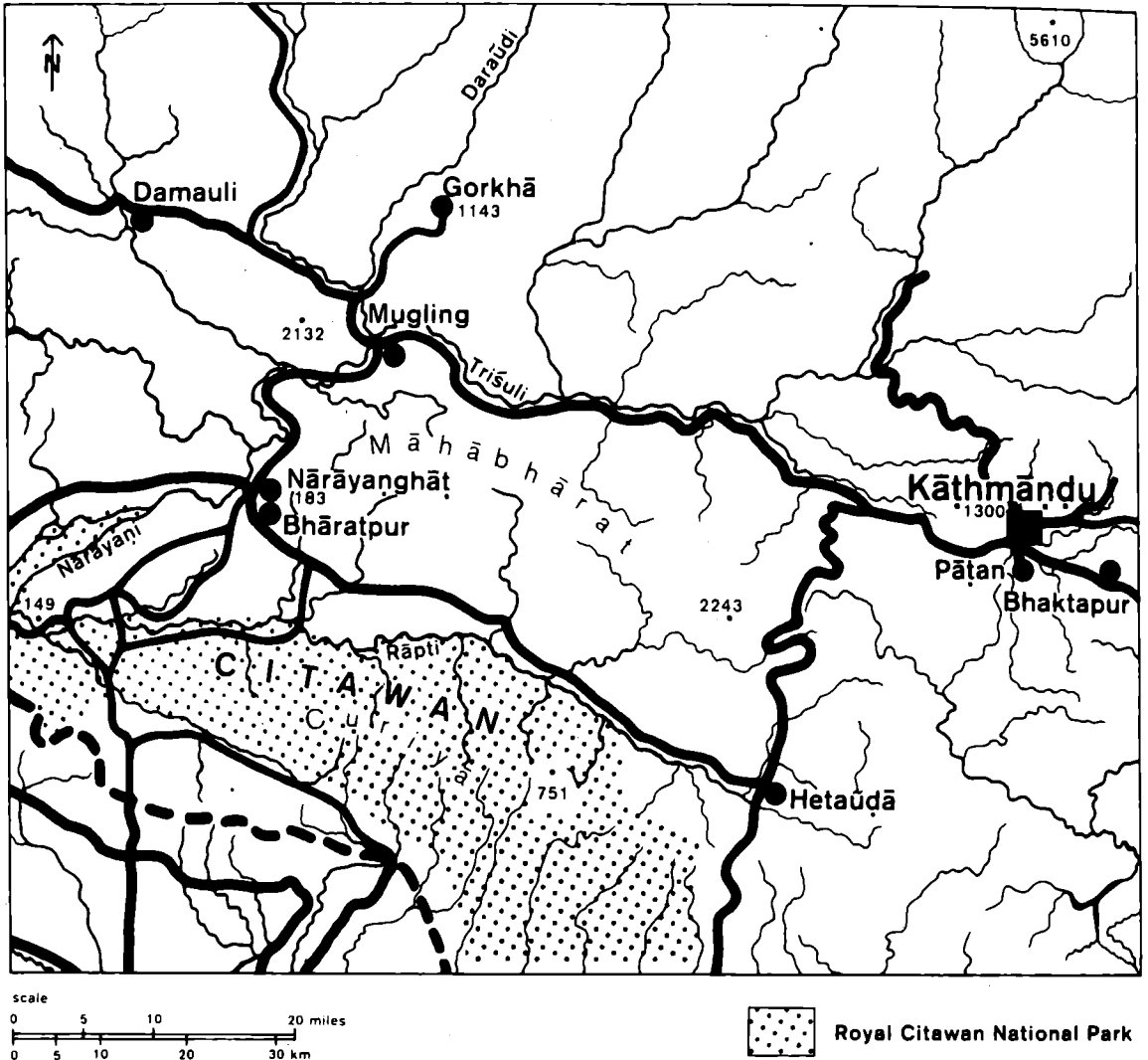
Fig. 1. – Situation map.

In his travel report of the year 1939 Filchner characterized Citawan as the « fever hell of Nepal », where, nevertheless, human beings and animals are living, but « they are starving apparently between life and death » (1951, p. 26, transl.). In fact, 71 % of the children in Citawan were infected with malaria up to as recently as 1956 (*Journal of the Medical Association*, 1966, p. 160). The autochthonous inhabitants of Citawan, the majority of whom are Tharus[2], if they had survived malaria as child, were on the whole immune to a renewed infection for the rest of their lives. Today they maintain that the strangers who occasionally came to Citawan died in far greater numbers than the locals – and this sounds quite plausible[3].

At the beginning of Rāṇā-time the *jimidāri-system* (Regmi, 1976, p. 104 ff.; 1978) was introduced in Citawan; it was based, however, mainly on the traditional Tharu hierarchy[4]. It seems that the Tharus lived relatively undisturbed despite of the intervention of the State in this peripheral region and disposed of sufficient arable land and forest[5]. Concerning the whole Rāṇā-

1 Bhojpuri	0.4 %
2 Maithili	0.2 %
3 Rāi Kirāti	0.1 %
4 Bhoṭe Sherpa	0.1 %
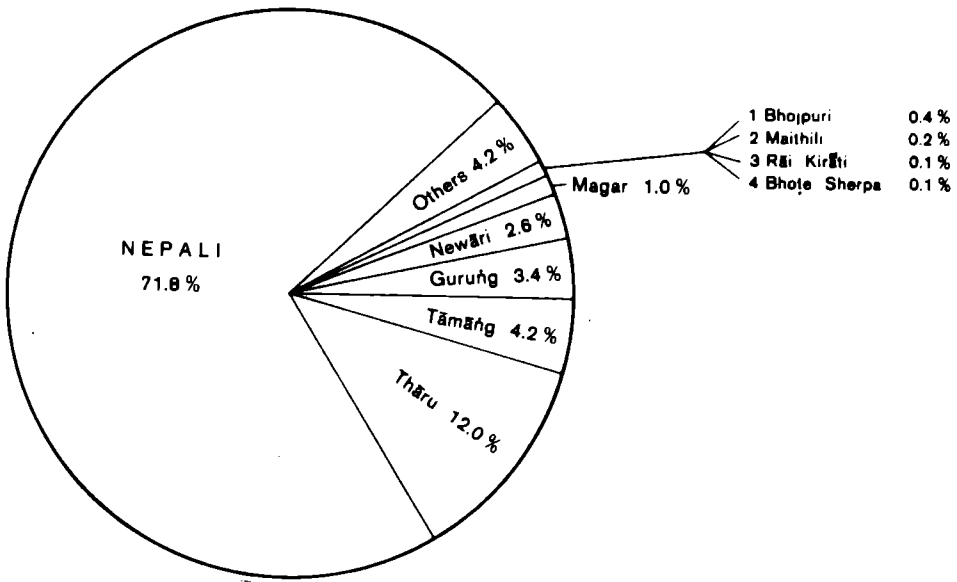
Fig. 2. – Mother Tongue of the population in Citawan District (1981) in % (Nepal District Profile, 1987, p. 232).

years	1920	1941	1953 1961	1971	1981	
growth rate Nepal	1.1		2.5	1.3	2.1	2.6
in % Citawan	1.2		4.1	6.0	10.5	3.5
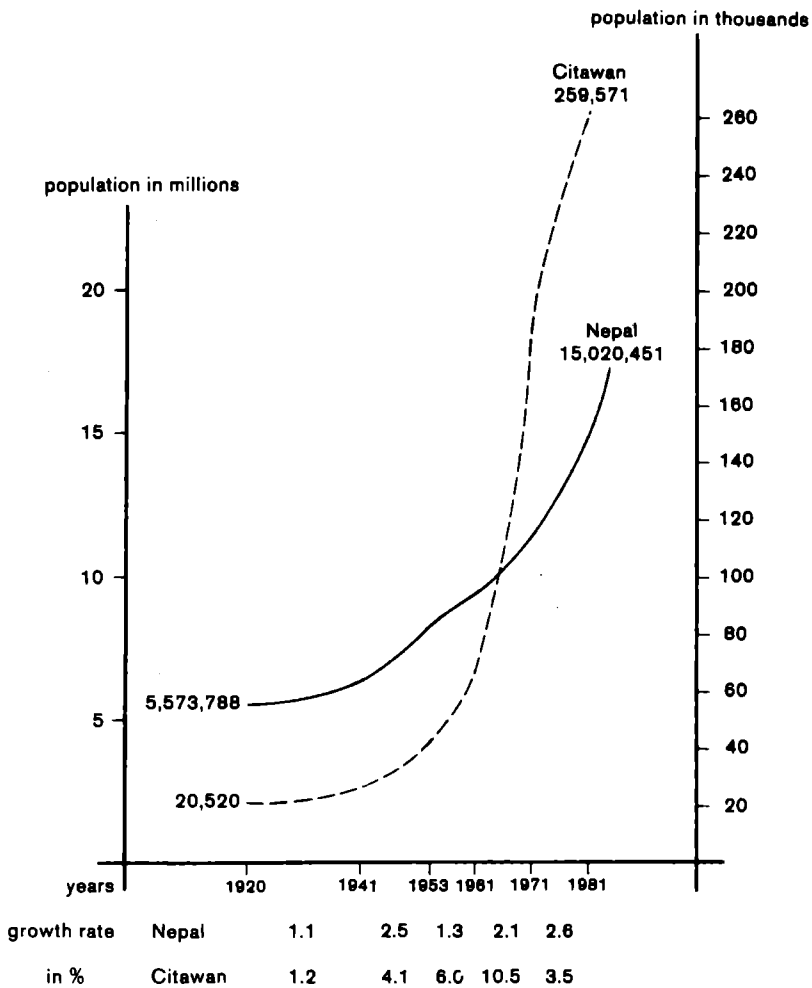
Fig. 3. – The increase of Population in Nepal and the Citawan District (1920-1981).

time not one single Tharu uttered a really negative word in all the talks we
had. On the contrary, they tended to glorify the past : formerly – *satjugi* –
everything had been better !

In 1953 the Nepalese government started an experiment of resettling
people from the mountains in Citawan and at the same time developing the
region (Elder *et al.*, 1976, p. 11ff.). However, only after the first results of
the malaria eradication programme starting in 1954[6], did the immigrants come
in large numbers. Either land was allotted to them or they encroached on
new land as squatters. Beside these rather poor immigrants a group of wealthy
people, mainly Chetris and Brahmins, managed to get large tracts of land
using it in a feudal-capitalist manner (Haffner, 1979, p. 65).

The Nepali-speakers form the majority of Citawans population today with
more than 70 % (fig. 2). Tharu as mother tongue is only spoken by the mino-
rity of 12 %. Figure 2 also shows the diversity of languages common in
today's Citawan. The Tharus subsume the immigrants from the mountains,
the Bāhuns and Chetris, Tāmāṅgs, Guruṅgs, Magars and Cepāṅgs, under the
name « Pahāṛiya ». The Newars are explicitly mentioned[7].

We can trace the numerical development of Citawan's population back
as far as 1920 (fig. 3). For the period 1920 to 1941 the mean annual growth
rate amounted to only 1.2 %. In the following years the rate increased con-
siderably, especially in the period 1961 to 1971. The very high mean annual
growth rate of 10.5 % was brought about by the immigration but also by the
increase in life expectancy. From 1971 to 1981 the mean annual growth rate
slowed down to 3.5 %, but it is still higher than Nepal's average as a whole.
The population of Citawan has increased thirteenfold since 1920, in Nepal
only – and that's also high – threefold !

To protect the rich fauna of Citawan which became more and more en-
dangered by this development[8], the Royal Citawan National Park was estab-
lished in 1973, an area of c. 1,000 sq.km is under protection today.
Infrastructurally the region is well developed. Since the end of the 70s the
main junction from Kathmandu to India goes through the Nārāyaṇi and Rāpti
Valley, many bazar-settlements came into being, the most important one is
Nārāyaṇghāṭ.

In fact, Citawan has developed in less than a half century from a sparsely
populated periphery to an attractive multiethnical center. With the designation
« melting pot », however, which is readily used in Nepal, one tends to as-
sociate « assimilating ». Two examples focussing on the house exposition con-
cept and the style of agriculture illustrate what has assimilated and what has
persisted within the recently arisen multiethnical society of Citawan.

THE THARU AND PAHĀṚIYA HOUSE EXPOSITION CONCEPT

Tharus live even today in compact villages – often exclusively within
their group. It is striking that the long side of their dwelling-houses is orien-

tated to the North-South direction (fig. 4, 5 et 6). Krauskopff (1987, p. 18f.) and McDonaugh (1984) are describing the same phenomena for the Tharu house in Dang Valley. In the conception of the Citawan Tharus – only in this so-called *rasiya ghar* can the *kuldeutā* feel comfortable and be well-disposed to the inhabitants (fig. 7). In an East-West exposed house, in a *surbed ghar*, where the sun would shine on its long side, the deity would feel uncomfortably hot – like the people, too. Therefore the windows are very small, as well, during daytime inside the house it is indeed cool and dark. Another idea behind the Tharu house exposition concept is : « The head of the earth is in the North. » The house entrance is situated in the Eastern house wall directed towards the shrine of the village deity Baram Bābā. His shrine is again *rasiya* orientated (fig. 8).

The most positive space inside the house is consequently situated in the North-East. Here the *kuldeutā* is sheltered, here is the kitchen with the halfmoonshaped fireplace again opened towards the East. Inside the house its inhabitants conform to rules of exposition, too, when placing their beding. Because the sun has no influence in the night one prefers to sleep in the East-West direction. The feet should never face the East, towards the Baram-thān. The *rasiya* direction is reserved for the deceased when laid out inside the house.

The Pahāṛiyas live in scattered settlements, the particular ethnic groups tend to live in the neighbourhood with members of their own group. They have no rules for the house construction concerning the cardinal points. In their mountainous native place the house orientation was determined by the topographical situation. But as a rule the buildings of one family or within a scattered settlement must be situated in one line, because « intersecting ridge beams are unfavourable for the house deity and have a bad influence on the family's welfare » (fig. 4-5, fig. 9).

In the house construction techniques, in the selection of material and in the house form itself many ethnospecific differences can also be observed[9]. The type of settlement and the house exposition concept of both groups are preserved in their traditional fashion, the Tharu house exposition concept is even maintained in modern brick buildings. Tharu and Pahāṛiya style is clearly differentiated and named – the traditional house exposition concept has resisted as an aggregate in the « melting pot ».

THE THARU AND PAHĀṚIYA AGRICULTURE

The Pahāṛiyas and Tharus both had to develop a new style of agriculture. The mountain farmers had to adapt their way of farming to the lowland conditions, the autochthonous population had to adapt to a much more intensive agriculture with less arable land and to manage without large tracts of the forest and the grasslands.

irrigation canal   path/road   base: areal photo, Schneider, Dec. 1984

fish - pond   building   draft: U. Müller-Böker, M. Remmers, 1991

Fig. 4 et 5. – Forms of settlements in Citawan. A small linear Pahāriya hamlet and a compact Tharu village with North-South orientated dwelling-houses (Khairani Pañcāyat).

Fig. 6. – (Schneider, Nov. 1983) : Aerial photo of the villages of the Padampur-Pañcāyat. Tharus live in compact villages with North-South orientated dwelling-houses, Pahāriyas in scattered linear settlements.

Fig. 7. – (May 1986) : Tharu houses in Pachauli.

Fig. 8. – (Oct. 1986) : The North-South – *rasiya* – orientated shrine of Baram Bābā is located in the East of the village Ḍhiḍhauli.

Fig. 9. – (Nov. 1987) : Pahāṛiya house in the Pachauli-Pañcāyat. As a rule the buildings within a hamlet should be situated in one line.

Until the 1950s the Tharu's economy was based on *sari kheti*, a short fallow shifting cultivation system, supplemented by collecting wild plants and fishing (Müller-Böker, 1991a and b). After the prohibition of shifting cultivation following the allocation of land-titles, the Tharus had to change to a permanent farming thus necessitating regular manuring[10]. In the traditional Tharu agriculture cattle-rearing on forest pasture played an important role. Some of the Tharu landlords had sometimes more than 25 pairs of oxen. Above all since the National Park was established, pastures are rare; in some areas the number of cattle was reduced by 80 %, the animals starved to death![11]. The lack of dung had the quick result that more and more Tharu farmers have to use the costly and less effective mineral fertilizer. There is also a lack of working-animals, during the peak working time it's often necessary to rent tractors. The cattle of the Tharu farmers graze on very degraded grasslands or on fallow fields, they are extremely badly fed (fig. 10-11). Only the working – animals are fed occasionally with straw – « they had learned this from the mountain people », the Tharus say.

When requested to compare their way of agriculture with that of the Pahāriyas, they admit : « We are the worse farmers, we are too lazy and wait for god to help us ! » It's a matter of fact that the Pahāriyas manage their farms more successfully. They obtain higher yields, because they have a well-devised crop-rotation, they weed the fields more often, protect them against the wild animals and not least of all they attend to good irrigation and manuring. More of natural manure is available, because Pahāriyas don't use dung for the house construction and as fuel as the Tharus do and above all, because they keep the cattle mainly in the stable and feed them. Cows are also kept for milk, unlike in Tharu farms. Collecting fodder by grasscutting and lopping, an activity in which Pahāriya women invest plenty of their time (fig. 12), is something exotic for the Tharunis. They say : « We used to have plenty of pasture land, we never had to work hard to get our animals fed. Nowadays we don't go in the forest for collecting fodder, because we are not allowed and we are frightened. »

The Pahāriyas have kept their complicated techniques of hill agriculture and continued to develop them under the more favourable conditions of the lowland. The Tharus – and here the landlords are the outriders – managed only by a certain extent to adapt their economy to the changed conditions in Citawan. They are less successful than the immigrants, although they should be much more familiar with their natural environment. The very intensive agriculture typical of many parts of Nepal is not found among the Tharus, the fishing and collecting tradition and the extensive cattle-breeding still infuence their economic thinking.

« Tharus spend hours and hours catching a hand of small fishes, thereby forget » so the Pahāriyas say, « to cultivate their fields ». This statement approaches the question of the common interethnical clichés and notions.

Fig. 10. – (Oct. 1987) : The cow herd of Sultana is grazing on very degraded grassland.

Fig. 11. – (Oct. 1986) : Oxen are used for the second threshing of rice.

INTERETHNICAL CLICHES AND NOTIONS

Sterotypes, the judgements about « the others », are formalized valuations, reflecting on the quality of co-existence (Allport, 1971 [1954], p. 201 ; Campbell, 1967 ; Schweizer, 1980, p. 17ff.). The collection of interethnical clichés, common among Tharus and Pahāriyas, is the result of many individual talks and informal discussions involving both groups[12]. The discussions usually followed the same pattern : the Pahāriyas were talking while the Tharus were silent and nodded. When I was alone with the Tharus they tended to make some bitter remarks.

Let's start with the nicknames or insults : Pahāriyas call the Tharus : « Tharu *goru* » (= ox), *ghoṅhi khāne mānche* (= snail eater) and *ban mānche* (= people from the forest). To quote a Nepali development expert using the word « wildlife » for Tharus follows on naturally from this. All these insults have the same message : Tharus are backward, uncouth, uneducated and uncivilized.

Tharus, in turn, when asked about their insults for the Pahāriyas, replied : Pahāriya *nahariya* (= penis), *garib cusai barai* (= blood suckers of the poor) and *bhaĩsi khāne* Pahāriya (= buffalo eater) – to counteract the snails. Somebody said a remarkable thing in this connection : « We use insults for them, even though we are sad, because they look down on us. »

Fig. 12. – (Oct. 1986) : Grass is brought by Pahāriyas from the other side of the Rāpti, from Rhino grazing grounds.

The Tharus feel pained by the confrontation with the « potent » Pahāṛiya *nahaṛiya*. They regard the *garib cusai baṛai* Pahāṛiyas as the root of all evil and claim that since this mountain people has been in Citawan, they have taken large tracts of Tharu land, now they aim to take over more land and to degrade the Tharus to cheap labourers. By money lending and *raksi*, they deprive the Tharus of their independence. The general consensus – even among the wealthy Tharu landlords – is : « The Pahāṛiyas are doing much better than we are ! » The Tharus believe as if they are not on an equal footing with the Pahāṛiyas at all. They are convinced the Pahāṛiyas are more capable and more hard working. I kept hearing sentences like : « Tharus only know how to sell land, not how to buy it. » « Pahāṛiyas know how to deal with the soldiers and the forest wardens » – relating to stealing wood.

The Hindu conception is adopted by the Tharus as an unattainable ideal. It can be observed that they are giving up certain things – like keeping pigs – that are considered « impure », or that they are introducing typical Hindu *pūjā (Satyanārāyaṇ pūjā)* and engaging more and more Pahāṛiya Brahmins for certain rituals – although they don't really like the latter and regard them as greedy. Nevertheless they admit they can never correspond to the Hindu ideal – and I suspect they don't want to, either. For example the men justify themselves by saying their wifes unfortunately can't keep all the rules with food preparation although they would like to, because they have to work too hard. Or they complain that the Tharunis often have sexual contacts with other men (this implies that they do likewise), that means the Tharunis are far removed from the ideal image of a good Hindu wife.

The Tharus' attitude towards the Bāhuns and Chetris as the representatives of Hinduism is thus extremely ambivalent. On the one hand they are collectively regarded as bloodsuckers on the other hand they are collectively idealized as the more pure, the more competent people, that can cope better with a modern way of life. The intra-ethnical hierarchies and economic differences are completely ignored. On the one hand the whole Tharu group tries to climb up the ladder in the Hindu hierarchy, on the other hand, however, they do enjoy the pleasanter sides of their life which is in many respects less regulated – and this way of life starts from babyhood. This ambivalence between Tharu identity and Hindu concept entails some conflicts in everyday life, stirred up by Brahmins, who try to hinduize and thus to increase their number of clients.

In this connection an incident from Saurahā :

> A son of the *mahato* had planned to make a new house. He asked one local *paṇḍit* to inspect the piece of land. *Paṇḍitji* stated that the land was appropriate to build a house, provided it would be in an East-West direction. As you remember : the Tharu only consider a North-South directed house as inhabitable. The Tharu family voiced their reservations about living in a *surbed* house, as they wanted to avoid angering the *kuldeutā* and living in internal discord. The *paṇḍit* refused to change his mind for several days. After the family's urgent request « to do something », to enable them to build a *rasiya ghar* on this piece of land, he performed a *pūjā*, which cost the family a good milk cow.

In this case the Tharu family could preserve their cultural identity, but by accepting the Brahmins'competence they also bowed to foreign values.

The statute of the Tharu Welfare Community of Citawan District founded in 1985 by the Citawan Pañcāyat Community on the concept of the so-called « organizations », clarifies the values concerning the Tharu question on the political level :

> « This organization aims to look after the welfare of the natives, to eradicate illiteracy, lack of education, useless and destructive traditions and mistakes, that are ingrained in the traditional way of life and to improve the economic situation and education. The Tharus have to be woken up, because they have been backward from generation to generation. For they, too, are needed to build up the country » (transl.)[13].

Despite these sentences it's to be hoped that all Tharus will be able to survive economically in the melting pot of Nepal and to weigh up with self-confidence, what they want to learn and accept from their new neighbours and how much of their own culture they want to preserve.

Notes

1. The main theme of the DFG Nepal research programme (1980-1990) : « Small and Great tradition » pointed to this question.

2. Apart from the Tharus, also Darai, Bote and Danuwār consider themselves as members of the autochthonous population of Citawan. Between these groups marriage relations are rare, but the everyday social life seems to run smoothly and without hierarchical differentiations. The landless Musahar – following Bista (1976, p. 131) a subgroup of the Bote – are considered as an impure group. Next to the villages Kāmis have lived and worked as blacksmiths for long time, regarded by the Tharus and the fishing groups as impure.

3. The Tharus characterize malaria, the *aula-k jar*, as the fever which infected the mountain people severely when coming to Citawan. They themselves were adapted to the *gas*, arisen in the forest of rotten leaves and underwood, which causes *aul*.

4. Individuals were employed by the government to collect land and other taxes at the village level. As tax-collectors the local *mahatos* and *caudharis* were appointed, strangers applied for a *jirāyat* only seldom – except a few Bāhun and Chetri landlords.

5. Sporadical contacts to other ethnic groups resulted from exchange and trade relations. During the dry season mainly Newar traders offered their goods at seasonal markets, other groups, like the Cepāngs – moving from village to village – exchanged *cihuri* (« butter ») and bark for rice and oilseeds. Direct contacts to the Rāṇās and their large number of attendants existed because of the big game huntings.

6. The Nepal Eradication Organization aimed at the eradication of the potentially infectious Anopheles by the use of insecticides. Since 1964 Citawan is largely free of malaria, but all of the formerly contaminated areas are again at risk of malaria.

7. The people of the South (Terai) are called Dakhinaha.

8. In 1953 only 19 people were sharing one sq.km, today they are about 120.

9. The Bāhuns and Chetris regard a *pāc balo ghar* (five beamed house) as exceedingly unfavourable – unlike the Tharus; only the *tin balo ghar* (three beamed house) is built (and less timber is needed). The walls of the Tharu houses are plastered with a mixture of cowdung and *māṭo* (soil), the Pahāriya-houses only with *māṭo*. Bāhun and Chetris use *rāto māṭo* (red soil) – brought from far away – for painting their houses, whereas the Tharunis decorate the house walls with paintings of white colour. The grass roofs are also different from each other :

the Tharu grass roof is first of all thinner and every year before rainy season starts, a new layer is put on; only after a few years is the whole grasslayer removed. The Pahāriya-*chāna* is much thicker right from the beginning, but is changed completely after 4 to 5 years.

10. Only the actually cultivated fields were regarded as ownership. Because many Tharus believed land is available in plenty and a registration of land means paying taxes, it was easy for many new settlers to get their land. The registration of the land also meant that land lost by riverbed changing or flooding has gone for ever.

11. The Padampur Pañcāyat had the greatest loss. Before the National Park was established there was an average livestock per household of ca. 30-35 cattle, nowadays only of 5,5 (data of three investigated villages).

12. With the help of the « contrasting method of interview » (cf. Fischer, 1985, p. 34; Mischung, 1988, p. 90) various information about different topics were obtained.

13. Some of the rules and regulations of the Tharu Welfare Community :

– Prohibition of children's marriage, of marriages between partners of great age difference and of polygamy (polygyny)

– Reduction of the expenses of family ceremonies (marriage, funeral), total abandonment of costly rituals

– Eradication of traditions and superstition by advertisement and lectures

– Reservation of one place in every district campus for a Tharu student

– Protection of Tharu culture (songs, tales, handicraft)

– Transcription of the language.

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Some Questions
about Slope and Terraced Fields :
An Interdisciplinary Issue

Joëlle Smadja

In the Himalayas, the most noticeable elements in the landscape are the level terraced fields, which are depict in any text as a remarkable adaptation of man to the constraints of his physical environment. However slope fields – not levelled – characterize the landscape of some entire districts and are never mentioned in the literature. In this paper I will discuss the opposition between these two practices for dry crops and the choices made by the peasants. The aim is not to question the merits of terraces, which would be senseless (they are obviously an excellent method of maintaining slopes), but to show that :

1) as terracing for dry crops is not generalized to mountains all over the world (it is a world-wide practice for irrigated paddy-fields), nor is it generalized to Nepal as a whole;

2) people who cultivate in slope fields are not less adapted to their physical environment than those who use terraced fields;

3) the arguments based only on physical features which are advanced to justify the practice of terracing or non-terracing do not stand up to thorough examination.

My purpose is not to exclude physical factors from the explanation : as a geographer interested in physical phenomena, I think it is as relevant to show their role as their limits and to explain why they sometimes have little influence and how they are combined with other features.

The spatial setting of this analysis are Gulmi and Argha Kanci districts which include both types of cultural practices and constitute an excellent laboratory for the study. First, let us present a rapid description of this area.

I. GULMI AND ARGHA KANCI DISTRICTS

Gulmi and Argha Kanci districts, which are located in Western Nepal between Daulaghiri and Terai, belong to the Lumbini zone (fig. 1). From North to South they include :

— an area of middle mountains beyond the high range. The ridge crests are about 2,700 m high; the slopes are steep; the rainfall is higher than 2,000 mm a year. The population is pluriethnic but mostly Magar;

— southwards there is an area of low mountains and hills. The ridge crests are between 1,700 and 2,000 m high; the slopes are gentler, the rainfall is lower than 2,000 mm a year. The population is pluriethnic and mainly Indo-Nepalese (Parbatiyā);

— the Mahabarat range and the Churia with more or less the same characteristics as the low mountains and hills.

In both districts, the density of the population is very high, one of the highest in Nepal : in Gulmi about 200 inhabitants per km^2, in Argha Kanci about 130 inhabitants per km^2. These densities are respectively of 1,500 and 1,150 inhabitants per cultivated km^2 [1]. The population is increasing at a rate of 2 % a year and the out migration is very important. The population in these districts is considered one of the most educated in the country : schools and high schools are numerous.

In the northern part of Gulmi district, that is to say in the middle mountain area and in a part of the low mountains, most of the fields are terraced, as is the case in a large part of Nepal (fig. 2). But south of this district and in Argha Kanci, most of the fields are slope fields. They are surrounded by trees forming a hedge and draw a bocage landscape (fig. 3). They are very well maintained and may present in some places a luxuriant landscape.

II. THE ISSUE

This brief description raises some questions :

— What leads people in the same district or in neighbouring areas to use different practices (fig. 4) ?

— What are the discriminant thresholds, if any, that the populations index and select ?

— And one of the most important point is : did an evolution occur or is there today an·evolution from one structure to the other ? Is there an evolution from slope fields to terraced fields, is there an evolution from terraced fields to slope fields ? Has it always been as it is now and, in that case, on which criteria does the choice of field type depend ? If some kind of change is taking place, we must then ask if it will reach other parts of Nepal.

LOCATION OF GULMI
and ARGHAKHANCHI DISTRICTS

Fig. 1. – Location of Gulmi and Argha Kanci districts.

Fig. 2. – A landscape of terraced fields in the Middle mountains. Salme slope. There are no hedges nor limits : the fields are « open ».
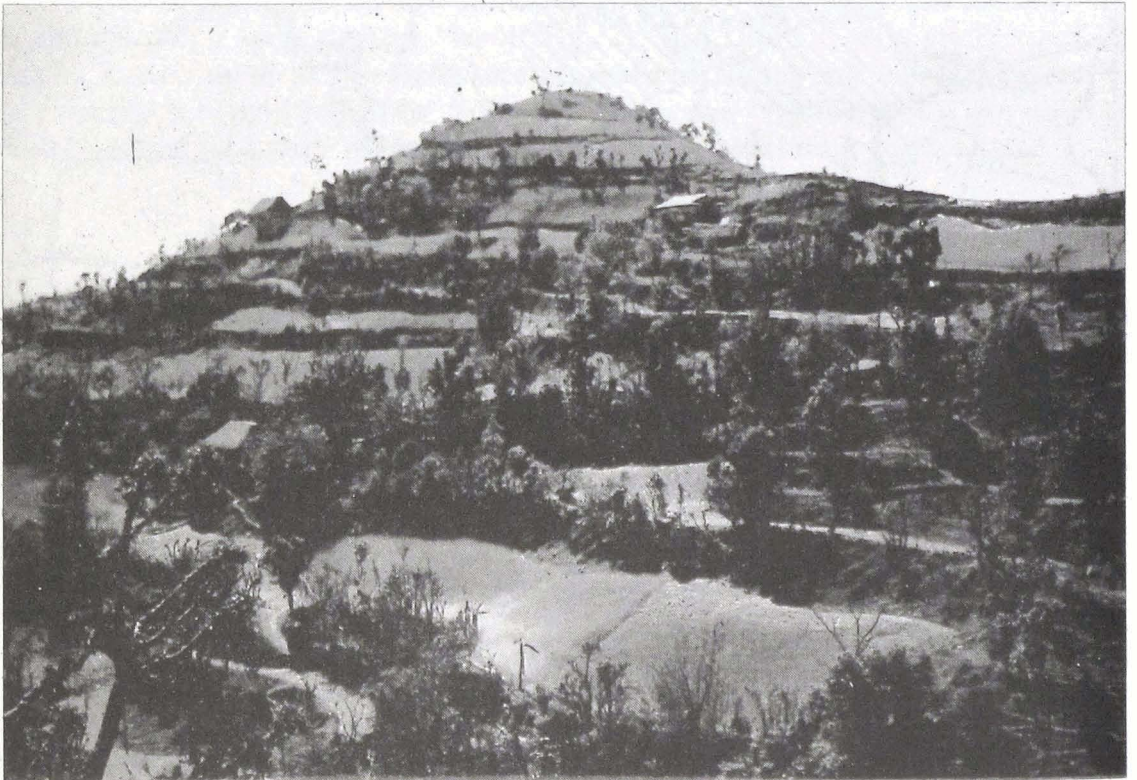
Fig. 3. – A landscape of slope fields in Argha Kanci district. The trees surrounding the fields form hedges and draw a bocage landscape.

LAND USE. GULMI DISTRICT

Slope fields
Terraced fields
Heath and pasture
Forest

(After Topographical Survey Branch
and LRMP, Kathmandu, 1986)
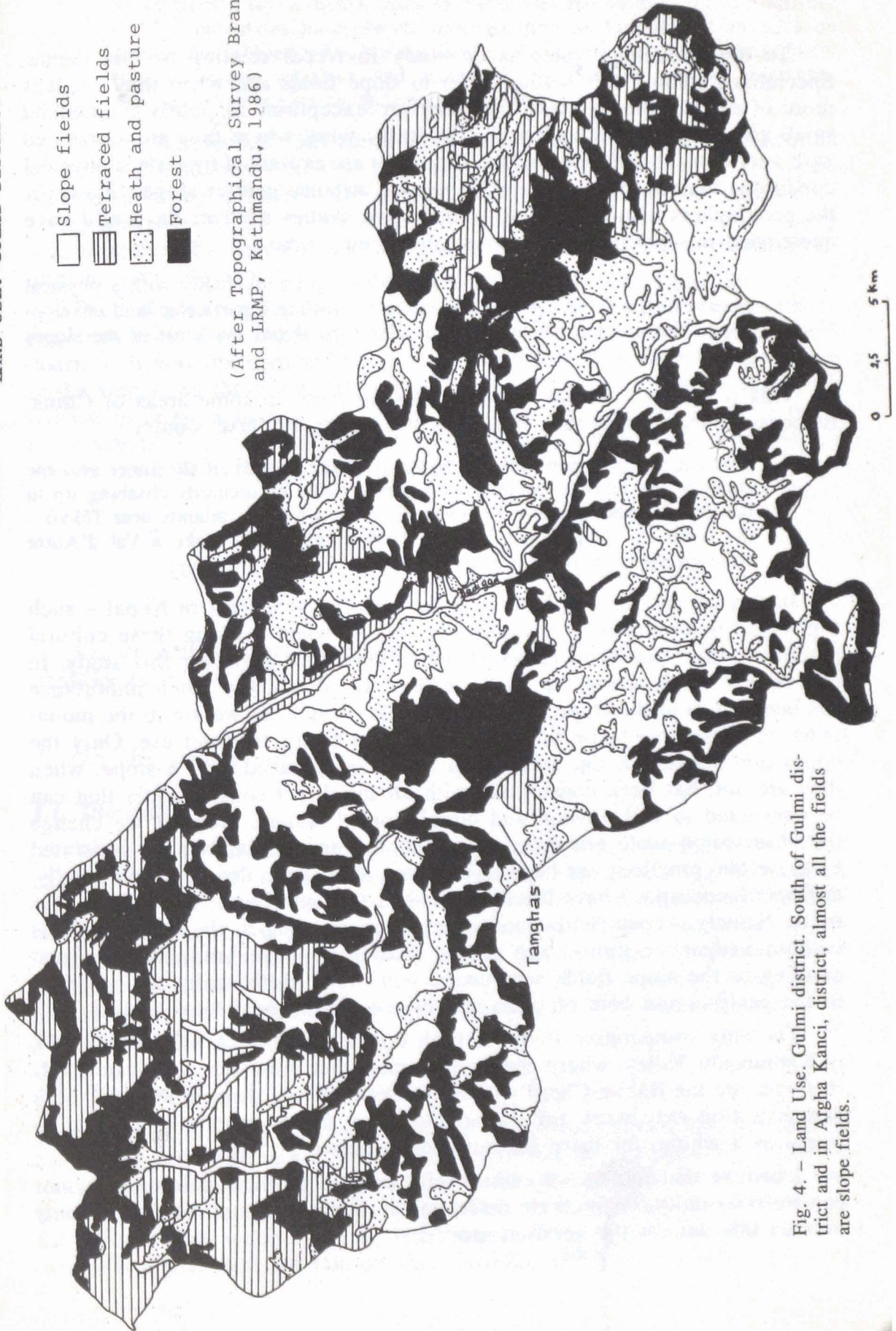
Fig. 4. – Land Use. Gulmi district. South of Gulmi district and in Argha Kanci, district, almost all the fields are slope fields.

III. THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE

To my knowledge there is no study in Nepal relating to this theme. Specialized studies very seldom refer to slope fields and when they do, it is more often than not to assert that they are exceptions in poorly maintained small areas, or in areas such as Jumla, in the west, where they are associated with very low rainfall. Most of the time they are explained by milder physical conditions than in other parts of Nepal, for instance gentler slopes. However the geographers who have made comparative studies all over the world have questioned this physical determinism for a long time :

> We hardly know any rural landscape which goes inevitably with a physical feature and even less physical features controlling a particular land development. Terraces are of course always built on slopes but most of the slopes in the world have no terraces [2]

This is so, for example, in the Andes, in Peru, in some areas of China, Indonesia, Japan... Augustin Berque writes about this last country :

> One can see... in peninsula of Noho or in the islands of the Inner sea, the stairs of the terraces covered with paddy fields or orchards climbing up to the sky; in other places – for instance in the Chichibu mounts near Tôkyô – the fields on steep slopes with no bank at all would make a Val d'Aoste wine-grower look twice... [3].

In this connection, we have to point out why – at least in Nepal – such a physical determinism is so much referred to when evoking these cultural practices : there seems to be an evident problem of scale for this study. In excessively emphasizing the micro-scale – the plot –, too much importance has been given to the slope, to the topography which, as we are in the mountains, is considered to be the most significant factor for land use. Only the opposition between a flat area, when fields are terraced, and a slope, when they are not, has been considered, with all the direct consequences that can be connected to soil erosion and circulation of water... Now, if we change the observation scale and have a look at the general landscapes generated by these two practices, we have to consider, apart from the slope, the totally, different landscapes I have briefly described for Gulmi and Argha Kanci districts. Namely, « open-field » landscapes corresponding to the terraced fields without hedges or limits, and closed field or bocage landscapes, corresponding to the slope fields surrounded with trees. Both scales are essential to the analysis and both of them will be viewed in the following text.

The only comparative study on both practices is Ulrike Müller's (1987), in Kathmandu Valley, where she demonstrates that those who cultivate lands in slopes are the Bāhun-Chetri whereas tribes cultivate them in terraces. This demonstration may work for the studied area, but it cannot be applied to Nepal as a whole, for there are numerous-counter examples.

I believe that just as we cannot refer only to physical determinism, nor can we refer uniquely to ethnic determinism. Some geographers have already pointed this out for the agrarian aspects :

Apart from a few extreme cases in which deserts, swamps, or the hostility of high mountains have always imposed more or less similar attitudes on farmer, the problem of occupation and exploitation of a given field is likely to have several solutions, and actually it has received very different ones ever since the beginning of historical times [4]

And as Jean-Robert Pitte mentions (he wrote the preface of the collection of Dion's publications [1990]), Dion is no more convinced by ethnic determinism than by physical determinism. This is equally the opinion of André Meynier (1983). As for Augustin Berque, previously quoted, in every text he shows the necessity, with regard to land use, of transcending determinism, both physical and human.

The following reflections are the product of field work and systematic enquiries about these differences in cultural practices, among villagers in both districts. It was the comparison with different places in Nepal or elsewhere in the world and the varied, even conflicting answers to my questions which led me to begin a thorough study of the topic. Because this study is in its early stages, I propose mainly questions rather than answers. The ideas I present open an entire field of reflection still to be explored.

IV. INVESTIGATION OF SOME FEATURES

Let us consider various features which could explain the different practices we have described.

1. On the plot scale

1.1. The slope

We have already seen that the slope is never a determining factor. One can find slope fields on very steep slopes and terraced fields on gentle slopes. I must add that on the field, the farmers never refer to the slope to explain this distinction. If we have a look at the slopes in South America, in the Andes, they are very steep and not terraced for dry crops. The same is true for some slopes in Gulmi Argha (fig. 5, 6) and, on the contrary, many gentle slopes are terraced (for instance in the Salme area of Nuwakot district or in Kathmandu Valley) (fig. 2).

1.2. The rainfall

It definitely rains much more in the middle mountains than in the low mountains and in the hills. So one might consider that farmers build terraces to prevent soil erosion in the north of Gulmi district and not in the south. But in the Salme area we have shown that there is an erosion process on the terraces only when there are very heavy rains, mainly when the rain intensity is higher than 100 mm per day (Smadja, 1987). In the south of Gulmi
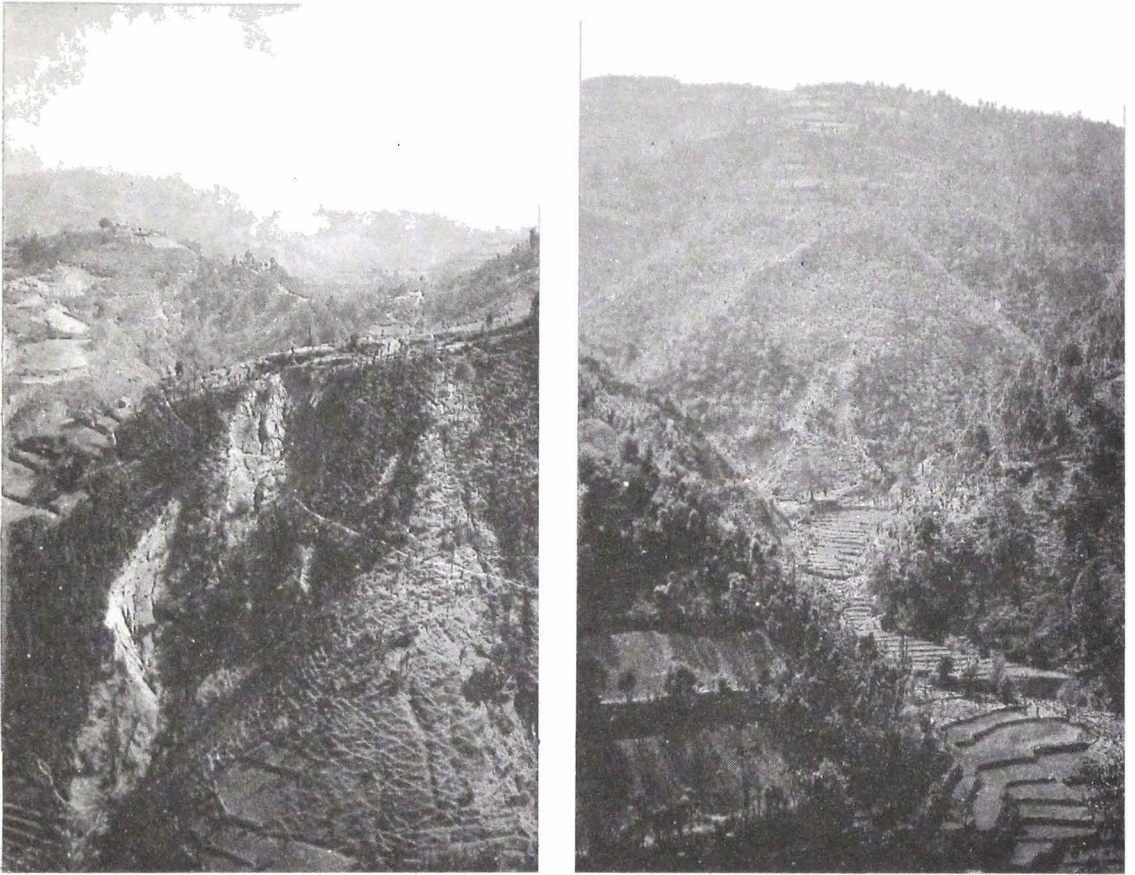
Fig. 5 et 6. – Above the forest, one can see unlevelled fields on very steep slopes. The terraced fields beyond the forest are irrigated paddy fields (south of Gulmi district).

district, although the rains are much less important than in the north of the district or in the Salme area (where the rainfall is about 4,000 mm), the intensity of the rains is much higher : it can reach 300 mm per day several times during the monsoon period. Moreover, the rains are much more erosive than in the Salme area. So it is difficult to seriously consider rainfall as an explanation of these different practices.

What do the inhabitants say about these rainfall features ? They say everything and its opposite :

— In the south of Gulmi, where they have slope fields, they claim that every time there are very heavy rains, everything collapses, whether terraced or slope fields, so they think there is no point building terraced fields to fight against erosion.

— In this same area of slope fields, some people think that the terraced fields collapse more easily than the slope fields, which are less liable to landslide. That could be a logical answer too as a lot of crops of the terraced fields are lost when there are heavy rains because the walls of the terraces do not always stick properly to the soil. So the terrace wall is itself an erosion factor. Moreover we can find some scholars in the literature who think that

ploughing on the slope fields is better than on the terraced fields, because if it rains, instead of concentrating water, it distributes it on the slope.

1.3. The soils

In the south of Gulmi district and in Argha Kanci the red soils are deep and compact so one could think that, being stable, they don't need to be terraced, or that terracing would keep too much water on the field. Why then in the other parts of Nepal, where the soils are equally deep and compact, for instance in the top of Salme slope or in the Trisuli Valley, do people build terraces rather than using slope fields ?

What do people say about the soils in the areas of slope fields ? Some say that the soils are deeper and more stable in the south, so they do not need to build terraces, but not everyone agrees. To justify the slope fields, others explain that erosion is necessary to get young and fresh soils and better yields, and this better erosion is the reason that they have slope fields. Lastly others say that there are no stones in the soil to build terraces with; but in fact stones are not needed to build terraces : many of them are just cut into the soil.

Even if we combine the three features : slope, rainfall and soil, it does not suffice to explain why, in the south of Gulmi and in Argha Kanci districts, the fields are in slope and why, in the same conditions, in other parts of Nepal (for example in Trisuli Valley), the fields are terraced. I must add that the slope fields and terraced fields are not registered in the cadastral map (*mālpot*. Nep.). The administration does not differentiate between the two practices, fields are just classified in four categories (for tax purpose) :
— first class : *aul* (Nep.) : Terai flat areas or *phānt khet* (Nep.);
— second class : *doyam* (Nep.) : paddy fields, *khet*, *ţār khet* (Nep.);
— third class : *sim* (Nep.) : *pākho* (Nep.) fields;
— fourth class : *car* (Nep.) : fields that can be cultivated only with the *kodālo* (Nep.).

This point needs to be developed, but at first glance, it seems that the cadastre does not give any answer to the problem of knowing if these different practices are related to different qualities of the fields. In Darling where the fields are terraced and in Tamghas (both in Gulmi district) where they are sloped, they are similarly indexed : *sim* and *car*.

I must add that slope fields and terraced fields are both ploughed with animals and a swing plough.

In fact it is difficult to know if slope fields are less stable than terraced fields as they are very well maintained and cultivated during the monsoon rains and because the hedge is also a good measure of prevention against erosion.

2. On the slope scale and on a villager community scale

Now let us consider not only the topography of the fields but the «open-field» (terraced fields) and bocage (slope fields) landscapes generated by these two practices.

Before going on, we mention that when people choose slope fields, they gain space, so they can increase yields. People told us that for 6 *bari* of corn from terraced fields, they can get 10 *bari* of corn from slope fields[5]. But when they grow a hedge, its shadow decreases the yield. As the terraces are also a waste of land, they seldom have both hedge and terraces. And moreover we can consider that the hedge is enough to stop erosion, so that terraces plus hedge are never seen at the same time. Although we do find trees more and more often in the terraced fields, we have never seen them forming a hedge.

Given this choice of open fields or bocage, what conditions make people decide for one instead of the other ? Many possible explanations remain to be studied.

2.1. A physical feature, the hedge as a protection against wind

It could be a relevant factor because in the south of Gulmi and in Argha Kanci, during the dry season, a very drying wind blows from south to north. In this case the hedge could be a means of protecting crops from dryness and a good way to fight against erosion and desertification. Moreover the hedge is also a good means of keeping the moisture in the soil for a longer time (a very important point for these districts have a long dry season). However such reason has not been mentioned to me by the population.

2.2. Human pressure on the soil

2.2.1. The hedge as a wood supply

One of the most important advantages of the hedge is obviously to provide wood one cannot get elsewhere. Actually in the south of Gulmi and in a part of Argha Kanci districts, there is not much forest left and people need fodder, timber and wood for fuel. So they plant trees, and they choose to plant them on slope fields, in order not to lose too much land. A lot of people gave us this reason for choosing slope fields and it seems to be an important one. It could supplant the physical factors. *This kind of landscape would be an answer to the human pressure on the land.*

But why then is this not done in other places in Nepal where wood is scarce ? Thinking over that point we must consider history : what were the fields like in the past when there were still forests ? Were they terraced, and later transformed by people, or were they already slope fields and, if so, traditional ? This question is not easy to answer. The aerial photographs of 1964 show the same kind of landscapes we can see today, so such a change would have to date from long ago. But that would not be surprising since some of the few existing historical studies show that deforestation in these districts is not a recent phenomenon : it was already important at the end of

the last century because of the mines which were exploited in this area. So changing from terraced to slope fields could be an old answer to an old problem. Historical surveys are necessary to investigate this possibility further. However, some people have mentioned that, in the past, all the fields were terraced and that they gave up the terraces to the slope fields only because they needed wood and not at all because of physical factors.

It has been claimed that if this were the case, the remains of terraced fields would still be visible, as in the abandoned lands of the Alps for example. But we have to keep in mind that we are in a subtropical mountainous country; the slopes have never been neglected they have always been cultivated and moreover the soil is a thick alterite without stones. So we can easily understand how traces of terraces can disappear in just a few years. Besides, we just have to observe how fast erosion forms are re-colonized from one year to another.

So we must consider this possibility very seriously. First because all over the world it is frequently a reason why people plant hedges. For example, in Germany at the beginning of modern times, the hedge plantation, which transformed an open-field into a bocage, was the result of the preoccupation of the government with assuring a sufficient wood supply (André Meynier, 1983). And secondly because according to D.A. Gilmour, who has worked for years on the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project, the hill farmers have been steadly increasing the tree cover on their farm land for at least the last 20 years (Gilmour, 1988). He does not refer to slope fields and terraced fields, but perhaps this is an orientation for research. As farmers have to pay for the government's or the panchayat's wood they use, they tend to plant more and more trees to get free wood. But as the shadow of the trees is bad for the yields, on the terraced lands they cannot have too many trees. So the bocage would be an advanced answer to this wood shortage and perhaps other areas could adopt it later on. That is one hypothesis.

2.2.2. The slope fields as an answer to a space shortage

A lot of informants mentioned that in the past all the fields were terraced and that they were turned into slope fields only to get larger fields (as we show above) because of an increase of population. Knowing that in these districts the harvest cannot feed the population during the whole year (Panter Brick, 1988) and that farmers cannot get more crops a year because of the drought, the need to gain space is understandable.

2.2.3. The hypothesis of slope fields as recent ones

On the subject of the human pressure problem, we obtained other conflicting answers. Some farmers say that in opposition to the northern sector, people in the south were more stock-breeders than farmers. So they only cultivated on flat areas (*maidān*) and the slopes were kept for forests and pastures. The slopes would have been recently cleared because of the population increase. And that is why the fields would still be slope fields, later on they will become naturally terraced fields. Besides, other people told us

that the fields in the north were terraced because they were very old fields and because no new one had been put under cultivation.

We remark the contradiction with the people who said that formerly, in the south, all the fields were terraced fields and that they suppressed the walls of the terraces and made slope fields in order to gain space.

Usually, the recent cultivated fields are in slope, even in the terraced areas. The process of levelling these slope fields last 2, 3 or at most 5 years. But in Gulmi and Argha Kanci districts, this is not the case : the aerial photographs show that the landscape was the same in 1964. Consequently, the slope fields in this area are old ones.

2.2.4. The manpower problem

A significant amount of manpower is needed to terrace a field, so some people argue that building terraces is possible in the north where the population migrating to India and Terai is small. But in the south, where migration is an important factor, the families remaining in the villages are not numerous enough to build the terraces and assume their maintenance. These families would have to pay outsiders to build terraces, and they cannot afford it. The paradox is remarkable : these two districts are overcrowded, they do not have enough food to feed their population but, at the same time, the migration is so important that they do not have enough manpower to work in the fields.

This reasoning is a possibility, but one which sends us back to the historical aspect of the situation.

If slope fields may of result from human pressure on the land, since these districts have a very high population density (one of the highest in Nepal), is it possible that the general increasing of the Nepalese population could progressively transform the landscape from one of terraces to one of slope fields ?

3. Two different systems

Various other reasons can be studied. What do these « open-fields » (terraced fields) and bocages (slope fields) reveal ? They may reveal two different ways of life, almost two civilizations; at least two different systems. The « open-field » being evidently « open », it makes common practices easier, as for example right of common land, and it could attest to a strong social organization with an important sense of mutual aid, a sense of collectivity. The parāma (Nep.) system would be an illustration of this, even if it does not exist everywhere in the terraced area. On the contrary, the hedge would be a defense against others, against animals, against people; in these slope fields, there is no right of common land. So these different practices could refer to two different land tenure systems and the differences and the evolution between the two systems would only reflect the land tenure contrasts or evolution (fig. 2 and 3).

3.1. What is the role of the goth ?

With the hypothesis of two different systems, we notice that in the north, where the fields are terraced, people practise the *goth* system going from one terrace to another with animals and using their dung to fertilize the land (fig. 7). This system is, from my own observation, never used in slope fields in the south, where the farmers have few animals and keep them in stalls, fertilizing the fields with chemical products.

Fig. 7. – The *goth* system is used only on the terraced fields.

Do the *goth* and the terrace systems belong together ? Does one system imply the other ? What is the role of the *goth* system in the creation of the landscape ? Are the slope fields the symbol of a more evolved area where people can buy chemical fertilizers, where they do not need dung so they need less animals, and they do not need terraces... ? Bruno Muller (1986), a French scholar who has done historical research in this area, has noticed that, in the past, in Tamghas — where the fields today are sloped –, people used the *goth* system. Was this *goth* system automatically associated with terraces ? It is probable that there is a close relation between these practices and the breeding of animals. But which system leads to the other ?

3.2. Do these different practices belong to any tradition ?

Some people report that these practices were traditional in the area. Others told us that in the north, people are real farmers : they depend only

on their fields so they take care of them, and that is why they build terraces. But in the south, where trade plays an important role, people do not live uniquely on the products of their fields, so they take less care of them, and that is why the fields are sloped. « The southern farmers are simply too lazy to build terraces »...

Nobody spoke to us about ethnic differences and we have found the same ethnic groups both on terraced fields and slope fields. We must notice that whereas every different population group appears on terraced fields, the Indo-Nepalese (Parbatiyā) population is particularly well represented in the slope field area, although not unique. Could the Indo-Nepalese population have imposed its practices on a whole area ? In this case why would it not be the same in other areas where Indo-Nepalese are numerous ?

One final interesting point remains to be noticed. It is generally considered that terraced fields are the best form of adaptation to mountain environments, and some experts do not hesitate to say that an answer to the instability of slopes is to build terraces everywhere. Moreover, as we mentioned above, the few writers who refer to slope fields consider them to be mere exceptions in poorly maintained small areas. Now, Ulrike Müller's observations in a small area near Kathmandu (1987), as well as our own observations on the scale of whole districts, show that some slope field areas (perfectly stable and productive in spite of all) are occupied, at least partly, by Bāhun-Chetri populations which are regarded as the most well-off and the most educated in the country. So there is obviously a paradox which needs to be studied by researchers of different disciplines.

CONCLUSION

Regarding the physical features, a good tool to work on this problem with is remote sensing. What I am trying to do with remote sensing is, after SPOT data, to map the different practices, then to compare the structures with the land numeric model and with the radiometric data. I will get more information on the true role of the physical features in these different landscapes. Then it will be possible to follow these structures over the years with multi data records. And this mapping could be extended to other parts of Nepal. It will enable me to follow possible transformations from terraced fields to slope fields because of cultivated land and wood shortages.

Whatever the answers might be, the problem is an interesting and an important one, requiring an interdisciplinary approach. The contradictory answers of the population are in themsleves a field for study. A complete study necessitates the collaboration of ethnologists, economists and historians. One particular point to examine is the role of these practices in the culture and tradition of the population, and if they are mentioned in the historical texts.

Notes

1. Census, 1981. Source : Nepal District Profil. National Research Associates, Kathmandu, 1982.

2. Original text : « Nous ne connaissons guère de formes agraires accompagnant obligatoirement tel caractère.physique, encore moins de traits physiques commandant tel aménagement agraire. Les terrasses sont évidemment toujours bâties sur des pentes, mais la plupart des pentes du monde n'ont pas de terrasses », André Meynier, 1983.

3. Original text : « On verra... dans la péninsule de Noho ou dans les îles de la mer Intérieure, grimper jusqu'au ciel les escaliers des terrasses couvertes de rizières ou de vergers ; ailleurs – ainsi dans les monts Chichibu, près de Tôkyô – les champs affrontent sans la moindre banquette des inclinaisons qui feraient y regarder à deux fois un vigneron du Val d'Aoste... », Augustin Berque, 1980.

4. Original text : « En dehors de quelques cas extrêmes où l'hostilité du désert, du marécage ou de la haute montagne impose à l'agriculteur de tous les temps des attitudes à peu près identiques, le problème de l'occupation et de l'exploitation d'un terrain donné est susceptible de plusieurs solutions et il en a reçu en effet de très diverses depuis le début des temps historiques ». Roger Dion (1990), opening lesson of the historical geography's chair, delivered at the Collège de France on December 4th 1948.

5. It may be debated because the disparity of the crops on one slope plot is so important that it has to be checked. Nevertheless even if the difference between the yields is not so high, we can at least take it as an indication.

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Sufficient Harvest-Yields despite Low Soil Fertility- The Special Strategy of Nepalese Mountain Farmers

Willibald Haffner

In the Nepalese Himalayas, the difference in elevation between the Gangetic Lowlands (100 m above sea-level) and the main Himalayan range, with its 8,000 m summits, is enormous (fig. 1). Due to the southern position of ± 27°N, the values for the climatically dependent upper limits are about twice as high as in the Alps : the upper limit for permanent settlements is 4,000 m, for forests 4,200 m, the climatic snow line is 5,700 m. The plentiful summer rains and freedom from frost up to a height of ± 1,500 m characterize the Nepalese Himalayas as a monsoon-tropical high-mountain area. This climatic-ecologically favourable position is reflected in the high population density among other things; in the Lower Himalayas it reaches 400 inhabitants per km² and − as in other developing nations − is still steadily increasing. However, in mountainous regions, such high population densities are only possible with especially labour-intensive forms of agriculture. The terraced fields of Nepal, which stretch several hundred meters upward from the bot-
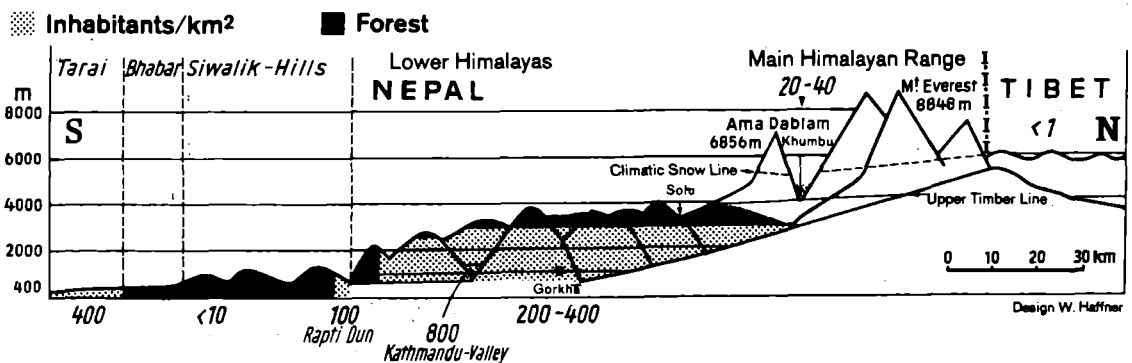
Fig. 1. − Nepal Himalaya : Forest distribution and population density in profile.

toms of valleys up to heights of 1 500 m and give the landscape its typical
character, are well known and admired throughout the world (fig. 2). On such
a slope, characterized by its intensive, terraced agriculture, the old residence
and bazaar city of Gorkhā is located. One of the reasons why we chose the
surroundings of Gorkhā for our geographical studies was because stone in-
scriptions are preserved not far from the palace of the Gorkhā kings (G. Un-
bescheid, 1986) which testify that this region has been settled for at least
1,500 years or, put another way : the mountain farmers of Gorkhā have
known for centuries how to live and farm on this mountain slope in an ade-
quately successful way. This is still true today. To support this the current
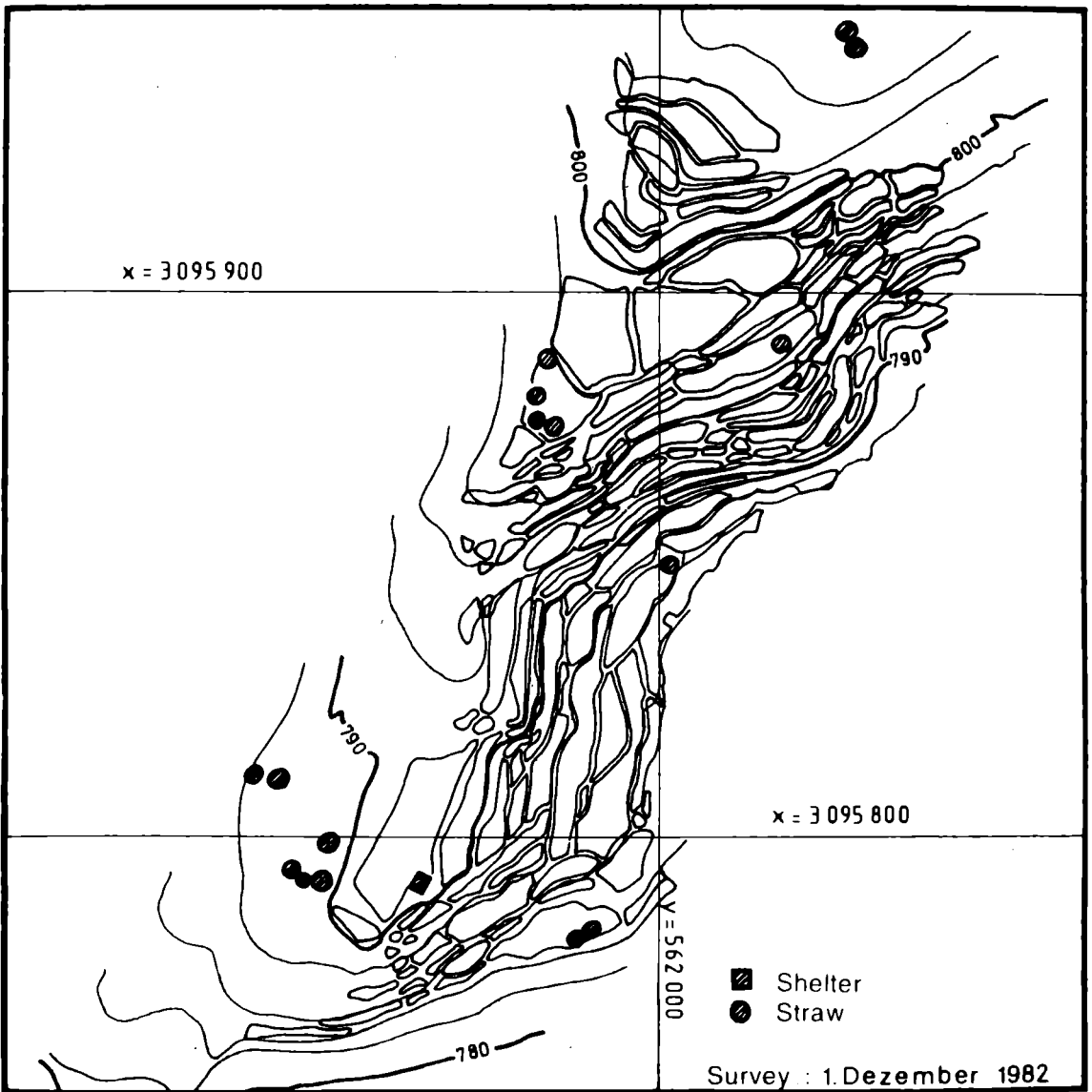
Fig. 2. – Terraced agriculture near Gorkhā.

system of land-use can be mentioned and, if the success rate is to be expressed in numbers, the agricultural yields per hectare are as follows :

Table 1
Harvest Yields in Gorkhā and Jelung

Gorkhā (1,000 m above sea level)*		
Upland rice	7,5 dt/ha	
Wet rice	28-65 dt/ha	
Maize	17,3-34 dt/ha	
Finger-millet	-50 dt/ha	
Gorkhā District **		
Wet rice	21,8 dt/ha	
Maize	15,2 dt/ha	
Jelung (2,000 m above sea level) ***		
Amount of seed	**Harvest yields** (1 pāthi = 4,5 l)	
1 pāthi barley	7/ 8 pāthi	
1 pāthi wheat	5 pāthi	
1 pāthi black potatoes	8/10 pāthi	
1 pāthi white potatoes	12/13 pāthi	
1 pāthi red potatoes	17/18 pāthi	
1 pāthi maize	20 pāthi	
1 pāthi finger-millet	30/35 pāthi	

* Survey : Müller-Böker, Pohle.
** HMG, 1983, Agricultural Statistics of Nepal.
*** Survey : Pohle.

Although the agricultural yields mentioned for Gorkhā are indeed considerably lower than in Germany or in the Punjab in India, the yields for crops which are grown in the monsoon period (wet-rice, maize, finger-millet) are considerable. The same is also true for the area of Jelung (± 2000 m above sea level) in eastern Nepal which is settled by Sherpa farmers. Eight to ten times the seed amount for potatoes is harvested there, for maize twenty times the seed amount. The high yields for finger-millet (*Eleusine coracana*) are especially surprising. However, these can be understood if the high amounts of compost and natural dung are considered, which are typical in the cultivation of millet. Agricultural yields on the order of those listed in Table 1, *i.e.*, yields which could guarantee the self-sufficiency of the population with basic provisions, are therefore unexpectedly high, especially because of the unfavourable relief and soil conditions which are typical of the Lower Himalayas.

ROCKS AND SOILS
AND THEIR ECOLOGICAL VALUE FOR AGRICULTURE

The parent rocks which are typical of the soil formation in the region of Gorkhā and on the whole for the Lower Himalayas are relatively uniform mica-schists which are rich in quartz and silicat, fine phyllites and gneisses. These metamorphic rocks are the basic material of the so-called Nuwakot nappes (T. Hagen, 1959), that most important tectonic unit in the Lower Himalayas. The soil formation on acid phyllite and mica-schists as the parent rock material, both of which are rich in quartz, produces acid soils with a high percentage of sand and fine sand and little clay, that is, soils which are relatively easy to cultivate but which also have the disadvantage of a low soil fertility (Table 2) (W. Haffner, 1986).

Table 2
Selected soil datas from Gorkhā

	cm	pH	clay %	org. C %	humus %	mgP$_2$O$_5$ per 100.g soil	mgK$_2$O	C:N
Ferric Luvisol (bāri eroded)	0- 10	3,9	39,5	0,8	1,4	5,9	1,0	11,4
	10- 30	3,9	42,8	0,5	0,9	8,1	0,8	8,3
Rice Gleysol (khet)	0- 20	4,6	7,9	0,9	1,6	4,9	2,3	15,0
	30	5,5	9,6	0,4	0,7	2,7	1,8	10,0
	65	5,5	17,4	0,5	0,9	4,3	2,0	12,5
Dystric Cambiosol (forest)	0- 7	5,4	19,1	7,0	12,0	8,1	10,3	17,1
	10- 20	5,2	11,5	3,2	5,5	2,7	5,3	11,4
	100	4,9	36,8	1,1	1,8	8,1	1,8	14,1
	> 200	4,8	35,2	1,7	2,9	2,7	5,0	14,2
Dystric Cambiosol (bāri)	0- 20	4,2	17,9	1,1	1,9	2,7	1,3	11,0

On the rocky silicate outcrops in the Gorkhā region, two main types of soil can be found : lateritic red clays (ferric luvisols) and brown soils low in alkali (dystric cambisols).

The red clays are relics of earlier soil formation in a warmer climate, possibly before the rising of the Himalayan mountains. The distribution of these soils on old, ridge-like land surfaces also seems to confirm this. The uniform elevation of these denudated surfaces in the region of Gorkhā is striking. In all the places where the relics of red clay have been eroded and worn away, for example in the area of slope valleys which are interspersed with ridges, brown soils (dystric cambisols) low in alkali and, as a proto-stage, ranker, have developed under the recent conditions of a monsoonal mountain climate. Ranker of extremely varied thickness shows a relatively

wide distribution on recent to subrecent rock fall or slide material. Above all, in forest land, for example in Raniban, the humus horizon is clearly developed and well-preserved. Deforestation and the resulting erosion, through centuries of terraced cultivation, but especially through the cultivation of wet-rice, has changed and transformed the natural top-soil to a large extent. Therefore, it was not possible to find undisturbed, fully-developed soil profiles in the region of Gorkhā. Even forest soils are either young ranker (*i.e.* Rāniban, Kāliban) or disturbed top soils.

A long historical tradition of working the soil carefully, thus leading to successful retention of soil within the scope of terraced agriculture, however completely justifies speaking of perfect soil management. What is decisive for the present-day soil thickness, as well as for the soil-physical and soil-chemical characteristics of these anthropomorphic soils, is the form and intensity of the agricultural usage. Although forest soils show the highest observed humus content (up to 12 %), the larger uninterrupted areas of forest are in fact all located on coarse block fields of relatively recent landslide debris, which means that soil formation has not yet developed to a very advanced stage. The fact that this layer of stony soil (rankers on rockfall debris) is so thin explains why these tracts of forest have been preserved and did not become part of the cultivated and terraced slopes long ago.

Although severe weathering of the parent substratum occurs in this rainy, monsoon-tropical climate, many of the nutrients are washed away and the organic-matter rapidly decomposes, especially when the land is being farmed (see Table 2). An X-ray-graph determination of clay minerals [1] did show, illite and aluminium chloride (along with kaolinite) as the main components in three profiles of the soil. However the high acidity of the soil causes a limited availability of plant nutrients. Finally, the low cation-exchange capacity, which would be expected with low clay and humus content of soil, is the reason for the limited fertility potential of the soil in the region under investigation (cf. Table 3).

Table 3
The effect of the humid monsoon-tropical climate
and of acid phyllite and mica-schist on soil formation

Humid monsoon-tropical climate + Phyllite and mica-schist	
(1)	Weathering several metres deep (favourable for the construction of terraces)
(2)	Low content of clay of the soil ($\pm$ 20 %)
(3)	Low content of humus especially on arable land ($\pm$ 2 %)
(4)	Low pH value : pH 3.8 - 4 Wet rice cultivation : pH 4.6 - 5.5
(5)	Low cation-exchange capacity (s-value between 5.4 - 6.2)
(6)	Reduced availability of nutrients

REDUCED ECOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE SOILS

If, in spite of this, the Lower Himalayas of Nepal give the impression, especially in the monsoon rain-period, of an abundant, green farming area; if adequate yields for self-sufficiency of a slowly but steadily increasing mountain population have been guaranteed for centuries, one reason for that is that the population is very knowledgeable about using its natural environment successfully : Nepalese mountain farmers have developed and handed down special forms of agrarian technology which mitigate the unfavourable ecological factors, if not completely, then at least considerably :

1) A stabilization of soil fertility is achieved through crop rotation and through intermittent periods of leaving the land fallow (cf. P. Pohle, 1986).

2) Attempts are made to counteract the depletion of nutrients in the soil through application of natural manure. As the fodder is composed of slopping fodder to a considerable extent, a continual transfer of organic matter from forest and fallow lands to the fields takes place via the manure. The cultivation of trees for use as fodder has a similar effect (cf. fig. 3). Only the rice fields are not generally manured.
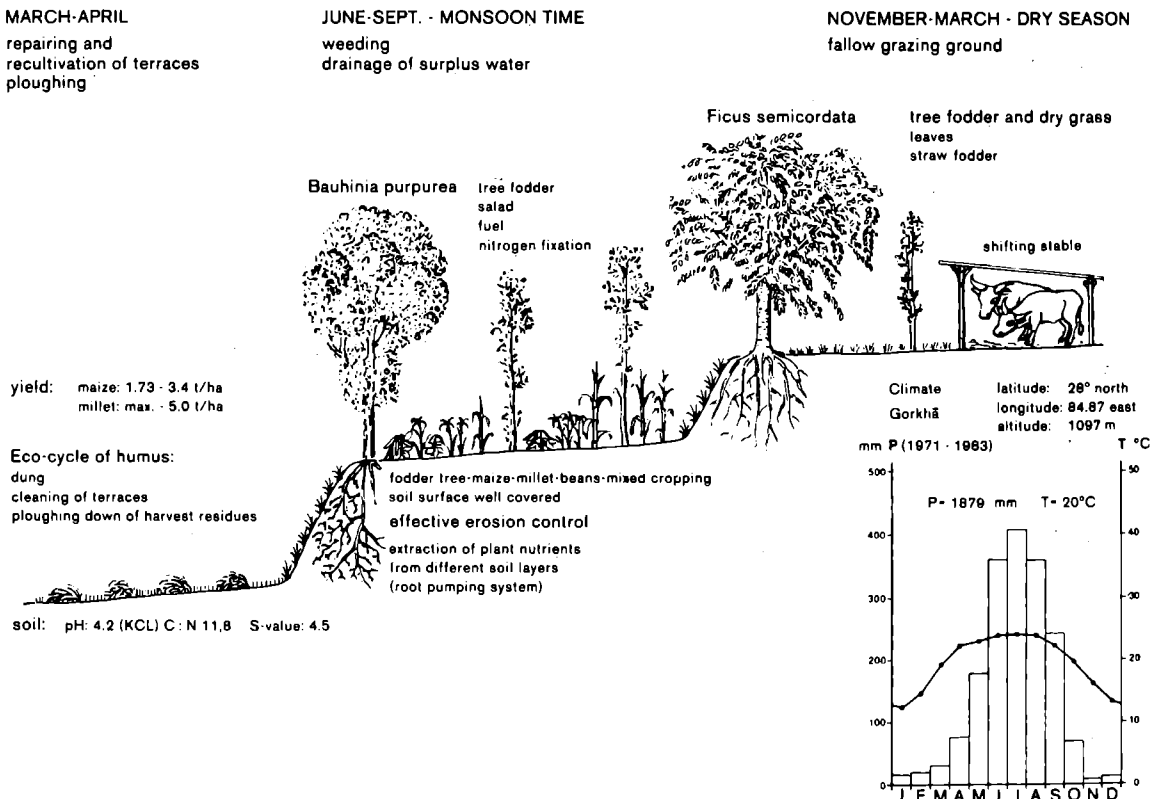
Fig. 3. — Seasonal cycle of the ecologically adapted land-use-system near Gorkhā.

3) The farmers try to compensate for the low humus content of the soil (especially where no animal dung is spread) by raking any plants down off the terrace walls, which had grown during the previous rainy season. The organic matter obtained in this way is then worked into the soil with a plough.

4) In addition, the annual carving-out of the terraces, *i.e.* the gradual eating away of the mountain side, has the effect of steadily feeding fresh mineral matter from the crumbling, decaying rock back into the soil. This process counteracts washing-out. Finally, the channelling of irrigation water also has the effect of compensating for nutrient depletion. Only because of these measures of compensating for nutrient depletion has it been possible to keep the yields in irrigated agriculture sufficiently stable for centuries, even without regular organic fertilization.

5) Artificial irrigation is a further important means of increasing the ecological potential of naturally poor soils. The highest pH (KCl) readings were recorded in soil samples taken from areas where wet rice was grown. Although pH readings of between 4.1 and 5.5 are still definitely in the acid range, an increasing amount of nutrients vital for plant growth (nitrogen phosphates, potassium) and important trace elements can be found in those types of soil whose pH readings were distinctly over 4. In the case of the paddy gleys, the pH values evidently increase during the flooding of the fields which takes place in the summer months. For soil types which are naturally high in acid content, the importance of such a process cannot be over-emphasized.

Figure 3 again shows, in the form of the seasonal cycle, the perfect type of land-use in Gorkhā. Both the leaves from fodder trees and the constant transportation of organic substance (straw, leaves, wild hay) from the forests onto the intensively used, terraced dry fields (bāri) play a key role within the framework of the regulated humus-farming which is common for this region as well as in the attentive care of the soil. Fodder trees (*i.e. Bauhinia variegata* and *B. purpurea*) provide foliage fodder; their stronger branches provide firewood; their blossoms are used for salads; in addition the Bauhinia species, as leguminous trees, serve as collectors of nitrogen. Fodder trees with their deep-reaching root system are also important as protection against erosion. There is good reason to believe that, in a combined agriculture of deep-rooting trees and shallow-rooting annual plants (for example maize), soil horizons of different depths can be brought into the circulation of nutrients. Trees in this system are used to « pump » nutrients and water out of deeper soil layers (root-pumping system) and, via the defoliation with organic substance, supply the top-soil layers which can serve as nutrient for annual plants when mineralized.

The climatic diagram included in the outline is meant to point out the especially favourable, tropical-monsoonal climate during the growing season. The low soil-fertility in agro-ecological systems of the Nepalese Himalayas is apparently at least partially balanced out by the especially favourable monsoonal climate. The climatic diagram included in the outline is meant to point this out, supplemented by the following observations.

With the beginning of the moist-warm monsoonal vegetation period a « growth spurt » occurs which never fails to amaze the European. After only a few days the land becomes green; freshly sown fields are covered by vegetation in a short time. Even ligneous, stick-like « cuttings » which are often planted on the sides of paths and which can reach a length of one and a half metres, for example of the *Ficus* species, of the *Poinsettia (Euphorbia)*, among others, shoot out in next to no time and – something that is unthinkable under European climatic conditions – even the wooden posts which were planted by Swiss development helpers as pasture-fences begin to bud and sprout leaves.

Traditional agricultural techniques and traditional systems of cultivation and pasture-farming are undoubtedly adapted to the natural potential in the densely settled Nepalese area. However, one should not confuse adaptability with environmental and ecological stability or, even worse, with an ecological balance between the natural potential of the environment and the demands made upon it by the people who settle and farm the land there. Slow but relentless forest and soil degradation has proved unavoidable and are by no means a modern development, even in old, cultivated landscapes. The continual transfer of organic matter from forest and scrub areas, from roadsides and patches of wasteland to the sloping terraces used for upland farming has inevitably led to the gradual degradation of both trees and soil.

Even wet rice cultivation, which is generally regarded as being a most suitable form of ecological farming, has always been responsible for erosion damage. Heavy monsoon rain or even the smallest weak spot in the water canalization, especially in drains, have repeatedly entailed sudden landslides in the larger terraced complexes. As a result, continual repair and perfect recultivation of the areas damaged by landslides are two of the traditional technical skills mastered by Nepalese mountain farmers.

The agricultural landscape of the Lower Himalayas today is therefore characterized not only by carefully tended terrace complexes which are interspersed with fodder trees but also by degraded, overused forest areas and erosion phenomena which can assume catastrophic proportions. A good example is the upper Ludi Khola basin not far from Gorkhā (fig. 4).

As the sketch shows, the farmers living on the upper part of this mountain brook perfectly master the art of terracing even in steep inclines and the fields, which are interspersed with fodder trees, give the impression of an intact, ecologically stable environment. However, on the upper slope the continual overuse of the forests has led to the typical gradual degradation of forest and soil. In the last few decades the branches of the upper Ludi Khola have widened to the point where they now resemble ravines, terraced field complexes are in danger of sliding away, and houses, even the school, are endangered by the possibility of a landslide. After torrential monsoonal rains the heavy regressive river erosion in deeply weathered bedrocks and thick colluvial slope sediments (albeit a natural phenomenon) also accelerated the formation of a valley; moreover the slope was increasingly destabilized

Fig. 4. – The agricultural landscape of the Lower Himalayas in the upper Ludi-Khola-Region near Gorkhā. Typical the contrast between carefully tended terrace complexes, overused forests and severely damaged erosion areas.

through the diversion of the excess surface water from a neighbouring village uphill into the erosion ravine of the Ludi Khola.

As can be expected, there are serious conflicts between the population of the immediate, endangered vicinity of the erosion-ravine and the inhabitants of the village above.

CONCLUSION

A highly developed art of changing the relief through terracing, the careful tending of the soil, an ingenious form of humus-farming : all these laborious techniques and strategies have until now enabled Nepalese mountain farmers to balance to some extent the disadvantages of the relief and the handicap of soils which are low in nutrients. Therefore, the self-sufficiency of the mountain population was adequately secured over the centuries. But the question has now arisen : which strategy should be followed, what should be done in the future if the present population growth rate, which will lead to a doubling of the population in 25 to 30 years, continues ? Have not the boundaries of the carrying capacity long been crossed ?

A long list of possible solutions for this basic theme could be made; it is not only typical of Nepal but assumes general validity for poorer developing nations. The following measures could be taken though they are by no means exclusive :
— The reduction of the population growth through birth control and family planning – a very doubtful attempt in traditional agrarian societies and, at best, it will be a long-term success.
— Seasonal or permanent migration to the Nepalese Lowlands or abroad. Already in the last century there were colonies of Nepalese immigrants in Burma, Sikkim, and India. The Terai, the Himalayan forelands of .Nepal, has become a desired settlement area of Nepalese mountain farmers since the eradication of malaria in the 60's. Even the seasonal migration of labourers and the hiring of men as « Gorkhas » in the Nepalese or Indian Army has a long tradition. Nevertheless, the mountain population continued to grow.
— Agro-economically, an increase in productivity by input of improved agricultural technologies is conceivable ; that is, mineral fertilizer, improved seed, etc., combined as much as possible with irrigation and humus farming.
— Also the change from a policy of self-sufficiency to a market economy, for example from the cultivation of grain to vegetables has been recommended and enjoyed a certain success in the mountain valleys which are accessible by road.

Finally, from a strict economic point of view, suggestions which could increase the productivity of farming in the Nepal Himalayas are rather shaky. Experienced agricultural economists of international organizations (cf. *Report*

of the Special Programming Mission to Nepal, IFAD, 1989) deny any benefit of agricultural investments in the mountainous regions of Nepal especially because of the very limited natural resources, the size of the farms, which are often too small (U. Müller, 1986), the deficient or lacking accessibility to roads and other infrastructural backwardness. But is it really appropriate to judge concepts and suggestions for development planning of the mountain regions of Nepal only according to economic criteria ?

In Nepal itself, completely different planning concepts are being put forward. These have their roots in the self-perception of the Nepalese as a mountain people who consider the mountainous areas as the traditional political and cultural centre of the country. Thus, it is not economic profitability and feasability which plays such a central role in Nepalese development planning but rather the aim is to maintain the cultural identity of the Nepalese farmers and also the typical Nepalese agrarian and cultural landscapes which they have taken centuries to create and which they have so admirably adapted to the environment. Parallels to the alpine farmer's uncertainties and problems are obvious. Despite the decreasing profitability of alpine mountain farming as well, the traditional life-style, highly adapted to the environment, should be retained as much as possible in the Alps. The development programmes for mountain farmers in Germany or Austria pursue this goal, as does the so-called « Winter Help » which reaches back into the last century in Switzerland, as a varied form of « development aid ». It therefore seems appropriate to postulate similar programmes of « foreign aid » for the Nepalese mountain people and their economy. Industrial countries will definitely have to sponsor and to subsidize the basically unprofitable rural economies in the Nepal Himalayas if they want people to stay there and if they want the Nepalese specialists of high mountain agriculture to survive economically by farming « sufficient harvest-yields in spite of low soil fertility » and other on-site disadvantages so typical of the Nepalese Himalayas.

Notes

1. For the X-ray determination of the clay minerals I would like to thank Dr. H. Tributh (Institute for the Science of Soils of the JLU), for the determination of the soil-chemical data Mr. Adam Lapp (Geographical Institute of the JLU).

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The Manangis of the Nepal-Himalaya : Environmental Adaptation, Migration and Socio-economic Changes

Perdita Pohle

I. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

High mountains are a natural setting associated with extreme environmental conditions for human life pursuits. In the first place, the climatic situation at particularly high altitudes constitutes a source of stress for the human organism; secondly, numerous adverse ecological factors (steep relief, shallow and poorly developed soils, frost, short vegetation periods, etc.) restrict the population's economic potential and thus its food production. In spite of the natural conditions geared to make living in them difficult, high mountains have been exploited by different ethnic groups for centuries. The number of persons living today at altitudes above 3,000 m (approximately 20-25 millions; Thomas, 1979, p. 142) is also indicative of the fact that, in a wide variety of ways, mankind is able to adapt to extreme ecological conditions.

In terms of adaptation it is the physiological and biological adaptational reactions of the organism that in the first instance counteract altitude stress and enable human life at high altitudes. Beyond these biological adaptational mechanisms fixed by natural law, however, the people living in high mountains have developed numerous cultural strategies and techniques of adaptation, with the aid of which they exploit the mountains as a place to live and pursue economic goals. Finally, sociocultural forms of organization that are adapted to a certain extent to outward constraints on life can even be identified within the society. Biological, cultural and sociocultural forms of adaptation to extreme environmental conditions all find expression in the cultural landscape of high mountains. What influence they have on the population, settlement and economic structures of the Manang Valley, and what processes of change they undergo will be set forth in the course of this study.
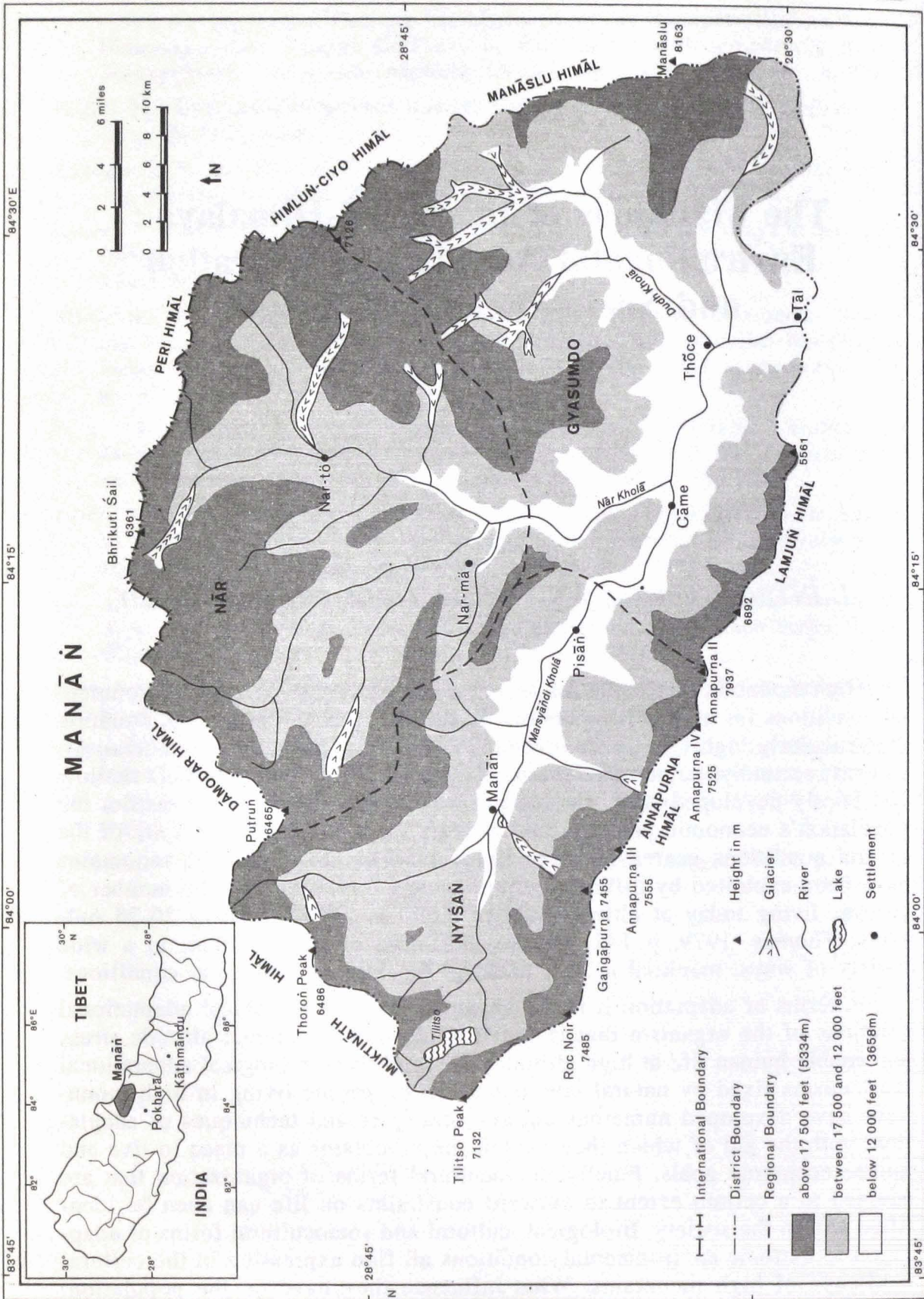
Fig. 1. – The geographical location and setting of Manang District.

The high mountain valley of Manang has proved to be a particularly interesting area of research for this complex of questions. On the one hand, traditional forms of living and economic activity adapted to the high-mountain environment have been preserved there up to the present due to its isolated and peripheral geographical location (cf. fig. 1). On the other hand, though, a transformation of traditional structures, in some cases quite considerable, is taking place, brought about by a greater involvement on the part of the Manang population in international trade, the opening of the district to tourism and the introduction of the national administrative system. What significance these changes have for the population and their living area will be shown and discussed towards the end of this article.

II. ENVIRONMENTAL ADAPTATION

1. Problems of high-altitude adaptation

If a comparison is made of the upper altitudinal limits of human settlements on the earth, it is seen that the absolute maximum values are attained in the high mountains of the subtropics, which enjoy thermally favourable conditions and an abundance of radiation (cf. Haffner, 1982). Whereas in the Alps the highest permanent settlements lie at somewhat over 2,000 m, in the Nepal-Himalaya they are found at more than twice that elevation (*e.g.* the village Nar-mä in Manang : 4,200 m). At these extreme altitudes the human organism is exposed to considerable stress, which is basically caused by the lower air pressure in comparison to that of the lowlands, a less absolute humidity, more extreme temperatures and higher levels of radiation. Since man, as far as his bodily functions are concerned, is adjusted to living under the climatic conditions at sea level, the altered conditions at high altitudes require a number of special forms of adaptation, which, in the case that they exhaust cultural and technical possibilities, must be taken on by the organism's physiological and biological adaptive reactions. Seeming to be problematic from a physiological point of view is especially the organism's adjustment to the reduced oxygen content in the air as a consequence of the lower air pressure. Thus, at an elevation of 3,500 m, the barometric pressure is reduced by more than a third, and at 5,500 m it amounts to only half of the value at sea level (cf. tab. 1).

Since the partial pressure of oxygen in the air decreases proportionately with the air pressure, and as a consequence fewer oxygen molecules enter the organism through the breath, there exists a danger that tissue may lack oxygen, a physiological condition termed hypoxia. In contrast to other elements of the climate, the effect of whose stress can largely be diminished by cultural adaptational techniques (for example, the cold by suitable clothing and housing), the inhabitants of high mountains have no practicable technical means of compensating for the reduced content of oxygen in the air. The

Table 1
Barometric pressure and partial pressure of oxygen (pO2)
as a function of altitude according to values
of the international standard atmosphere

Altitude (m)	Barometric pressure (mmHg)	Decrease (%)	pO$_2$ (mmHg)	Temperature ($^\circ$C)
0	760	0	159	15.0
1,000	674	11	142	8.5
2,000	596	22	125	2.0
3,000	526	31	110	− 4.5
3,500	492	35	103	− 7.7
4,000	462	39	97	− 11.0
5,000	405	47	85	− 17.5
5,500	379	50	79	− 20.7
6,000	354	53	74	− 24.0

effect on the organism, rather, is direct, leading to a series of adaptive reactions which, depending upon the length of exposure to high altitudes, are termed either acclimatizations or adaptations. Whereas the latter represent genetically fixed adaptive features, ones found only among people living at high mountains, acclimatizations are understood as being reversible, non-hereditary adaptive reactions undergone by the organism, and disappearing relatively soon after the stimulus is removed. Regardless of the varying reactions, the goal of all adaptational processes is to compensate for the effect of the lowered partial pressure of oxygen in the atmosphere in such a way that, in spite of the lower pressure, the same amount of oxygen can be taken in as at sea level.

While a scarcely delimitable host of literature has by now appeared on the acclimatization of mountain climbers and tourists (cf. Brendel & Zink, 1982; Heath & Williams, 1981), less is known of the adaptational mechanisms of high-mountain dwellers. Although numerous physiological studies were carried out on the inhabitants of the high Andes under the International Biological Programme (IBP) (cf., for example, Baker & Little, 1976; Baker, 1978; Little, 1981), still the state of research obtaining for the acclimatizational reactions of lowland dwellers is far from being reached. Above all there is a lack of comprehensive comparative studies on altitude adaptation among the inhabitants of other high-mountain regions, such as the Himalaya, since it has become known that the acclimatizational and adaptational attainments characteristic of the highland Indians can by no means be assumed to be reactions to altitude generally applicable to all high-mountain dwellers (cf. Pawson, 1976; Weitz, 1984).

In Manang District, the region under study, approximately 2/3 of the total population (around 4,000 persons) live at altitudes above 3,000 m (cf. plate

1 and 2). Since at that height the organism is already being exposed to intense physiological stress (cf. Grover, 1974; Pawson & Jest, 1978), one can assume that the people living at such elevations have adapted physiologically or biologically to the special climatic conditions of their environment. But whether these are adaptational phenomena that are common to all high-mountain dwellers, whether they are genetically fixed or acquired in the course of bodily maturation, whether differences can be detected among the individual ethnic groups investigated, and whether such differences correlate with the altitudes at which they choose to settle are questions for which answers were sought within the framework of cross-sectional studies (cf. Pohle, 1993).

For this purpose the following anthropometric and physiological measurements were carried out in 1984/85 on a total of 417 persons from Manang District : body height and weight, normal chest circumference, chest circumference during maximal inhalation and exhalation, breathing rate, lung capacity, pulse rate and blood pressure. At the same time, biodata (age, sex, marriage status, ethnic/clan membership, and in the case of women their age at menarche and the total number of births) were recorded and analysed together with information pertaining to the size of households, their economic status, migratory habits and possible health problems. Since all of the study results cannot be presented within the scope of one article, I should like to restrict myself in the following to the results obtained for the question concerning adaptational or acclimatizational attainments.

The development of the human organism is in general influenced by two groups of factors :
a) an internally based one, which encompasses genetically fixed growth potential,
b) an externally based one, which comprises the totality of environmental factors having an effect on the organism (climate, diet, infections, etc.) (cf. Frisancho, 1978).

It is the environmental influences, of course, such as radiation or temperature, that can have a modificatory effect on genetic potential and that themselves in the end, through continuous selection, manifest genetically.

Experimental studies of animals (cf. the references cited in Mazess, 1975, p. 170, Frisancho, 1978, p. 155) have shown that the hypoxic stress caused by the low partial pressure of oxygen in the air has morphological effects on the organism, with the animals displaying decreased growth rates and smaller body sizes at the end of the maturing process, independently, for example, of nutritional factors. This suggests that body growth rates and development are negatively affected by hypoxic stress also in the case of high-mountain dwellers.

Early studies in the Andes (cf. Hurtado, 1932) have already indicated that body growth rates among high-mountain dwellers show negative values in comparison to lowland dwellers, and that all age groups among the former had less body height than their neighbours in lowland areas. At first, the assumption was made that these and other bodily traits (e.g. enlarged chest cavities) were genetically fixed adaptations to the dearth of oxygen that have

been acquired over many generations through natural selection. Monge and Whittembury (1973) even put forward the thesis of a *Homo montanus*, a mountain man, but this was unable to stand the test of later studies. Frisancho (1969, 1970) discovered in his investigations that most traits are not likely to be genetically conditioned adaptations, being rather for the most part acclimatizational reactions acquired during the developmental period. According to Heath & Williams (1981, p. 269f.), these differ only quantitatively, not qualitatively, from the acclimatizational reactions of lowland dwellers who stay only temporarily in a high-mountain setting.

That numerous adaptational reactions of high-mountain dwellers represent cases of acclimatizational reactions is likewise shown by the studies in Manang District. As an example, the results pertaining to breathing under hypoxic conditions may be cited, as among the numerous acclimatizational reactions breathing is surely of the greatest importance. Every newcomer to the high-mountain environment experiences for himself an accelerated breathing (hyperventilation), which leads, as a consequence of the lowered partial pressure of oxygen and the resulting lower tension of oxygen in the blood, to the chemoreceptors being stimulated. When the oxygenic tension sinks, these sensors send impulses at an increased rate to the respiratory and circulatory centers, which activates the regulatory mechanism of the entire central nervous system and accelerates the ventilation of the lungs (cf. Brendel & Zink, 1982). This increased respiratory activity serves principally to increase the exhalation of carbon dioxide and thereby to raise oxygen pressure in the air cells of the lung. It aims at protecting the brain, of all body parts the one least tolerant to oxygen deficiency, from the threat of hypoxia. With the lack of this adaptational mechanism, man could scarcely go beyond a height of 5,000 m, for were he to do so he would quickly loose consciousness.

That high-mountain dwellers hyperventilate throughout their life was shown to be the case for the inhabitants of the Andes by Hurtado *et al.* (1956) and Velasquez (1972). Accelerated breathing rates have also been recorded by Hackett *et al.* (1980) among inhabitants of the Himalaya (the Sherpas), though these rates were clearly lower than these of acclimatized lowland dwellers.

In fig. 2 the average breathing rates of persons examined in Manang District are presented. The first thing to attract notice is the extremely high value (32 breaths/min) among Manangi youths (aged 15 to 24), whereas the other values display the normal course : a relatively high rate in childhood years, a decreasing rate among adults, and again an increasing breath rate among the ≥ 45 year olds. The explanation for the extremely high values among Manangi male youths is interesting. By means of surveys carried out in connection with the studies it was possible to determine that all youths of this age category had either spent most of their childhood in Kathmandu or in India (to attend school), and at the time had in Manang somewhat the status of visitors. The values of their breath rate are as high as those of not acclimatized lowland dwellers.
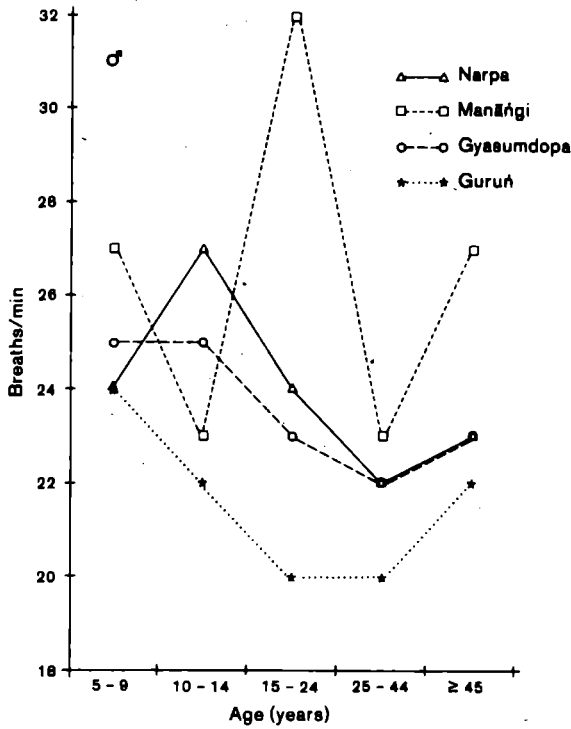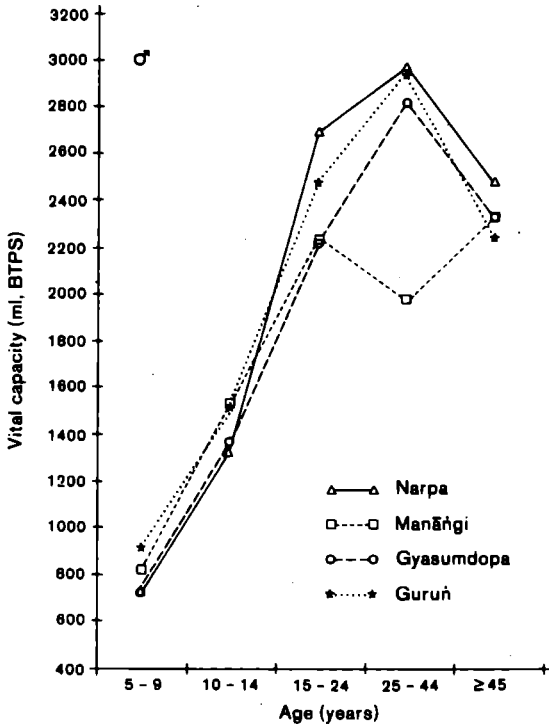
BREATHING RATE

Fig. 2. – The average breathing rates of male persons examined in the Manang District.

VITAL CAPACITY
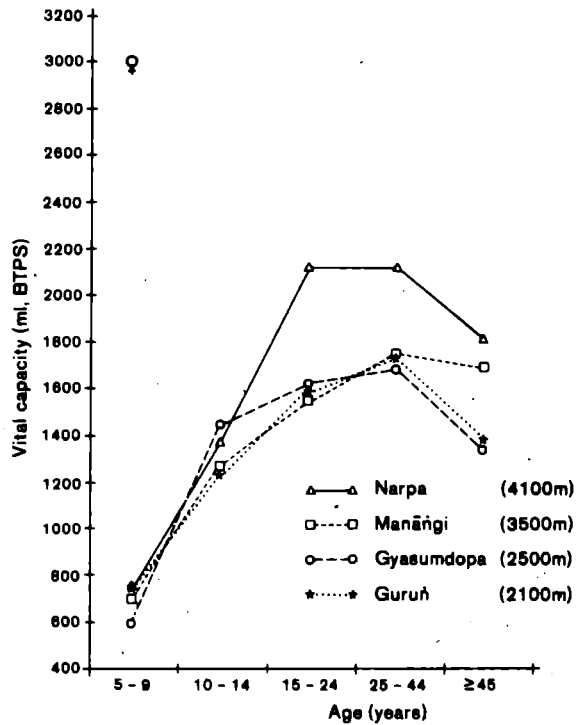

VITAL CAPACITY

Fig. 3. – The average vital capacity of persons examined in the Manang District.

An increase in the total lung capacity [1] may be viewed as a further ac-climatizational process, one that culminates, however, only after many years. The increase in the volume of the lungs and the thereby ensuing rise in dif-fusibility as compared with lowland dwellers, both of which have been es-tablished a number of times for Andes populations, are also found among the Sherpas, according to studies by Lahiri (1971). In comparison with Andes inhabitants, though, lung capacity was considerably lower among the Sherpas (even when body height was taken into account), from which Lahiri concludes that, in addition to the influence of hypoxia, other factors (nutritional environ-mental or genetic) may have a not insignificant role to play.

The values for vital capacity [2] obtained in Manang District (cf. fig. 3) are also in general relatively low (among men an average of 3,000 ml, among women 2,150 ml), whereas the highland dwellers of the Andes attain an aver-age of over 4,000 ml (cf. Frisancho, 1977) [3].

If the vital capacity values of the inhabitants of Manang District are com-pared with each other, clear differences appear between dwellers at higher altitudes (Narpa) and these of the middle ranges (Gurung). This is clearly the case of women (age group of 15 to 24 years olds and 25 to 44 years old), where the data were even shown to be statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The highest absolute value (4,200 ml) was likewise obtained by a high-moun-tain dweller, a Narpa man falling within the 15 to 24 age group. Notable were the exceptionally low average values among Manangi men (age group of 25 to 44 years old). It is again likely to be the particular economic situation that is making itself felt : due to their lengthy trading trips in and around Southeast-Asia and the long absence from Manang this sometimes entails, they are showing values that might be expected of unacclimatized lowland dwellers.

In spite of the examples just cited documenting acclimatizational reac-tions among highland dwellers, it is still impossible to say today with full assurance that certain genetic dispositions, particularly at the cell level, de-finitely do not cause differences in adaptational reactions between lowland and highland dwellers. As an answer to this question will require further detailed studies, the important thing at the moment would appear to be to inquire into the advantages and disadvantages of acclimatizational reactions as opposed to adaptations. One sure advantage that the former have over the latter is that they make a high degree of spatial mobility possible. Thus the highland dweller can choose different physical settings to the same degree as the lowland dweller, living in the summer in high-mountain pastures and in the winter in the lowlands without suffering damage to his health. On the other hand, acclimatization has the disadvantage over against adaptation that individuals, particularly babies shortly after birth, are exposed to high phy-siological stress. One direct consequence of this seems to be the relatively high mortality rate of infants and young children in high mountains.

In the retrospective questioning of women from Nar, Manang and Gya-sumdo (cf. Pohle, 1993) a strikingly high infant and child mortality rate was noted in the highest region of Nar (settlement altitude 4,100 m). Of 20 women

surveyed, 14 in Nar-tö had at least one and in most cases more than one child death in their past history. A total of 32 child deaths and 3 miscarriages were reported. The cause most often mentioned in the case of infants under one month was « weakness » (n = 12), while in that of small children up to one year the most frequent causes were « cold », « pneumonia » and « diarrhoea » (n = 11). The possible connection between hypoxia and increased infant mortality that this points too is supported by studies of Weitz (1984) among the Sherpas. From measurements of weight at birth among infants whose mothers, while belonging to the same ethnic group, lived at different altitudes, it could be determined that children born in high mountains displayed a significantly lower weight at birth. This result accords strikingly with the statements of the mothers in Nar-tö, who often cited « weakness » as the cause of their infant's death.

One consequence of the high infant and child mortality rate is surely the fact that children assume an extremely important place within the family, regardless of whether they are boys or girls. Giving preferential treatment to a particular sex when dealing with children, such as occurs in parts of China or India, is not a noticeable feature of Tibetan high-mountain dwellers. Likewise striking is the lack of restrictions in the community with regard to children born before the marriage ceremony or out of wedlock. Social bonds appear here to have taken a back seat to the approaching event; these latter examples show that population groups may orient their sociocultural forms of organization around external living conditions. Given the high rate of infant mortality, the family planning measures that were introduced here, need to be critically reappraised. The acceptance of such measures by the population is not likely to be very great, if not at the same time medical treatment is improved to reduce the high infant mortality.

Physiological adaptation to high altitudes may represent a prerequisite for life in such areas, but what is decisive for survival is the cultural techniques and strategies for adaptation.

2. Ecologically adapted forms of housing, settlement and economics

Population growth in high-mountains may have been kept relatively low as a result of the relatively high infant and child mortality, but this is not the main reason that the high-mountain regions of Nepal are less densely populated. Rather, the low population density is the result of unfavourable environmental conditions, ones that permit only to a very limited extent the settlement and economic exploitation of the territory. With 3 inhabitants per km², Manang District is one of the least densely settled districts of Nepal. This is not surprising, however, since, due to the high relief, large areas of the district's territory are uninhabitable. The settlements are concentrated exclusively in valley locations, where they range between 1,600 and 4,200 m. Within this range the district exhibits noteworthy differences in house and settlement forms in conformance with changing ecological conditions.

In Gyasumdo, the area of settlement (1 600 m to 2 800 m) is characterized by a steep V-shaped valley relief, which offers only limited possibilities for plots given over to residence and economic activities. Numerous small compact villages are spread out on the most favoured locations, these being mainly river terraces and less steep slopes. In Nyeshang, by contrast, the broad U-shaped valley of the Marsyandi Khola has more favourable spots to offer for settlement, so that there the population density is higher with few, but in some cases very large settlements[4]. What must be seen as disadvantageous in Nyeshang, though, is its elevation (settlement locations between 3,000 m to 3,800 m) and the occasionally extreme climatic conditions that result therefrom. Whereas in Gyasumdo permanent settlements lie both on slopes that are exposed and on ones that are unexposed to the sun, in Nyeshang, due to low temperatures, it is only the southerly exposed slopes that are settled (cf. fig. 4). Even the orientation of houses goes by the sun (cf. plate 2), with all major apertures (windows, doors, loggias) facing south, while the backside, shaded walls have merely air vents.

House forms also undergo change parallel to the decrease in precipitation in the Marsyandi Valley from southeast to southwest. Steep roofs covered with wooden shingles and weighed down with stones are prevalent in Gyasumdo, which experiences much rain. They extend in the Marsyandi Valley up to Bradang, where they give way, from Pisang (Nyeshang) onwards, to a flat roof style of building. In the Marsyandi Valley, the border defined by the prevalence of gable roofs and that of flat roofs coincides exactly with the border between the relatively high amount of monsoonal precipitation below the « Pisang gateway » and the very small amount above it[5].

But not only roof forms reveal features particular to varying climates; this is true also for the forms of house structure, location and use. In Nyeshang, for example, an effective protection against cold (the minimum temperature lies around – 10 °C) is achieved by the following methods :

1. by employing extremely thick masonry (a width of approximately 1 m), which has a great capacity to store heat;

2. by seasonally varying the use of living space : in the summer the loggias are used for living, cooking and sleeping purposes, in the winter people retire to the living room containing the fireplace;

3. by adapting the use of storeys to climatic needs : all houses have their stables on the lower floor, as a protection against cold ground temperatures, and the living space above.

Finally, the compact settlement, such as prevails in Nyeshang (cf. fig. 4) and Nar, provides protection against winter temperatures and extreme wind. Beyond that, however, an enclosed form of settlement also offers economic and strategic advantages. Thus a method of construction that runs buildings into one another saves material, it can be defended better against attacks (important in earlier periods), and the space devoted to fields, which is scarce enough as it is in high mountains, is not cluttered with scattered houses, thanks to their being concentrated in one place. It should be mentioned here only for the sake of completeness, that settlements, particularly those in Nye-

GEOLOGY, RELIEF, HYDROLOGY

⬚ solid rock of sandstone, limestone, dolomite, quartzite

⬚ scree of sandstone, limestone, dolomite, quartzite

⬚ scree rill, channeling water after monsoon rainfall

— perennial brook

VEGETATION

⬚ dry coniferous mixed forest cut back into dwarf timber; Juniperus indica mixed with Rosa sericea and Berberis as shrubs

⬚ dwarf and thorn scrub with Cotoneaster tibeticus, Caragana, Berberis, Rosa sericea, Lonicera myrtillus

⬚ moderately moist alpine scrub and meadows with Juniperus squamata, Potentilla fruticosa, Cotoneaster tibeticus, Caragana brevispina, Berberis, Spiraea

⬚ juniper grove (Juniperus indica), protected for religious reasons

⬚ sodden meadows

⬚ shrubs of Rosa sericea and Berberis along trails and the edges of fields; Clematis montana on stone walls

🌳🌳 single trees (Juniperus indica, Populus tibetica, Salix)

LAND USE

⬚ irrigated terraced fields, summer cultivation of buckwheat, wheat, barley and potatoes

⬚ fields manured with dung

⬚ abandoned fields (stands of Artemisia and Verbascum)

🏠 house with stable

Ⓢ school

▢ monastery (gompa)

△ shrine (chorten)

⬚ wall made of prayer stones (mane-wall)

••••••• trail, path

⬚ irrigation channel, in winter dry and used as trail

draft: P. Pohle   cartogr.: G. Haas

Fig. 4. – Interpretation sketch of the oblique aerial photograph of the settlement and the fields of Tanki (3 600 m) in Nyeshang (Photograph : E. Schneider, Nov. 1983).

shang and Nar, are placed only where they are secure from natural hazards, and where there is also enough drinking and irrigation water (cf. fig. 4).

To sum up, it is clear that, as far as their traditional forms of construction and settlement are concerned, the inhabitants of Manang District have adapted themselves optimally to the ecological conditions dominant within their various areas of habitation. The adaptational features found to be characteristic of the structure of settlement in each of the individual regions is briefly recapitulated in table 2.

Apart from house and settlement forms optimally adapted to the ecological conditions of high mountains, the inhabitants of Manang District have achieved an excellent economic accommodation to their environment by using various elevations seasonally and by developing multiple settlement and economic systems[6].

Systems of habitation in high mountains are characterized by the presence of temporary subsidiary settlements at various elevations alongside one main settlement. The separation of summer and winter quarters is a consequence of ecologically unfavourable factors particular to high mountains that places heavy constraints on the economic activities of people living in one location and makes greater spatial and economic mobility a matter of necessity. This manifests itself in the establishing of so-called settlement relays, under which a number of settlements in various geographical settings are visited at different times of the year by a part or the whole of the main settlement's population. In the following the relay system developed by the inhabitants of Nyeshang will be described and discussed (cf. Pohle, 1988).

In Manang only 0.5 % of the total district area is at present used for agriculture. A large portion of the total area is barred from being so used by factors unfavourable to farming that obtain only in high mountains (year-round snow covered heights, steep rocky slopes, frost weathered regions, etc.). To these are added adverse factors obtaining only locally, such as low amounts of precipitation, shallow soil and northerly exposed slopes, so that the area usable for cultivation is restricted to scattered favoured locations, which in Nyeshang are located exclusively in the areas of southerly exposed slopes (cf. fig. 4) or fluvio-glacial terraces, as well as in the valley floor of the Marsyandi Khola. Due to the elevation and the resulting extreme climatic conditions only one harvest is possible per year. Buckwheat, barley, wheat and potatoes are cultivated with the aid of irrigation, though the variability in precipitation is finally decisive in determining whether fields need to be irrigated or not. Thus the field terraces in Nyeshang do not have a level surface with raised edges, as in Nar, but are slightly sloped in order to prevent water from collecting when irrigation is resorted to (cf. fig. 4). In spite of the relatively unfavourable agro-ecological conditions, the crop yields in Nyeshang, not seldom amounting to a seven to tenfold return on the quantity of seed invested, must be qualified as being extraordinarily high[7]. They are the result of intensive organic fertilization (cf. fig. 4)[8], optimal irrigation and a careful tending of plots (weeding), as well as a yearly crop rotation system being used.

Table 2
Settlement structure
in relation to its natural environment

Features of settlement structure	Functions	Region
Settlement density high settlement density with small settlement size	orientation to relief conditions with limited settlement area	Gyasumdo
Small number of settlements with big settlement size	reduction of settlement area increases farming area	Nyeshang, Nar
Settlement location exposure of the settlement to the sun	heating effect evens out daily temperature variation	Nyeshang, Nar
Settlement locations on lower parts of slopes or terraces	reserves valley floors for purposes of agricultural exploitation	Nyeshang, Nar
Location on a spur	defence purposes	Nar
Settlement form compact settlement, close aggregation of several houses into settlement complexes	protection against the effects of weather, saves space and material, defensive construction	Nyeshang, Nar

House form
3 levels : stable
    living space
    roof terrace
	uses animal warmth to counteract cold ground temperatures	Nyeshang, Nar

Flat roof	used in an arid climate as a dry surface and place to retire	Nyeshang, Nar
Gable roof	prevails in a humid climate	Gyasumdo
Building material thick stone masonry	high insulating capacity	Nyeshang, Nar
Above the timber line the use of wood is restricted to structural components	use of locally available construction material	Nar
Relation to surroundings houses opened towards the side facing the sun	takes advantage of warmth from radiation	Nyeshang, Nar
Closed form of construction with small windows	protection against cold and wind	Nyeshang, Nar

The ecologically adapted forms of land use tailored to the natural conditions in Mananj District are recapitulated in summary form in table 3. It is clear from it that the adaptational forms have been developed in a multiplicity of ways, although not just exclusively on the initiative of local inhabitants but also in part by having been brought in from the outside, as in the case of the cultivation of potatoes and wheat.

In spite of relatively high crop yields, the agricultural potential in Nyeshang still is not sufficient to ensure family subsistence for a whole year. Thus the Manangis, in a manner similar to other high-mountain dwellers (*e.g.* the Sherpas, cf. Haffner, 1979), have developed a combined system of economy, under which they traditionally made use of various altitudinal levels according to the season (cf. fig. 5). In the spring they put their fields near the main settlement under cultivation and following that took their animal herds (cattle, yaks, goats, sheep) up to the high-altitude pastures for the summer. After the harvest in autumn they drove them back down to have them

Table 3
Adaptational forms of land use

Site of the agricultural area	edaphically favourable valley locations, terraces on southerly facing slopes
Form of cultivation	dry field or irrigated cultivation according to precipitation levels; summer cultivation with one harvest per year and winter fallowing depending on temperature conditions
Selection of crops	cultivation of varieties suitable to the particular elevation : maize : below 2,800 m wheat : below 4,000 m buckwheat : below 4,100 m barley, potatoes : below 4,250 m
Adapted local seed varieties	resistant to the effects of extreme weather conditions and epidemics
Crop rotation	increased crop yields, fertile soils, no overexploitation
Fertilizing	intensive fertilizing with organic material and manure
Tools	use of a light single-bladed plough, good for turning the shallow soil in high mountains
Terracing	reinforced with stones to prevent slides, sloping terraces in dry field cultivation and the transitional zone to irrigated cultivation, levelled terraces under irrigation

graze on the harvested fields in the valley. At the beginning of winter the men and sometimes also their families shifted to the lower altitude regions of southern Nepal, where they took up winter quarters, using them as a base to ply trade. In doing so they traditionally covered enormous regional and altitudinal distances ranging from the high-altitude pastures (4,000 m to 4,800 m) in the north of Nepal, down to the lowlands (around 400 m) of Nepal and India. A precondition for such particular regional mobility is, of course, the fact that the human organism is not genetically fixed to a certain environment but is able to counteract the climatical stress (*e.g.* the decreased partial pressure of oxygen in the air in high altitudes) by acclimatizational reactions.

III. CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL METHODS OF ADAPTATION : THEIR CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

If the Manangis themselves are questioned about how the individual branches of their economy (agriculture, animal husbandry and trade) have changed with respect to one another over the course of time, one learns that they apparently developed from being herdsmen to being farmers, and have finally become traders. For the greater length of time they were employed in all three branches of the economy at the same time, though these each assumed varying degrees of importance during the different periods.

After having emigrated from a region of West Tibet called Tö-Ngari, several centuries ago (cf. Pohle, 1993), the Manangis most probably initially adhered to their traditional stockbreeding, but in the course of time agriculture became more important, and land used for agricultural purposes was greatly extended. In the process stockbreeding underwent a reverse development, one that has continued up to the present. The decisive turn in their subsistence structure presumably occurred, however, towards the end of the 18th century, when the Manangis, for reasons that have not been fully clarified up to now, were granted special trading privileges, which in succeeding years were regularly renewed and even extended (cf. Gurung, 1980; Cooke, 1988).

It is worthy of note that the trade carried out by the Manangis was from the beginning oriented towards the south, direct trade with Tibet being impossible on account of poor transport links with the north. When they first began trading activities their products came exclusively from their own territory. Thus they traded predominantly in a wide variety of animal products (musk, pelts, yak tails, butter, etc.) and above all in herbs (gurki = *Picrorhiza scrophulariiflora*, poṅkar = *Aconitum violaceum*, aṅla = *Dactylorhiza hatagirea*, poṅmar = *Aconitum sp.*, yertsagumbu = *Cordyceps sinensis*, etc.), which they gathered during the summer months on high-mountain pastures and sold during the winter in southern Nepal, and later also in India.

Whereas in the first years of their trading the Manangis enjoyed free trade rights and customs exemptions only within Nepal, these were later ex-

SETTLEMENT/
ALTITUDE (in m)

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

TYPE OF SETTLEMENT

Perdita POHLE

Thoroṅ Phedi
(4500 - 4800)

Yak husbandry

Yak pasture, tents

Latar (4050)

Collecting herbs
Animal husbandry

Temp. settlem. on high altitude pasture

Choṅkor (3800)
Karce (3800)

(cattle, sheep, goats)

Temporary cattle houses in the forest
Temp. settlem. with pasture and cultiv.

Manāṅ   (3500)

daily
grazing

Sowing

(buckwheat, barley,
wheat, potatoes)

Harvest

fallow
grazing

Main settlement

Oṅde (3350)

Sowing

Harvest

Affiliated settlem. in the valley for cultiv.

Kāṭhmāṇḍu (1300)

Trading

Trading

Trading Center

Ñādi (1000)
Pokharā (800)
Bhoṭe Oḍār (700)

Winter settlement
Trading Center
Winter settlement

J F M A M J J A S O N D

——— Total population of the main settlement

– – – Part of the population

·········· Individuals

Draft: P. Pohle

Fig. 5. – The seasonal and altitudinal stratification of the economic system in Manang.

tended to apply beyond the Indian border. In India, during the colonial period, they were able to obtain passports and later managed to extend their trading relations over the whole of Southeast-Asia. That the trading activities could increasingly be expanded during the past two centuries is probably due to a number of reasons. When the subject arises, the Manangis themselves habitually refer to the bad living and economic conditions prevailing in the region they inhabit. In fact, however, during the past each succeeding government was politically interested in the regions in the north, and government support usually available there, because of security reasons on the northern border (cf. Spengen, 1987; Schrader, 1988). Once these privileges were gained, the Manangis were clever enough to maintain them, and did not hesitate to use deft political tactics to do so, as can be seen in the fact that before the revolution in April 1990 they had, quite exceptionally for high-mountain populations of Nepal, two members in the Rastriya Panchayat to represent their interests at the highest political level.

With the expansion of their trading trips to cover the entire Southeast-Asian region, an enlargement of their traditional selection of trading goods went hand in hand. Since they were no longer dependent on products from their own regions, they traded henceforth in precious and semiprecious stones from Burma, electronic equipment and watches from Hongko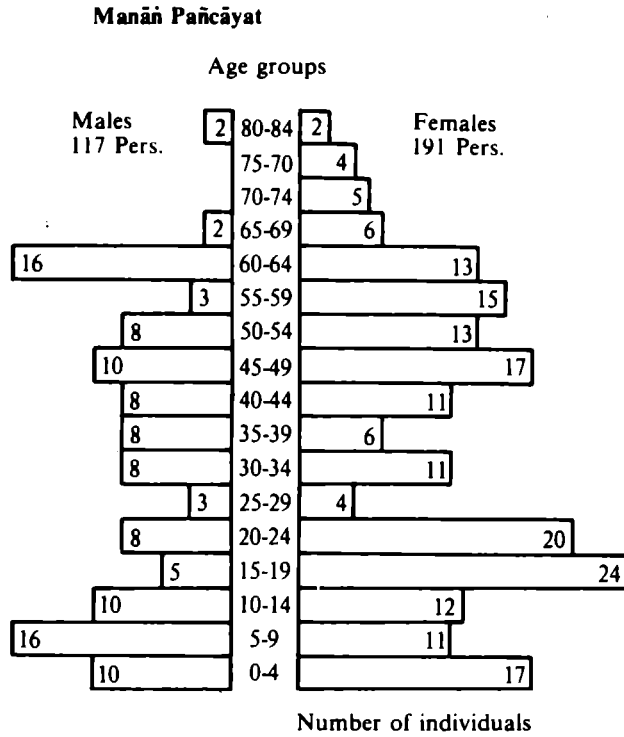ng, clothing from Bangkok, precious metals and much more. Whereas in the beginning it was customary for the men to go on trading trips during the winter season and return for the work of cultivation during the spring, in course of time, as more and more emphasis was put on international business, an absence of several years was no longer an exception. Even then, however, Manang continued to be the main seat of residence.

For about 20 years now another change has been taking place. Due to their far-reaching trading links the Manangis have achieved a quite respectable standard of living; today one can even say that they count among the richest population groups of Nepal. Increased revenues from business and the search for a better standard of living and, of course, a better basis for trade has led most young people to emigrate from Manang and settle down in Nepal's cities (cf. plate 3). Today more and more land is being bought by Manangis in Kathmandu, Pokhara and Bodhnath, new houses are being built, and new shops opened. Even hotels are managed by them (cf. plate 4), and a few years ago, following the Mate Pani Gompa in Pokhara, a second new monastery was established close to Svayambhunath in the Kathmandu Valley.

This profound transformation in the economic structure of the Manangi community has, of course, influenced the entire population structure, settlement pattern and land use in Nyeshang. By 1984, for instance, 63 houses from a total of 168 had been abandoned in the Mano quarter of Manang village. In other villages, too, almost one third of all former houses have been shut up, and some of them are now dilapidated or have already collapsed. The present inhabitants of Manang are mainly elderly people, women and children (cf. fig. 6), who stay during the summer but usually leave for Kathmandu in the winter. Several houses have also been leased to recent

Manāṅ Pañcāyat

Age groups

Males
117 Pers.

Females
191 Pers.

Males	Age	Females
2	80-84	2
	75-70	4
	70-74	5
2	65-69	6
16	60-64	13
3	55-59	15
8	50-54	13
10	45-49	17
8	40-44	11
8	35-39	6
8	30-34	11
3	25-29	4
8	20-24	20
5	15-19	24
10	10-14	12
16	5-9	11
10	0-4	17

Number of individuals

Source: own investigations (Oct. 1984)

Manāṅgi in Kāṭhmāṇḍu

Age groups

Males
150 Pers.

Females
101 Pers.

Males	Age	Females
	80-84	
	75-79	
1	70-74	
	65-69	
1	60-64	3
2	55-59	1
	50-54	
4	45-49	
10	40-44	3
12	35-39	11
19	30-34	17
23	25-29	16
20	20-24	10
13	15-19	1
10	10-14	6
14	5-9	19
21	0-4	14

Number of individuals

Source: own investigations (Oct. 1984)

Fig. 6. – The vital statistics (1984) of Manangi staying in Manang village and the one having already emigrated to Kathmandu.

immigrants from Mustang, Nubri and Nar. The leasing rate; however, is low, and often the only conditions imposed are to care for house and land. Of course, due to the high income from business nowadays, most Manangis no longer depend on agricultural revenues, and many fields are left uncultivated (cf. fig. 4). On those which are still cultivated, work is done predominantly by hired labourers from Gorkha, Lamjung or Kaski districts. Also the herding of the relatively low number of animals is no longer done by the Manangis themselves but mostly by Tibetan refugees.

Still, developments in Nyeshang are not only subject to such rather negative influences. Part of the money earned from business flows back to Manang, where « mane walls » and chorten are built, « gompas » restored or furnished, paths repaired, and roads even built, and new pipes are fitted for drinking water. A few years back a small hydroelectric power plant was put into operation to supply electricity to most of the villages of Nyeshang. Additionally, tourism has raised the attraction of the Manang area for the Manangis themselves, and they are currently fulfilling the tourists' expectations as best as they can, while not entirely ignoring the lucrative aspects of the business tourists bring with them.

It is truly astonishing in how little time the Manangis have transformed their lifestyle from one adapted to the extreme conditions of the high mountains to one adapted to urban conditions. There is a trend, however, that knowledge of the environment that had been acquired and passed down over many generations will suddenly be lost within a single one. It should be recalled that the Manangis, as a Tibeto-Burman group, do not possess a written tradition of their own and thus are not used to keeping records dealing with their region, economic and political conditions within it and changes that have come to it. Truly extensive knowledge about herbs (cf. Pohle, 1990) or the principles of climatically optimal house construction, settlement layout (cf. Pohle, 1988), field irrigation, pasture rotation and much more may therefore disappear within a very brief period of time.

The necessity of documenting this extensive environmental knowledge was simultaneously reason and motivation for me to carry out this study in Manang District. A further reason was the fact that still far too little is known about Nepal's high-mountain regions, and that nevertheless development measures are already being initiated by the government and development organizations. Principles of adaptation that have enabled high-mountain dwellers to maintain a livelihood for centuries under extreme ecological conditions are generally not even recognized or also brushed aside. Understanding such principles and putting to use the extensive knowledge the local population has of its environment should, however, be a concern prior to implementing any regional planning measures. Once it is known, for example, that infant mortality is especially high in the high mountains, one would not press forward with family planning without improving the health care for mother and child. Why are not methods of climatically engineered house construction applied to public buildings, particularly to schools ? Why is the futile attempt made to plant rice at elevations susceptible to frost when a large selection of other, more suitable local crops is available ? Numerous other examples

of misguided planning might be cited in this context, which, taken together, show very clearly that a regional analysis of man-environment relations in high mountains, besides being a simple documentation, could be the basis for better regional planning, adapted to the needs of high-mountain dwellers and to the ecological conditions of the region they inhabit.

Notes

1. The quantity of air that is contained in the lung after maximal inhalation.
2. The quantity of air that can be maximally exhaled following a deep inhalation.
3. The fact that the Andes dwellers in many cases live at higher altitudes (> 4,500 m) must also be taken into account.
4. Whereas in 1982/83 (District Panchayat Office Chame) Gyasumdo had 16 permanent settlements with a total of 385 households, there were in Nyeshang only 7 such settlements but with a total of 795 households. The largest settlement in Gyasumdo (Chame) consisted of only 56 households, while in Nyeshang the largest settlement, Manang, contained around 253 households (the number of households basically coincides with the number of houses).
5. In Gyasumdo the average yearly amount of precipitation is about 900 mm; in Nyeshang it is only 400 mm (cf. Pohle, 1993).
6. On the term « multiple settlement system » and for a description of such systems cf. Uhlig (1973).
7. Crop yields in Nyeshang in terms of quantity of seed :
• 1 pathi of wheat seed produces a yield of about 7-10 pathi,
• 1 pathi of buckwheat produces a yield of about 6-10 pathi,
• 1 pathi of barley produces a yield of about 8-11 pathi.
8. Plant material (pine, fir and juniper needles, birch leaves) is placed on a compost heap in the stables, mixed with manure and spread on the fields in the spring and autumn.

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Fig. 7. – Manangi women in their traditional festival dress in Manang village.
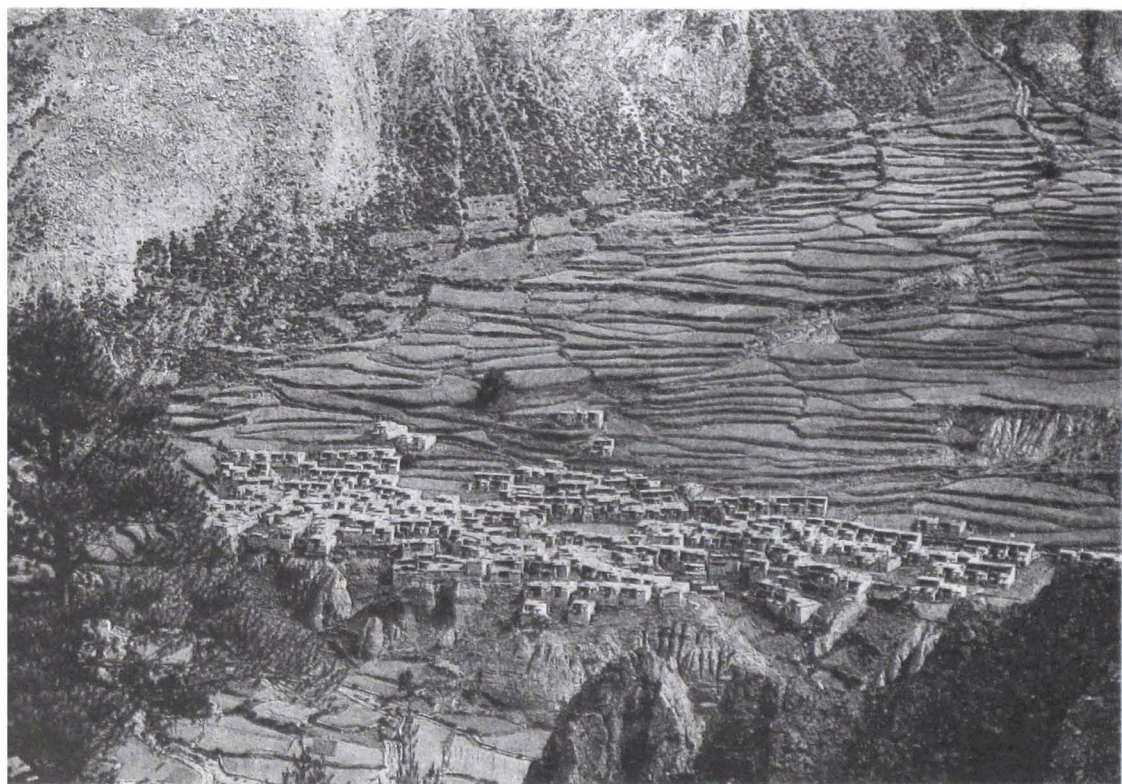

Fig. 8. – The settlement of Manang (3 500 m) located on a fluvio-glacial terrace exposed to the south in the upper Marsyandi Valley.

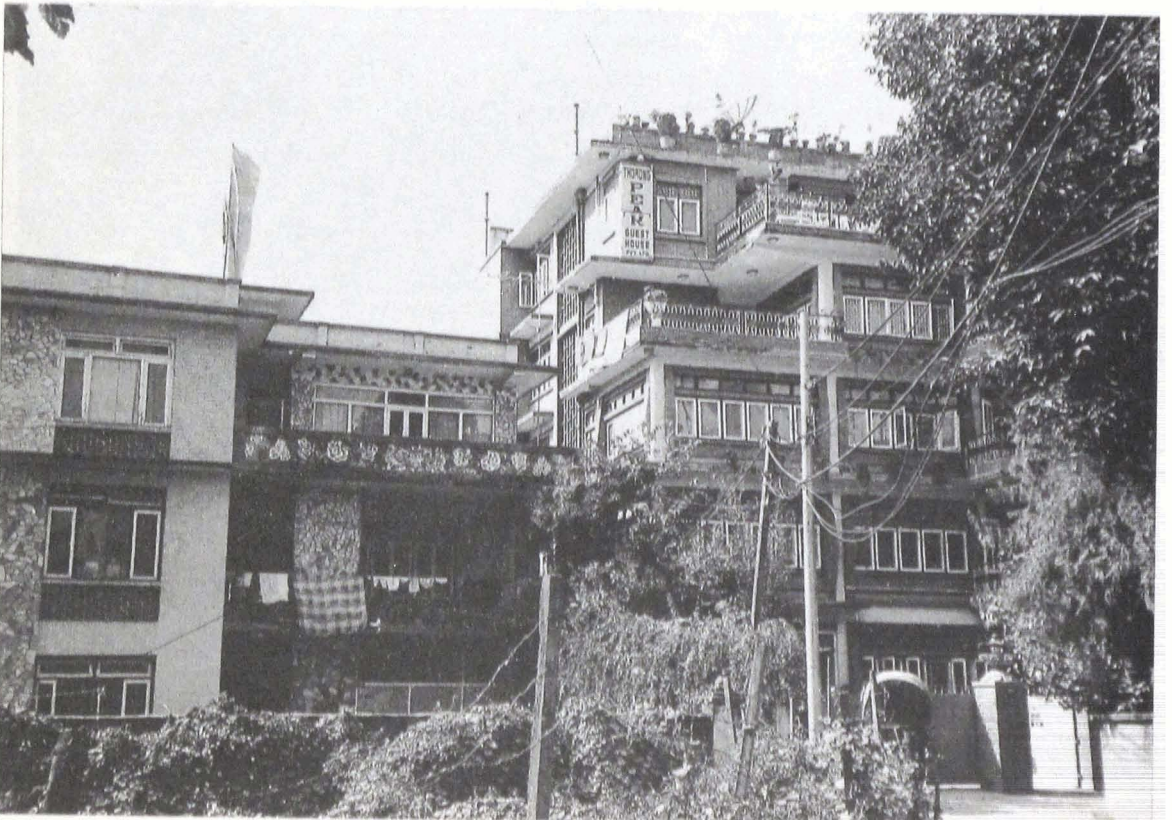Fig. 9. – Manangi children growing up in Kathmandu.

Fig. 10. – Manangi hotel in Thamel, Kathmandu.

Remote Sensing and the Geographical Conception of Space Analysis in the Mountainous Areas of Central Nepal

Denis Blamont

INTRODUCTION

In the Himalayas of Nepal, the populations are known, classified and studied, through « ethnic names ». These names are inherited from the past and seem to refer to different origins but also to different social structures and different production systems, or even *visible* features such as the houses, the dresses, and so on. Nowadays, nevertheless, when the demography grows, the differences between the above mentioned features of different ethnic groups living in comparable environment tend to « softly (but not suddenly) vanish away » whereas the ones between populations living in different environments but of the same group tend to increase because of the growing expression of the environmental constraints in the production systems. For example, at the lowest altitudes the populations are principally agriculturists and generally exploit a privately owned territory, whereas at the highest altitudes, they have a wider range of activities and exploit territories which are not privately owned : during the monsoon, they drive their herds on high, collectively owned pastures and during the cold season, in the forests and on the fields of villages at lower altitudes. This has two types of consequences : it differentiates the social systems in their entirety, and the scale at which such systems have to be studied differs from one altitudinal level to another and from one topic to another.

In the study of the *geography* of these populations, that is to say their relations with their environment seen as a system, we see that the names are not satisfactory categories. Can we even affirm that these names no longer correspond to existing « ethnic groups » and that new names will appear, with some delay but definitely and unavoidably ? How, then, must we define the object of our investigation ? What is the constant object undergoing changes,

the base of the comparisons of different periods ? For a geographer, the obvious answer is space.

Having stated this evidence, one then faces another : not only do the various features of the production systems change over time, they also have various relevant territories of study at a given moment. It is not merely a question of scale or of encasement of spaces : each sphere of « activity » has its own territory and, as the « activities » overlap, their territories overlap as well, but do not have the same extension or boundaries. For example, a given group does not intermarry on the same territory as it exchanges goods, or with the same people with whom it exchanges work.

Taking into consideration these interrogations on the relations between environment, history, production systems, patterns of society, and territory,. we have tried to elaborate a methodology allowing first to « know » and map the organization of space by production systems in the Himalayas and then to follow their evolution. However, the study of the organization of their territories by societies does not consist only of the representation and description of the visible features (such as the location of the different elements in landscape or the « state » of these elements), but also in the research of the structural relations between these elements and their perception by the said societies. These two aspects must be considered as two stages in the analysis of a specific landscape at a given moment.

The first stage can be illustrated by cartography. The methodology chosen is remote sensing. Remote sensing is not only a technique of representation of knowledge, it is also a technique of production of knowledge. It allows us to completely change the conception of a map, which will not be considered as the representation of objects situated, or activities held, on a territory : space is not considered as an attribute of the objects studied but as the *very object* of the study, the element on which the knowledge is produced and to which it is attributed. It is divided into primary elements (pixels) to which will be attached all kinds of information, wether spatial or not. Things, such as houses or vegetation units, are considered as a form of a portion of space.

This conception facilitates the utilization of the very map produced for the second stage of the analysis, that is to say the elaboration of correlations between the different elements of the landscape. These correlations can then be of various types (topological but also functionnal or causal...).

The next step after the « spatial » perspective would be the « temporal » perspective, the study of changes. Taking the *same* « objects » (portions of space), this study will consist in comparing their different « forms » in time. Since, and the contradiction is only apparent, one cannot foresee new patterns or changes, for various reasons which go from the complexity of the human systems, and the lack of precision of the data, to our inability to identify the future determinants of these systems, such a methodology must seek for patterns of patterns. This means that we must identify *how* changes do occur and new patterns do emerge; it will have to allow the introduction of new factors of explanation. It will also have to be repetitive, that is to say it

must produce comparable pictures at different periods : not only must the object subject to change be the same, but also the methodology used to produce the knowledge.

We must then distinguish between the method of producing knowledge and the organization of this knowledge, that is to say the representation of the system as it is seen by a definite scientist in a given period. The knowledge production method is : first, the identification, localization and characterization of the elements of the system; second, the establishment of correlations and causalities. The process of knowledge production being different and independent from the pattern of this knowledge, one can modelize the research and production of correlations between the various elements considered, and utilize the same method to produce other correlations and treat them as elements of interpretation. An Feï (third cent. B.C.), criticizing Si Chan [1], denies the status of infaillible and sure means of knowledge production to human intelligence, because intelligence being an individual attribute is always limited. Expert Systems, by the unimaginative but indefatigable implementation of rules (and rules for production of rules) introduced by the scientist, allow a thorough and methodical work that a scientist does not always do [nor wants to do], and also hopefully some sort of quantification.

Furthermore, in the majority of the Human Sciences, the only way one has to prove the efficacy of a « theory » is to demonstrate not the veracity and extensivity of the facts but the extensibility of the method and rationality [2] elaborated and used to produce them. An Expert System (or of the family) allows (and forces) to identify, define, and declare very precisely both concepts and methods [3], which can then be transposed. Through that, one can hope to clarify methodological and epistemological aspects of the discourse and allow the constant actualization of not only the facts but also the notions and concepts taken into account and utilized in the analysis of landscapes.

1. The object of geographical knowledge

1.1. Typologies

1.1.1. Of the past production systems

When one tries to describe the landscape of the central Nepalese Himalayan regions two hundred years ago and today and elaborate typologies (Blamont, 1983, 1986, 1987), one faces the fact that the axis of these typologies are completely different.

Following a long ethnographic tradition, geographers also differentiate the populations by their names, and our knowledge of the past is strongly under this influence. The first task in the study of the evolution of these production systems should be to ascertain that the ethnic name is *at present* a relevant category. At each moment of the history of a society corresponds a given organization of the production systems which also has its translation

in the social system and a society would be, at one time the adaptation of a previous social structure to new technical constraints (environment, technology and density of population).

Although nobody, among the populations or the scholars, seems to know for sure the meaning of it, and although the very name « Tamang » is younger than the society to which it has been given, it might have corresponded to a reality when it was *attributed* to (or taken by) a group of population. To state this in few words, let us say that, for the description and for the typology of the production systems of two hundred years ago, ethnic names seem to be very relevant : there were significant differences between Tamangs (mainly dry crops producers), Gurungs (mainly shepherds), and Bāhuns, Chetris (mainly rice producers).

Nevertheless, as Holmberg (1989, p. 20)[4] rightly points out, « Tamangs, like all groups in Nepal, have a social reality only in contrast to, and in relation with, other groups, relations that took form in the rise of the Hindu state of Nepal; they were created and continue to transform in this history (Holmberg, 1989, p. 15)[5] » And « Tamang peoples' current tendency to see a greater affinity among themselves as one people with a common origin, history, and set of clans, is a recent phenomenon ». In other words, they have been identifying themselves as an ethnic group only recently and in opposition with the State[6] and with other populations, trying to elevate their status : less and less Tamangs eat beef, on one hand, and more and more grow and consume rice.

Holmberg has, then, explained that this appellation does not have presently much relevance but, as it is frequent in such studies, he goes on utilizing it as if what he says could have a general value for an entity called Western Tamang : while doing so, he seems to forget that, during the past two hundred years, Tamangs have migrated to lower areas and, in the vicinity of new populations, having to grow new crops and rear new animals, have created production systems very different from the ones they left. One can today verify that limits, already described by Hamilton and Hodgson, between upper and middle Trisuli, today inhabited by Western Tamangs (*Nukpa Tamang*), are still relevant and separate two groups of Tamangs who, not (yet) having distinct names, feel different, have other production systems and other landscapes, and do not intermarry : the identification of a Tamang does not begin with his *jāt* (or cast) but with his family and clan and with the *area* within which he may (or explicitely may not) marry. Now, when asked about his neighbours outside his endogamous area, the Tamang tends to define them (and, by the way, himself) following a hierarchical scale : for the Tamangs of the villages below Karmarang, the Tamang of the villages of the high Bhote Kosi is a « barbarian » who has a goiter, is fearable as thief and with whom they do not exchange wives; some of them even think that he is a « *Bhote* » (Tibetan); the Tamang of Gatlang in his turn, despises the « lower » Tamangs and regards them as weaklings. The populations of Langtang and upper Tsum call themselves respectively Tamangs and Gurungs but are considered to be *Bhotes* by the lower populations.

To this factor of differentiation (the extension in space), one has to add the temporal differentiation. Following the old people of all these villages, the number of the ancestors of the present population would not exceed half a dozen in each of the villages not more than two hundred and fifty years back : what is now the name of a clan might well have been only the name of one individual. New names and, hence, new clans have appeared and do continue to appear whenever the exogamy rule, prohibiting marriage within one's own or a *dāju-bhāi*[7] clan, is transgressed and the transgressors are obliged to settle either in a new place (rarer every day) or in another village accepting them[8]. The complexification of the systems induced by the population pressure and the intensification and diversification of the production activities, the increasing total number of domestic animals, has made the weight of ecological constraints determinant in the diversification of the landscapes and production systems (Blamont, 1983 and 1986) and there are more differences between two Tamangs living in different environment than between a Tamang and a Gurung living in comparable environments.

Thus it is possible that the name of the groups would be responsible for our perplexity and confusion[9]. The name of the Tamangs (linguistically very precisely defined by Hamilton who has singled out their main differences with their Tibeto-Burman speaking neighbours) was accurate as a category for our field until the morrow of.its (recent) apparition. Hence the necessity of knowing the technical constraints and the (Tamang) ways used to deal with them, and, then, of expressing the relations between these constraints and the elements of the system. This knowledge has to be attached not to an object without temporal consistency[10], but has to be expressed as attributes of portions of space. These attributes will also express the correlations between the above mentioned constraints, on one hand, and the nature, quality and organization of the elements of the systems, on the other hand.

The main axes of the analysis of the environmental constraints of present landscapes can be classified, following the scale, as follows.

1.1.2. Typology of the present production systems

At a regional level, the topographical constraints determine altitudinal levels defined by the possible production activities and forest resources[11] :
— Yaks cannot be reared in villages not having forests or pastures at 4,000 m and above, *and* between 1,500 and 2,000 m (for monsoon *and* winter);
— cows and bulls cannot survive higher than 4,000 m in monsoon and 2,000 m in winter;
— moving sheep and goats have to be above 4,000 m during monsoon, and need access to extensive winter pastures (they are generally gathered on harvested uncultivated fields during the night and graze in the forests during the day);
— buffaloes have difficulty enduring winters above 2,200 m;
— finger-millet cannot be produced much higher than 2,000 m;
— maïze cannot be produced much higher than 2,700 m in the interior and 2,000 m in the hills;
— paddy cannot be produced much higher than 2,000 m.

At a higher scale, the quantity of clouds, the temperatures, luminosity and the amount of the precipitation being closely related to the situation in the massif, generally, the altitudinal limits of the crops given above tend to be higher in the interior areas; and, particularly, on the northern slopes, the luminosity allows the maturation of eleven months crops up to 3,600 m, impossible on monsoon exposed slopes. The temperatures not being higher, the vegetation periods are not shorter and the effect on the crop-rotations is not noticeable and their altitudinal limits do not change : this explains why, in the area of Salme, the succession in altitude of crop-rotations on the non-irrigated (*bāri*) fields is mainly two crops a year (maize and finger millet) and, above, one crop per year (winter cereal or potato) whereas, further north, it is three crops per year (maize-winter cereal-finger millet), and, above, one crop per year (winter cereal or potato).

At a local (still higher) scale, in order to build systems combining these different activities, people have had to adapt to local conditions, such as :

- The general pattern of the topography including :
— the respective situations of villages or hamlets and forests : easy contacts with the forests allow a better management of these resources and easier fertility transfers from the forests to the fields;
— the altitudinal amplitude can reach up to 4,000 or 5,000 m on one single slope. As a result, the gradation of climates goes from subtropical to alpine and induces the gradations of the vegetation and landuse forms. Natural gradations are very often progressive and the limits between the different vegetation types are gradual and « fuzzy »;
— On each slope, the altitudinal extension of the cultivated area determines the numbers of altitudinal levels and, then, the number of crop rotations. Above 3,000 m and below 1,000 m, the altitudinal levels are so broad that each production system is included in only one, whereas between these two altitudes, they are narrow and a given production system can include various altitudinal levels. The present intensification of the crop production is increasing this trend;
— at definite altitudes, the extension and localization of the uncultivated areas determines the possibility of animal husbandry and, thus, the manuring of the fields.

- The slopes : the value of the slope determines the type and intensity of the human activity on a versant. The maximum value of a cultivated slope depends on the population pressure. As for the forests, the more accessible slopes are evidently the more vulnerable and the first to be overexploited : big differences in utilization between gentle and near slopes and steep and far away ones add a new factor of differentiation to the natural diversity.

- The amount of utilizable water (for irrigation as well as for drinking or milling purposes).

- The orientation determines the nature of natural vegetation units more or less sensitive to humidity and the quantity of incoming light. It also influences the altitudinal limits of cultivated plants and crop rotations.

- The soils, etc.

Once these factors have been identified, quantified and organized in definite combinations, that is to say once the elements of the choices left to the populations have been determined, and once other features, like available production techniques, have been stated, one can see how « human factors » such as social structures or history have determined the « construction » of their landscapes by definite societies, and elaborate typologies. Nowadays these typologies will mainly be based on the distinction of regions following the physical features rather than following the type of populations inhabiting them. In this area, we could identify three types, corresponding to three altitudinal levels.

The analysis method must then take into account that the axes of a typology change with time : not only must new types be allowed to emerge because of the emergence of a new feature or because of the changes in the relations between the already existing features, due to the changes of their relative weight in the system; but also the whole structure of the typology must be allowed to change.

1.2. Space and Knowledge

1.2.1. Map and cartography by remote sensing

For a geographer, the knowledge of the environment, the societies and their production systems cannot be conceived without a cartographical representation : verbal description cannot possibly suffice to express all the interrelations of their components. Graphics and associated modelizations make the description of these systems easier by revealing multi-causal circular relations. Nevertheless, the space of their construction is of no reality. Now the notions of homogeneity-heterogeneity, limits, discontinuity, proximity, center and periphery do play an increasing role in geographical analysis and in the study of the state and/or evolution of systems such as landscapes, societies, political units, production systems, and so on. Furthermore, to « explain » the world, the Himalayan societies require not only causal relations between the objects but also topological : cartography alone enables us to represent not only simultaneous spatial interrelations of the elements of a given system but also the state of these elements. A map cannot say everything but is alone to express our knowledge on space.

Cartography is not merely a means of communication of acquired information : one can identify two types of maps. One is the *synthetic map* which is a document where information collected on the ground is represented : no new information is produced during the process of the elaboration of the map. On the contrary, the *analytic map* is prospective and produces knowledge. Its elaboration requires an analysis of images (aerial photos or satellite images) in order to identify objects, their limits and their states according to the type of map wanted, the technique of analysis and the nature of the more or less extensive ground knowledge which will be amplified and modified by the map. Such a cartography is a mean of *production* not only of *knowledge* but also of *questions* and *directions of investigation* by *the identification and characterization of the object of the study.*

This type of knowledge production, to which remote sensing belongs, also requires a temporal dimension as no functional natural or human system is fixed and the very notion of equilibrium has to be conceived in terms of capacity of a system to constantly reorganize itself under the differential evolutions of each of its elements and the external disturbances. It becomes then necessary to be able to apprehend the rhythm of each component of the system : repetitive mapping allows the comparison of the mapped object with itself. It also allows to put new questions on its nature.

1.2.2. Pixels as « objects »

There are two ways of expressing the location of an object, according to the relation between the scale of the map and the size of the object : one is obvious and utilized without thinking : the coordinates; space is then just a support for the object. The second one is less obvious, utilized in the process of elaborating maps from satellite images : it is the pixel. The relation between space, scale and object has been paradoxically expressed by Lewis Carroll by the making of a map of an undifferentiated sea at such a scale that the object mapped (the sea) is much bigger than the map itself : there is room for nothing else on the map than the sea considered as an undivisible object; the map is a pixel and blank.

The pixel is a bit, an atom, of space as such, generally parallelepipedic, inside which there is no spatial differentiation possible : its components are deprived of the very notion of space, they are all in one : the spatial relations of the objects inside a pixel are not visually represented but expressed in the taxonomy. The abstractness of the notion is underlined by the difficulty in precisely relating a pixel to « reality » : an object in the landscape corresponds to a number of pixels on the image, but its limits do not necessarily correspond to the limits of the pixels (and *vice versa*).

On the remote sensing image, attributes such as radiometry are attached to the pixels. It is generally assumed that these elements of information are sufficiently correlated to the entities of the reality to map; if they are not, one can always manipulate the radiometry in order to produce indices (vegetation, texture, structures, etc.) or introduce any type of variable, attached to the pixel. In fact, all kinds of available knowledge can be attached to these spatial units : not only the radiometries and their computations out of all the possible types and dates of images but also information such as altitude, slope, orientation, and administrative status, population, density, patterns of settlements, topological relations with other entities (imbrication, contiguity, distance, communication), and so on.

2. Why an Expert System ?

If a map has to produce knowledge on the mapped object in time and space, it also has to allow its comparison with other objects of the same order, that is to say their own map. In order to meet these requirements at endurable cost of money and time, it is not sufficient that the taxonomies be

compatible : the method itself has to be reproductible. But the methodologies involved in that process are often so complex (especially in the mountainous areas) and the number of variables utilized is so high (radiometry, vegetation and texture indices, topographical, slope and illumination models) that this reproductibility is neither possible nor even thinkable : in the majority of cases, the map, not the methodology of its production, is the objective. At best, the **procedure** is explained, a succession of steps that one has to repro-gramme if one desires to produce a new map. To achieve the systematization and a reproduction of the methods and meet the needs of mass production, the elaboration of maps has to be formalized.

Thus becomes evident the interest of a procedure like the *Expert System* which separates the methodology and the specificity of each thematic prob-lem. Utilizing numerical treatments, these require two types of distinct tech-nical know-how : statistical and computer programming on one hand, thematic knowledge (here geography) on the other. Each of these know-how refers to a distinct sphere of knowledge and implementation methods. If each and every problem encountered by the thematicians requires a specific methodology, the procedures of these methodologies are far less numerous : based on the representation and the simulation of statistical and data analysis skill, CIME2 System [12] (Intelligent cartography in mountain environment), built on a clas-sical inference motor, is driving and optimizing the sequential activation of numerical treatments. As such it is not really an expert system, since it does not simulate the knowledge of the thematician : it is rather a set of elements of an expert sytem. It has been elaborated in view of mapping vegetation and land-use in Central Nepal, but is also utilizable by other thematic researchers and/or for other areas.

2.1. A complex procedure

The strategy of CIME2 simulates the strategy of a human expert who adopts a supervised procedure to elaborate a thematic map : one tries to extend to a whole area the detailed knowledge on some parts of this area (the ground-truth). The procedure is the partition of a 2-D space (a satellite image) by a succession (or chain) of numerical treatments on values (the variables) as-sociated to its elementary points (the pixels). The cartographer has defined *before* the image analysis a legend, considered to be complete, of vegetation units and forms of landuse (what is called the landscape of the area) and can point out on the image areas of which he is sure that they correspond to one item of the legend or the taxonomy [13] (here, for example, river, clear oak forest, village, two years-field, etc.). He will then identify patches of contiguous pixels [*test-plots*], grouped into classes and named after the taxi-nomy. These will be the base of the treatments and will be used for the identification of all the others.

The knowledge is thus attached to localized pixels, grouped in test plots, in other words, these pixels are named or labelled. The different chains of the different possible treatments test the correlations between the various vari-ables introduced and these names. The result of each treatment (a particular segmentation of a particular variable) is the production of a label (« class-

afterwards ») consisting of the juxtaposition of the names of all the pixels which have been grouped in the same segment. This label is attached individually to all the pixels of the segment : for example, if some pixels which had been determined as « clear-oak-forest » by the thematician have been grouped with « clear-abies-forest » ones, and if the « clear-oak-forest » pixels are more numerous, the « class-afterwards » of all these pixels will be « clear-oak-forest,clear-abies-forest ». The aim of a chain is to match exactly the final « class-afterwards » of each particular pixel of the test plots to the name given to him *a priori* by the thematician.

2.1.1. A high variety of descriptors :

The complexity of the mountainous landscape makes it difficult to find foolproof correlations with the help of only a small number of variables. It has been necessary to introduce three kinds of variables :

• Some belong to the image itself : the radiometry.

• Others are obtained by computations of these values : for example, texture indices characterizing, in a given spectral band, the variability of the values around a given pixel. They can also be indices characterizing more accurately categories of components on the ground. In that case they are generally obtained through the combination of spectral bands (for example, green vegetation indices, combinations of red and infrared bands).

• Others are external to the satellite data : here, the altitude, the slope and the lighting at the time of image shooting. As we have seen above, at a definite place, *given a definite technological environment and a definite social structure,* one can establish strong correlations between three main natural factors and the organization of the landscape. It so happens that they also strongly influence the physical nature of the signal registered by a captor on board a satellite.

• The altitude : the radiometry registered by the satellite is heavily influenced by the thickness of the atmosphere and haze effects are not similar at 5,000 m and at 500 m.

• The slope : it determines changes in the angles of reflexion of the light.

• The orientation : at the time of image shooting, solar elevation is low and the lightings of the versants stand in very high contrasts. Comparable landscape units have widely different radiometry. The different lighting conditions do also cause differences in the state of the atmosphere over different versants : haze is more frequent and important over shadowy versants than over sunlit versants; thus the radiometry is not of the same kind and the signals cannot be interpreted in the same way.

Because of the congruence between the effects of the topography on vegetation and landuse and on the radiometry, and since no really efficient method to correct the radiometry has been worked out so far, we chose to utilize these correlations in the mapping process; the radiometry is not corrected and the image is divided in sectors within which the influence of the lighting conditions on the radiometry is marginal when compared with the influence of the vegetation and landuse covers. Three sectors have been iden-

tified : the versants which face the sun and receive direct lighting (*lighted sectors*), the versants which receive only indirect lighting (*shadowy sectors*) and versants receiving grazing lighting or on which the alternance of lighted and shadowy sectors is at the scale of the pixels (*grazing light sectors*).

2.1.2. A changing procedure

As the natures of the landscapes and of the radiometry are different from one type of versant to the other, a relevant chain for the treatment of one sector may not be relevant for the other two sectors : generally the sequences or chains differ, which obliges the operator to work out three different procedures and requires a know-how which does not belong to the epistemic domain of the thematician

2.2. The procedure

At each step, the system utilizes numerical treatments after having defined their entry variables. The results of this first step will be analyzed : if the classification of the pixels has been improved by this particular treatment (if the number of names of a « class-afterwards » attached to the pixels, *i.e.* the uncertainty, has decreased) a new step will be started. If not, the system will abandon this treatment and try another. A chain stops when no new treatment can diminish the uncertainty; a new chain is then started. The chain production will stop when all variables and treatments specified by the thematician will have been tried. To classify the whole image, the thematician will then compare the results of all his chains and choose « the best » : the one which answers best to his specific needs.

The thematician supervises the activation of the treatments, controls the results and chooses the best chains, but, in order to check the validity of his own knowledge (groundtruth), only one part of the test plots, called *training plots,* is treated. The other part, the *control plots*, is used to verify the segmentations : after each step, the result of the segmentation is applied to them; if there is any contradiction (what we call unreliability coefficient) between the name of the class given by the thematician to these plots and the result of the treatment, the procedure stops and the thematician is asked to check his groundtruth.

3. The system : knowledge and numerical procedures

In the terminology of Expert Systems, the pixels are represented as *objects, frames* or as *contexts* (following EMYCIN terminology), and we have seen that the objective of the system is to pilot the activation of chains of procedures through the synthesis of symbolic data (decription of the thematic, of the area and of the objectives of the cartography) and numerical data (the results, the activated procedures and the values of the attributes of the frames) [*vide* (Mering *et al.*, 1988) and (Ganascia, 1984)].

3.1. The activation of numerical treatments

As it does not simulate vision, the system needs to have explicit knowledge on *how to* elaborate iconic entities (that is to say group the pixels following the thematic) corresponding to geographic ones. In this version, the system has a semantic knowledge of the image segmentation techniques. The techniques recognized by the system are automatic classification techniques and the interpretation can only be performed through the test-plots database. Therefore we simulate a classical supervised approach of analysis, and we select only supervised classification techniques. For example, we call for a non parametric discrimination method based on the minimization of the bayesian risk [CELEUX 80]. The basic method consists in splitting the set of pixels within two classes. The splitting operation corresponds to the thresholding of the most discriminant quantitative variable according to the bayesian risk criteria in reference to the two theoretic classes. The two resulting subsets are called *segments*. When there are more than one descriptive variable, a single iteration will generally not be enough to determine the segments. If one of the two resulting segments satisfies the stop criteria, it becomes a *terminal segment*. If not, the whole procedure is again applied to this segment. The system explicitly invokes the previous method and defines all the formal context of its release (instant of execution, set of data to be processed, calling parameters).

Then the system processes, analyses and controls the numerical results, and decides about their acceptance. If accepted as available, the results are integrated into the factual database and a new step is activated. A step can be represented as follows :

3.2. Knowledge representation

As explained in the previous paragraphs, the knowledge that has been invoked comes from various domains such as geography, statistics and image analysis. But here, we do not take into account the domain of the knowledge

(With or Without Backtracking)
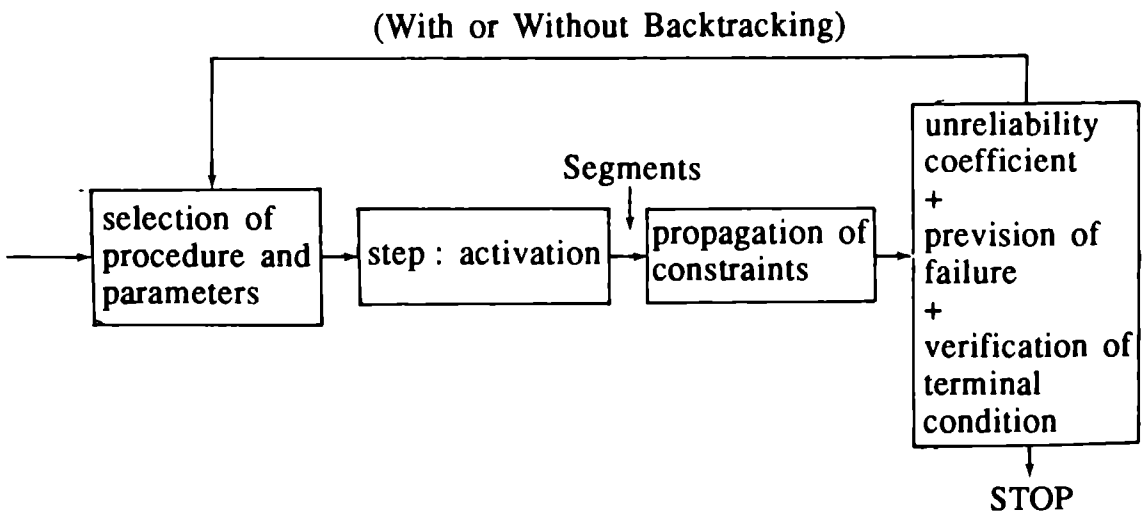
but only its function in the resolution process. Therefore we distinguish two kinds of knowledge : descriptive knowledge and procedural knowledge.

3.2.1. Descriptive knowledge

Descriptive knowledge is formalized by assertions containing a set of information describing the characteristics of the entities under analysis. For example, the two following assertions :
— « pixel number 12 is associated to the oak forest class»,
— « the scene is situated in a mountainous area »,
  are treated identically by the inference engine as « facts » (elements of the descriptive database).
  Each pixel is described by a set of attributes having either symbolic or numeric values :
— the radiometric values,
— the altitude (evaluated by the topographical model [MNT]),
— the slope (evaluated by the MNT),
— the illumination at the shooting time (evaluated from MNT and the coordinates of the center of the scene),
— cl : the symbolic name of the class represented by the corresponding test plot,
— cl-afterwards : the list of the symbolic names of the potential classes after a step of analysis.

Each pixel is described as an *object* by all its attributes. The other sort of knowledge, such as the geographical situation of the zone, are considered as attributes describing a single object called *general object*.

3.2.2. The procedural knowledge

The procedural knowledge states how to get an element of information from already established facts through a propositional mode. In CIME2, this kind of knowledge is represented as individual production rules which have the following declarative form :

If Conditions. Then Conclusions

The content of the Conclusions part can be either assertions as in the Conditions part, or actions, that is, executions of a given procedure. The following rule enables the execution of the classification numerical method called « dnp » :

rule (2) :   If

the region is a shadow region,
selected classification method is dnp,

Then

execute dnp on the radiometric variables,
step = 1,
state = radiometric analysis,
count resulting segments.

This rule provides the context of the execution of a numerical method, so that the method is applied only to the pixels belonging to a shadow region. In the conclusion part, input descriptors (here the radiometric ones) of the pixels to be classified are selected, the chain and the step are labeled with respectively a symbolic and numeric label, and the resulting segments are computed.

But, as well as knowledge about iconic entities (pixels of the test plots), knowledge about thematic concepts, such as geographical concepts has been formalized. Since a thematician always has some general knowledge of the landscape he tries to map (and we have explained in the first part the kind of knwledge one can have on the production systems of a mountainous area like Central Nepal), he can utilize this knowledge in order to help reduce the uncertainty. All the rules are given in bulk, which frees him from the necessity of knowing what is *inside* the system. For example the following one is linked to the thematic knowledge about the ·vegetation altitudinal levels :

rule (1) :   If
               there is an altitudinal level,
               altitude < 20,

               Then
                      class-afterwards is not grass-land
                      class-afterwards is not oak– forest
                      class-afterwards is not fir-forest
                      class-afterwards is not rhododendron-forest.

This rule says that, some types of vegetation cover being absent under a given altitude, one has to eliminate them from the class-afterwards label at the current step.

• The syntax

Here will be very briefly described the syntax of CIME 2 in order to show that not only the same framework (based on the general idea of hierarchy) but also the same formalisation is adopted for the procedure, the thematic and the pixels : the treatments, the elements of the legend *and the iconic entities* (the pixels and groups of pixels) are all *hierarchized* with the *same grammar* and the treatments monitored by the system can be applied not only to the pixels but also to groups of pixels. This allows, for example, to express all the topological relations between the objects or the pixels and to utililize them as descriptors. Utilizing the general formalism of Prolog, in CIME2 (Etifier, 1990) each fact is expressed under the form of a quadruple :

(type, attribute, value, list)

where :

type	denotes the nature of the described object,
attribute	corresponds to the name of one of the attributes that characterize the object,
value	corresponds to the value or the range of possible values taken by the attribute of the described object,
list	denotes either the value of the attribute or the other objects with which the considered object has a hierarchical relationship.

REPRESENTATION OF ICONIC ENTITIES

Through this formalism, iconic entities are expressed as factual data of the system :

type : pixel name : P_i attributes :	radiometry : r1, r2, r3, r4
type : region name R_k attributes :	texture : heterogeneous
	mean : 50
	variance : 20
	surface : 100

The hierarchical relations between pixels and groups of pixels are expressed

— directly :

the following fact : (pixel, 4, parent, region, 1)
is read : « the pixel number 4 is a component of the region number 1 ».

— or by the formalism, encased in the above mentionned one, (type, attribute, comparator, value) where comparator is a logic comparator : « = » and « < > »

or an arithmetic comparator : « < », « > », « < = », « > = »,

For instance, the following fact :

(region, 22, components, ((pixel, altitude, <, 3,000), (pixel, slope, >, 0.4)))

is read : « the region 22 is composed of pixels whose altitude is lower than 3,000 meters and the slope higher than 40 % ».

THE REPRESENTATION OF THEMATIC KNOWLEDGE AND TREATMENT

The thematic description of an iconic entity will be

thematic entity :	clear-forest		
iconic entities :	regions		
	surface	large	value > 400
	texture	heterogeneous	variance > 50
	red-band	low	mean-value < 20

The same formalism is used and the hierarchy is expressed by the introduction of the attribute « kind-of » which will be valued; for example the oak forest is a kind of forest :

        type = value
        name = clear-forest
        attributes = kind-of : forest
        the linear filtering is a kind-of : filtering smoothing

This formalism allows the introduction of topological relations between thematic entities as well as iconic entities.

THE PRODUCTION RULES :

As was stated above, the production rules are of the kind :

                    If conditions Then conclusions.

In the conditions part of the rule may be expressed the relationships concerning the facts such as described above, again with the same formalism :

                If type, attribute, object, comparator, value.

The result of the application of CIME2 is a map composed of hierarchized groups of pixels which have been labeled with hierarchized names but also with all sorts of available information; not only the information which was required for the elaboration of the map but also all the information relevant to the type of explanation the thematician wishes to produce. Generally, when the map has been elaborated, the concept of space dominating the remote sensing process disappears : pixels are abandoned, things (like a field or a house, a forest) take over and the analysis of the landscape manipulates them only. But one can choose to persist with this conception, that is to treat space as the object of the knowledge even at smaller scales. In that case, the portions of space called pixels at a given scale have to be considered, at a smaller scale, as a part of a wider spatial unit : a group of pixels whether physically adjoining or not. The entities manipulated are portions of space having attributes, one of which is the name of a landscape unit. Since all the pixels have been labeled, one can try to elaborate correlations between all their attributes, that is to say produce an « explanation » of the landscape.

4. Landscape, explanation

The second step, indeed, is the explanation. This explanation implies, after the identification of all possible elements determining the landscape, the elaboration of correlations between these elements. The basic hypothesis is that there is only one logic and many rationalities and that the same logical frame can be used to produce the knowledge and to structure it. The real problem lies with the identification of all the elements and structures of the rationality of the societies « producing » the landscapes which we wish to understand. Since the prediction of change is impossible, what must be considered are not the patterns of the object, considered as invariant, as they

have been identified at one particular moment within one particular scientific field, but the pattern of this very field (its rationality). And this rationality has to be reutilized to study different moments of the history of the object to produce different patterns which will have to be compared. This should help in identifying what we called patterns of patterns or meta-patterns : the ones which do not change and determine the others, within a specified rationality.

When one is elaborating these correlations, the experience of past analysis helps in the identification of the elements and the relations between them : one *knows* what the relevant factors are and follows a heuristic procedure, which is the result of experience or of education. Because our brains and time are limited these heuristics are necessary, but, while not exploring all the possible factors and correlations, one risks overlooking relevant ones. On the contrary a programme which would test all the elements and test all types of correlations, in a limited time, as computers can, would not simulate the human brain, but stupidly iterate a process many more times than we can afford to. We must nevertheless underline that all the correlations that such a system can establish do not *signify* something in the considered scientific field. For example, the correlations established between radiometry and the landscape units are of no direct utility for a geographer. He still has to choose between all the correlations, and guide the tool by the attributes he enters into the system, and this is again the equivalent of a heuristic procedure.

Then, if this process is much more costly in hypothesis (and in time !), it is also much more demanding as far as the accuracy of the concepts and the definition of the objects are concerned. And this is not the smallest advantage of such a work. This approach allows the comparison in space and time because the concepts and the elements (space) remain the same whereas the objects change not only in their aspects and size but also in their nature.

J.G. Ganascia has worked out a method for the automatic elaboration of correlations : CHARADE (Blamont *et al.*, 1990). The case chosen to expose the application of the method to our specific problem is the study of shifting cultivation practices. As the remote sensing data has not yet been analyzed, we present here a simulation of the first step of the utilization of CHARADE, based on data introduced directly in a form utilizable by the programme and we will only mention the specific problems of the introduction of the facts into the data-base. This first step is meant to describe topographical and topological correlations. The social determinants will be introduced later on; the follow-up of the evolutions will then be the next step.

4.1. Formulation of the descriptors

One has to understand the logic of the shifting cultivation system of a specified village. In other words, we wish to establish correlations between the distance of the fields to the village, the orientation and value of the slopes (the nature of the sub-soil being narrowly correlated with the slope), and the

length of the fallow. The descriptors will then be : distance, orientation, slope and length of fallow.

58 plots have thus been described and a hierarchy has been introduced : the finality is to study the length of fallow, the first determining factor (descriptor) is considered to be the distance, and we assumed that inside classes of distances, the orientation is determining and then the slope. A list of examples is given below :

Example 1	*Example 22*	*Example 32*
slope = < 5	slope = < 15	slope = < 10
slope > = 5	slope > = 15	slope > = 10
orientation = < S	orientation = < W	orientation = < W
orientation > = S	orientation > = W	orientation > = W
distance = < 200	distance = < 4,000	distance = < 2,000
distance > = 200	distance > = 4,000	distance > = 2,000
fallow = < 0	fallow = < 100	fallow = < 10
fallow > = 0	fallow > = 100	fallow > = 10

Example 2	*Example 23*	*Example 33*
slope = < 35	slope = < 10	slope = < 20
slope > = 35	slope > = 10	slope > = 20
orientation = < S	orientation = < N	orientation = < S
orientation > = S	orientation > = N	orientation > = S
distance = < 100	distance = < 3,000	distance = < 3,000
distance > = 100	distance > = 3,000	distance > = 3,000
fallow = < 100	fallow = < 25	fallow = < 25
fallow > = 100	fallow > = 25	fallow > = 25

The value 100 for fallow means that this part of the forest is never cultivated.

The orientation have been hierarchized : South (*adret*) > East > West > North (*ubac*).

4.2. The formulation of rules by Charade

Charade has produced 64 rules of three types. The first type gives indications on the constraints, that is to say on the specificity of the environment of the village. This type of information will enable the comparison with other villages :

Rule 2 :	*Rule 11 :*	*Rule 64 :*
If distance > = 100	If distance = < 1,000	If distance = < 250
Then slope = < 36.	Then orientation > = E.	Then orientation > = S.

Rule 4 :	*Rule 58*	*Rule 63 :*
If distance = < 3,000,	If distance = < 3,000,	If orientation = < N,
distance > = 1,000	distance > = 250	slope < = 15
Then slope = < 25.	Then slope > = 10.	Then slope = < 10.

The second set of rules gives indications on the correlations investigated, it allows to understand how the length of the fallow can be related to the different factors (the three other descriptors).

Rule 14 :

If orientation = < E,
   slope < = 10
Then fallow > = 10,
   fallow = < 25.

Rule 15

If orientation = < W
Then fallow > = 10.

Rule 19 :

If slope = < 35,
   distance > = 200,
   distance = < 200
Then fallow = < 0.

Rule 22 :

If slope = < 35,
   slope > = 35
Then fallow > = 100.

Rule 38 :

If orientation > = W,
   distance > = 4,000
Then fallow > = 20.

Rule 39 :

If slope > = 5,
   distance > = 4,000
Then fallow > = 20.

The third set of rules (far less numerous) gives mixed information :

Rule 37 :

If orientation = < E,
   distance > = 3,000
Then fallow > = 20,
   slope = < 15.

Rule 50 :

If distance = < 3,000,
   orientation = < E
Then fallow = < 25,
   slope = 10.

˥.ne investigator now has to transform these correlations into explanations, that is to say to choose the ones which answer his question and organize them following his own rationality. Finally, as can be seen from the examples and the rules produced, the distances and the slopes have been expressed not by their « real » value but following broad classes and the orientations have been hierarchized from south to north to take into account the notion of « favorable orientation ». This is the result of a previous analysis of the data and also on the assumption that one has to introduce first general and broad data in order to get information at the small scale chosen. At a second step, the data could be introduced in a manner simultaneously more precise and less definite, in order to get information at a larger scale, *i.e.* inside a given area of the village : for instance, the value of slopes can be studied in a finer way inside a class of distances (between 2,000 and 3,000 m for example).

That means that there is a constant *va et vient* between two or three levels of analysis (scales) and the problem which now has to be solved is the extraction and the definition of the descriptor from the database (in our case, the proposed database will be a G.I.S. elaborated through the analysis of remote sensing data and the introduction of all kinds of relevant exogenous informations) to fit the type of question in close relation with scale. A procedure comparable to the one utilized in CIME2 [14] will be used : the descriptor (called variable in CIME2) taken as the final condition for CHARADE (*i.e.* to be explained through correlations : here the time range of the fallows)

will be examined by CIME2 this system will take in turn each and every variable introduced in its database and will try to threshold the range of its values. All the variables found pertinent by CIME2, that is to say sufficiently correlated to the final condition will be considered as descriptors for CHARADE, and the clusters produced by their thresholdings will be used as classes of the descriptors values examined by CHARADE.

This procedure should allow new descriptors to be introduced in each study. Thus, the nature, number and hierarchization of the explaining factors will be only determined by their pertinence in each case and the method will allow pertinent comparisons in time (also in space) of various landscapes.

Notes

1. Han Feïzi, chap. 16, p. 861.

2. *I.e.* their validity.

3. A concept designates not only an idea or a fact, or even a chain of ideas, but also its own necessity in a scientific field; the methods (or rationality) designate the (generally tacit) correlations between the concepts, and the closure of the field to determined concepts.

4. One will notice that he does not mention myths or rules of marriage; the differences with Gurungs or Magars would then not be determinant.

5. Or, p. 22 / « Tamang ethnic identity, then derives not from common culture but in contrast to the other Hindu and Tibeto-Birman groups ».

6. Which is highly responsible for this identification since the very name Tamang was given by the central authority to populations previously known as « Murmis ».

7. *Dajubaï* means elder-younger brother : two *dajubaï* clans cannot intermarry.

8. In other words the act of birth of a clan is an incest.

9. « Les désignations ne sont jamais innocentes parce que la réalité, dans ses mystérieux cheminements, s'impose aux hommes dans les noms qui en retour lui dictent leur loi » (Jean Lévi : *Le Rêve de Confucius.* Albin Michel, 1989 Paris, p. 17).

10. Other scholars will deal with the necessary definition and the study of the formation, evolution and signification of the ethnic names.

11. The longitudinal variations of the amount of total precipitations are not perceivable on such a scale.

12. The system has been developed in close collaboration with A. Etifier, J.-G. Ganascia and C. Mering.

13. Understood here as the hierarchized organization of a legend.

14. A Symbolic of Geographic Space Through Remote Sensing (J.-G. Ganascia, D. Blamont, C. Méring).

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ABSTRACTS

Law and the legitimation of power

1. Custom and ·written law in Nepal : the regulations concerning private revenge for adultery according to the code of 1853, Jean Fezas

According to the Royal Edict (*Lāla-mohora*) opening the first code (Ain) applied in Nepāl in 1853, the Ain was promulgated as to ensure that everybody whether weak or powerful should be punished « in conformity with the offence (*khata*) and the caste (*jāta*) [of the offender] ». The classical texts (*Dharma-Śāstra*) could not be applied because of the influence of time and the weakness of men's understanding, but the ideology of Classical Hindu Law was, and remained up to the Mulukī Ain of 1963, explicity the basis of the code of « a Hindu Kingdom, where the killing of cow, woman or brahmin must not take place » (*Himdu-rāja gohatyā nahunyā strīhatyā nahunyā brahmahatyā nahunyā*).

But the Ain is not merely to be considered as an adaptation of the Hindu hierarchical principles to the various ethnical groups included in a nation created by the unification of the country at the end of the 18th century. It is also an instrument aimed at the strengthening of the State's control on violence, transforming « private revenge » into « death penalty ». Death penalty is stated to be applied only in cases of murder, because « life goes in exchange for life » (*jyāna-ko badalā jyāna jāmcha*), and excludes any kind of torment; accidental death (*bhabitabya*, sk. *bhavitavya-* « having to happen ») is clearly distinguished from voluntary murder. In the course of time the religious exemption afforded to brahmin and women extends to various groups of *samnyāsin*, etc. This evolution ending with the suppression of death penalty in the Mulukī Ain. From 1853 onwards, mutilations of thieves are prohibited. All this is much more lenient than the rules of the Śāstra (and English criminal Law at the same period).

Two practices appear as exceptions to this very humanistic background : the burning of widows (*satī*), and the right of the husband « to kill [his wife's] paramour » (*jāra kātnu*). The first [cf. A. Michaels] being at least recognized by some later Smṛtis may be considered as a part of the Hindu tradition; but the second finds no explicit justification in the classical texts though it is only mentioned, *en passant*, in some commentaries. The « privilege » of killing the *jāra*, and subsequently cutting the nose of the adulteress, was purely customary and we shall see how, through a « legal ritualization », it evolved from an obligation imposed on every State's officer (in the times of Raṇa Bahādur Śāha) to a limited and dangerous practice, and was abolished. A processus which transformed a custom (of the martial castes) into some kind of mythical symbol of Nepalese adhesion to (an imaginary, but politically useful) Hindu *dharma*.

2. *Widow burning in Nepal*, Axel Michaels

The paper deals briefly with the little known history of suttee in Nepal and attempts to lay hold of what is essential from inscriptional and literary sources.

In particular I discussed a legal text more quoted than read or understood, the (Mulukī) Ain from 1853/54, which is one of its kind in containing for the first time detailed regulations concerning the admissibility of suttee. I also tried to find reasons for the comparatively late abolition of suttee in Nepal by Candra Saṃśer on the 28th of June 1920, almost one hundred years after Bentinck's outlawing of suttee in British India.

Finally I placed the topic within the general framework of religiously motivated suicide. In short, my argument amounts to the following proposition : Suttee was for women what asceticism represented for men; it « suffers » from similar paradoxes, and its apologists get entangled in the same contradictions.

3. *A field held by women or A case of Evasion of Hindu Law (Documents from Nepal. 5)*, Bernhard Kölver

The paper will discuss a Patan document, written in Newârî, dated N.S.810, which is remarkable chiefly in its implications regarding the legal status of women.

A member of the Śâkya community, apparently ill, (1) promises a sum of *mohora ṭaṃkâ* 30 each to his daughter and to each of his « three mothers », i.e. his father's three wives, by way of a *sibay* : this is a particular kind of donation to women which usually consists of household goods. In case the sums are not paid, they are to get a field of 3 *ropaṇis* instead. (2) Second, his wife, unless she leave him before his death, is to be his « inheritor » (*dahakâ*); she is to be put under the tutelage of « the gods » (*devapani*), and is not to be ejected.

The latter stipulation seems a clear case of a legal fiction, meant to answer to the general Hindu injunction of women never being independent and on their own (*svatantrâḥ*). For as it stands, the provision could hardly be enforced : a deity who is to guard her is not specified. The stipulation, then, looks like a structural analogy to the Newar girl's marriage to a *bilva* fruit, which again protects her from some of the miseries of the widowed state.

It is tempting to extend this line of reasoning to Case (1). The modalities under which, in Newar society, women were allowed to possess lands still await clarification : there were times when the bars of normal Hindu law clearly were not followed in their classical form. One wonders whether the clause touching upon the eventuality that the money is not paid is meant as an unobjectionable device to transfer lands to the donees : the legal status of the land would be similar to a mortgage.

4. *Drama, devotion and politics : the Dasain festival in Arghā kingdom*, Philippe Ramirez

In the capital town of former Arghā principality, Dasain festival is held through a complex set of spectacular rituals taking place in the old palace and performed mainly by a « drama-king », member of the local Thakuri dynasty. Assuming that Arghā's rulers have been dismissed over two centuries ago, the persistence of such a royal figure in a festival financed by the central state (*guṭhī*) seems quite paradoxical and deserves a description of the religious context in which he appears. More widely, the analysis of Arghā's Dasain leads to a number of questions on the so-called « manipulation »

of ritual means both by the State and the local dominant groups. Furthermore, what is concerned here is the capability of certain rituals to reflect some features of the local society which are otherwise inacessible.

Buddhism and Society

5. *The textual history of the different versions of the « Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa »*, **Horst Brinkhaus**

The Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa is probably the most voluminous literary document of the « little tradition» of the medieval Newar Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. As a work of the class of anonymous compilatory literature it has been handed down to us in several more or less divergent versions ; among these the shortest Sanskrit version comprises merely about 280 verses whereas the longest one consists of more than 4600 verses ; moreover there are also Newari versions extant. The diversity of the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa versions points to a vigorous tradition of reception and redaction and at the same time to historical changes in the intentions as well as in the religious orientation of the Buddhist redactors who again and again revised and enlarged the work or even reshaped the whole text.

In general, there is a noticeable tendency of « Nepalization» in the textual history of the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa. Another clear change in the transmissional process mirrors a noteworthy development of religious practice in the medieval history of Newar Buddhism : Whereas the oldest version is still characterized to a large extent by a sort of magic-bound and ritualistic orientation comparable, say, to Vajrayāna views and practices of the late Northern Indian Buddhism, many of the subsequently added text portions of the later versions show an increasing preference for a particular religious practice which was certainly taken over from Hinduism, *i.e.* pilgrimage piety which is the specific content of the Māhātmya literature of Nepalese Hinduism (Paśupatipurāṇa, Nepālamāhātmyas of the Skandapurāṇa and of the Himavatkhaṇḍa).

6. *Some Remarks on Caste in the Theravāda Saṅgha of Nepal*, **Jens-Uwe Hartmann**

In Theravāda-Buddhism, monks are considered the only commonly accepted religious specialists. Entrance into their community (*saṅgha*) does not depend on caste ; thus it differs considerably from the community of traditional Newar Buddhism, also called *saṅgha*, into which only members of the Vajrācārya and Śākya caste can be admitted. The order of Theravāda monks, however, consists of members of various castes. Latest developments within the Theravāda movement are indicated by a change in the proportion of the respective castes. The community of « nuns» (*anāgārikā*) displays a caste structure similar to that of the monks. Number and influence of these nuns, however, are a peculiar feature of Nepalese Theravāda unparalleled in the other Theravāda countries.

7. *Remarks on the Vaiśākha Festival in Nepal*, **Petra Kieffer-Pülz**

Every year on the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha Theravāda Buddhists celebrate Buddha's birthday, enlightenment and parinirvāṇa. With the establishment

of Theravāda Buddhism in Nepal in the 1950s this practice has been introduced into the religious life of Nepal. The originally small festivities have developed into a wide-ranging program organised by special committees. The present contribution gives a description of the Vesakh-festivities as celebrated in Kathmaṇdu and Pāṭan in 1989.

Social Identity and Tribal Religions

8. *When the miners came to light : The 'Chantel of Dhaulagiri*, Anne de Sales

The Chantel of the Dhaulagiri area are the descendants of ancient copper miners of various origins. When the government closed the mines at the beginning of the present century, the Chantel settled in village communities and claimed a new identity. This paper provides certain hypotheses about the emergence of a population in the caste society of Nepal.

9. *On Sacrifice*, Michael Oppitz

This contribution *On Sacrifice* falls into two parts of unequal lengths. The shorter, introductory part recapitulates three classical views on sacrifice : the gift theory, the communion theory, and the mediator theory – and puts them into a historical perspective. The second and larger part describes a particular healing séance of the Northern Magar shamans. It carves out the different semantic units of action of which the entire healing session is made up and assigns to the sacrificial act the exact position therein. From this analysis results a series of propositions : the sacrificial act is the shortest, yet most dramatic and central episode of the séance ; the kind and material value of the sacrificial gift points out to the nature of the rite ; the sacrifice seals a transcendental bargain between humans and spirits and redefines their respective domains ; it separates these domains ; and it projects social relations between people onto a metaphysical plane.

10. *Interactions of an Oral Tradition : Changes in the muddum of the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal*, Martin Gaenszle

The totality of the Mewahang Rai oral tradition which links the living with the world of the ancestors is called *muddum.* Though this concept epitomizes the traditional « way of life », the *muddum* has always been subject to some degree of change : social contact with neighbouring groups led to a partial assimilation of the other traditions and to a reinterpretation of one's own. This process in the interaction of the Mewahang Rai with other Rai groups, such as the Kulunge, and with the « great » written traditions (especially that of the Hindus) is examined to elucidate its effects on Mewahang myth and ritual. It becomes evident that there is a significant difference between the changes induced by the interaction with « brother »-groups and those caused by the encounter with a regional « great » tradition : while the former leads to a creative diversification of local traditions, the latter brings about more of a standardization – accompanied by a subtle change of meaning.

11. *About Bhūme, a misunderstanding in the Himalayas*, **Marie Lecomte-Tilouine**

Bhūme is a goddess of the Earth worshipped in many parts of India and Nepal by devotees of various origins.

Is the conception of the goddess the same for all of them ?

The case of the Gulmi district (Central Nepal) where Parbatiyās live together with a Tibeto-Burman group, the Magars, clearly shows deep differences between the two groups. For the latter, Bhūme gives power to the first lineage who domesticated the territory by cultivation. For the former, she is only the guardian of each peasant's fields, without political or collective aspect.

The different conceptions of this goddess are, to my opinion, one of the cultural factors which allowed the rapid conquest of the Magars territories by the Parbatiyas.

12. *Portrait of a Tantric healer : a preliminary report on research into ritual curing in the Kathmandu Valley*, **David N. Gellner and Uttam Sagar Shrestha**

This paper describes and attempts to analyse the healing and therapeutic practice of a well-known Tantric healer from Kirtipur, Jitananda Joshi. Detailed statistics, derived from data collected by Uttam Sagar Shrestha, are presented from seven sample days in 1989. It is suggested that although there are great difficulties in distinguishing types of *symptom* (e.g. in contrasting physical and psycho-social complaints), the *diagnoses* and *treatments* offered do fall into categories that would be recognized and are used by the clients or patients themselves. Comparisons are made with similar data collected by A. Wiemann-Michaels and V. Skultans. In conclusion, a brief critique is made of Skultans' suggestion that Jitananda's practice represents a new type of urban healing which operates in ignorance of the clients' background and problems.

Nepal and Tibet

13. *Zhabs-dkar Bla-ma Tshogs-drug-rang-grol's visit to Nepal and his contribution to the decoration of to the Bodhnāth Stūpa*, **Christoph Cüppers**

Beside guidebooks and descriptions of holy places in Nepal, biographies of Tibetans who visited Nepal and especially the Kathmandu Valley, are sources which are interesting for the study of the history and culture of Nepal. The paper draw attention to a 18th-century Tibetan Lama, *Zhabs-dkar Tshogs-drug-rang-grol* from Amdo, who went on a pilgrimage to the Kathmandu valley in 1818 after a short visit to Muktināth. In the Kathmandu Valley he was able to visit only a few spots of which he mentions Svayambhūnāth, Bodhnāth, Matsyendranāth and the palace of the king. When comparing these two big stūpa he found that Bodhnāth stūpa was less decorated than the stūpa of Svayambhūnāth, therefore he send a letter to the king of Nepal requesting him to grant permission to cover the so-called umbrella part of the stūpa with a golden cover [*na-bza'*]. Since the permission was granted, the Lama sent some of his pupils to Kathmandu, and they carried out the work for him. After completing the golden cover, the Lama sent his gratitude to the king by composing a song in which he praised

the king and ministers for allowing him to perform a religious deed of this magnitude. The biography of *Zhabs-dkar Tshogs-drug-rang-grol* reflects the pattern of pilgrimages to Nepal by Tibetans of 17th- to the 20th-century, who became involved in restoration work at several Nepalese shrines, mainly the stūpas of Svayambhūnāth and Bodhnāth, which gives us insight into the history of the construction and restoration of a particular shrine.

14. *The Newar merchant community in Tibet : An interface of Newar and Tibetan cultures. A century of Transhimalayan trade and recent developments*, **Corneille Jest**

The geographical position of the Kathmandu valley on the routes from India to Tibet explains the strong tradition of trade which originated in the Newar community. In the past 100 years (period which is analysed here) Newar traders of the *Urāy* community married tibetan women and settled in « trading posts » along the Nepal-tibetan border and in Central Tibet (Lhasa, Shigatse, Gyantse). In each of these centres a group of 30 to 50 households constituted a specific group. After the political events of 1959 and 1965 in Tibet, the Khaccara took refuge in Nepal, most of them settled in Kathmandu but continued to trade with Tibet. In 1990 the group has retained all of its social and religious customs and at the same time developed new activities in trade, part of it on an international basis.

This contribution is intended to encourage studies on small communities which have developed selected activities while retaining their specific ways of life and religious customs.

Art and Music

15. *Medieval stone temples of Western Nepal*, **Ram Niwas Pandey**

Archaeological evidence for the history and culture of Western Nepal are found after the beginning of the rule of the Malla at Semja and Dullū only. During their rule of about four hundred years a large number of temples, monasteries, reservoirs and forts were built in the region, however very few of them are available for us today. In the fifteenth century they were replaced by the Kalyāla, Rainkā and Bāisī Rājā who were great patrons of art and architecture and on their incentives numerous stone temples of Hindu deities were built at various state capitals of Western Nepal during the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries A.D. which even today stand at the places of their construction with their pristine glory.

16. *Narrative paintings in Nepal and in Rajasthan*, **Anne Vergati**

Narrative paintings (*vilampu*) are known in Nepal from between 1 600 A.D. and the end of the 19th century. Usually they illustrate the performance of a popular religious ritual such as *ekādasī vrata*, or the local version of a previous life of the Buddha or illustrate a local *purāṇa* such as the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*. The story depicted is divided into scenes which are separated by floral motifs. Often each scene bears

manuscript captions in Newari which identify the episode. From the 13th century onwards Newar paintings (*pata* or *paubhā*) are, of course, well known and they usually represent divinities or groups of divinities. However the characteristic feature of the *vilampu* is that, in contrast to the *paubhā,* they illustrate daily life, local religious happenings and can be considered as anthropological and historical documents: From the point of view of the anthropology of religion, they provide details of the local pantheon, the iconography of the divinities as well as the representations of local festivals and rituals. For the study of monuments, the *vilampu* are of great interest as they are the only documents which depict monasteries, private houses and temples of the Valley at the time of their composition.

17. Tibetan monasteries in the valley of Kathmandu and their role in the preservation of musical traditions : The case of the monastery of Zhe-chen, Mireille Helffer

During the last decades, numerous monastic communities established new settlements in exile; they have largely contributed to a better knowledge of the rituals of Tibetan buddhism and their musical aspect.

That was how the musical repertory of Zhe-chen monastery, originally in Khams, and recently rebuilt in the vicinity of the Bodhnāth stūpa, was transmitted in Nepal, thanks to Tibetan qualified precentors (*dbu-mdzad*) who have come from Tibet since 1986.

In answer to the request made by H.H. Dilgo Khyentsey Rinpoche (1910-1991), the recognized head of the Rnying-ma-pa tradition, those precentors teach successfully the younger generations of monks, taking as basis a vast corpus of ritual texts, technical manuals and musical notations.

The written sources concerning the great ritual which is performed every year during the week preceding the Tibetan New Year are mostly in manuscript form. They are briefly analysed, taking also in account the performance of the ritual as exemplified in 1989 and 1991.

Ethnoecology and Geography

18. Nepalese Hydronomy : Towards a History of Settlement in the Himalayas, Michael Witzel

Except for the Kathmandu Valley, little has been done so far in studying the names of Nepalese rivers and other points of topographical interest. On the other hand, there exist many and elaborate theories about the early inhabitants of the country, founded on legends and a few entries in the various vamsavalis.

It is well known that place names, and especially so the names of rivers, are very tenacious. In Europe, for example, where such names have been studied in great detail, these names were found to reflect, quite frequently, the languages spoken before the influx of the Indo-European speaking populations. A similar undertaking in Nepal is bound to provide some insight into the settlement patterns of the present and past populations of the area.

However, such an undertaking is hindered by the medieval and still continuing expansion of Sanskrit and Nepali nomenclature. Furthermore, the extreme North has

seen a Tibetan and the South an Indian overlay. Nevertheless, enough names remain to draw a first map of the designations common in various areas, especially of the middle, «hilly» belt of the country.

19. Drinking water in the Nepalese Tarai : Public policy and local practice, Richard Burghart

During the Water and Sanitation Decade of the 1980s the Government of Nepal sought to extend the provision of drinking water throughout the kingdom by allocating development funds through the Pancayat and Development Ministry for the installation of tubewells, by taking out out loans from the World Bank to finance improved municipal supplies of water and by enabling overseas development agencies to implement regional water projects.

The paper focuses on the political culture of health in the provincial town of Janakpur and contrasts two implementation strategies : a systems-oriented approach whereby drinking water is piped direct to private houses from a central tank in town and a personal approach whereby political leaders distributed tubewells to local communities as signs of their largesse. Of these two strategies, the latter was successful. Critical to this success was the traditional lordly ideal that kings are benefactors of the body politic. Translated into the rules and rhetoric of the present electoral system, prospective candidates for political office in the Town Council demonstrate their fitness for office as «public servants» by making gifts of tubewells for public use. The aim of the paper is to consider what sorts of conditions in the local political culture of health led to this successful outcome in national development policy.

20. Tharus and Pahāriyas in Citawan : some observations concerning the question of multiethnicity in Nepal, Ulrike Müller-Böker

After the eradication of malaria an enormous number of migrants from the mountains (Pahāriya) came to Citawan. The development of Citawan from the «fever hell» to the so-called «melting pot of Nepal» has drastically affected the way of life of the autochthonous inhabitants, the Tharus. To elucidate in a few examples what has dissolved and what has resisted as an aggregate in this «melting pot», the Tharu and Pahāriya house exposition concept as well as their style of agriculture are compared. Focussing on the question of the Tharus' response to the recently arisen multiethnical constellation, the interethnical notions and clichés are summarized.

21. Some questions about slope and terraced fields : An interdisciplinary issue, Joëlle Smadja

How can we explain the different agricultural practices, slope fields and terraced fields, in the Gulmi and Argha Kanci districts ? We usualy consider that these practises are an adpatation to physical laws. But it have already been shown in many countries, and it appears in these districts too, that the physical features are never sufficient and are even sometimes helpless to explain this difference.

This study attemps to determine what do these different agricultural practices reveal : distinctive geographical features (soil, climate...), human pressure on the land, land tenure problem, manpower, historical, ethnical and economical problems ? Is there a «natural» evolution from one practice to the other ?... Do they result from adaptation

processes, from cultural heritage which are more or less well adapted to the present situation ? Are they efficient ? Should they be improved ? What is their evolution ?

22 Sufficient Harvest-Yields Despite Low Soil Fertility
The special strategy of Nepalese Mountain Farmers, Willibald Haffner

In adapting to the local relief and especially the local soil conditions, which are by no means favorable, the Nepalese mountain farmers have developed and handed down special forms of agrarian technology which compensate, if not completely, at least considerably the unfavorable ecological factors. A stabilization of soil fertility is achieved through crop rotation, through periods of leaving the land fallow, through application of natural manure, through continual redistribution of organic substances from forests and thickets, fallow lands etc. to terraces used as farming land. Adaptation is however not to be understood as ecological stability of the landscape. Gradual degradation of the forests and soil cannot be avoided and is, even in the traditional farming areas of Nepal, in no way a modern development.

23. The Manangis of the Nepal-Himalaya : Environmental Adaptation, Migration and Socio-economic Changes, Perdita Pohle

The high-mountain areas of Nepal are environments with extreme living conditions. Besides the severe high-altitude climate which poses a stress on the human organism, many natural hindrances limit the economic potential. In spite of that, high-altitude populations have gained their livelihood there over a long period of time while accomodating to the severe environmental conditions. As an example, the environmental adaptation (physiological acclimatization and cultural adaptation) of the Manangis living in the high mountain valleys of the Annapurna-Himalaya will be studied. However, due to economical reasons, during the last two decades many Manangis have left the high-altitude valley of Manang to establish themselves in the cities of Nepal. In doing so they have within a very short period of time changed their way of live once adapted to the high mountain environment to one adapted to a modernized urban setting.

24. Remote Sensing and the geographical conception of space analysis in the mountainous areas of Central Nepal, Denis Blamont

The complexity of mountainous landscapes of Central Nepal, the rate and unforseeability of changes in societies and production systems such as the Tamangs', taken here as an example, and the difficulties encountered both in their cartography by remote sensing techniques and their analysis have led to the elaboration of expert systems, in wich methods of knowledge production are clearly separated from this very knowledge. This allows, on one hand, the repetitivity of maps and analysis, and, on the other hand, the clarification of concepts and methodologies.

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