

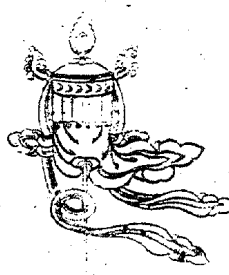
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KAILASH

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* * * * *



Mount Kailash - the south face.

Contributed by Canadian artist Stewart Marshall



Editorial

Due to reasons beyond our control, the first issue did not appear until the middle of 1973 but we hope to be able to catch up with four numbers by the end of the year. As this second number follows the first so closely, there has been relatively few suggestions and contributions from our readers so far.

The third number will contain works on metal-casting, Buddhist medicine, archaeology, art and anthropology. We hope, however that there will be more works forthcoming on natural sciences, geography etc. as well more contributions on the eastern Himalayas from Sikkim to the Mizo hills.

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* * *

RECENTLY DISCOVERED INSCRIPTIONS OF LICCHAVI NEPAL*

Gautamavajra Vajrācārya

Kathmandu

At present the most important source for the history of the Licchavi period in Nepal is the stone inscriptions. For the most part (but by no means exclusively) these inscriptions are confined to the Kathmandu Valley, the dynastic seat of the Licchavis from ca. A. D. 300 to 850. They are written in Sanskrit and inscribed in Gupta characters. Some are lengthy records, often royal edicts, engraved on thick stone slabs and on pillars; others are dedicatory lines, sometimes very brief, inscribed on the base of an image or Śivalinga in stone or bronze, on stone stupas, waterspouts, architectural fragments, clay seals, pottery or other similar time-resisting objects.

Subsequent to the well-known compendium of ninety-one Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters published by Raniero Gnoli a quarter of a century ago, 1 many others have come to light. Of these sixty-five have been already published, largely by Nepalese scholars in local journals, and now the published total swells to one hundred and fifty-six.² This, however, does not appear to exhaust the corpus of Licchavi inscriptions and ten recently discovered examples will be discussed in this paper.³

*The author expresses his deep gratitude to H. M. the King of Nepal for permission to carry out historical research in the Hanuman Dhoka Palace (Inscription V).

1 R. Gnoli: *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters* (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956), hereinafter cited as *Gnoli*.

2 In 1969 the number of published Licchavi-period inscriptions totalled 151 according to the tabulation of the Nepalese journal *Pūrṇimā* (Kathmandu: *Samśodhana-maṇḍala*, V.S. 2026 Śrāvana [July 1969], vol. 6, no. 2, issue 22, p. 156, n. 1). Since that summary an additional five Licchavi period inscriptions have been published, as follows: *Pūrṇimā* (V. S. 2026 Māgha [January 1970], vol. 6, no. 4, issue 24, p. 336; Mohanaprasāda Khanāla, *Abhilekha-saṃkalana* [Collected Inscriptions] (Patan: *Sājhā Prakāśana*, V.S. 2027 [1971], Inscr. 1, pp. 1-3; and Śaṅkaramāna Rājavarṃśī, *Kāntipurāśilālekha-sūci* [Catalog of Kathmandu Stone Inscriptions] (Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology, National Archives, His Majesty's Government, V. S. 2027 [1970], Inscr. 17, 50, and 51, pp. 11-12, 35-36).

3 Most of the new inscriptions were found in the Kathmandu Valley in 1971 in company with Dr. Mary Slusser as we pursued our joint researches in Nepalese culture. Thanks are due Dr. Slusser for being instrumental in their discovery and to her and to Dr. Pratyapaditya Pal, Curator of Indian and Islamic Art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, for critically reviewing the present paper and for offering many valuable suggestions. I should also like to thank my colleague, Mahesh Raj Pant, for his assistance

The Licchavis used two separate, consecutive eras for dating their records. The first of these, now considered to be the widespread Śaka era,⁴ reckons from an epoch year corresponding to A. D. 78. The earliest known Licchavi record in this era is dated Saṃvat 386 (A. D. 464)⁵ the last, 535 (A. D. 613).⁶ The Śaka Saṃvat was replaced with a local one, known as the Aṃśuvarṃā or Mānadeva era although probably Aṃśuvarṃā introduced it. The epoch year of the new era corresponds to A. D. 576. Heretofore, the latest stone inscription in the Aṃśuvarṃā era was Saṃvat 207 (A. D. 783)⁷ but inscription IX, published here, dated Saṃvat 242 (A. D. 818) now provides a still later record.⁸

Although originally most Licchavi-period inscriptions bore exact dates in one or the other of these eras, many of the published inscriptions, including seven of the ten published here, do not. Usually, physical damage subsequent to their original engraving accounts for this absence. In some instances the chronological position, if not the exact year, of a dateless inscription can be determined from the presence in the text of the name of a chronologically fixed ruler. The dating of many inscriptions, however, including the seven undated examples published here, depends entirely on a comparative study of their paleographic peculiarities.

There is a considerable difference between the characters used in the early and later inscriptions of the Licchavi period. These differences represent so gradual and continuous an evolution of the script that it precludes establishing exact dividing lines between the various evolutionary stages. Nonetheless, certain specific changes

in making the rubbing and in deciphering the text of Inscription IX. The research which made this paper possible was financed through Dr. Slusser by a grant from the JDR 3rd Fund, New York, an assistance for which the author takes pleasure in acknowledging his gratitude.

⁴ *Luciano Petech*, "The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal," *East and West* (Rome, December 1961), new series, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 228-229; *R. C. Majumdar*, "The Eras of Nepal," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta, 1959), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 47-49.

⁵ *Gnoli*, Inscr. 1, pp. 1-4.

⁶ *Gnoli*, Inscr. 40, p. 55.

⁷ *Rāmaji Tevārī and others*, "Kāṭhmāḍaṃ Hanūmāṇḍhokāko abhilekha [An inscription from Hanūmān Dhokā, Kathmandu]," *Abhilekha-saṅgraha* (Kathmandu, V. S. 2019 Vaiśākha [April 1962], part 5, p. 12.

⁸ Licchavi records in Gupta characters may be traced for another decade in manuscripts, the last recorded date in any medium being a manuscript dated Saṃvat 252 (A. D. 828) (*Luciano Petech*, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), p. 25, n. 3).

permit us to group the evolving script into four broad chronological divisions, each one approximately a century in duration. These four periods of Licchavi script, blending one into the other but at the same time compartmentalized by their distinctive nuances, may be divided as follows:

1. from King Mānadeva's first inscribed date, Saṃvat 386 (A. D. 464)⁹ through Gaṇadeva's last, Saṃvat 489 (A. D. 567);¹⁰
2. from A. D. 568 through the last inscribed date of the joint rulers, Bhīmārjuna-deva and Viṣṇugupta, Saṃvat 65 (A. D. 641):¹¹
3. from A. D. 642 through Jayadeva's single inscription, Saṃvat 157 (A. D. 733)¹² and,
4. from A. D. 734 through the last stone inscription, Saṃvat 242 (A. D. 818).

The two most helpful indices in determining the relative chronological position of a given inscription are the character of certain vowel marks and letters. Other vowel marks and letters remain relatively constant throughout and thus provide no clue to dating. The vowel marks which evidence distinct evolutionary differences are the ākāra-mātrā, ikāra-mātrā, ikāra-mātrā and ekāra-mātrā. These vowel marks become longer in the second period, A. D. 568 to 641, than in the preceding period. Similarly, they are even more elongated in the later periods and also become somewhat curved.

The letters which evidence the most distinctive changes from century to century are a, i, ka, ṇa, tha, pa, ma, ya, la, sa, and ha. A particularly revealing letter is the yakāra when it is used in compounds such as kya or khya. After the first period the final upstroke of the yakāra becomes progressively elongated until the letter is almost U-shaped.¹³

The evolutionary changes in these particular vowel marks and letters for the first three periods, A. D. 464 through 733, are given in tabular form below. The fourth period, following Jayadeva's inscription, includes at present only six stone inscriptions, three of which, inscriptions VIII, IX, and X, are published here. Illus-

⁹ *Gnoli*, Inscr. 1, pp. 1-4.

¹⁰ *Gnoli*, Inscr. 21, p. 29.

¹¹ *Gnoli*, Inscr. 62, pp. 83-84.

¹² *Gnoli*, Inscr. 81, pp. 114-119; Pūrṇimā (V. S. 2025 Kārtika [October 1968]), vol. 5, no. 3, issue 19, p. 188.

¹³ The scribes of the later periods often imitated the earlier letters according to their personal whim, but the later forms, of course, never occur in the early inscriptions.

trations or rubbings of the three previously published inscriptions¹⁴ are not available—one of them is indeed now lost—and the character of the scripts is therefore unknown. Moreover, the texts of the six are so brief and fragmentary that they are insufficient for the purpose of exact comparative study. Therefore, until the vowel and letter changes for the fourth period can be determined more precisely, it is omitted from the table (p. 132). Moreover, vowel marks and letters which exhibit no distinctive changes in the evolving script are also omitted.

There are other aspects of Licchavi-period inscriptions, particular orthographic differences, for example, which also help to place undated inscriptions chronologically. But generally the differences in the vowel marks and letters, as noted above, are by themselves sufficient to classify a given inscription within a century. Thus, it is primarily by means of a comparative study of these key signs that I have fixed chronologically the undated inscriptions among those published here.

The importance of this epigraphic tool, not only for unravelling the early political history of Nepal, but also the history of her art, is, of course obvious. While the art historical considerations of the inscribed stone images introduced here will be taken up elsewhere in a joint paper with Dr. Slusser, a few preliminary remarks with reference to their inscriptions might be made.

Four of the undated inscriptions, numbers I, II, III, and X, are on stone images. These inscriptions range from two vestigial letters (Inscr. II) to—the longest—two puzzling and as yet undecipherable lines (Inscr. X). Yet brief and noncommittal as these four inscriptions are, their epigraphic peculiarities provide a rather exact means of determining the chronological position of these sculptures, all of which are newly found and unpublished. In the history of Nepalese art such dating is of particular importance, since style alone, with its notable conservatism, is not always an accurate index of the chronology of a given image. Thus, in the instance of the Umā-Maheśvara relief at Mṛgasthali (Paśupatinātha), we may date it with some certainty to the early Licchavi period, between ca. A. D. 464 and 567. If this dating is correct, the inscribed panel would represent the first *fixed* example in a series that, on stylistic comparison, begins considerably earlier and, punctuated intermittently with other chronologically fixed pieces, continues to the present.

Inscription I, a brief dedication inscribed on the base of a seated Mother Goddess, is particularly of profound importance. The image in question belongs to a rather extensive group of other such sculptures which seem to be closely related to the Kusana style of Mathura. So thus far, this Mātṛkā represents the only inscribed image of the group and thus affords a primary index for dating all other stylistically related images.

¹⁴ *Gnoli*, Inscr. 89, p. 131, Inscr. III of the *Addenda Altera*, p. 137, and *Abhilekha-saṅgraha* (April 1962), part 5, p. 12.

Inscription V is of paramount importance for the general history of Nepal. In the ethno-political history of Nepal the existence prior to the Licchavi occupation of the Kathmandu Valley of a people known as the Kirāta has been for many years a contended issue. Our knowledge about these seemingly mythical people has heretofore been limited to brief and unsubstantiated references to them in chronicles compiled many centuries after their time. But now, with the entry, "kirātaveṣadhara (wearing the dress of the Kirāta)", Inscription V provides our first unequivocal, contemporary reference to the Kirāta and seems to substantiate their reality.¹⁵ Thus, the inscription, despite its lamentably fragmentary condition, is an extremely important landmark in the history of Nepal.

—:0:—

¹⁵ I use the cautionary phrase "seems to substantiate" since the entry, uncapitalized of course, could refer equally to kirāta, a term simply meaning "barbarian."

INSCRIPTION I.

On the base of an animal-headed, stone Mother Goddess (probably Śivadūti or perhaps Vārāhi) enshrined with other images in a small temple to Gaṇeśa, just south of the Mahābaudha Stūpa, Kathmandu. The inscribed part, at the lower left of the image, is about 14 cm. wide. The script belongs to the first phase of Licchavi writing. This is demonstrated by a comparison of the letters ṇa, ka, and yakāra with those of the table.

Text

1. brāhmaṇa x ś a k a b h a ṭ a ṣ y a¹
2. putraṣya² r a g h u (?) s y a³ k ṛ t i h

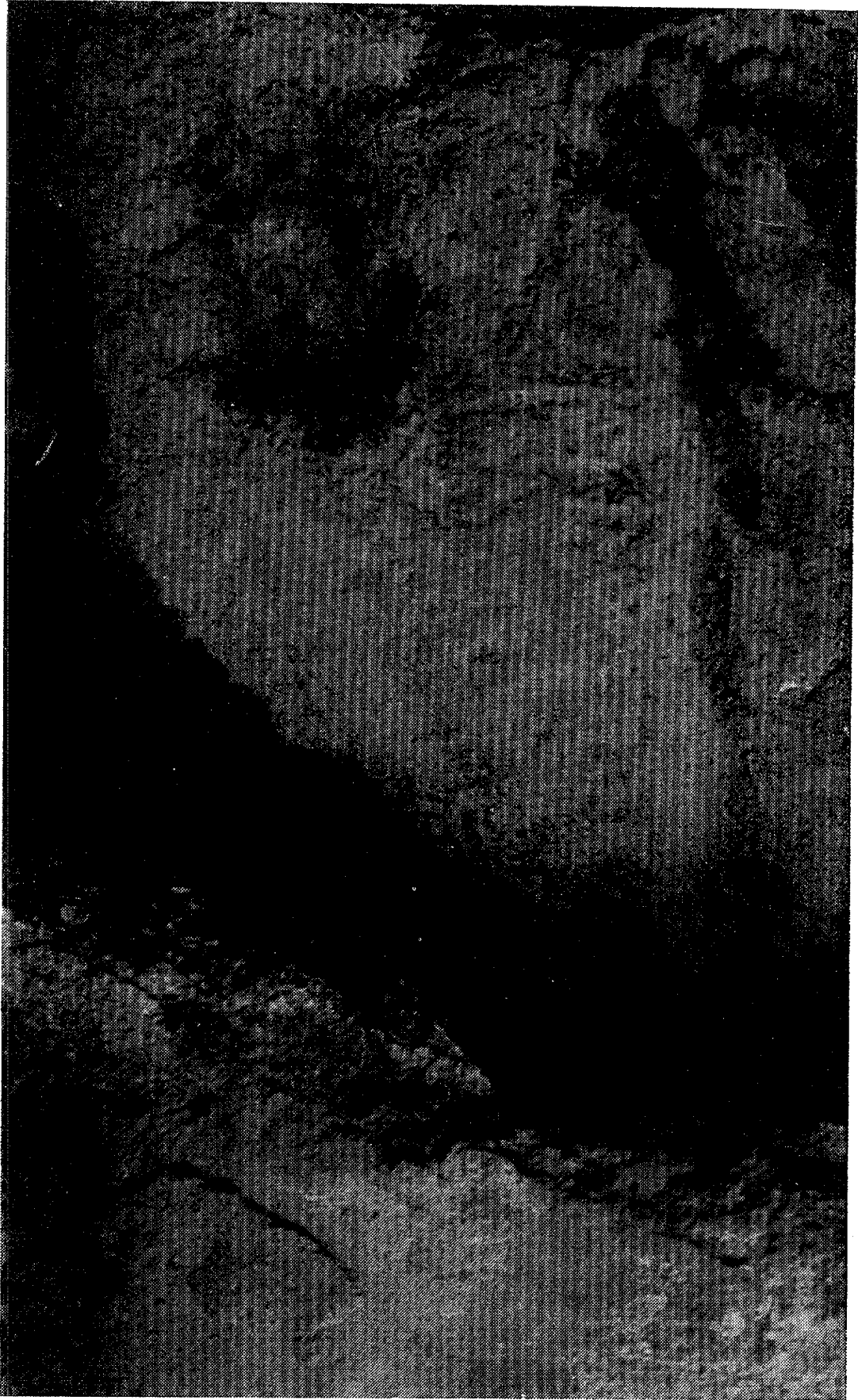
Translation

Commissioned by Raghu (?), the son of the Brahman, Śakabhata

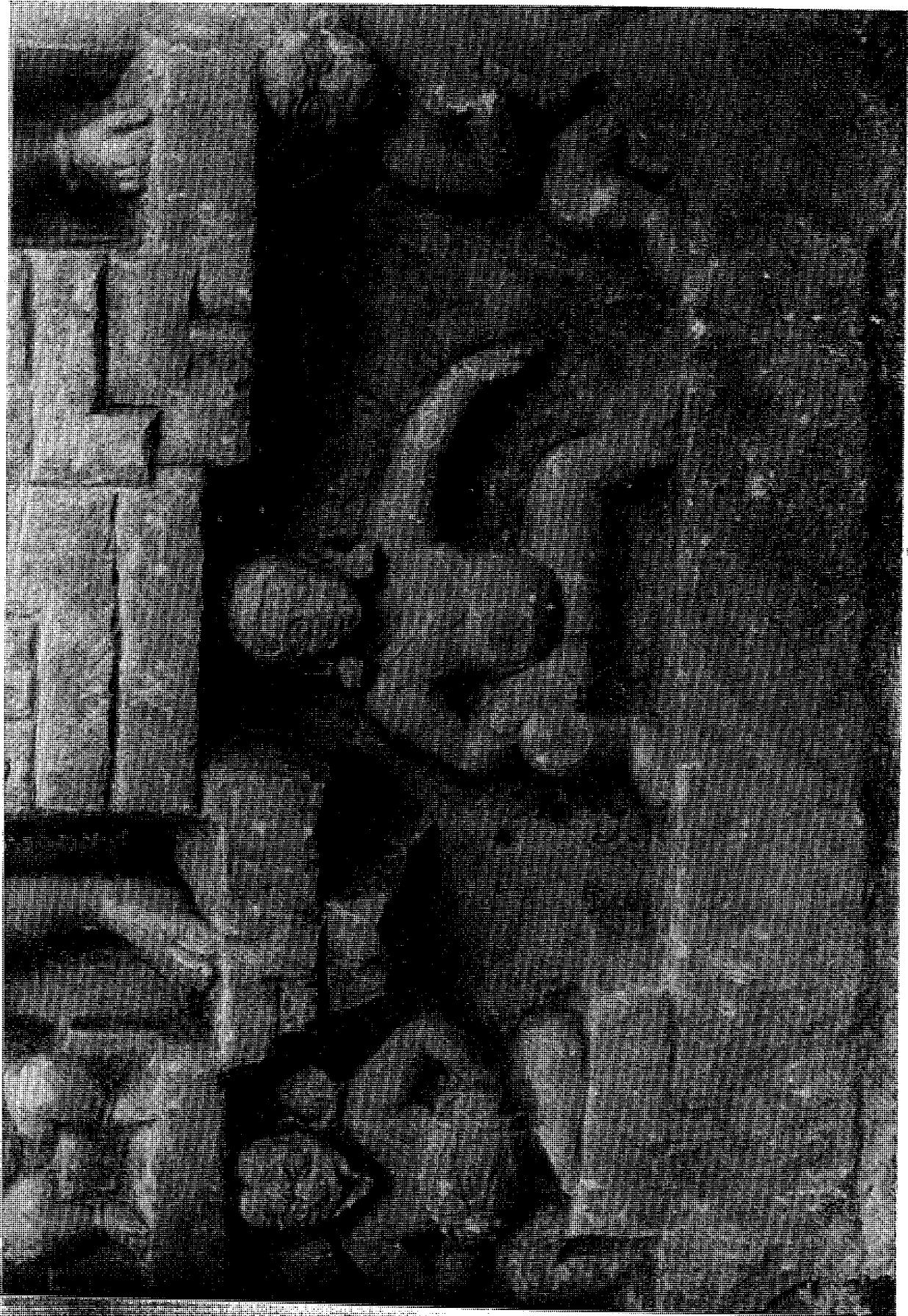
1. Read: ś a k a b h a ṭ a ṣ y a //

2. Read: putraṣya //

3. Read: r a g h o h // (Italic *h* represents visarga.)



Inscription 1. Base of Mother Goddess image.



Inscription II. Stone image of Umā – Maheshvara.

INSCRIPTION II.

On the base of a stone relief panel of Umā-Maheśvara behind the Rāmacandra temple on the eastern bank of the Vāgmatī River, in Mṛgasthali, Paśupatinātha, Deupātan.¹ With the exception of two letters, the original inscription is totally effaced. Nonetheless, these two letters indicate that the inscription belongs to the first period. Compare the letter ma with that of the table.

Text
ma x rā

1. This important image was pointed out to me by Dr. Pal. Later, while cleaning the image preparatory to photographing it, the effaced inscription came to light.

INSCRIPTION III.

On the base of a stone image of Jayavāgīśvari, enshrined in a temple in Deupātan, at the left side of the main road leading to Cā-bahil, just west of Paśupatiñātha. The inscribed part of the image is about 28 cm. wide. There is no date given but the Script may be assigned to the first period. Compare ikāra, ha, and yakāra-mātrā of the inscription with those of the table.

Text

1. guhasoma xx tthavṛddhiṣya¹ kṛ[tih]

Translation

Commissioned by Guhasoma.

1. Read: tthavṛddheh



Inscription III. Jayavāgīśvari.



INSCRIPTION IV.

The lower half of a stone slab, 33 cm. wide, north of the Maheśvari pīṭha, embedded at the eastern side of a former city gate emplacement on the southern perimeter of the city of Bhaktapur (Fig.4). The broken top of the stele is missing. Date : Saṃvat 31 (A.D. 607).

Text

1. yastvetām ājñā x x x pravartisyante . . .
2. maryādājñāvyatikrama x x ṇaṃ vi xxxxxx
3. x bhir bhūpatibhir dharmagurutayā gurukṛtaprasādānu-
4. x x bhir eva bhavitavyam iti svayam ājñā dūtakotra rājapu-
5. tra s t h i t i v a r m ā saṃvat 31 dvitīyapauṣaśuklāṣṭamyām

Translation

[We shall never excuse him]¹ who disobeys this order which is a legal edict. Future kings [also] must give importance to dharma and do as the honorable ones [former kings] have ordered. This is the direct order of His Majesty. Here his envoy is Rājaputra Sthitivarmā. Saṃvat 31, second pauṣa śukla aṣṭamī [eighth day of the bright half of of the repeated month of Pauṣa].

1. Based on the formula used in contemporary inscriptions.

INSCRIPTION V.

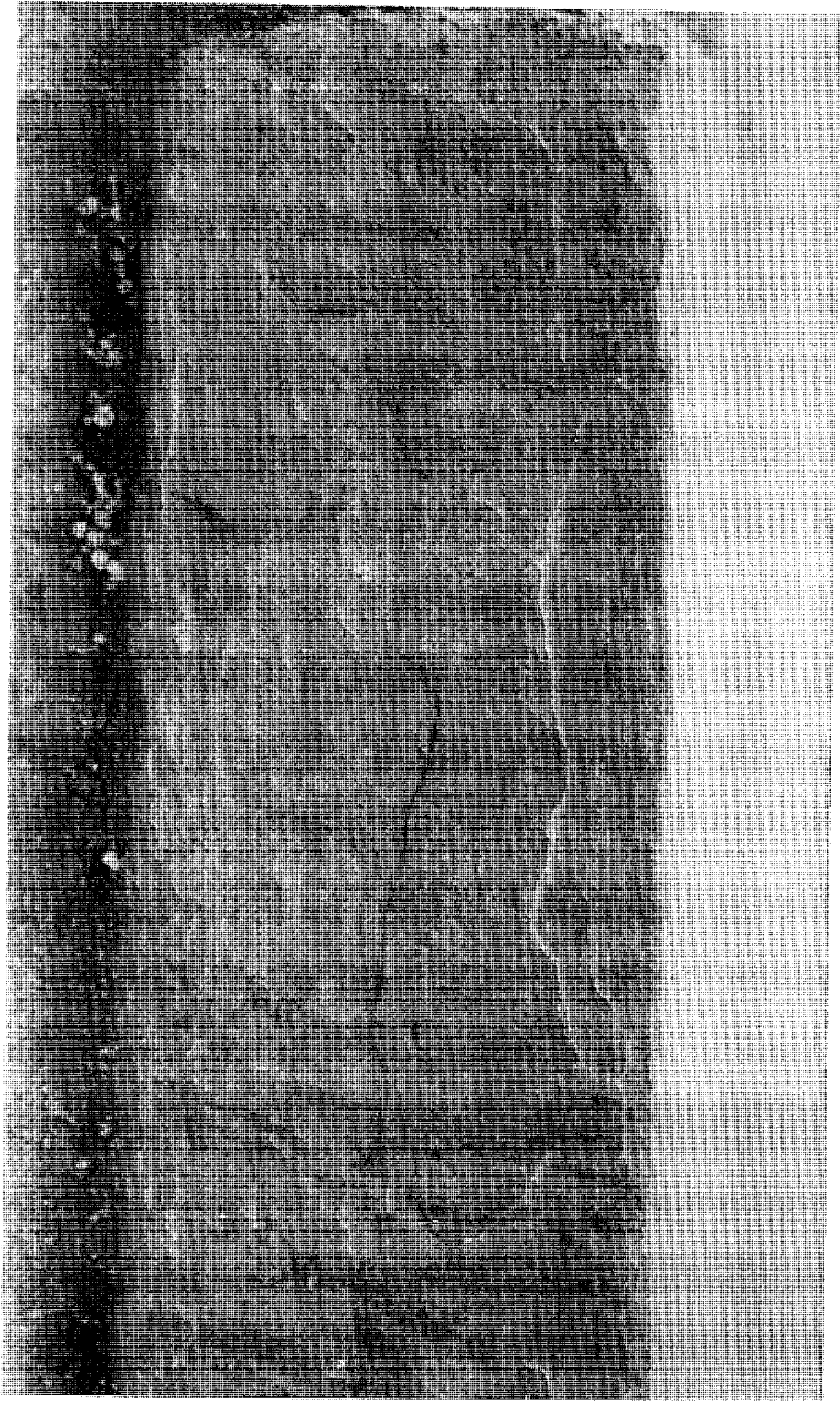
A thick slab of stone, about 173 cm. in length, used as a curbstone in the angle of the Degutale temple and the mask of Śvetabhairava (Hāthudya), near the entrance to Hanūmān Dhokā palace, Kathmandu. The stone is severely exfoliated and the beginning and end of the inscription, together with the presumed original date, are missing. The script belongs to the second period. Compare ākāra, ikāra, ekāra, ka, pa, ma, la and ha of the inscription (Fig. 5) with those of the table.

Text

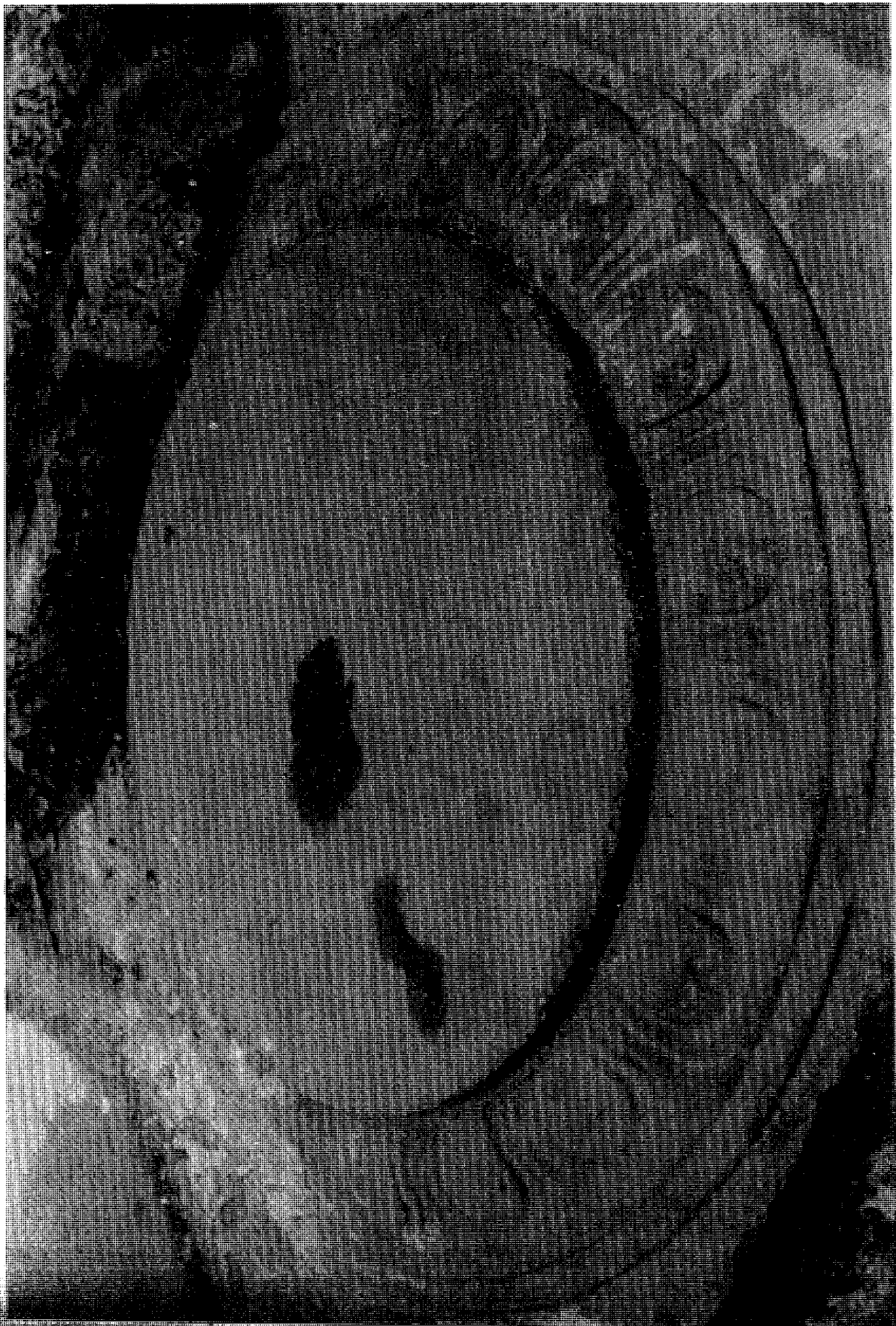
1. vividhaśakuntapaśu xx n̄kṛtavṛddharuhā xx ka k i r ā t a veśadhara xxxxx
karoh ya.....
2. cirantanam̄ l i c c h a v i rājakāritam purātanair vṛttibhaṭairupekṣi.....
3. ruhah
4. kṣetram bhagnaka
5. punah punarvvasuh//

Translation

...different kinds of birds and beasts...old trees...wearing the dress of the Kirātas...
constructed by the old Licchavi kings, neglected by the old professional soldiers...grown
...field broken...again Punarvasu planet.



Inscription V. Stone slab at Hapūmān Dhoka.



Inscription VI. Stone mandala at Cā-bahāḷ.

INSCRIPTION VI

A stone maṇḍala in the form of a lotus placed on the top of the supporting platform (medhi) on the northwest quadrant of the stūpa at Cā-bahil, Deupātan. The inscribed portion is 50 cm. wide. The date is missing but the script may be assigned to the third period. Compare ya and ka of the inscription (Fig. 6) with those of the table.

Text

1. ...tyāsca śunyahṛdayasukhakara xxx maṇḍala...

Translation

The maṇḍala... giving pleasure to the vacant mind of...

INSCRIPTION VII

Inscription carved at the bottom of a stone sculpture attached to the eastern wall of the fountain near Gaṇabahāl, Kathmandu (Fig. 7). The inscribed part is 63 cm. wide. The era is missing. The script belongs to the third period. Compare ākārāmātrā and ya of the inscription with those of the table.

Text

1. ...dvitīyāṣāḍhakṛ... divā śa x pañca.....
2. ...kā...yā...

Translation

On the second Āṣāḍha-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī [the fifth of the dark half of the intercalary Āṣāḍha]...



Inscription VII. Stone relief at Gana-bahal fountain.

Digitized by Google



Inscription VIII. Stone stūpa at Su-bahāl fountain.

INSCRIPTION VIII.

On the base of a stone stūpa raised on a dais in the center of Su-bahāl hiṭī, a sunken fountain just east of Su-bahāl vihāra in the northeastern quarter of Pāṭan (Fig. 8).

The inscribed part is about 26 cm. wide. Date: Saṃvat 182 (A. D. 758).

Text

- 1.....
2. saṃvat 182 āṣāḍhaśuklatrayodaśyām

Translation

In Saṃvat 182 Āṣāḍha-śukla-trayodaśī [the thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha]...

130 / *Kailash*

INSCRIPTION IX.

A stone pedestal for an image (now missing) at Bhima-nani, Hāṃdigāuṃ, Kathmandu (Fig. 9). The inscribed part is about 40 cm. wide. Date: Saṃvat 242 (A. D. 818).

Text

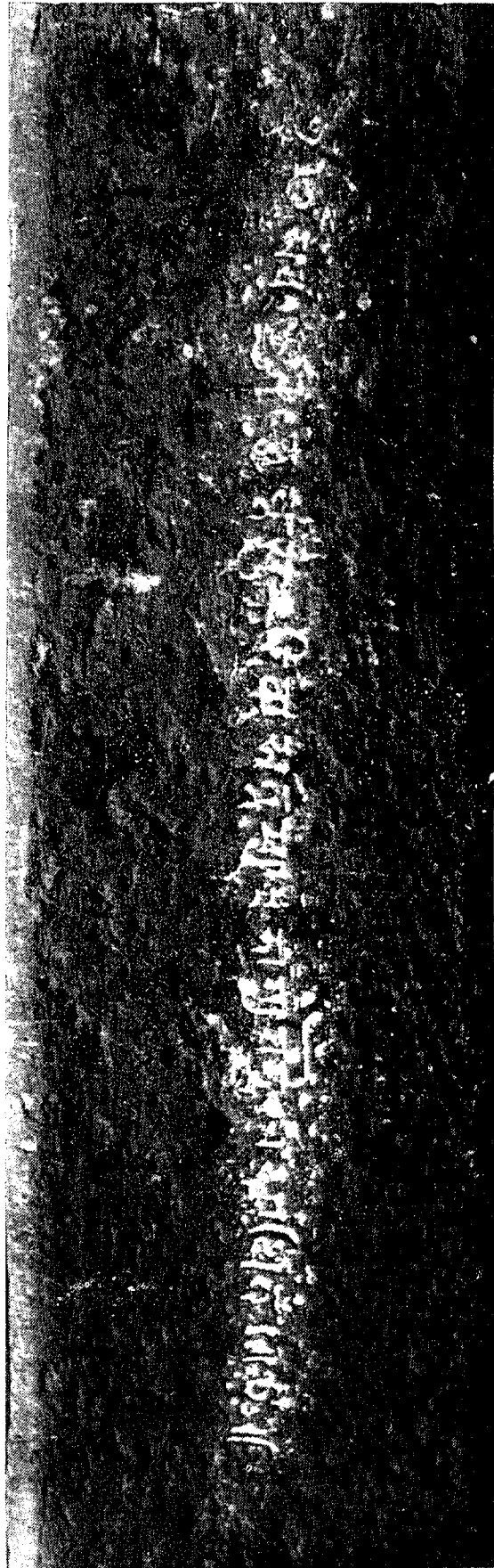
1. Saṃvat 242 caitraśukladivā sattamyāṃ¹ bhāgyacandraṇa sthāpitam²//

Translation

Commissioned by Bhāgyacandra in Saṃvat 242 Caitra-śukla- saptamī.

1. Read: saptamyām//

2. Read: sthāpitam//



Inscription IX. Stone Pedestal at Hadigau.



Inscription X. Vanakāli image

INSCRIPTION X.

On the base of a stone relief image of Vanakālī enshrined in the sacred grove west of Paśupatinātha. The inscribed portion is about 40 cm. wide. There is no date. On the basis of epigraphic analysis we can definitely exclude the inscription from the first and second evolutionary phases of Licchavi script. Compare, for example, the ikāra and ka of the inscription with those of the first two periods in the table. It seems that the script is even more developed than that of the third period and it is therefore provisionally classified in the fourth and final period. Despite an effort of more than six months' study, and consultation with other scholars, the inscription so far defies a full translation. We may not even positively assert that it is Sanskrit. In all probability the inscription is a secret mantra.

Text

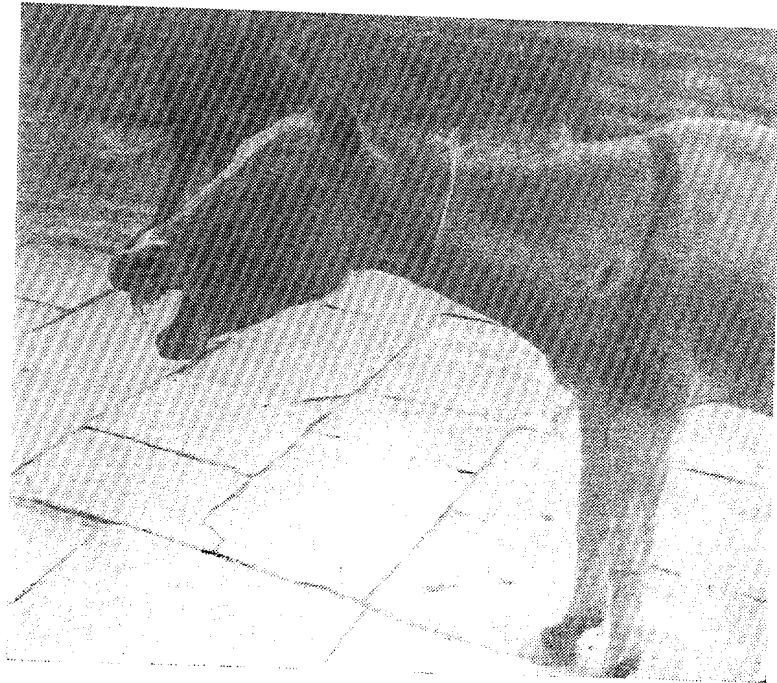
1. xx pasānyah kraka xx śih somomvacah dataniti
2.

TABLE OF THE EVOLUTION OF CERTAIN GUPTA CHARACTERS
USED IN NEPALESE INSCRIPTIONS, A. D. 464 through 733

Character	First Period	Second Period	Third Period
ākāra-mātrā	𑀓 ¹	𑀔 ¹⁷	𑀕 ³³
ikāra-mātrā	𑀖 ²	𑀗 ¹⁸	𑀘 ³⁴
ikāra-mātrā	𑀙 ³	𑀚 ¹⁹	𑀛 ³⁵
ekāra-mātā	𑀜 ⁴	𑀝 ²⁰	𑀞 ³⁶
	𑀟 ⁵	𑀠 ²¹	𑀡 ³⁷
i	𑀣 ⁶	𑀤 ²²	𑀥 ³⁸
ka	𑀧 ⁷	𑀨 ²³	𑀩 ³⁹
na	𑀬 ⁸	𑀭 ²⁴	𑀮 ⁴⁰
tha	𑀲 ⁹	𑀳 ²⁵	𑀴 ⁴¹
pa	𑀷 ¹⁰	𑀸 ²⁶	𑀹 ⁴²
ma	𑀻 ¹¹	𑀼 ²⁷	𑀽 ⁴³
ya	𑀿 ¹²	𑀾 ²⁸	𑀿 ⁴⁴
la	𑁀 ¹³	𑁁 ²⁹	𑁂 ⁴⁵
sa	𑁄 ¹⁴	𑁅 ³⁰	𑁆 ⁴⁶
ha	𑁉 ¹⁵	𑁊 ³¹	𑁋 ⁴⁷
yakāra	𑁌 ¹⁶	𑁍 ³²	𑁎 ⁴⁸

NOTES TO TABLE ON PRECEDING PAGE

1. GNOLI, Plate 3, Inscr. 1, line 9 (see rā).
2. *Ibid.*, line 11 (see vi).
3. *Ibid.*, line 2 (see śri).
4. *Ibid.*, line 13 (see the).
5. *Ibid.*, line 1.
6. *Ibid.*, line 4.
7. *Ibid.*, line 2.
8. *Ibid.*, line 6.
9. *Ibid.*, line 11 (see thā).
10. *Ibid.*, line 4.
11. *Ibid.*, line 10.
12. *Ibid.*, line 11.
13. *Ibid.*, line 1.
14. *Ibid.*, line 7.
15. *Ibid.*, line 10.
16. *Ibid.*, line 15 (see pya).
17. *Ibid.*, Plate 37, Inscr. 35, line 15 (see vā).
18. *Ibid.*, line 1 (see hi).
19. *Ibid.*, line 3 (see li).
20. *Ibid.*, line 12 (see ge).
21. *Ibid.*, line 11.
22. *Ibid.*, Plate 52, Inscr. 53, line 14.
23. *Ibid.*, Plate 37, Inscr. 35, line 15.
24. *Ibid.*, Plate 41, Inscr. 40, line 12.
25. *Ibid.*, Plate 36, Inscr. 34, line 7 (see thā).
26. *Ibid.*, Plate 38, Inscr. 36, line 8.
27. *Ibid.*, Plate 42, Inscr. 41, line 13.
28. *Ibid.*, line 10.
29. *Ibid.*, Plate 27, Inscr. 23, line 14.
30. *Ibid.*, Plate 38, Inscr. 36, line 11.
31. *Ibid.*, line 5.
32. *Ibid.*, line 8 (see sya).
33. *Ibid.*, Plate 77, Inscr. 80, line 16 (see cā).
34. *Ibid.*, line 18 (see vi).
35. *Ibid.*, (see śri).
36. *Ibid.*, Plate 71, Inscr. 72, line 16 (see ye).
- 37., *Ibid.*, Plate 69, Inscr. 70, line 21.
38. *Ibid.*, Plate 77, Inscr. 80, line 13.
39. *Ibid.*, line 8.
40. *Ibid.*, Plate 78, Inscr. 81, line 30.
41. *Ibid.*, Plate 72, Inscr. 73, line 25.
42. *Ibid.*, line 2.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, line 35.
45. *Ibid.*, line 14.
46. *Ibid.*,
47. *Ibid.*, line 25.
48. *Ibid.*, (see sya).





Hayu musicians and dancers on the last day of the annual festival.

NOTES ON THE HAYU LANGUAGE

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O THE HAYU

0.1 Literature

Brian H. Hodgson's extensive articles on the Hayu language¹ make it, after Nepali and Newari, perhaps the most-studied language of Nepal. But the Hayu themselves have received little attention, and they virtually dropped from sight in the literature for a century after Hodgson's work.

Hodgson wrote only briefly on the anthropology of the Hayu, mainly a physical description of his informants.² In addition, his linguistic articles include, as a Hayu text, the ethnographic observations of his informant, Pachya Hayu, whose village is unfortunately not mentioned. The information in the *Linguistic Survey of India*³ is based entirely on Hodgson's data, except for census reports of the few Hayu who had migrated to India. Recently, Corneille Jest has published a brief note on the Hayu⁴ based on contact with the westernmost villages, particularly Hayugaun in Dumja-Kuseswar Village Panchayat, Sindhuli District. R. K. Shakya has described the Hayu just to the west of Ramechhap Bazaar on both banks of the Kosi along the road to Sindhuli Gadhi.⁵ The present notes are based on contact with the Hayu of Murajor in Sukajor Village Panchayat, Ramechhap District. The village is located two miles south-east of Ramechhap Bazaar; it overlooks the Sun Kosi from the north at an altitude of 3500-4000 feet.

0.2 Habitat

Everyone who has written on the Hayu has approached them from the west, and the eastward extent of their habitat remains in doubt. In the field, the present writers heard of no Hayu habitation more than a few miles east of Murajor, certainly not beyond the Likhu Khola, which marks the eastern boundary of Ramechhap District (or of the former East No. 2). Both Hodgson and Jest, however, report villages further east as well. The westernmost Hayu village is Walting, on the south bank of the Rosi Khola at the eastern edge of Kabhre-Palanchok District. Thus the Hayu habitat extends roughly thirty miles along the valley of the Sun Kosi, from the Rosi Khola in the north-west to the Likhu Khola in the south-east. The Hayu habitations, scattered along the slopes overlooking the Kosi up to about 5000 feet altitude, account for only

a small fraction of the population of the area. All observers have agreed in estimating their number at no more than a few thousands. Hayu habitations high in the Mahabharat Lekh and across it, south of the Kosi, are said to be quite recent.

0.3 Place in the Caste System

The Hayu, together with certain other tribes, traditionally occupied the lowest rank in the hierarchy of pure castes (i.e. castes from whom water can be accepted). In the *Muluki Ain* (National Law) of Nepal, codified in 1853, they were classified with the Sunwar and others as alcohol-drinkers able to be sold into slavery. Immediately above them were the non-enslavable alcohol-drinkers, the traditionally military tribes, including the Rai and Limbu. After the abolition of slavery in 1924, the term 'prajājat' appears in the law with reference to the previously enslavable tribes. It refers to castes not recruited into the army.⁶ The new *Muluki Ain* of 1963 does not mention caste, and the Hayu are currently entitled to serve in the army.

0.4 The Hayu of Murajor

The present writers made no detailed ethnographic investigations, and what follows are merely notes on some aspects of Hayu life in Murajor that were observed or mentioned in the course of linguistic work.

The Hayu were the original inhabitants of Murajor; Chhetris have moved into the village within the last three generations from neighboring villages. There are twenty-five Hayu-speaking households divided between Barbot-Devithan and Bardada, about a mile away. The headman (mukhiyā) of the village has always been a Hayu, and the incumbent also serves as the ward member of the Suḷajor Village Panchayat, where he represents Hayu and Chhetri alike. All of the inhabitants of Murajor are peasants, and all cultivate in the same way. The Chhetri, however, are generally more single-minded in the acquisition and cultivation of land, and the Hayu are losing ground. Even the traditional Hayu burial ground has been sold to a Chhetri. Both groups are clearing inferior land, and some are leaving the area altogether, either to clear land in the Tarai or to find work in India.

The Hayu claim that their remote ancestor carried the sacred drum (ḍhol) from Lanka and Palanka in the south. Palanka is said to be on the next hill from Lanka. Brought to Murajor, the drum made the sound 'ting-ting-ting', indicating that it would go no further. The original Hayu was the youngest of several brothers; some say there were four, and that the other three went on ahead, leaving the Rai, Limbu, and Sunwar as their descendants. - A similar Sunwar tradition, according to Alain Fournier, holds that the Kirati race is descended from five brothers: the Sural from the eldest and then, in descending order, the Sunwar, Rai, Limbu, and Hayu⁷.



Hayu children catching an edible insect, *koksel*, (nep. *chichimirā*).



Hayu Pancha with slingshot

0.5 Clans

The Hayu are divided into clans, which fall into four exogamous groups. No explanation of the origin of clans was given. Some of the clan-names, in phonemic transcription, are as follows:

1. /dɪntɪtʃo/
2. /ba:lʊŋ/
/ri:me/
/suo/
/kamaettʃo/
3. /do:pʰum/
/bidabare/
/balettʃo/
4. /jakkʊm/
/i:sore/
/rotʃɪne/

The original Hayu is said to have been a Dɪntɪtʃo, and the Mulami or elder of that clan has certain ritual functions in consequence.

0.6 Festivals and Worship

The *Kul Devata*⁸ of the clan or of the smaller descent-group is worshipped in the original house of the descent-group on the day of tika, the tenth of the bright half of the month of Kartik. The worship should include the sacrifice of a pig.

A peculiarly Hayu festival of great importance is celebrated annually in Magh and Phalgun alternately. In early 1972 (2028 B. S.) it took place in Phalgun. It begins on the first Thursday after the new moon and lasts eight days, ending before sunset on Friday. The first four days are said to be spent dancing and singing at the house where the sacred drums are kept. The fifth day, a Tuesday, centers on the shrine of a rather fussy vegetarian Devi. In fact, the whole festival is referred to as 'worship of the goddess'. On the seventh and eighth days the musicians (three singers, two drummers, one cymbalist) and dancers (a variable number of boys) go from house to house, followed by spectators. At each house they dance and sing and ask the blessing of the Devi. Finally, the mistress of the house serves them and the spectators beer from a gourd as *prasad*. After the tour of the village, which lasts two days, the instruments are replaced in their house and chickens are sacrificed there.

The Hayu make no use of Brahman or other outside priests. A Hayu priest makes offerings to the Devi every Tuesday.

The shaman, /ba:lʊŋ/, appear to serve only private functions, as medical practitioners and diviners. Some folk tales suggested, however, that they might have had community-wide ceremonial functions in the past.

0.7 Marriage

Although the Hayu of Murajor said that cross-cousin marriage was not permitted, such marriages were in fact common. The custom of paying a bride-price was said to have been abandoned by the Hayu, who remarked ironically that it had been taken up by the local Chhetris.

0.8 Death

The Hayu bury their dead. Traditionally, the body was tied in a sitting position, knees against the chest, and carried to the burial place in the fields by a son. It was then placed sitting at the bottom of a pit some five feet deep, together with rice, water and other necessities as desired. The cavity was roofed over with stones, and more were piled up to mark the spot. On the next day a pig was killed, and on the third day a feast was offered to the lineage. A married daughter of the deceased was fed first, and escorted home with presents of household goods. If the deceased were male, a set of clothing would be given to the son-in-law, if female, to the daughter. Another feast was held after a year. It was said that many of these rites had become rare because of the expense involved.

1 HAYU PHONOLOGY

1.0 Introductory

The language described is spoken in the village of Murajor, Sukajor Village Panchayat, Ramechhap District, Janakpur Zone, Nepal. There are roughly 200 speakers in the community, all of whom also speak the Indo-Aryan national language, Nepali. The speakers call themselves /wa:ju/ (Nep. *hāyu*) and their language /wa:ju da:bu/ 'Hayu speech'.

It is not known whether Hayu is spoken outside of Murajor. Many Hayu villages in the area have given up the language in favor of Nepali quite recently, perhaps within the last twenty years. Some older people in these villages can still speak some Hayu. In Dumja-Hayugaun, Sindhuli District, the language has been dead for at least fifty years, and no one knows more than a dozen or so words today. Informants there reported that Hayu was still spoken in the village of Manedi, nine miles to the south across the Mahabharat Lekh, at head of the Marin Khola in Sindhuli District.

Although the exact provenance of Hodgson's informants is not known, it is clear that they spoke essentially the same language as described here. One or two important points of difference, either in data or in analysis, will be noted at appropriate points.

Hayu belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages and appears to be closely related to some of the languages called 'Rai' in Nepal, but far too little is known about these to make any definite assertion.

The field work for the present study was carried out in Murajor from 23 February to 6 April 1972 and from 1 to 20 June, 1973. The principal informant was Mrs. Sukumari Hayu, aged about 50 years. Her brothers, the Village Panchayat Member, Mr. Padam Bahadur Hayu, aged about 45, and Mr. Krishna Bahadur Hayu, aged about 40, also contributed data.

1.1 SUMMARY: WORD AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

1.11 The Syllable

The syllable contains one and only one vowel (V) as the syllable nucleus. (The system of vowels is discussed in §1.2 below). There may be an initial consonant, (C1, §1.3) or a final consonant (C2, §1.4) or both.

1.12 The Word

The word contains one or more syllables. Phonologically, it has the following characteristics:

- i. In addition to the system of syllable-initial consonants (C1) and zero, there is a very limited number of consonant-clusters (C3) occurring in word-initial position (§1.32).

Note that the system of consonant-clusters in the interior of the word, between two syllable nuclei (§1.5 and Table 2), is different from the system C3. In word-medial clusters, the first element functions as the final of the preceding syllable and the second as the initial of the following syllable. Thus all such clusters are of the form C2C1, and the limited nature of the system C2 severely restricts the number of possible combinations. Clusters of three or more consonants do not occur within word boundaries.

- ii. Inside the word, a single consonant between two syllable nuclei functions as the initial of the following syllable.
- iii. The word is the unit within which the rules of neutralization and of allophony apply. Many of these rules (§1.5) apply to the systems of C2 and C1 in word-interior C2C1 combinations.

Thus the following four positions are distinctive and determine the system of consonants that may occupy them:

Word-initial

Word-medial syllable-initial

Word-final

Word-medial syllable-final

1.13 Tone

Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have found somewhat limited tonal systems in two languages belonging to the same group as Hayu: Sunwar and

Khalinge Rai.⁹ In the light of this discovery and of the fact that certain apparent minimal pairs had cropped up in the data, the possibility of tonal oppositions was reinvestigated intensively for two weeks during the second field visit. Lists of words of similar structures were recorded together both in isolation and in frames to control intonational and sandhi effects. No distinctive or even consistent non-intonational pitch or melodic patterns were found. Meanwhile, the opposition [apical] vs. [laminal] was gradually developed from an earlier supposed [alveolar] vs. [palatal] opposition that applied only to non-aspirate affricates before non-front vowels. Now the opposition applies to all affricates and sibilants before all vowels, and it covers the otherwise unexplained minimal pairs, leaving only what informants resolutely identified as homonyms.

1.2 VOWELS

1.21 Vocalic Quality

The vowels of Hayu are as follows:

	front	central	back
high	i	ɪ	u
low	ɛ	a	o

The low front vowel will henceforth be represented by 'e' and the low back vowel by 'o'. The following minimal set illustrates the oppositions between the seven vowel phonemes:

'yoked'	/likta/
'fallen, toppled'	/lɪkta/
'boiled over'	/lekta/
'taken away'	/lakta/
'come or gone out'	/lokta/
'sorted'	/lukta/
'turned over'	/lukta/

Hodgson used only five vowel signs (i, e, a, o, u) to record his data, but he was not entirely satisfied with the result. For example, /pukko/ 'awaken him' he records as "pu'ko (pokko)" and notes, "o and u, like i, e are hardly separable."¹⁰

Within the word, a vowel not immediately preceded by a consonant has a glottal-stop onset. In word-initial position, the glottal-stop onset is optional. Usually it is present if the preceding word ends in a vowel or if no word precedes immediately. This onset is not noted in the phonemic transcription. The following examples are disyllabic (v. §1.11):

'this'	/ii/	[iʔi] or [ʔiʔi]
'not'	/maaj/	[maʔaŋ]
'wasp'	/sao/	[saʔo]

Vocalic length is distinctive only in open initial syllables of polysyllabic words. In that position, each of the seven vowels has long /V:/ and short /V/ versions in opposition, making a system of 14 vowels. This opposition will be discussed further with examples in §1.53.

Phonetically, the vowels in closed syllables are always short. The phonetic length of vowels in open, non-initial syllables is rather short.

1.23 Nasality

Phonetically, nasal vowels also occur. Their distribution and interpretation are discussed in §§1.50f. below. They have been found only in initial syllables, and are all long except the following:

/hungulum/	'hole'
/phanjam/	'beside'
/pungurum/ or /punguruŋ/	'a cactus'
/sinbi/ or /sinmi/	'a grass used for rope-making'

1.3 INITIAL CONSONANTS

1.31 Single Consonants

The system of syllable-initial single consonants, identical in word-initial and medial positions, is presented in Table 1. A neutralization affecting the system in word-medial C2C1 combinations is discussed in §1.52.

1.32 Initial Consonant Clusters

The consonant clusters found in word-initial position are the following:

Bilabial	+ /l/: /p1/, /b1/
Velar	+ /l/: /k1/, /kh1/
/h/	+ /l/: /hl/ [voiceless l]
Fricative	+ /w/: /xw/, /hw/ [voiceless w]; both only before /a/ (Cf. Table 1 note c).

Examples:

'money'	/plɛŋkhu/
'feather'	/blop/
'leech'	/khlik/
'earwax'	/xwak/
'cubit'	/hlap/
'star'	/xwa:men/

TABLE 1: Initial Consonants

	Stops			Nasals	Fricatives
Glottal					h
Velar	k	kh	g	ŋ	x
Laminal/Palatal affricate	c	ch	ʃ		s
Apico-alveolar affricate	ts	tsh	dz		s
Dental	t	th	d	n	
Bilabial	p	ph	b	m	
Continuants:					
Palatal approximant	j				
Labio-velar approximant	w				
Alveolar tap	r				
Alveolar lateral	l				

Notes:

- a. The two affricated orders including the sibilants present considerable difficulties in hearing. In the case of the affricates, the palatal quality of /c/ and /ʃ/ is evident only before non-front vowels; before front vowels the distinction is between [apical] and [laminal], e.g. in:

/dzi:ta/	'torn'
/fi:ta/	'sweet'

In the case of the sibilants, [apical] and [laminal] are the distinctive features in opposition before all vowels. /s/ has the optional allophone [ʃ], but the feature [grooved] is apparently non-distinctive, and the laminal /s/ may optionally be executed with some grooving as well¹¹. A minimal pair is:

/še:mem/	'they quarreled'
/se:mem/	'they fruited'

- b. /x/ (IPA 'chi') has the allophone [ç] before high front vowels:
 'carry on the shoulder' /ximha/ [çimha]
 'tomb' /xum/ [xum]
- c. /w/ occurs only before /a/ and /o/.
- d. Minimal pairs illustrating the consonant oppositions are easily found in 2, "Index of Verbal Roots"; they are not listed here. An opposition not easily demonstrated, however, is /j/ vs. /zero/ before /i/ and /e/. Examples:

'blood'	/ji/	[ji]
'this'	/ii/	[iʔi] or [ʔiʔi]
'brain'	/jekputi/	[jekputi]
'excrement'	/epPi/	[expi] or [ʔexpi]

The same opposition before /i/ is proved by three minimal pairs of verbal roots.

Some speakers had no labial + /l/ clusters, and simply pronounced labials instead, e. g. /peŋkhu/, /bop/. Hodgson also found some inconsistency in the use of these clusters; he made the generalization (not supported by the present data), "Every initial labial followed by a vowel admits *ad lib* of an interposed liquid.¹²"

1.4 FINAL CONSONANTS

The system of syllable-final consonants (C2) is as follows, both in word-final and word-medial positions:

Velar stop and nasal	k	ŋ
Dental stop and nasal	t	n
Bilabial stop and nasal	p	m
Alveolar tap (rare)	r	
Alveolar lateral	l	

The final stops, /k/, /t/, and /p/, are the archiphonemes of the neutralized oppositions between unvoiced, unvoiced aspirate, and voiced stops in final position.

1.41 Realization of Word-final Consonants

In word-final position, the stops are realized unvoiced and unreleased, with simultaneous glottal closure: [ʔk], [ʔp]. The only exception occurs where the root of a verb is followed by certain auxiliary verbs that have voiced stop initials. In this case, the final stop of the verb root is realized voiced, with laryngealization. (Such verb root-auxiliary combinations cannot be regarded as single phonological words because of the non-application of other phonological laws (§1.5) at the morpheme boundary.)

Examples of word-final stops:

'a lot'	/sophop/	[sophoʔp]
'intestines'	/cot/	[coʔt]
'louse'	/sek/	[seʔk]
'let him speak'	/it bi:to/	[iʔd bi:to]

1.42 Word-medial C2 Consonants

In word-medial syllable-final position, C2 consonants occur only in C1C2 combinations. This is a corollary of §1.12ii above.

The C2 /r/ and /l/ are always realized in the same way. The C2 stops and nasals in word-medial position are realized as in word-final position except that:

- i. C2 stops and nasals, when followed by homorganic C1 initials, are realized as described in §1.51. below.

TABLE 2: [C2C1] Combinations within the Word, Broad Phonetic Transcription

C1:	p	t	d	tsh/eh	ts	dz	c	s	ś	k	m	n	ŋ	l	j	etc.					
C2:	—	pt	—	ptsh	pts	pdz	pc	ps	pś	—	—	pn	—	pl	pj	pj	p.h				
	t	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tk	tm	—	tn	—	tj	—	t.h				
	k	kp	kt	kd	ktsh	kts	kdz	kc	ks	kś	—	kn	—	kl	kj	kth	k.h	kw			
	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ʔm	ʔn	ʔŋ	ʔl	ʔj	ʔw	—	—			
	x	xp	xt	—	xtsh	xts	xdz	xc	—	xk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
	m	—	mt	md	mtsh	mts	—	mc	ms	mś	—	mn	—	ml	mj	mh	—	—			
	n	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nk	nm	—	ng	—	nj	nh	—	—			
	ŋ	ŋp	ŋt	ŋd	ŋtsh	ŋts	ŋdz	ŋc	ŋs	ŋś	ŋm	ŋn	—	ŋl	ŋj	ŋh	ŋp	ŋb	ŋr	ŋh	
	n	np	nt	nd	ntsh	nts	—	—	ns	nś	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	l	lp	lt	ld	ltsh	lts	—	—	ls	—	lm	ln	ln	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	r	—	rt	—	—	—	—	—	—	rk	—	—	—	rl	—	rh	—	—	—	—	

Notes:

Classification of aspirated affricates is incomplete.
 The notation C2.h is used to avoid confusion with C1 aspirate stops.

- ii. C2 stops, when followed by voiced C1 initial stops, are realized as voiced, with laryngealization:

'bedbug'	/bepdzere/	[beʔbdzere]
'crab'	/tsekdi/	[tseʔgdi]

1.5 WORD MEDIAL CONSONANT-COMBINATIONS

1.50 Introduction and Tables

Phonetically, in addition to the finals already described, two new finals and a new feature, vowel nasality, are found in non-word-final syllables:

Glottal stop	[ʔ]
Fricative	[x] (after central and back vowels) [ç] (after front vowels)
Vowels nasality	[n]

Vowel nasality occurs only on open syllables. Thus it is in complementary distribution with the syllable-final consonants and can be treated together with them. In § 1.52, all three of these new syllable-final elements will be shown to be allophones of the finals presented in §1.4.

Table 2 shows all the word-medial C2C1 combinations that have been recorded in our data, in a broad phonetic transcription. ([ç] is not distinguished from [x]; glottal stop simultaneous with final stops and voicing of final stops are ignored.)

Table 3 is a partial version of Table 2; the C1 considered have been reduced to only the nasals and unvoiced unaspirate stops. In addition, the elements [ʔ] and [x] are treated as allophones of a single element, because they are found (Table 2) to stand in the complementary relationship:

- [ʔ] before nasals, /l/, /j/, and /w/
- [x] before stops.

Table 4 presents some verbal forms, again in broad phonetic transcription, to illustrate the rules of allophony and neutralization that apply to the C2C1 combinations at the boundary between root and affix.

1.51 C2 Followed by Homorganic C1

In Table 3, considering the system of C2 oppositions encountered before C1=/t/, we find the non-nasals (stops) /p/ and /k/ and the nasals /m/ and /ŋ/. /t/ and /n/ are absent, but [x] and [n] are present. Thus there is the same number of C2 oppositions as there is in word-final position, with [x] functioning as the allophone of /t/ and [n] as the allophone of /n/ before C1=/t/. Table 4, col 1 illustrates the same change in the system of finals of verbal roots before initial /t/ of the imperative affix -/to/. Note that only the C2 homorganic to the following initial (here dental) have been affected.

TABLE 3: C2C1 Combinations: Partial, in Broad Phonetic (§1.50) Transcription.

	C1: p t k m n ŋ					
C2						
p	—	pt	—	—	pn	—
t	—	—	tk	tm	—	tŋ
k	kp	kt	—	km	kn	—
ʔ/x	xp	xt	xk	ʔm	ʔn	ʔŋ
m	—	mt	—	—	mn	—
n	np	—	nk	nm	—	nŋ
ŋ	ŋp	ŋt	—	ŋm	ŋn	—
n	np	nt	nk	—	—	—

TABLE 4: Verbal Root + Affix Combinations in Broad Phonetic Transcription

affix gloss:	—him!	'he—'d us'	'he'll— you'	'I'll— you'	'he'll— me'	—me!
affix:	—to	—koŋ —poŋ	—mi	—nom	—ŋom —mom	—suŋ
root gloss:	root:					
'arouse'	puk	pukto	pukkoŋ	pukmi	puknom	puʔŋom puksuŋ
'send'	piŋ	piŋto	piŋkoŋ	piŋmi	piŋnom	piŋom piŋsuŋ
'spread a mat for'	put	puxto	pukkoŋ	putmi	puʔnom	putŋom pusuŋ
'wash dishes for'	tshun	tshunto	tshunkoŋ	tshunmi	tshunom	tshunŋom tshunsuŋ
'pin in wresting'	dip	dipto	dixpoŋ	diʔmi	dipnom	diʔmom dipsuŋ
'give food to'	mum	mumto	mumpoŋ	mumi	mumnom	mumom mumsuŋ
'give to'	ha	ha:to	ha:koŋ	ha:mi	ha:nom	ha:ŋom ha:suŋ
'thin out a crop for'	sel	selto	selkoŋ	selmi	selnom	selŋom selsuŋ

In the systems of oppositions before /k/ and /p/ (Table 3), holes appear in the chart wherever a stop or nasal would be followed by a homorganic stop, and [x] and [n] are again present. The picture is complicated, however by the absence of the combinations /tp/ and /pk/ (as, indeed, of all labial+velar C2C1 combinations throughout the system; see §1.52). Table 4 confirms that the pattern established before C1=/t/ also holds before /k/ and /p/. The finals of the verbal roots /puk/ and /piŋ/ become [x] and [n], respectively, before the homorganic (here velar) initial of the affix -/koŋ/. Similarly, the roots with labial finals, /dip/ and /mum/, are realized as [dix] and [mun] before the homorganic initial of the affix -/poŋ/.

From Tables 3 and 4, the system of oppositions of stops before nasals is also quite clear: Each stop has the allophone [ʔ] when followed by the homorganic nasal.

The system of allophony described above can be expressed in three rules, which are here extended to cover the complete C2C1 system of Table 2:

- i. C2[stop] is realized [x] before homorganic C1[stop].
- ii. C2[stop] is realized [ʔ] before homorganic C1[nasal or liquid].
- iii. C2[nasal] is realized [n] before homorganic C1[stop or sibilant].

Both the palatal and the alveolar orders of C1 are treated as homorganic to dental C2. Cf. the forms [buxcaŋ] 'headband for carrying', from /but/ 'to carry' and -/caŋ/ 'instrument for—' and [kxoxtse] 'Cook it for yourself!', from /khot/ 'to cook' and -/tse/ 'reflexive imperative'. For C2 before /l/, cf. verbal forms with the affix -/luŋ/ 'receptacle for' e. g. 'hitching post' /potluŋ/ [poʔluŋ], from /pot/ 'to attach, tie'. The combinations [ʔ], [ʔw] and [nr] found in Table 2 are treated in §1.61.

The three laws above share one interesting principle: in each, three different phonemes share a single allophone, but all phonological distinctions are preserved. *No neutralization of the oppositions between finals occurs.* This is because, at every occurrence, the finals [x] and [ʔ] unambiguously represent the stop, and [n] the nasal, homorganic with the following initial. Thus:

'gourd'	/ponti/	[ponti]
'monkey'	/rintsho/	[rintsho]
'below'	/loŋkha/	[loŋkha]
'butter'	/liŋku/	[liŋku]
'tongue'	/liŋga/	[liŋga]
'a chill'	/dzunsa/	[dzunsa]
'rain'	/natnum/	[naʔnum]
'child'	/tsotla/	[tsoʔla]
'woman'	/mittsho/	[miçtsho]
'bird'	/tsittsi/	[tsiçtsi]
'nut'	/kattu/	[kaxtu]
'barley'	/sakka/	[saxka]

1.52 Neutralization Affecting C1 in C2C1 Combinations

The absence of velar+labial C2C1 combinations (Tables 2 and 3) has been noted above. The shift of the verbal affixes *-/koŋ/* and *-/ŋom/* to *-/poŋ/* and */mom/* respectively, after roots with final labials (Table 4, col. 2 and 5) suggests the following law of neutralization:

Following C2 [Labial,] the opposition C1 [velar] VS. C1 [labial] is neutralized in favour of the labial.

The archiphonemes resulting from the neutralized opposition between the features [velar] and [labial] are represented phonemically by the capitalized labials (e. g. */P/*, */M/*) in accordance with their phonetic realizations. Thus:

'day'	<i>/nupMa/</i>	[nu ^h ma]
'excrement'	<i>/epPi/</i>	[expi] or [^h expi]
'father's elder brother'	<i>/themPu/</i>	[thenpu]
'ginger'	<i>/simPHi/</i>	[sinphi]
'penis'	<i>/khomBe/</i>	[khonbe]

1.53 C2 Deletions and Vocalic Length

Two of the remaining gaps in Table 2, the absence of **/t.s/* (which would be distinct from */ts/* because of the glottal stop associated with C2 */t/*) and the absence of geminate nasals, find an explanation in Table 4, where the */t/* final of a verb root is deleted before C1 */s/*, and the nasal finals of verb roots are deleted before identical nasal C1. In both cases, the open syllable left by the deletion of the final consonant of the root contains a short vowel, while the vowel of a verbal root that has no C2 final (e. g. */ha/* in Table 2) is invariably long. Thus, such pairs as the following can be produced in great number:

<i>/pisuŋmi/</i>	'he brought for me'	from <i>/pit/</i>
<i>/pi:suŋmi/</i>	'he sewed for me'	<i>/pi/</i>
<i>/tunom/</i>	'I will nourish you'	<i>/tun/</i>
<i>/tu:nom/</i>	'I will comb for you'	<i>/tu/</i>
<i>/piŋom/</i>	'he will send me'	<i>/piŋ/</i>
<i>/pi:ŋom/</i>	'he will sew for me'	<i>/pi/</i>

Here it appears that the phonemically short vowel of the initial open syllables is in origin the phonetically short vowel of a closed syllable and that it remains short after the syllable-final consonant has been deleted.

Inverbs, these are the only phonemically short vowels that occur. Since neither **/t.s/* nor geminate nasals occurs in other words either, it is reasonable to suppose that phonemically short vowels before nasals or */s/* are the result of the same deletions as are observed in verbal morphology.

It is worth considering whether all phonemically short vowels can be interpreted as resulting from deletion of finals. In nouns, both phonemically long and short vowels are found before virtually all C1. The only simple explanation of short vowels based on the system of finals presently found in Hayu would be to attribute their occurrence before stops to deletion of C2 /t/, since C2C1 combinations of /t/ + [stop] almost never occur—the only exception being in verbal morphology where root-final /t/ is followed by ending-initial /k/—whereas all other finals except /t/ are seen *not* to be deleted before initial stops. This interpretation fails because phonemically short vowels occur frequently before dental and affricate stop initials, where all of the finals (including /t/, represented by [x]) and long vowels also occur, (e. g. /buti/ ‘grain cooked in water’; /hita/ ‘later’). In other words, there is no missing final opposition for vowel length to replace. Similarly, all known finals plus both short and long vowels occur before /l/ and /r/. Thus no complete, synchronic reinterpretation of vocalic length seems possible. We therefore retain vocalic length in our phonemic transcription even before initial /s/ and nasals, where the feature [short] could be presented as an allophone of existing C2.

1.6 RESIDUE

1.61 Unexplained [ʔ] and [n]

There are three cases where /ʔ/ and /n/ have been left in the phonemic transcription because they could not be interpreted as allophones of C2 finals.

The occurrence of /kj/, /tj/, /pj/, and /ʔj/ seems anomalous. The first three combinations have appeared only where the affix -/ji/ ‘-er [actor]’ is added to verbal roots; the last only occurs in nouns, with no evidence to show what it acts in oppositions with:

‘rat’	/tsuʔju/
‘axe’	/khoʔjoŋ/

The significance of [nr] is doubtful because /r/ itself is rare and there are few examples of it following nasals:

‘paddle to beat clothes’ /denri/

Similarly, /ʔw/, of which there is one example, is difficult to account for:

‘blouse’ /cuʔwa/ (?cf. /cup/ ‘to wear’)

1.62 Reduplicating and Onomatopoeic Words

A whole series of anomalies is found in adverbs and adjectives of the reduplicating and onomatopoeic types. The reduplication often leads to C2C1 combinations not normally permitted or to initial clusters in the middle of the word. Words of this type, whether or not they show phonological anomalies, have been split with a hyphen and are considered phonologically as two words:

'round'	/pem-peremu/	[pemperemu]
'vertical'	/kaŋ-kaŋ/	[kaŋkaŋ]
'bad tasting'	/kham-kham/	[khamkham]
'tasteless'	/plom-plom/	[plomplom]
'bright'	/daŋ-daŋ/	[daŋdaŋ]
'straight'	/tseŋ-tseŋ/	[tseŋtseŋ]

The same notation is used for one other, non-reduplicative word, which unaccountably has an anomalous combination:

'now'	/um-be/	[umbe]
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Optional expressive gemination in onomatopoeic words is not taken into account in the phonemic transcription:

'bang'	/bleŋa/	[bleŋŋŋŋŋa]
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NOTES

1. Hodgson, B. H., "Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the Broken Tribes of Nepal" [followed by strictly Hayu vocabulary and grammar], *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xxvi, 1857, pp. 317—485. Reprinted in Hodgson, B. H., *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects*. London, 1880, vol. i, pp. 161-319. Page references in the present article are to the reprint.
2. Hodgson, B. H., "On the Hayu tribe of the Central Himalaya", *JASB*, xxvii, 1858, pp. 443-446; reprinted in *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. i, p. 393 ff.
3. Grierson, G. A. ed. *Linguistic Survey of India, Calcutta*, 1909, reprinted New Delhi, 1968, vol. iii, pt. i. "Hayu" pp. 382-398, and "Standard words and phrases" pp. 408-425.
4. Jest, C., 'Notes sur les Groupes Ethniques de Langue Tibeto-Birmanne au Nepal' in *Acts*, VIIIth Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Tokyo, 1968, pp. 128-130.
5. Shakya, R. K., "The Hayu", *Nepal Digest* vol 1.no. 2 (1971).
6. For the interpretation of the term *prajājāt*, lit. 'subject castes', I am indebted to Mr. M. C. Regmi. The term appears in the *Ain*, vol 5, under *Jarko*, 43 in the editions of 1935 and 1955. For the earlier law, see Ministry of Law and Justice, HMG of Nepal, *Sri 5 Surendra Vikram Saha devakā sāsan kalmā bankeko muluki ain*, Kathmandu, 1965, a re-edition of the law in force in 1865. Macdonald, A.W. "La Hierarchie des Jāt Inferieurs dans le Muluki Ain de 1965" in *Echanges et Communications, Melanges offerts a Claude Levi-Straus*, The Hague, 1970, p. 145 n. 16 (iv) and p. 148, n. 28, cites and discusses the relevant passages of the *Ain* of 1865 and 1955. For the caste system in the *Ain*, see also Gaborieau, M., *Les Curate du Moyen Nepal: place d'un groupe de Musulmans dans une societe de castes*, *L' Homme* vi, 3 (1966).
7. Personal communication, 20 August 1972.
8. On *Kul devata* in general, see Bista, Khem Bahadur, *Le Culte du Kul Devata*, Paris, 1971.
9. Bieri, Dora, and Schultze, Marlene, *Sunwar Phonemic Summary*, revised version, 1971, and *A Guide to Sunwar Tone*, 1971; and Toba, Sueysohi and Ingrid, *Khaling Phonemic Summary*, 1972, all mimeographed publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kirtipur, Nepal. In both languages a system of two tones is proposed; in Sunwar, no tonal contrast is posited for monosyllables and certain other classes of words.
10. *Essays* v. i. p. 249 n; see also p. 266 n.

11. Three of our verbal roots in sibilant initials before front vowels were noted by Hodgson as 'kh-'; to one of them he adds the note, "Kh of khisto is a very peculiar sound, verging upon a vague th or hard h or Sanskrit ksh: *kh* [Hodgson uses italics here as a notational device for a different sound] is hard Arbaic, without the least vagueness, as in *khwasto*, to tighten." (p. 29ln.) Hodgson's examples are our /*šitto*/, [*šixto*], 'rub it!' and /*xwatto*/, [*xwaxto*], 'tighten it!' He clearly means that the 'very peculiar sound' (our /*š* our /*š*/) was distinct from /*s*/, /*x*/, and /*kh*/.
12. *Essays*, p. 268 n.

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BUDDHIST TANTRIC MEDICINE THEORY ON BEHALF OF ONESELF AND OTHERS

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Tantrism regards man as a microcosm with correspondences to different orders of nature. It sets the old three personal poisons of Buddhism—lust, hatred, and delusion—into correspondence with the three external poisons—the two described in classical Indian medical texts which are the ‘stable’ (or stationary) poison (e.g. from roots of vegetables) and the ‘mobile’ (or moving) poison (e.g. from snakes among animals), plus a third category ‘concocted’ (produced from such things as quicksilver, precious metals, and ambrosia (amṛta)—to wit, ‘delusion’ with the ‘stable’ one, ‘hatred’ with the ‘mobile’ one, and ‘lust’ with the ‘concocted’, perhaps with ‘lust’ regarded as creative. Besides, Tibetan medicine theory relates those three personal poisons to the disease-causing imbalances of the three physiological doṣa’s—lust promoting too much Wind, hatred the Bile, and delusion the Phlegm¹.

Already in ancient Buddhism it was held that the seven limbs of enlightenment, in their standard order of mindfulness, analysis of the doctrine, striving, joy, catharsis, samādhi, and indifference, were recommended to sick monks for getting over their illness.² Presumably this is believed to be the case by reason of overcoming lust, hatred, and delusion.

In the Buddhist Tantras the techniques of incantation and other ritual practices are applied to the alleviation of various illnesses. There appears here a premise of sympathetic magic. Here I distinguish my data by practices mainly intended to relieve the performer’s illness from those which a performer may use in an attempt to cure other patients.

1. This summary is based on materials collected in *Alex Wayman*, “The Concept of Poison in Buddhism,” *Oriens*, X: 1 (1957), pp. 107-09. The addition of a third category ‘concocted’ (*byas pa*) to the standard two poisons, is in a passage cited from the *Mahāmayūrividyārājñīsūtraśatasahasratīkā-nāma*, in the Tibetan Tanjur. The association of the three psychological poisons with the three physiological ‘faults’ is found in the Tibetan medical text, *Bdud rtsi sñiñ po yan lag bryad pa gsañ ba man ñag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs*. The brochure “Exhibition of the history of Indian medicine and its spread in Asia,” prepared for the Third World Conference on Medical Education, New Delhi, 20-25 Nov. 1966, claims that this Tibetan text reflects a lost medical text of eighth century India of the Sanskrit title *Amṛta-aṣṭaṅga-hṛdaya-guh-yopadeśa-tantra*.

2. *Nalinaksha Dutt*, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 251.

A. TANTRIC MACHINATIONS TO CURE ONESELF.

Some years ago I studied the life of the Tibetan reformer Tsoñ-kha-pa (1357-1419A.D.) from Tibetan biographies and prepared a synthetic biography in English, including the following passage:³

At Skyor-mo-luñ college in Central Tibet after listening to the instruction, he memorized in 17 days the great commentary on Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*. But this effort apparently brought on a fierce ailment in the upper part of his body, from which he was not relieved for a long time, despite prescriptions from specialists. It hung on for over a year, including eleven months of study with Red-mdah-pa at Sa-skya, where he also listened to the Sa-skya interpretation (sa-lugs) of the *Hevajra-tantra*. Then he took a prescription from a friend at Sa-skya who was versed in incantations (*mantra*). He recited several times a neuter HA and the former ailment left without a trace.

A long time later on I happened to notice in Tsoñ-kha-pa's commentary called *Sbas don* on the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-tantra, a section on treating illness by tantric means that might explain this 'neuter HA'. Whether it does or not, it is worthwhile to translate this section from Tibetan under its given heading:⁴

Pacification of illnesses by recourse to mantras and mystic circles (*cakra*).

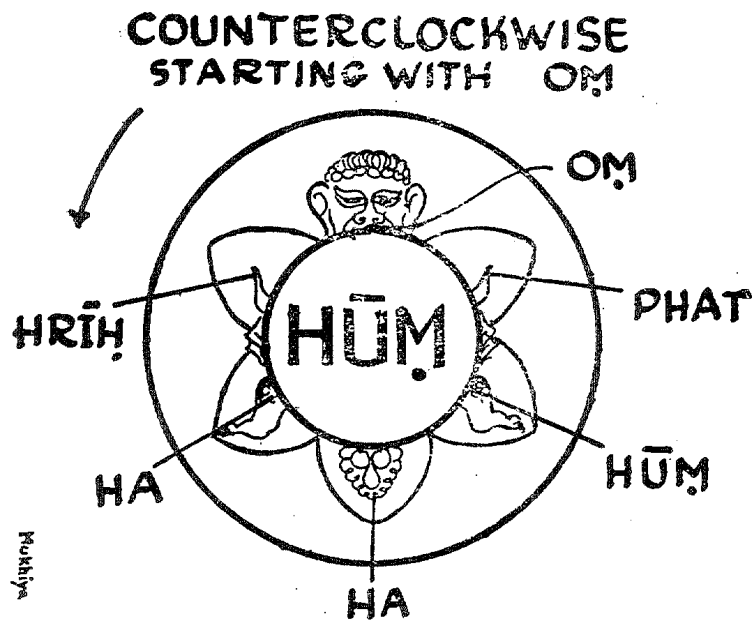
After that explanation of casting the prognostic, I shall explain the method of effecting the rite by mantras of the seven syllables⁵ constituting the upahr̥daya (near-heart incantation), of the Hero Heruka and by the various dispositions of them in cakras (circles).

³ I have so far not published this synthetic biography. It was originally meant to be part of the introductory materials for my translation of Tsoñ-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, on which I have worked for some years.

⁴ The section below translated is from Tsoñ-kha-pa's *Sbas don* commentary on the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra in the Peking Tibetan Tripitaka (PTT), i. e. the Japanese photographic edition, Vol. 157, p. 78-5 to p. 79-1.

⁵ The Laghutantra (fundamental tantra) of the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra (PTT, Vol. 2 p. 29-5) gives the seven syllables in the order Taph Pha Hūṃ Hūṃ Ha Ha Hriḥ Oṃ because the Tantra uses the left orientation. Tsoñ-kha-pa's commentary of Chap. 12 is on the saptākṣara (seven syllables) and explains (PTT, Vol. 157, p. 39-3) that the syllables are pronounced in the order Oṃ Hriḥ Ha ha Hūṃ Phaḥ, arranged left-wise on a lotus, while the other Hūṃ belongs to the lord Heruka. Notice that the Lord's Hūṃ, in the center, or heart, is constantly pronounced.

- (1) He disposes the upahr̥daya of HA, etc. in the middle of a solar disk, either concretely by drawing, or mentally by contemplation.⁶ Then he should imagine that the illness is in the middle of this, and should recite upahr̥daya up to a thousand times by lengthened utterance (*spel tshig*).⁷ He contemplates on his left hand the syllables of mantra in the appearance of crystal; and when it is revealed to the sick person suffering from illness, no sooner is the hand seen, than the illness is entirely destroyed. Of this there is no doubt.



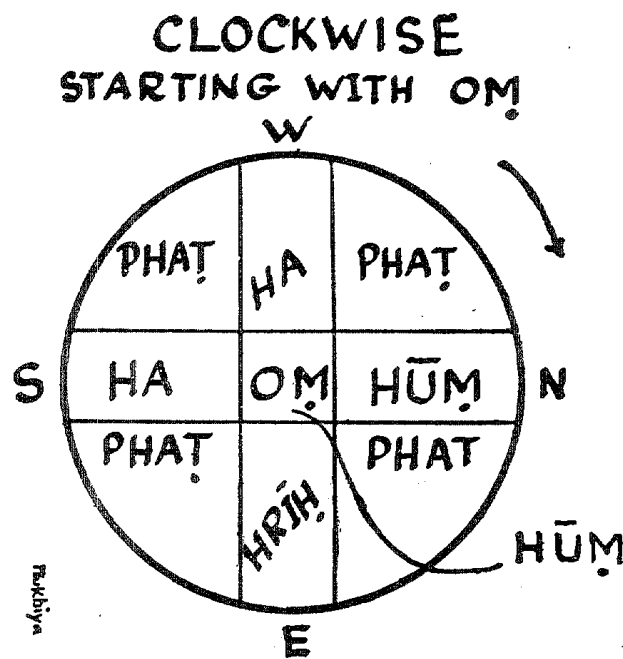
- (2) Many of the commentaries on this point assert that if one contemplates in the heart of the one to be cured (*sādhya*) his perceiving faculty (*vijñāna*) the measure of a thumb and with the appearance of pure crystal, he is freed from the illness. So one should pay heed to that explanation.⁸

⁶ The diagram which I have given to illustrate how the syllables are disposed, is adapted from the picture that follows Karmavajra's *Vajra-caṇḍānusāreṇa pṛṣṭhya-cakra-nāma* (PTT, Vol 86, p. 111).

⁷ *Spel tshig*, as defined in the native Tibetan dictionary by Geshe Chos Grags, seem to mean expansion into phrases and longer, i.e. that the upahr̥daya is repeated making, so to say, phrases, sentences, paragraphs.

⁸ It is striking to indentify the Buddhist *vijñāna* with the "thumb-soul" which the old Upani ṣadslocate in the heart.

(3) One contemplates a moon disk like the moon of autumn. In the middle of this moon one makes five sections (koṣṭhaka) by four directions and the middle; and by adding four in the intermediate directions, one arranges a total of nine sections.⁹ In its center one disposes an OM, in the east the HRIH, south HA, west HA, north HUM; also in the center, HUM, a PHAT in the four intermediate directions or four PHA's leaving out the T. When the letters appear white like the color of crystal, the bright circle dispels all illnesses. And the one to be cured contemplates on his left hand the circle located in the middle.



(4) One contemplates as places in his head the holder of the stable and mobile poisons; that from it (i.e. his head) a stream of ambrosia flows, ridding the entire body of poison. Thus it is freed from poison.

(5) Likewise, whatever the illnesses of plagues, demonic possession, and so on; from stable and mobile poisons: of fainting spells, aches, sores, and so on; of leprosy, from poison fangs, and so on; and whatever the illnesses other than those mentioned, all of them without doubt are purged when one arranges the seven syllables on the form of the moon, and imagined on the left hand are manifested to the one suffering with illness. When one contemplates that

⁹ The diagram which I have given to illustrate how the syllables are disposed, is adapted from the picture that follows the work *Mṛtyu-vañcanopadeśa* (PTT, Vol. 86, p. 30).

the rays of those mantra syllables arise with the nature of ambrosia, and purge and put to flight in the ten directions of east, etc., then one dispels the poison.

B. THE BHAIŠAJYA-GURU CULT FOR HEALING OTHERS.

Bhaišajya-guru is the Sanskrit name for the Lord of Healing, the chief figure of a Buddhist cult that was formerly wide-spread over Asia in the Mahāyāna Buddhist form along with elaborate iconographical representations, indeed inspiring some of the greatest art of Asia. Originally this art is not tantric. For example, the scripture which Liebenthal translated from Hsuan-tsang's Chinese rendition under the title, *The Sutra of the Lord of Healing* (Peiping, 1936), is simply Mahāyāna Buddhism with no admixture of tantric elements, such as incantations. An important part of this scripture is the twelve vows taken by this Buddha called Bhaišajya-guru, of which the sixth vow involves the restoration to health and good shape of beings merely by hearing his name. The panoply of artistic and ritual accompaniments helped to reinforce the devotion to and faith in this Lord of Healing.

Later, this healing cult underwent a native development in Tibet, whereupon the preexisting elements of this worship were richly embroidered with the procedures of ejecting demons as standardized by tantric rites and with the application of healing substances as derived from the medical traditions. Of course, this cult spread to Mongolia after its conversion to the Tibetan form of Buddhism and was accordingly represented at the Lamaist Yung-ho-kung Temple of Peking. It was here in 1931 and 1932 that Ferdinand D. Lessing (later a professor at Berkeley, California,) observed the cult and began to prepare draft translations of the associated ritual texts, now in my possession. Here there is space only to give some of the main theory and ritual practice, which makes use of mustard seed. The Healing Lord is especially called Vaidūrya-prabhāsa (Lapis lazuli splendor). This refers to his paradise, assigned to the east. The east was imagined as connected with the deep blue of lapis lazuli, so blue is considered the emblematic color of Bhaišajya-guru.

As in tantric rituals generally, the preceptor or chief performer must first go through a generative process in which he becomes identified with Bhaišajya-guru, who is in the center of the elaborate mandala. Then the preceptor, while standing outside, imagines himself to be inside as Bhaišajya-guru, opening the gates of the mandala from inside, beginning with the east gate. The disciples are introduced into the mandala with covered-up face. In practice this is generally done with the eye band. As to how the disciples are conferred the lineage of the Healing Lord (in my translation) 10:

“The preceptor says:

10 This is from a draft translation I made in the early 1950's of “Bhaišajya-guru, the Seven Brothers,” a native Tibetan sādhana in the “Rin Lhan” collection, Vol. Ga.

On the heads of you, who in yourselves are ordinary, there is now the body of Bhagavan Bhaiṣajya-guru, king of lapis lazuli light, with dark blue body color, in the aspect of a monk, right hand in gift-bestowing gesture and carrying an opened myrobalan (*a-ru-ru*) on the palm; the left in trance gesture and holding a lapis lazuli bowl filled with ambrosia; attired in the three kinds of religious dress made of red silk, seated with crossed legs on the diamond seat of the lotus, and endowed with the major and minor marks."

Only when the performer is identified with this Lord of Healing can he be expected to be successful in the healing attempt. In case of sickness, the officiant blows upon the holy water, sprinkles the patient with it, and throws the mustard seeds one by one. They change into dharmapālas (protectors of the faith) and expel the demons of illness. This act is done three times. A fire is kindled in which *gu-gul* is strewn to send the demons into flight. (Dr. Lessing noted that guggulu is bdellium or the exudation of *amyris agallochum*, a fragrant gum resin, used as a perfume and medicament.)

Those are the main features of the tantric cult of the Healing Lord, but of course they occur in much more elaborate fashion in the actual Tibetan texts and corresponding cult. It is plain that the cures - such as occurred - depended on psychological art factors, including the magnificence of the Bhaiṣajya-guru cult trappings and paraphernalia. In the case of curing one's own sickness, as in the preceding section, the visualization and incantation process alone is deemed sufficient.

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SLAVE TRADE ON THE INDO-NEPAL BORDER IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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From the early centuries traffic in slaves was an important feature in the trade of Asia.¹ Slavery was an ancient institution both in India and Nepal. The writings of Buchanan, Dubois, Malcolm and Jones show that in the eighteenth century slavery was widespread in different parts of India. The East India Company for several years took part in the slave trade as a profitable concern. Slaves were "regularly registered in the Court House, where a duty of Rs. 4 and annas 4 a head was paid". Calcutta was an important slave market. Indian slaves were exported to St. Helena, the French islands in the Indian Ocean and to Ceylon by the Portuguese and traders of other European Companies. They were also imported into Bombay or Calcutta from outside India, chiefly from Africa and some places around the Persian Gulf, Armenia and Mauritius.² In Mithila and the adjoining areas on either side of the frontier slavery and traffic in slaves were prevalent from Kautilya's days down to the nineteenth century.³ Both Indians and Europeans took part in this nefarious trade.⁴ The northern frontier of India was an attractive zone for slave trading. The practice was noticed in 1859 on the Punjab frontier towards Kashmir and particularly in Jheelum, Gujrat and Sealkote Districts. The Bhutan war of 1865 also showed that slavery had long been prevalent on the Rungpore and Assam frontiers.⁵ The Hooker affair and the Anglo-Sikkimese War of 1861 also demonstrated that slave trade was one of the causes that

¹ *B. Spuler*, Trade in the Eastern Islamic Countries in the early centuries, p.19; *Nevill Chittick*, East African trade with the Orient, p. 102. Islam and the Trade of Asia, ed. D. S. Richards (Bruno Cassirer London 1970).

² *K.K. Dutta*, Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century (1707—1813). (Calcutta 1961). pp. 40—45.

Upendra Thakur, "Some Aspects of Slavery in the 17th—19th Centuries". *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLIV. March-June 1958.

⁴ *R. C. Majumdar* (ed.) History and Culture of the Indian People Vol. X. *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance. Part II* (Bombay 1965). pp. 279—280.

⁵ *R. B. Pemberton*, Report on Bootan. (Originally published in 1838, reprinted in Calcutta 1961).

Ashley Eden, Report on the State of Bootan and on the Progress of the Mission of 1863—64, (Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta 1865, reprinted in Delhi, 1972). *David Field Rennie*, Bhotan the Story of the Dooar War. (John Murray, London 1866) Reprinted in Delhi, 1961.

led to trouble. In the Anglo-Sikkimese Treaty of 1861, it was stipulated that "inasmuch as many of the late misunderstandings have had their foundation in the custom which exists in Sikkim of dealing in slaves, the Government of Sikkim binds itself to punish severely any person trafficking in human beings, or seizing persons for the purpose of using them as slaves". In August 1871, Colonel Haughton, the Commissioner of Cooch Behar Division, forwarded some petitions to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling which showed that the practice of dealing in slaves continued up to that time on the eastern frontier of India.⁶ The Nizam's territories were also not free from this evil practice, and slavery existed in India in different names and forms. The *Gohulams*, *Laundas* and *Laundies* of the Bengal zamindars were nothing but slaves.⁷ The slave trade was abolished in 1807 in the British Empire. The sale and purchase of slaves were made a criminal offence in 1832. The Indian Act V of 1843 made slavery illegal in India, and the Indian Penal Code of 1860 rendered keeping or trafficking in slaves a penal offence.

Daniel Wright wrote in 1877 that there were from twenty to thirty thousand slaves in Nepal, generally employed in domestic work, wood-cutting, grass-cutting and similar activities. The prices for female slaves ranged from 150 to 200 Rupees and for male slaves from 100 to 150 rupees.⁸ The slave-owners could be classified into three groups: (1) aristocrats who inherited slaves as ancestral property; (2) agriculturists who maintained slaves for work in the fields; (3) those who reared slaves like cattle and sold them for profit.⁹ The slaves consisted mostly of young persons, of criminals who had committed incest or of the offspring of such persons. However, the child of a slave woman by her free-born master was not a slave. Before the time of Jang Bahadur, the private sale of children was a common practice among parents belonging to the

⁶ *Bengal Administration Report for 1871—72, part II, p. 8.*

⁷ *Proceedings of the Government of Bengal in the Political Department for August 1867. No. 30.* J. Beams, Magistrate of Champaran to the Commissioner of the Patna Division. No. 76 dated 11 July 1867.

⁸ *Daniel Wright, History of Nepal.* Originally published in 1877. Reprinted by Sushil Gupta, Calcutta 1965. p. 30.

On 1 December 1836 in the Kathmandu Bazar, the following rates for sale of slaves were prevalent:- Full grown male slaves Rs. 80 each. Full grown female slaves-Rs 100 each. Boy slaves -Rs. 40 each, Girl slaves-Rs. 50 each. A. Campbell, *Notes on the Agriculture and Rural Economy of the Valley of Nepal (Kathmandu 1836).* p. 32.

⁹ *K. Majumdar, "British Impact on Nepal". Bengal Past and Present, January-June 1971.* p. 14.

lower castes of the Newars and Parbatiyas,¹⁰ The slaves were purchased from among the poverty-stricken peoples of Bihar and the North-Western Provinces. The purchases were made in India at Rs. 4 or 5 and sold in Nepal for Rs. 30 or 40 each. The majority of the purchasers were the Sepahis and other Gurkha officials whose duty it was to prevent the traffic they encouraged. The various *chowkies*, *cutcheries* and military posts between the Indian frontier and Kathmandu were, to all intents and purposes, depots for the purchase and sale of human beings. In the Nepalese *chowkies* and *cutcheries* at places like Seesaghureo, Hetounda, Beecheakoh, Kullea, Persownee, slaves were kept and sold at a high profit. Ramsay himself cited an instance in which no less than five were purchased by the small Gurkha guard attached to the Residency from the Kotea at Seesaghuree, a Government official.¹¹ Many slaves were sold by their parents or other relatives. Some were enticed away and some were stolen and brought into Nepal. A few came in search of food and took shelter with well-to-do persons. In most cases they were of very low castes being *chamars*, *dosads* and *doms*. Generally they pretended that they belonged to higher castes, such as *kurmies*, *ahirs*, *dhanuks*, *keories* etc. so that they might be better treated.¹² As a result of severe scarcity in Champaran and other districts, a great rise in the traffic of slaves took place during eighteen months in 1866-67. The reasons that led to this rise have been given by Jang Bahadur himself. He stated, "On receiving reports from the teraie authorities that thousands of people were dying from the effects of famine, I sent orders that they might distribute grain worth from 2 to 2½ lakhs of rupees in each zillah, in charity, confining it to one seer to each person. Hearing this news, British subjects also flocked to receive this charity and such was their number that the grain would not suffice for all of them, even when each person's share of the charity was reduced to two handfuls. And when no grain could be had for money, Fukees, Mohunts, chowdhurries and zamindars also distributed grain according to their means. But this also proved insufficient, and people began to sell their children; thus sold they would receive support from their purchasers while their parents would be able to derive means for their own support from the money that they would get for their children's price. I then sent orders

10 *Political A. October 1877.* (cf. note 30) Nos. 376-378. F. Henvey, Offg. Resident in Nepal to T.H. Thornton, offg. Secretary to the Government of India. No. 32, dated 29 June 1877.

11 *Darjeeling District Records. General Department. English Correspondence 1851-79.* Ramsay to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. No. 13 dated 21 May 1867. Abstract translation of Yaddasht from Ramsay to Jang Bahadur dated 21 May 1867.

12 *Proceedings of the Bengal Government in the Political Department for August 1867.* No. 11-12. Ramsay to the Magistrate of Champaran No. 47 dated 10 June 1867.

that, although they were not to encourage the sellers, they were not to prohibit any one from purchasing children. This was the reason why British subjects have been lately purchased."¹³

Jenkins, the officiating Commissioner of the Patna Division, also reported that during periods of scarcity parents sold their children to the Nepalese in large numbers. They wanted also to procure for their children a home in which they could receive the necessities of life. ¹⁴

Jang Bahadur himself was very much alive to the evils of the problem and so he ordered the liberation of numerous slaves who had been recently purchased. He confined his orders only to those persons purchased during the year 1866-67; thus he did not include those who had stayed as naturalized citizens in Nepal for years. The emancipated slaves were taken to the British Residency at Kathmandu for return to India. The first batch sent to the Residency included 450 slaves. All were repeatedly told that their return depended on their own free will, that Jang Bahadur had ordered their emancipation and that they would be sent to their homes, if they so desired or, if they preferred, they could stay at Kathmandu and take service with anyone. The purchasers of these slaves were quite naturally reluctant to part with them. The liberated slaves complained that many of their companions were kept back and concealed at some places. Some women brought from Kathmandu stated that one or more of their original number were concealed by their guards at nearly every village they passed through on their way to Kathmandu.¹⁵ The British Government took elaborate measures to receive the liberated slaves and restore them to their homes. Some of the slaves, particularly females, after coming over to the Indian side of the frontier wanted to go back again to Nepal, as they were reluctant to part with the links they had formed there. After careful enquiry, those who were found to be really anxious, were assisted to go back. ¹⁶

Under the direction of Jang Bahadur, orders were sent to the local officers along the border declaring that persons buying or selling British or Nepalese subjects would be severely punished. In fact, a legal prohibition had for long existed concerning the purchase and also sale of free-born persons in Nepal. The order of Jang Bahadur reiterated this prohibition. Jang Bahadur further stated, ".....if any one sells

13 *Political A. November 1867. No. 84. Abstract translation of a Yaddasht from Jang Bahadur to Ramsay dated 28 October 1867.*

14 *Proceedings of the Government in the Political Department for August 1867. No. 27. Jenkins to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal No 28 dated 29 July 1867.*

15 *Political A. October 1867. No. 225 Ramsay to J. W. S. Wyllie, Under-Secretary to the Government of India in Foreign Department No. 29, dated 23 September 1867.*

16 *Bengal Administration Report during 1867—68. p. 245.*

British subjects within Nepalese territory, and if he be apprehended within the same Nepalese territory, it is proper according to the Treaty that he should be severely punished by the Nepalese courts, according to Nepalese Law, and I beg that this practice may be allowed to continue"¹⁷. He recalled also that an order had long existed stating that persons selling free-born human beings were to be fined Rs. 360 and in default of payment of the fine, were to be imprisoned for a period of three years and four months, or until the whole amount was accounted for, by the deduction of Rs. 9/- for every month that the prisoner remained in jail.¹⁸

He also passed a law to the effect that no person from whose hands water could according to the laws of caste be taken should be reduced to slavery. But he could not abolish the custom altogether. He permitted even those members of higher castes who were already slaves as well as their offspring to remain in slavery.¹⁹ In brief, the concrete steps he adopted to deal with this problem included: (1) emancipation of the newly-bought slaves, (2) the order to Nepalese officers in the Terai not to indulge in slave trade, (3) the law forbidding any person to sell himself and debarring parents from selling their children. It was also laid down that a fugitive slave, who had settled in *Naya Mulk*, and the district of Morang in the Terai, could not be enslaved again.²⁰ But, unfortunately, in spite of this pious legislation, the practice could not be stopped. Sections 395 to 371 of the Indian Penal Code made kidnapping and dealing in slaves illegal. But the accused could be punished only if he could be caught; and the problem was how to catch him. The police were too few in numbers and stationed in distant posts. They had no authority to stop a man travelling with a child merely on the suspicion that the child was a kidnapped one. The people on both sides of the frontier were mostly Hindus and they frequently inter-married. If the police was to be instructed to stop men travelling with boys and girls, many honest persons accompanying children would be stopped and subjected to all types of extortion. ²¹

¹⁷ *Political A. November 1867. No. 84.* Abstract translation of a Yaddasht from Jang Bahadur to the Resident dated 28 October 1867.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Political A. October 1877. No. 376.* F. Henvey, officiating Resident in Nepal to T.H. Thornton, officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department No. 32 P dated 29 June 1877.

²⁰ *K. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 14.*

²¹ *Proceedings of the Bengal Government in the Political Department for August 1867.* No. 28. J. Beams, Magistrate of Champaran, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division No. 59 dated 15 May, 1867.

Moreover, people along the border held land on both sides of it. If suspicious persons were stopped and questioned, they would pretend that their slaves were relatives whom they were taking to houses of relations on the other side of the frontier. If the police were given power to stop all suspected and suspicious persons, the door would be wide open to extortion and oppression. Beams reported: "Again, in times of famine especially, but more or less at all times, native British subjects voluntarily sell their children to any one who will take care of them often asking no questions as to what will be done with them. It would require a much larger and much better organised police system than we possess, or could hope to establish, to put a stop to this practice." Children so sold lived for years in India with their purchasers and were not taken into Nepal until they were of a marriageable and consequently of a saleable age. The original sale took place when they were very young, so that children lost all memory of their real parents and did not even know their names; they believed themselves to be the children of their purchasers; or perhaps they neither knew, nor cared to know who their parents were. Beams argued:

"In this case if they were arrested on crossing the frontier, no clue would be obtained as to their origin; and, in spite of the odium attached to the name of slavery, it would be a very mistaken kindness to take them away from their rich protectors, who kept them in comfort, and restore them to poverty-stricken parents with whom they would starve, and on whose resources they would be a heavy burden. The result of such a measure with females would be that they would be sold for purposes of prostitution in British territories and I submit that of the two fates that await them, that of being the slave concubine of a Nepalese official, is less revolting to morality and less prejudicial to the individual than that of a public prostitute".²²

The greater part of the frontier was artificial. Covered with dense forests, it had a few tracts but no roads. The area was unhealthy and inhabited by a class of people called Tharus, who practised witchcraft. The police were generally reluctant to interfere with them and it was impossible to prevent theft, smuggling, kidnapping or any other such practices there. In brief, the Government of India had no effective control over a considerable part of the frontier. The slaves were usually taken to Nepal one by one and not in batches. Moreover, no suspicion was aroused by persons walking into Nepal with children who went willingly and who might seem to be their own. The most salient factor was that the Terai *Soubahs* connived not only at this traffic but also at the traffic in stolen property and many other villainies. Thus the slave traffic could not be stopped.²³

²² *Proceedings of the Bengal Government in the Political Department for August 1867. No. 30. J. Beams, Magistrate of Champaran, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division No. 76 dated 11 July, 1867.*

²³ *Ibid.*

Beams was of the opinion that if the practice was made criminal in Nepal and if the offenders were really punished when caught, the traffic in slaves would die out.²⁴ The Magistrate of Tirhut also pointed out that the demand for slaves was acute in Nepal, and India had the problem of a growing population of poor people. No amount of police observation would check this traffic as long as the demand existed in Nepal. He too suggested: "Let the Darbar there make slavery illegal and honestly punish all cases of the breach of the law, and we may hope for some good results."²⁵ The Commissioner of Patna Division also held that the real remedy for the evil in question lay in the hands of the Nepal Government.²⁶ The Government of Bengal also agreed that effective measures to check this practice could be taken by the Nepal Darbar only.²⁷ The British Resident in Nepal suggested three measures for the further prevention of the traffic. Firstly, the Darbar should issue a Proclamation, to be promulgated by the *Soubahs* and other authorities, forbidding the purchase, on any plea whatsoever, of Indians who might be brought into the Terai for sale, and declaring that all who infringed the order should be punished. Secondly, the persons who came to the Terai for this traffic should be sent to the Indian *Thannah* with a statement of their offence. Thirdly, the Government of India should sanction a small payment for obtaining reliable information about persons engaged in such transactions.²⁸ The Government of India approved these suggestions and authorised the Resident to incur a small outlay for obtaining reliable information about persons so engaged.²⁹ The Resident also strongly reiterated the stand of the Bengal Government that effective measures to check the practice could be taken by the Nepal Darbar only. The traffic would certainly cease if the Darbar denounced it and showed that it was determined to put it down and to punish severely all persons who were engaged in it.³⁰ In fact, some measures were taken to put down the traffic. In India the district

²⁴ *Ibid.*, *Proceedings No. 30.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, *Proceeding No. 32.* H. A. Cockerell officiating Magistrate at Tirhut to the Commissioner of the Division No. 120. dated 24 July. 1867.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *Proceedings No. 27.* Jenkins, Officiating Commissioner of the Patan Division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal. No. 28 dated 29 July 1867.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, *Proceedings No. 33.* H.L. Dampier, officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India. Foreign Department No. 467T dated 20 August 1867.

²⁸ *Political A. October 1867. No. 225.* G. Ramsay to J. W. S. Wyllie, Under Secretary to the Government of India Foreign Department No. dated 23 September 1867.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, *No. 226.* The Foreign Secretary India Government to the Resident in Nepal No. 1112 dated 31 October 1867.

³⁰ *Political A. November 1867. No. 83.* Abstract translation of Yaddasht from Ramsay to Jang Bahadur, dated October 3, 1867.

officers were instructed to use their influence on the people in the border districts to dissuade them from such transactions with the warning that severe penalties would be inflicted if such practices were allowed to continue. The Darbar was also asked to interdict the traffic in Nepal and to hand over to the nearest British *Thannah* all the persons coming into the Terai to offer their fellow creatures for sale.³¹

On 28 November 1924 Chandra Shamsheer made an appeal to his people: "Let us stop purchase and sale of slaves and separation of the members of the family from each other; let the law providing an opportunity of emancipation for any slave when about to be sold be made more effective and comprehensive by the Government itself taking place of the kith and kin when none comes forward."³² The appeal was not urged in vain. A new law was passed making slavery a penal offence. It provided for compensation to the slave owners. All children under seven were immediately manumitted. The Nepalese Government had to spend a sum of 3,670,000 rupees for the liberation scheme, an average of seventy rupees per slave. "Of the total slave population of 59,873, compensation had to be paid for 51,782; 4,651 slaves were freed by their masters with compensation; 1984 died; 1342 fled; and 114 paid for their release."³³ The slave trade between India and Nepal thus ceased forever.

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³¹ *Bengal Administration Report during 1867-68*. p. 245.

³² *An appeal to the people of Nepal for the Emancipation of slaves and abolition of Slavery in the Country* (Kathmandu 1925). p. 54.

³³ K. Majumdar, "British Impact on Nepal". *Bengal Past and Present*. January-June 1971. p. 15.

N. B. The references in footnotes numbered 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29, and 30 are to Records, Foreign Department, National Archives of India, New Delhi. Darjeeling District Records were consulted by me in the Record-Room of the Deputy-Commissioner's office, Darjeeling; Proceedings of the Bengal Government in the West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta, and Bengal Administration Reports in the West Bengal Secretariat Library.



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MANTRAS ON THE PRAYER FLAG

Translated by Gelongma Karma Khechog Palmo

OM WANGISHWARI HUM	This is the mantra of the Mahabodhisattva Manjusri (Jambeyang)....The Buddha in his wisdom aspect.
OM MANI PADME HUM	The mantra of Chenrezi, Mahabodhisattvathe Buddha in his compassion aspect. "OM Jewel in the Lotus HUM".
OM VAJRAPANI HUM	The mantra of the Buddha as Protector of the Secret Teachings: i. e. as the Mahabodhisattva Channa Dorje (Vajrapani).
OM AH HUM VAJRA GURU PEMA SIDDHI HUM	The mantra of the Vajraguru GURU PADMA SAMBHAVA who established Mahayana Buddhism and Tantra in Tibet.
OM TARE TUTTH TARE TURE SWAHA	The mantra of Jetsun Dolma, the Mother of the Buddhas.
OM AMARANI JIWANTIYE SWAHA	The mantra of the Buddha of limitless life: the Buddha Amitayus (Tibetan Tsépagmed) in celestial form.
OM DHRUM SWAHA	The purificatory mantra of the mother Namgyalma.
OM AMI DHEWA HRI	The mantra of the Buddha Amitabha (Hopagmed) of the Western Buddhafield, his skin the colour of the setting sun.
OM AHRA PATSA NA DHIH	The mantra of the "sweet-voiced one" Jambeyang or Manjusri, the Buddha in his wisdom aspect.
HUNG VAJRA PHAT	The mantra of the Mahabodhisattva Vajrapani in his angry (Dragpo) form.

Then an explanatory text. The Tiger, the Lion, the Garuda Bird, and the Dragon: these are the strongest of beings, and they can help all men to succeed in their work. By the power of using the above mantras, one's lifespan, merit and wealth increase. All will come to you.

Whoever donates for the printing of these flags, his health, power, fame, life, wealth and good name go higher and higher.

LHA GYALLO: This is an ejaculation meaning THE GODS PREVAIL (May all that is good prevail: The Gods are victorious.)

IN THE CENTRE: The Heavenly Steed (or the Steed that flies across space) carrying on his back the Cintamani (the Tachog Rinpoche with the Wish-fulfilling Gem in the saddle.) This is flaming with the first of the Transcending Knowledge. * * * * *

SHORT REVIEWS

* *Books*

THE FESTIVALS OF NEPAL. By Mary M. Anderson.
288 pages, 23 illustrations. Published by George Allen & Unwin,
London 1971. Price £ 5.75.

Since the opening of Nepal in 1951 and the influx of tourists, embassy personnel and development projects, visitors to the country have been fascinated by the round of feasts and festivals which truly constitute a way of life for the people of the Valley of Nepal. Mary Anderson, however, was not satisfied to be the usual tourist with a camera who takes home a stack of slides but has no real understanding of what the events photographed mean to the people of Nepal. She used her five years in Nepal as the wife of a diplomat to probe deeper into the "meaning of the ancient processions and rituals, the mythological, religious and historical backgrounds of the ceremonies, and the wealth of delightful legends and folk-tales surrounding them." The result of her research is a well written and beautifully illustrated account of the principal Hindu and Buddhist festivals observed by the people of the Valley of Nepal.

Though many of the principal feasts and festivals described in the book are celebrated by people throughout Nepal, and indeed all over India as well, Mary Anderson was concerned with the observance of these feasts in the Valley of Nepal and the meaning of them to the people who live there. It is this fact which makes her book of special interest.

The Valley of Nepal is something of a unique cultural unit. Before the unification of Nepal at the end of the 18th century the Valley of Nepal was a relatively closed cultural unit with its own special characteristics. The Valley knew no outside conquerors before the coming of the King of Gorkha and it was spared the terrible destruction of the Moslem invasions which destroyed many of the cultural institutions and edifices of North India. Its culture, which was influenced by successive groups of people who came from India to make their home in Nepal over a period of nearly two thousand years, was left intact; and the round of festivals described in this book embodies that culture. Here one finds the principal Hindu festivals observed by Hindus and Buddhists alike, each with their own interpretations of their meaning, their own legends, and their own rituals. One finds Buddhist festivals observed as they were in India before the coming of the Moslems and the disappearance of Buddhism in India. One also finds a number of festivals that are wholly indigenous to Nepal such as the *Gai Jatra*, or procession of sacred cows, when decorated cows, or young boys costumed to represent cows, are taken in procession round the city by all those who have had a death in the family within the past year, and the many Newar festivals, such as the *Bisket*

Jatra of Bhatgaon, the Red Macchendranath *ratha jatra* of Patan, and the White Macchendranath *ratha jatra* of Kathmandu, some of which are peculiar to individual villages or sections of the city.

In the case of each of these festivals the author has observed the celebrations, noted the principal rituals, and questioned the people of the Valley to determine what the festivals mean to them. She has not consulted the pandits for a philosophical account of the festivals and their religious meaning nor has she probed historical data to determine when and how these festivals came to be observed in Nepal and how they have been subsequently changed by later cultural influences. This was not her purpose. Her purpose was rather a survey of the living tradition and the legends surrounding them which are current among the people. Consequently the book presents a delightful account of the folk religion of the people of Nepal as embodied in their festivals. In her foreword the author admits the possibility of error; perhaps one could say rather, the possibility of different interpretations of the festivals and different rites or observances surrounding them. When one is dealing with folklore and legends there are bound to be differences in what the festivals mean to people of different social, economic, and educational backgrounds. This is compounded by the great number of festivals. Thirty six are described by the author, and these are by no means all of the festivals observed in Nepal or even in the Valley of Kathmandu.

The festivals are presented chronologically beginning with the observance of the Nepalese New Year in mid-April and ending with the *Sapana Tirtha Mela* on the last day of the year when people gather at the stream outside of the Tokha village to bathe and pray for renewal of life and health during the coming new year. Twenty-three pages of lovely colour plates illustrate the principal festivals and help the reader to share in them in a way that no amount of text could do.

The account of the festivals is preceded by a brief introduction sketching the geography of Nepal, its history, religion and culture to give the reader some background for what follows. A brief bibliography is appended to show the reader where he can pursue this background in greater detail. Regrettably, the author's introduction is marred by a few errors of fact, the most serious of which is the confusion of the unification of Nepal toward the end of the 18th century and the war with the British in 1814-16 which resulted in the loss of about half of Nepal's territory. The confusion of these two events results in a faulty interpretation of both.

The friends of Nepal certainly owe a debt of gratitude to Mary Anderson for this popular introduction to the life and culture of the people of Nepal, and those who came to Nepal as advisers to cooperate in the economic development of the country will find here an aid to an understanding of the culture of the people they have come to assist. The people of Nepal, in turn, will indeed be pleased to see the

interest of their friends in their culture and religion, and perhaps be spurred on to further research into their own cultural and religious heritage.

All of us, however would like to have received the book from the publisher at a much more reasonable price.

John K. Locke

* *Reprinted books*

TEXTBOOK OF COLLOQUIAL TIBETAN.

By G.N. Roerich and Lobsang Lhalungpa.

2nd edition, revised and enlarged by Lobsang Lhalungpa.

280 Pages. Published by Mañjuśrī Publishing House, New Delhi,

1972. (Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series II, vol 3)

The first edition of this book was in many ways the most practical manual for learning spoken Tibetan. Lighter and more easy to carry about than Nornang-Goldstein, and with conversational material more useful than that to be found in Bell or Betty Shefts-Kun Chang, the book was for several years hard to come by; and Mañjuśrī, who have already given us so many worthwhile volumes, are to be congratulated on making it available once more. This is not just a reprint of the first edition (as stated on the back of the title page) but a second edition incorporating revisions and additions (as stated in the Preface). About forty-five pages have been added, and some deletions have been made in Parts I & II. Suffixes and prefixes, and the declension of verbs are now dealt with at some length. The vocabulary has been expanded to include more modern terms, useful phrases and rhyming terms. More proverbs have been added; and there are now two more sections in the conversational exercises. Blank pages have been inter-leaved for note-taking; and there is a new section on Tibetan handwriting. The present writer has not yet had access to the phonographic record "available separately or with the book", on which "selected important passages" have been recorded.

Most of the deletions seem commendable. But a lot of the new material has been added somewhat carelessly and the proof-reader seems to have spent a lot of time nodding. Herewith some suggestions are offered in the hope that they may be of help in bringing out a third edition.

- p.3,1.1 For 'words combined with vowels', read: 'words formed by consonants combined with vowels'.
- p.3,1.26 For 'The letter 'b' is pronounced 'ba' when preceding a syllable', read: 'The letter 'b' is pronounced 'pa'...'

- p.7,1.8 *Tshur* and *phar* mean as often 'this side' and 'that side' as 'here' and 'there'.
- p.7,1.12 In Tibetan, read *yol-ba* for *yal-ba*.
- p.7,1.13 The translation of *rus* by 'caste' and *rigs* (p.8) by 'caste, kind' can only lead to confusion in the beginner's mind.
- p.26,1.3 For 'chieftan', read 'chieftain'.
- p.27 In the plural forms of *rita*, much print has disappeared.
- p.28. In the plural forms of *groñ-khyer*, much print has disappeared.
- p.36,37 In the singular and plural of the Pronominal Declension (ña), some print has disappeared.
- p.39,1.4 'la' has disappeared in the loc. singular and plural.
- p.41. 'la' has disappeared in the transcribed renderings of the 'dative': 'di-la, 'di-tsho la.
- p.50 I do not understand why *dañ* has been changed to 'ten (?)' on lines 17-21.
- p.51 'Four and five make nine' is true; but the Tibetan states that four and and five make ten, which is untrue.
- p.53,1.20 For 'it is ten to one', read: 'it is ten to two'.
- p.53,1.24 For 'it is five to one', read: 'it is five to two'.
- p.61 If *ñas phyin-pa yin* is to be called an 'Imperfect', should it not be translated 'I was going' rather than 'I went'?
- p.65,1.21 I think 'go in peace' should have been retained before 'goodbye' as 'please sit down' has been retained before 'goodbye'.
- p.65,1.25 The change in translation from 'prepare the food well' of the first edition, to 'please help yourself' is interesting. I think 'please stuff yourselves' would be closest to the real meaning. It is always difficult to isolate short phrases from their context. I believe it was Bertrand Russell who first pointed out that 'well, friends, this is it' is the English for 'Allons, enfants de la patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé'.
- p.68,1.4 'I do not wish to do it' is an improvement on the previous 'I did not say that I wish to do it'.
- p.81,1.23 I do not understand the relevance of 'Are they doing it?'
- P. 82 In view of the example given, the sentence: 'Where a verb follows an interrogative neither *yod red* nor *yod ma red pas* is applicable but only *yod red*' should surely read: 'Where a verb follows an interrogative, only *yod red* is applicable'.

- p.83,1.20 Is 'seeing' a slip for 'being seen' ?
- p.86 *ña-rgyal* can have several shades of meaning; but if *ña-rgyal bs-lañ-pa* is rendered by 'to arouse pride' surely *ña-rgyal lañs-pa* means also 'to feel proud'.
- p.89,1.19 The Tibetan and transcribed forms of *kañ-yin-na* have been omitted.
- p.105 The note to *zhal-tog* 'any eatable' seems to me wrong. *Zhal-tog* is primarily the honorific form of *çiñ-tog*: it can have particular regional meanings like 'sweets'.
- p. 106, 1. 19 Should read *rañ-gi yon-tan yag-po gson*.
- p.110 The original 'What is that man asking?' seems to me better than, 'What did that man say ?' Once again, the context will determine the meaning.
- p.111 'Am I not working at present?' would be closer than 'Am I not working?'
- p. 111, last l. *kha-sañ nas* can signify 'recently' but means literally, in my present opinion: 'Since the day before yesterday'. *kha-sañ* and *mdañ* are not easy to delimit in time: there seems to be a certain over-lap in their usage. However *mdañ* is always equated to Nepali *hijo/hiju* and *kha-sañ* to Nepali *asti*.
- p.113 For 'They will probably play', I suggest: 'They will probably be playing'.
- p.114 For 'reletive', read: 'relative'.
- p.120 For 'once own', read 'one's own'.
- p.131 The transcribed form of the sentence beginning *groñ-khyer chuñ-chuñ* no longer corresponds to the Tibetan.
- p.140 left column, 1.14. For *thub-ki* read: *thubkyi*
- p.142 The sentence beginning 'usually in each locality' ... is no longer English, and does not fully translate the Tibetan.
- p.179 The second, third and eighth lines of the passage in Tibetan are not easy to decipher in my copy.
- p.209 *lo ga-tshod phyin-na'añ* is not translated. I suggest: 'Whatever the age'.
- p.209 'Wine' still seems to me an unfortunate translation of *chañ*; 'beer' is better.
- p.214 For *gnod suyel-ba* read *gnod skyel ba*.
- p.215 'Bank' would be a more usual translation than 'Treasury' these days for *dñul-khañ*.

In the third edition of this book, perhaps more precise definition of culinary terms might be included: the definition of terms such as *phyur-ba*, *la-phug gob-btsas*, *man-chi'i-tse*, *gsol-'dres*, *mthud*, which have remained unchanged in the present edition, are inadequate. One is also surprised to note that *mog-mo* is still missing from the vocabulary. Again one is often struck by the fact that very common meanings are not indicated; *thag good-pa* means 'to decide' as often as 'to fix'; *lte-ba* certainly means 'main, principal, rite' but also 'navel'. *rtsag-ge rtsig-ge* can mean 'various' but it usually means 'unstable'. *çubs* does mean 'case, container, scabbard', but it would be useful to add that *yig-çubs* means 'envelope'.

On the other hand much of the new vocabulary is very useful. Terms like *dbañ*, *luñ* and *'khrid* are more adequately translated than is usually the case. Unfortunately the Tibetan for 'eight noble paths' (p.248) has somehow slipped out of print. *Slob-dpon* is translated correctly on p.255 as 'spiritual teacher' but on p.261 as 'spirited master' which may or may not be the case.

Much of my criticism may sound carping, but I have personally found this book so helpful that I would like to see it in a tidier form. The section on 'Tibetan Handwriting' could surely have been less of a mess. Jacques Bacot's article, 'L'écriture cursive tibétaine' in *Journal Asiatique*, jan.-fév. 1912, should have been quoted in this context as it still remains most useful, particularly with regard to abbreviations. And the bibliography should be revised to include at least Chos grags, *Brda'-dag miñ-tshig gsal-ba*, Peking 1957; Desgodins, *Dictionnaire Thibétaine-Latin-Français*, par les Missionnaires Catholiques du Thibet, Hong Kong, 1899; and the vocabularies to be found in R.A. Stein, *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling*, Paris, 1956.

I remain sceptical about the form *ñar* which is used throughout the book. *ña rañ la* and *ña la* seem to me much more frequent in both spoken and written usage.

A.W.M.

HISTORY OF NEPAL. By Munshi Shew Shanker Singh & Pandit Shri Gunanand. (Edited by Daniel Wright) *xiv*+320 pages. 14 plates. Originally published in 1877. Reprinted 1972 by Nepal Antiquated Book Publisher, Kathmandu, Nepal. Price. N. Rs. 60/—

In the last issue of Kailash a review of a Calcutta edition of this book was printed, criticising the heavy editing done by the Calcutta publisher. We are pleased to inform our readers that this valuable book has again been reprinted, this time in an unabridged, unedited reprint (offset) edition. Only two plates are missing in this reprint edition, plate VII on page 78: "The footsteps of Manjusri and of Buddha", and plate XIII on page 213: "The prayer composed, and written in fifteen characters, by Rāj Pratāpa Malla, A.D. 1654". (Plate VII has been included on page 64 in a reprint of *Hodgson: Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet*, (Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series II, Volume 7, Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972.)

Despite the two missing plates, this reprint is of good quality; both paper and binding are above the usual standard of such reprints now flooding the market in India. It is encouraging that Nepalese publishers now take an interest in reprinting unavailable books on Nepal.

* Journals, anthologies, etc.

THE HIMALAYAN REVIEW. Volume V. 1972. *vi+72 pages, 12 charts.* Edited by S. L. Amatya. Published by the Nepal Geographical Society, c/o Department of Geography, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal. Price: Rs 10/-per copy.

These short reviews are not intended to do full justice to the material reviewed; they are primarily intended to draw the attention of our readers to books, journals, phonographic recordings etc. relating to the subject matter of this journal.

The Himalayan Review, started in 1963 by the Nepal Geographical Society, is edited by three eminent Nepalese Scholars, Professor S. L. Amatya, Dr. Harka Gurung and Dr. Mohan N. Shrestha. The previous four volumes have maintained a high standard of scholarship, and this fifth volume is no exception. It contains the following articles (1) The Growth and General Distribution of Cash Crops in Nepal, by S. L. Amatya, (2) Rotating Credit in Gurung Society: The Dikhur Associations of Tin Gaun, by Don Messerschmidt, (3) Distribution and Mobility of Graduates in Nepal, by Harka Gurung, and (4) Agricultural Condition in Kathmandu Valley for the last 150 years, by U. M. Malla. The journal is well printed, and the maps and charts accompanying Dr. Gurung's article are excellent. We hope our readers will support this journal actively.

PINES—Academic and Cultural Quarterly Volume I-Part 2. (1972 ?) *iv+72 pages.* Edited by B. Shastri. Published by the Literary and Cultural Cooperative Society, Laiturnkhrah, (Cottage of Dr. I. B. Roy), Shillong-3, Meghalaya, India. Annual Subscription: Rs. 8/-.

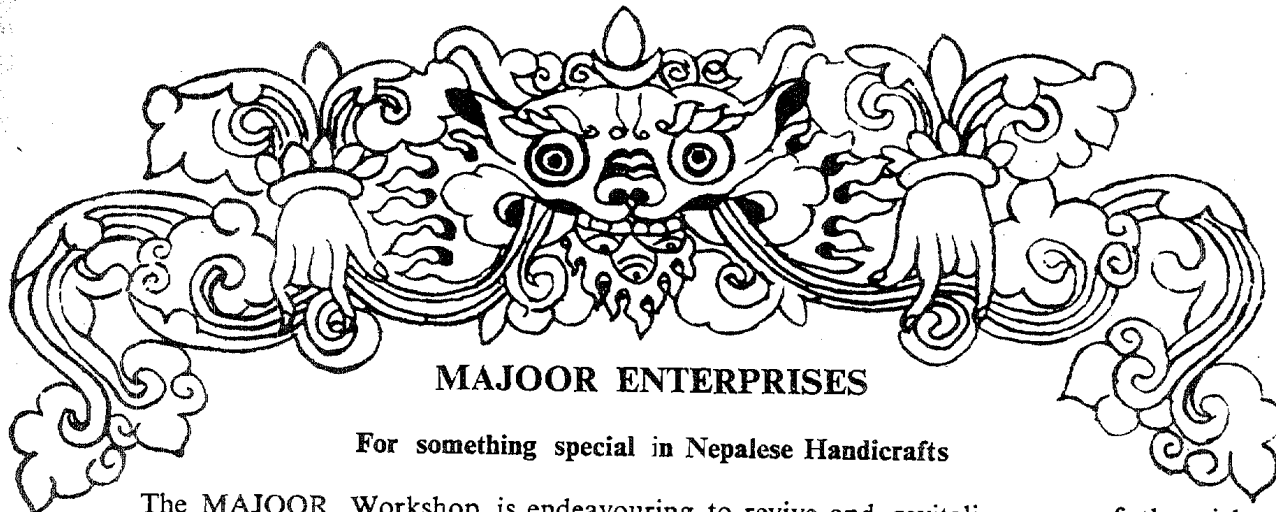
After a long silence, PINES again has re-appeared. In our last issue we briefly reviewed Part 1.

Introducing Part 2, the editor laments the difficult financial position of the journal, and concludes: "Wiser and sobered by experience we are modest this time—the volume is attenuated and the number cut down. But the contents we dare hope keep up to the standard, and will not fail to appeal."

This issue contains 10 articles on various subjects related to the history and culture of the peoples of North-Eastern India. Dr. S.K. Chaube writes on British rule and social transition in the North-Eastern Hills, Biloris Lyndem on Khasi and Jaintia education, W. Saiza on Cultural traits of the Manipuris, Miss V. M. Simon on Khasi birth rites, and so on. S. Biswas has compiled an extensive list of snakes of the area, and Mrs. L. R. Dingdoh has contributed an interesting article on tiger hunting techniques in the Khasi Hills.

* * *

H. K. K.



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