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S. H. H. H. H.

1885. 1885. 1885. 1885.

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SIMRAONGARH REVISITED

A REPORT ON SOME OBSERVATIONS MADE AT THE RUINS OF THE FORMER CAPITAL OF
MITHILA IN THE TERAI OF NEPAL.

Thomas O. Ballinger
University of Oregon

In March of 1958 this writer was afforded the opportunity of visiting and confirming an earlier report on the location and ruins of Simraongarh, former capital of the province of Mithila located in the Terai of Nepal. ¹

The purpose of this paper is to bring to the attention of interested scholars the condition of this ancient site as it stands in the mid-twentieth century. The few examples of sculpture and carving selected to support visually the commentary serve as photographic documentation of the evidence on the surface at Simraongarh. It is likely that this material, as well as the few other examples of stone carving that subsequently found their way into the Kathmandu and Patna Museums, are the "idols" mentioned by Hodgson in his earlier account:

"Some twenty idols, excavated from the ruins by pious labour of a Gosain, are made of stone, and are superior in sculpture to modern specimens of the art. Many of them are much mutilated and of those which are perfect, I had only time to observe that they bore the ordinary attributes of Puranic Brahmanism." ²

The site lies fifteen miles to the south of the sub-Himalaya hill system. It is this lower range of the Himalaya that forms the southern boundary of the valley of Nepal, i. e. the Kathmandu valley. The geographical milieu of the Simraongarh area is a combination of dense growth and clearing with some cultivation adjacent to several small villages in the vicinity. This jungle area, known as the Terai, constitutes the

1. This account is a revision of a paper presented on May 23, 1970, at the Pacific Northwest Art History Association Conference, University of California at Davis. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the following for their assistance in the preparation of this paper: Janet Gail Burkart, Librarian, School of Architecture and Allied Arts, University of Oregon; Professor Theodore Riccardi of Columbia University, who was good enough to edit and recommend appropriate changes; and finally, to Professor Clifford Jones, University of Pennsylvania, who made innumerable contributions in regard to the identification of deities in the Hindu pantheon.

2. Hodgson, Brian H., Account of a visit to the ruins of Simroun, once the capital of the Mithila province. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV., No. 39., Mar. 1835, pp. 121-124. (Reprinted in *Illustrations of the Religion of the Buddhists of the North*, Serampore, 1841, but not reprinted in the Trubner collection of 1872.)

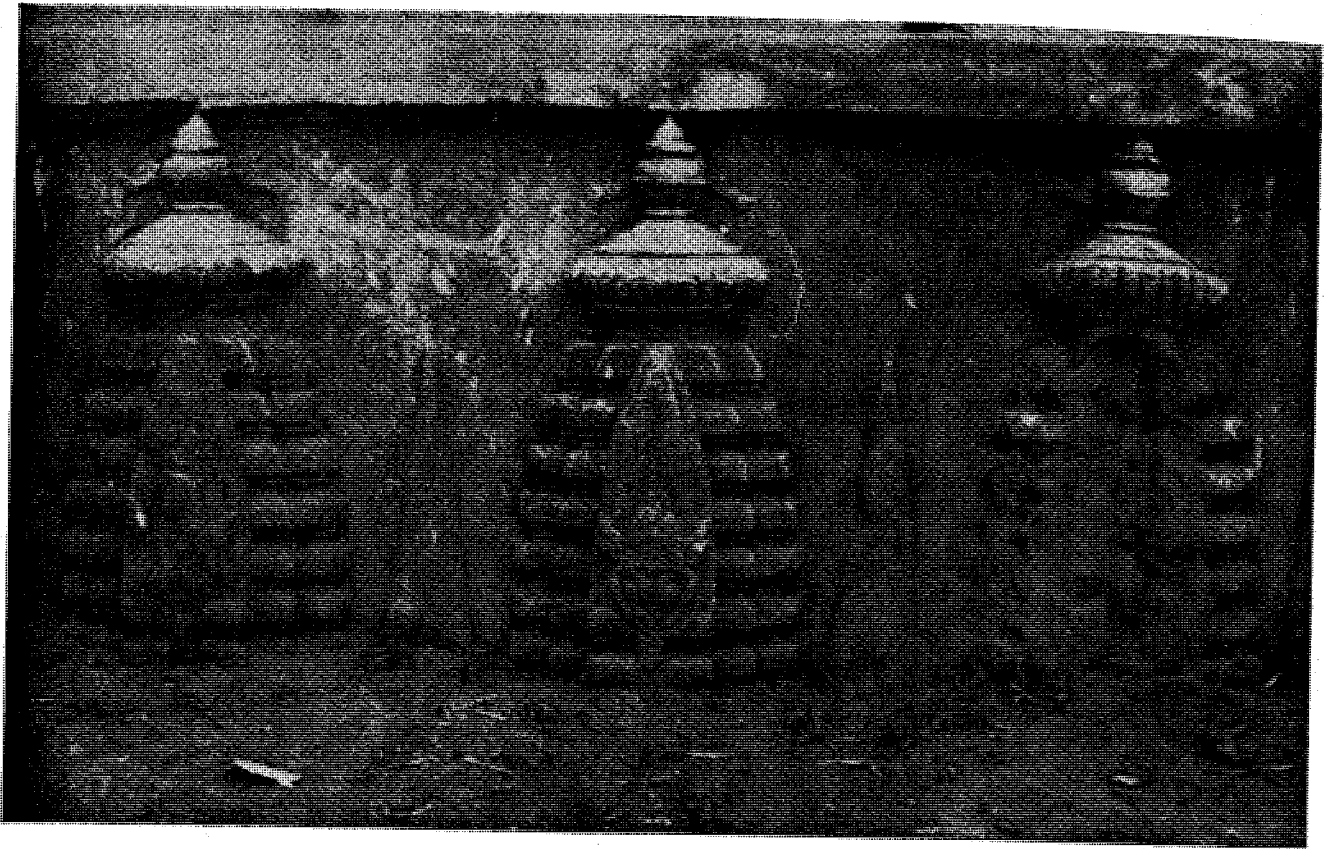


Fig. 1



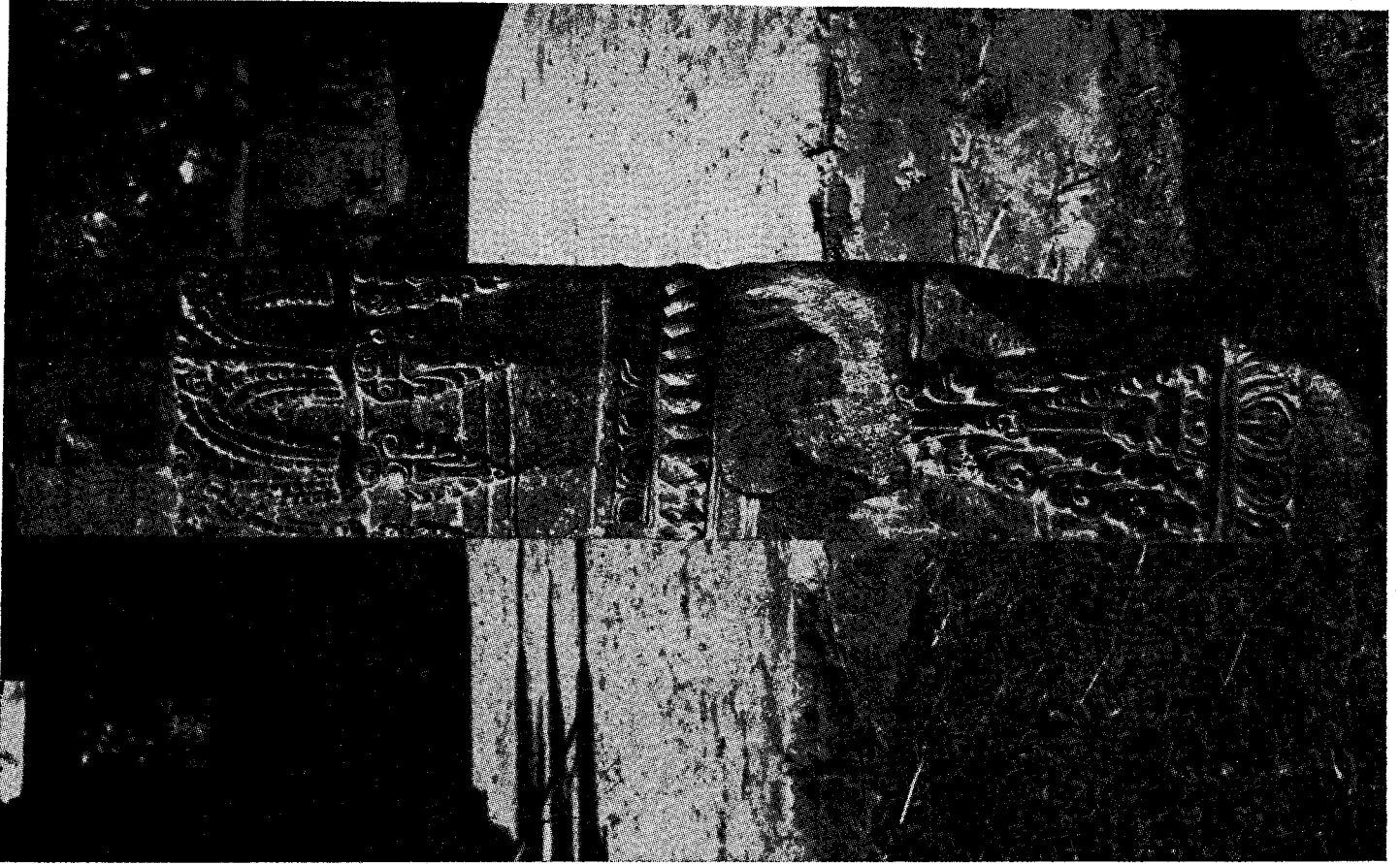


Fig. 4

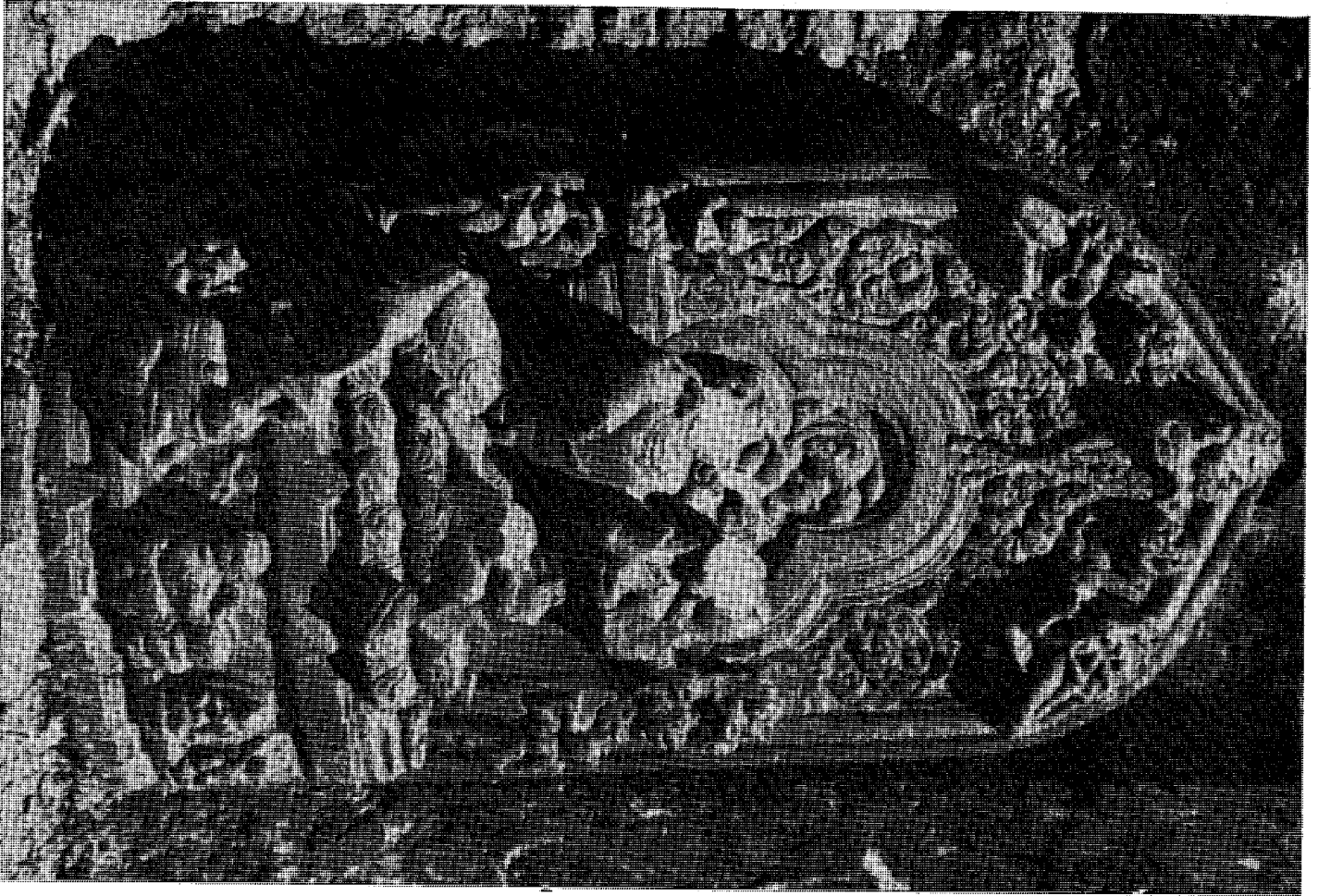


Fig. 6.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 7

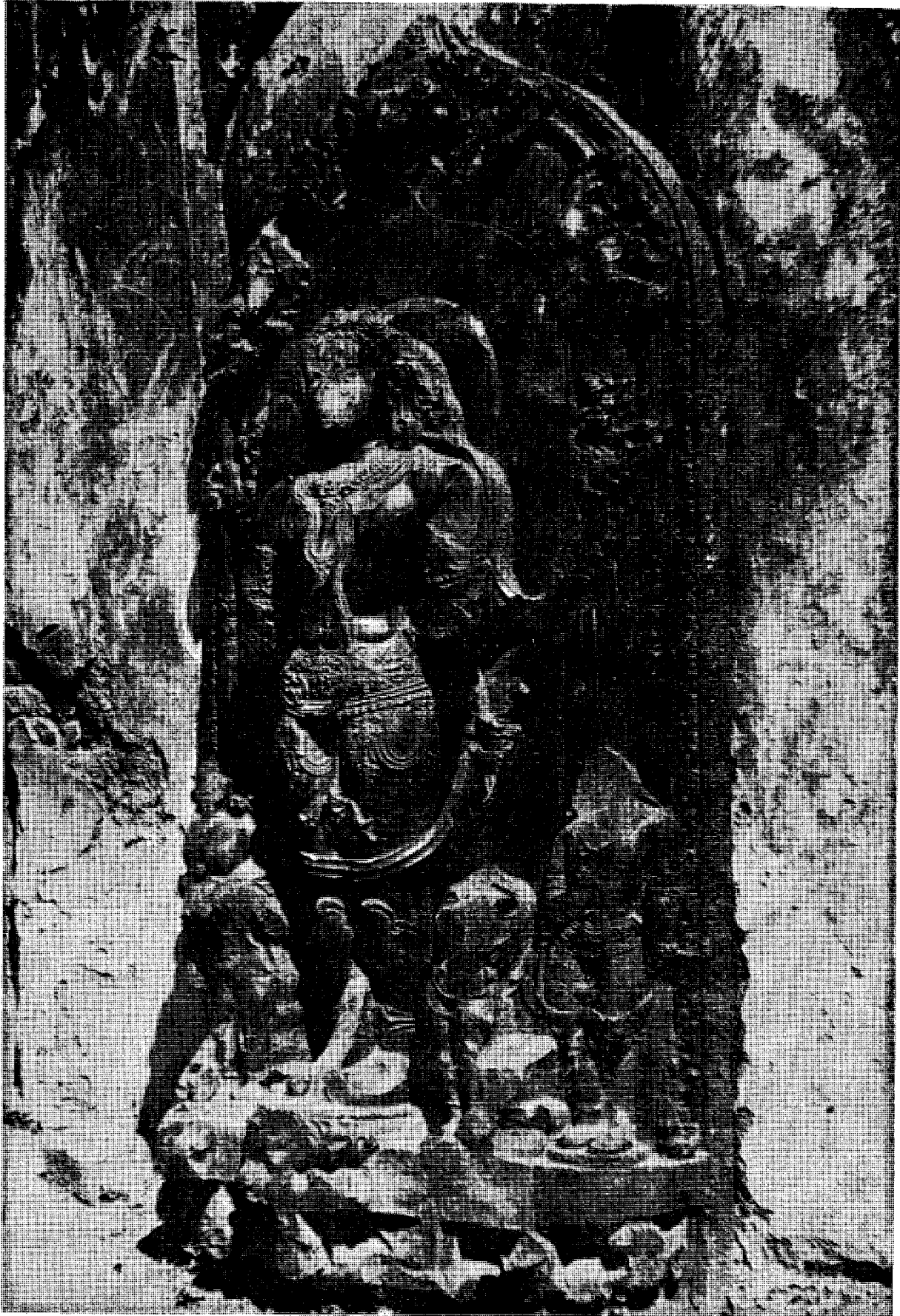


Fig. 8



Fig. 9

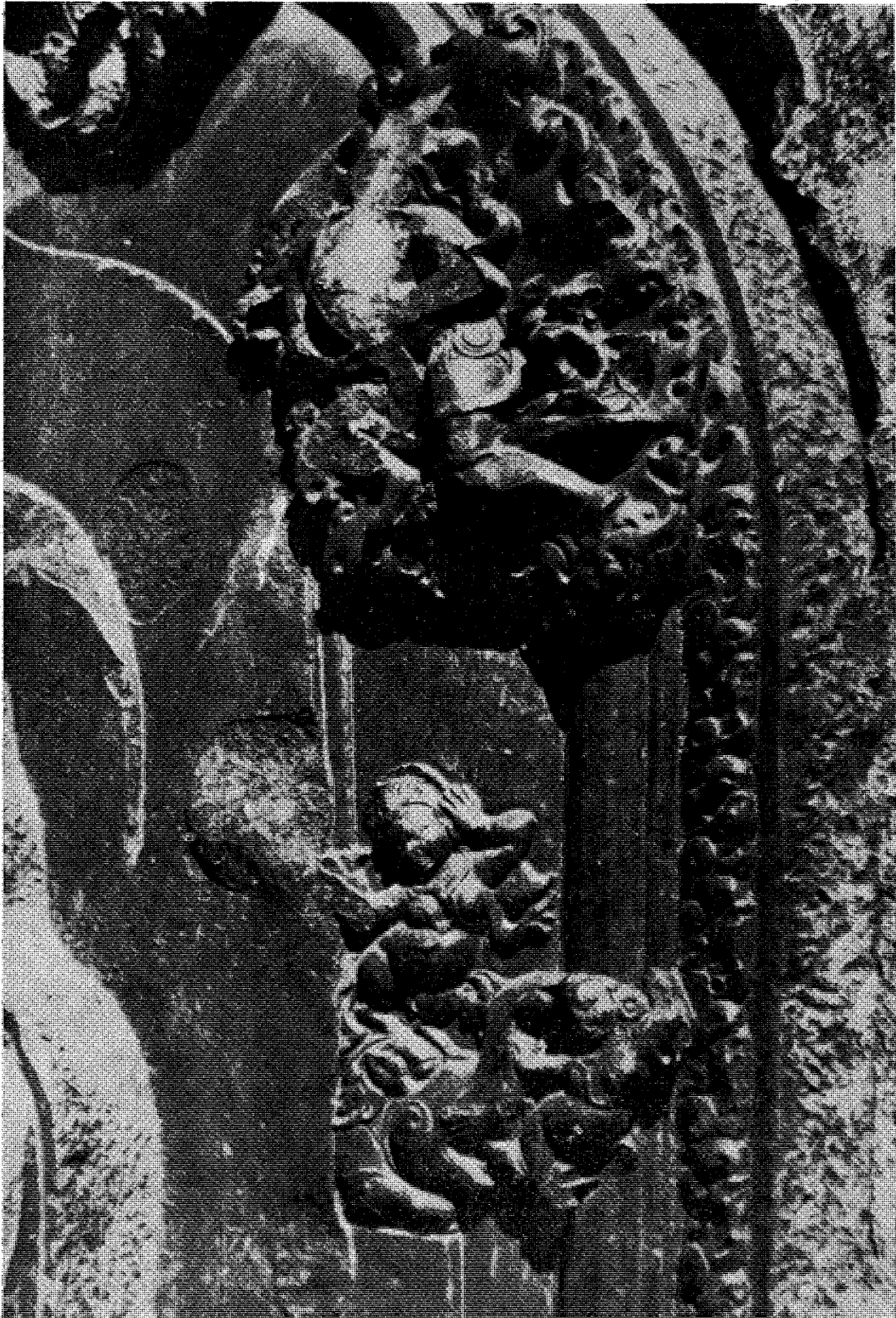


Fig. 10



Fig. 11.

northern terminal point of the vast Indian plain north of the Ganges River. For many centuries the inhospitable environment of the Terai has served as a successful barrier against invaders from the south.

In regard to the founding of and the eventual destruction of Simraongarh, historical accounts differ.³ It is well within reason, however, to use the first half of the twelfth century as the time when Naya Deva established the kingdom. Some two hundred years later King Hara Singha Deva reigned as sovereign. Dhana Bajra Bajracharya, in *Itihas Samsodhan*, offers a detailed account of this period.⁴ It is almost certain that prior to the Bengali campaign of 1381 the commander of the Muslim forces, Ghazi Malik Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, after assassinating the Sultan of Delhi (1377 A. D.) swept into Tirhut and the Simraongarh area with the intent of total destruction of all remaining Buddhist and Hindu culture. The facial mutilation of all deities found on the stone carving is testimony to such zeal.

3. Petech, Luciano, *Mediaeval History of Nepal*. (c. 750-1480) Serie Orientale Roma, Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture. Vol. X. Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1958, Rome. p.52.

4. Bajracharya, Dhana Bajra, "Some Thoughts on the Tirhut, i. e. Hara Singha Deva's Invasion of the Nepal Valley", No. 7 (No. 39 in the series *Itihas-Samsodhan Corrections of History*.) Translated from Nepali by Bhuwan Lal Joshi: "In the first half of the twelfth century (Vikram era) Nānya Deva had established a kingdom at Simraongarh of Tirhut in the eastern Terai of Nepal. These Tirhutiyas of Simraongarh used to invade the Nepal valley periodically whenever they felt that the internal conditions in the valley from Tirhut [sic] (original in Sanskrit). "Again in the Magha of N. E. 411 the Tirhutiyas entered" (Gopal Raj Vamsavali.) Like the Khas and the Moslems of an earlier period they could not gain a foothold in the valley. (The invasion of the Khas and the Moslems will be considered in a separate publication.) In the first half of the fourteenth century Vikram, King Hara Singha Deva, descended from Nānya Deva, was reigning at Simraongarh. After assassinating the Sultan of Delhi, Hushro, in V. E. 1377, the commander Ghazi Malik Ghiyasuddin Tughalak had ascended the throne in Delhi. He had served for a long period (?) in the army of Allaudin. Towards the end of his reign Ghiyasuddin Tughalak invaded Bengal in V. E. 1381. He returned by way of Tirhut. Therefore, a battle took place between Hara Singha Deva and Ghiyasuddin Tughalak. When the army of Ghiyasuddin destroyed Simraongarh, Hari Singha Deva had to flee to the mountains. He entered the hilly regions of Nepal."

(Note: No editing to or of the above translation has been undertaken by the author.)

Hodgson in his publication refers to two Hindu-Sanskrit ślokas which state that Simraongarh was founded in 1097 A. D. by Nanyupa Deva, and that six kings reigned there until 1322 A. D., i. e. (1) Nanyupa; (2) Ganga (3) Nara Sinha (4) Rama Singha

Based upon the information in the earlier report (Hodgson), our party was able to locate and identify the site.⁵ On the crest of the highest hill, located at the southwest corner of the area, we found a large courtyard surrounding a Hindu temple dedicated to Hanuman. In the courtyard, surface material included several examples of stone plinth and foundation fragments with relief carving. Fig. 1 shows the upper part of early Indian *śikhara* temple forms carved on such a base. In the center of each form is a *garuḍa*, vehicle of Vishnu. The lower section of the carving is buried beneath the soil. Other stone fragments found on the surface showed animal and flower motifs. An example of this is found in Fig. 2. An eight-petal flower form serves as a design beneath a deep relief profile carving on a lion figure. Behind the lion figure is the head of a *makara*, a mythological creature associated with water and watering places (*praṇāli*) in Nepal. Another sample of the courtyard material is a damaged stone carving of what seems to be an eight-armed manifestation of Mahiṣāsūramardini.

Prior to a consideration of the major sculpture we located and photographed, it may be of interest to the reader to learn that our party made some effort to validate certain aspects of Hodgson's report. We found the *Isrā* tank (*pokrā*) to be still intact and our measurements (paces) proved to be approximately the same as the previous findings indicated.⁶ Rectangular in shape, the inner and base walls of the tank appeared to be of a fine, high-fired brick. The tank seems to have suffered some deterioration since the visit by Hodgson. This is particularly noticeable on the finishing edges above the current water level where loose bricks have fallen down into the tank. The causeway referred to in the early observations was almost indistinguishable. Hodgson did not identify the precise location of this "50 to 60 yard area" and we presumed it to be the east-west axis leading past a few small temples and down to the edge of the *Isrā pokrā*.

(5) Sakti Sinha (6) Hari Sinha. All of the above had the cognomen Dēva.

The Moslem annals give 1323 as the date of the destruction by Toglak Shah. (Peteck in his *Mediaeval History of Nepal* p. 112, corrects previous dates attributed to the above event to read December 14, 1325,

5. The survey party consisted of Purna Harsha Bajracharya, Nepalese authority on Buddhist culture, Werner Jacobson, Danish archaeologist and photographer, and the author's wife, Joy Ballinger.

6. Approximately 210 paces on the north-south ends of the tank, 333 paces (Hodgson) vs 310 paces (Ballinger) on the east-west lateral. Continued deterioration since the Hodgson report could account for this variable. In the Hodgson article he quotes, "After the war with Nepal, Lt. Boileau, I think, surveyed these ruins and drew up a plan of them. What is become of it I know not." Dr. Leo Rose of the University of California has made an extensive search for the Boileau survey but to date it remains lost.



Fig, 12



Fig. 13

A 5' x 1' $\frac{1}{2}$ " stone column was found lying face down along the edge of the causeway where it was serving as a stepping stone (Fig. 4). It was finely carved on three sides, the back being rough-hewn stone and reminiscent of earlier examples found on the columns in Buddhist caves in central India. Such carving was to eventually find its way north into the valley of Nepal where at some later date Newar artisans would use a modified design on both wood and stone façades and porticos of Buddhist and Hindu ecclesiastical architecture. It is of interest to note that to date no stone inscriptions have been reported found on the site.

As reported in the earlier account the hard, black stone material (chlorite) found on the site was not indigenous to the immediate area. It must have been quarried and hauled down from the second range of foothills, some 25 miles distant to the north.

In the courtyard temple compound we found a stone fragment depicting a heraldic griffin with a seated rider astride its back (Fig. 5). The griffin stands upon its hind legs over the prostrate form of an elephant. This is the rampant lion configuration which has as its prototype identical examples adorning the façades of *Orissan* temple structures in southeastern India. In depicting various forms of this familiar leogryph motif the *Orissan* sculptor shows (as did the carvers of the *Pala* and *Sena* periods) a consummate ability and creative imagination in the treatment of symbolic mythology. The conception of the lion habitually preying on the elephant occurs in the *Devī-Purāṇa*, a literary contribution believed to have been written as early as the 7th century but no later than the 9th century A. D.

An 11th century carving of *Shiva* and *Pārvati*, as *Uma-maheshvara*, has also suffered extensive damage to both faces and heads of the deities (Fig. 6). This stele in high relief shows a *kirtimukha* at the peak. The two central figures are seated in the *lalitasana* posture on a lotus base resting on a pedestal. Above them *apsaras* carry garlands. Below the architectural profiles of the pedestal (*saptaratha*, Fig. 7-detail) we find, reading right to left, an attendant or a devotee, *Uma's* lion followed by a skeletal *Chamunda* (or *śrṅgi* ?) the dreaded aspect of the goddess; *Shiva's* bull *Nandi*; and on the far left several unidentified figures.

The largest stone carving we located was a chlorite carving of *Sūrya*, the sun god (Fig. 8). An outstanding example of the craftsmanship and skill of the artisans may be found in the treatment of the girdle on the central figure (Fig. 9). Its high relief complements the flesh and muscle structure of both stomach and rib cage. The two smaller attendant figures which have suffered much mutilation are probably *Usa* and *Sandhya*. The entire stele is crowned with a *kirtimukha* (Fig. 8). Above and to the right are celestial beings (*vidyadhara-s* *apasaras*- Fig. 10). One of these flying angels appears to be emerging from the mouth of a *makara* (Fig. 11).

The final example of sculpture our party located was a life-size stone head and upper torso of a male *nāga* deity resplendent in necklace, bracelets, epaulets and moustache. His head is crowned with coras and the carving is a form of *Shiva* (Fig. 12).

In conclusion, it is of interest to note the comments of Heinrich Zimmer, the distinguished scholar of Indian art and culture. In referring to the general geographical area where *Simraongarh*, the former capital of Mithila, lay in ruins in the Nepalese Terai, Zimmer makes the following observations:

“In this introductory chapter I shall not enumerate all the schools of Hindu art that carried forward and transformed the heritage of the Gupta period, but shall indicate only two more outstanding styles and close with a glimpse of Indian influence abroad. One of the most remarkable inflections of the Gupta tradition was in Bengal under the Pāla and Sena dynasties (c. 730-1250 A. D.) where a style developed of a peculiarly rich, sweet flavor. The works were important historically because of Bengal’s geographical position between Nepal and Tibet in the north, and Java, with its famous centers of Buddhist learning, in the southeast. Bengal inspired to a remarkable degree both the arts and the philosophies of these two realms.”⁷

* * *

7. Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1955, pp. 15-16.

ETUDE DE LA FABRICATION D'UNE STATUE AU NEPAL

Marie-Laure de Labriffe

Paris

सारांशः

यस सानो लेखमा पाटनमा हिजोआज पनि प्रचलित मैन पगालेर मूर्ति ढाल्ने प्रक्रियामाथि प्रकाश पानं खोजिएको छ। यो प्रक्रिया प्राचीन ग्रीकहरूबाट ईशा पूर्व ३००० वर्षमा शुरू भई भारतमा ऋग्वेद, उपनिषद् र पालीमा रचित बौद्ध ग्रन्थका कालमा पनि व्यवहारमा आएको देखापर्दछ। सिन्धु घाटीको सभ्यतामा पनि यो शीप विद्यमान थियो। हिजोआज यो शीपको प्रचार भारत, नेपाल, बर्मा र मलेशियामा खूब छ। 'मैन पगालेर' बनाउने प्रक्रिया (Cire perdue) भन्नाले ती सबै ढाल्ने विधिलाई भनिन्छ जसमा पगालेको धातुले मैनको ठाउँ ग्रहण गर्दछ। यसबाट तीनै आयामको मूर्ति बन्न जान्छ। यस पद्धतिबाट खँदिलो र खोक्रो दुवै खालका मूर्तिहरूको निर्माण हुन्छ।

यसको परिचयात्मक खण्डमा माथिका कुराबाहेक ढाल्ने पद्धतिको वर्णन पनि गरिएको छ। यसअनुसार पहिले खँदिलो मूर्तिको ढाँचा मैनमा तयार गरिन्छ र त्यसमाथि माटोको बाक्लो लेप लगाइन्छ। यसरी तयार भई सुकेपछि त्यस ढाँचालाई आगोमा पोल्दा भित्रको मैन सबै पगालेर पहिलेनै बनाएको एउटा प्वालबाट निस्कन्छ। त्यसै प्वालबाट अनि पगालेको धातुको झोल खन्याइन्छ र मूर्ति तयार हुन्छ। यो पद्धति हिजोआज दक्षिण भारतमा प्रचलित छ। खोक्रो मूर्ति बनाउँदा ढाँचा पहिले माटोमा तयार गरिन्छ र त्यसमाथि दुइ मिलिमिटर बाक्लो मैनको पत्र लगाइन्छ र फेरि अन्तमा अर्को माटोको पत्रले लेपिन्छ। यसलाई आगोमा पगाल्दा मैन निकलन्छ अनि बीचमा धातु खन्याइन्छ। यो पद्धति मध्य र पूर्वी भारतमा प्रयुक्त छ। नेपालमा खोक्रो मूर्ति ढाल्ने प्रक्रिया अलि बेग्लै छ। यसअनुसार माटोको ढाँचाको भित्र र बाहिरपट्टि मैनको लेप लगाइन्छ। यो पद्धति धर्मपालको समयमा बंगाल र बिहारमा पाल शैलीमा व्यवहृत थियो र नेपालमा यसले १२औं शताब्दीतिर प्रवेश गर्‍यो। नेपालमा धातुका मूर्ति मुख्यतः १४ धौं देखि १८ रौं शताब्दीसम्म बने र यसलाई बनाउने कलाकारहरू नेवार हुन्।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन पाटनका मूर्तिकार जगतमान शाक्यको कार्यलाई हेरेर गरिएको हो। यिनी १७ रौं शताब्दीमा बनेको उ बहालमा बस्दछन्। केही वर्णन उनको घर र बहालको गरिएको छ। त्यसपछि उनको दिनको काम गर्ने घण्टाको वर्णन पनि छ। मूर्ति बनाउने धातु ढलोको हो। ढलोको दुइ मिश्रणको वर्णन पनि यहाँ गरिएको छ। धातु भारतबाट प्राप्त गरिन्छ। उपयोग गरिने मैन पनि दुइ प्रकारका छन् भनी भनिएको छ। कलाकारले प्रयोग गर्ने भाषामा तिनलाई तापाला सी र चिकुला सी भनिन्छ। यो मैन स्थानीय स्रोतबाट प्राप्त हुन्छ।

ढाल्ने प्रक्रिया जटिल छ। यसलाई लाग्ने समय दिनको लम्बाइ, यामको तापमान र कलाकारको मनःस्थितिमा भरपर्ने कुरा हो। मूर्तिको ढाँचा कलाकारको आफ्नै कल्पनाबाट या तस्वीरबाट तयार गरिन्छ। विभिन्न अङ्गको अनुपात बिलकुल शास्त्रीय गणनामा आधारित हुन्छ। एक मूर्तिको विभिन्न अङ्ग बेग्लैबेग्लै बनाइन्छ र अन्त्यमा मात्र जोडिन्छ। मैनलाई एउटा ठूलो र एउटा सानो ढुङ्गाको मद्दतले पिनेर तन्काइन्छ र यी मैनका पातालाई आरनको तातोमा राखेर मूर्तिको विभिन्न भाग बनाउन थालिन्छ। यस निर्माणमा लाग्ने

मुख्य उपकरणहरूको विवरण पनि दिइएको छ। सगै तातो मैन जमाउन पानी पनि राखिएको हुन्छ। प्रतिमूर्ति प्राप्त गर्न मूल ढाँचाबाट दशगुना बाक्लो मैनको पत्र लगाइन्छ। केही तातो मैनलाई औँलाले थिचेर लगाइन्छ। त्यसपछि यी दुइ भागलाई छुट्ट्याइन्छ र यसप्रकार साँचो बनेर तयार हुन्छ।

ढाल्ने र ढाँचा तयार पार्ने तरीकाको प्रत्येक अवस्था वर्णन गरिएको छ। सबैभन्दा चाखलाग्दो कुरा त के हो भने लेखकले कलाकारले यस सिलसिलामा प्रयोग गर्ने प्रादेशिक नेवारी शब्दहरूलाई पनि कोष्ठ भित्र दिएका छन्। अतः लेख अत्यन्त रोचक र उपयोगी सिद्ध हुन्छ।

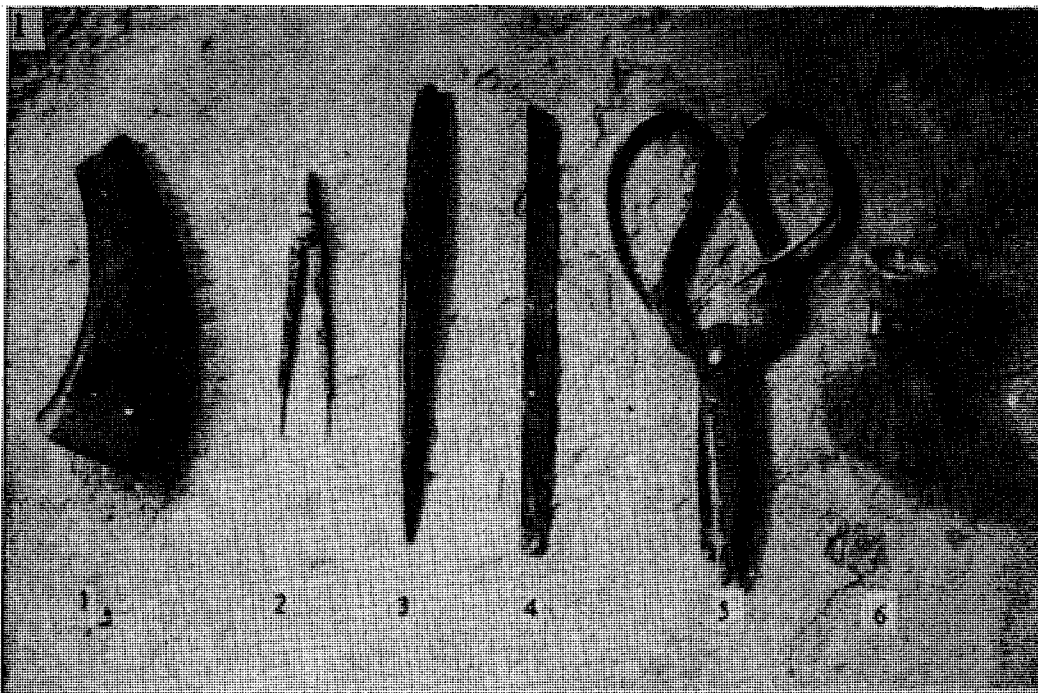
A. INTRODUCTION

Le procédé de fonte avec cire perdue est une technique artisanale très ancienne. Pratiquée d'abord par les Grecs dès l'âge du bronze (3000 av. J. C. 1) elle apparaît aussi très tôt en Inde, où les Rig Veda, les Upanishad et certains textes bouddhiques en Pali y font référence.² On a trouvé d'ailleurs en Inde, à Chanhu Daro, Mohenjo Daro et Harappa³ des épingles en bronze et cuivre faites par procédé de cire perdue (2500-1500 av.J.C.) Ces épingles ont aussi des répliques hors de l'Inde, ce qui prouverait des contacts avec l'ouest. Les Indiens Maya d'Amérique Centrale étaient familiers avec ce procédé, ainsi que les précolombiens du Mexique.⁴ Miguel Covarubias dans "Indian Art of the Americas" parle de cette technique où la cire était mélangée avec de la résine de copal et où le premier modèle était fait avec du charbon de bois mélangé à de l'argile.

Le procédé de cire perdue est très vivant à l'heure actuelle au Bénin, en Inde, au Népal, en Birmanie et en Malaisie.

Plus précisément, on appelle "procédé de cire perdue" tout travail de moulage où la cire est remplacée par le métal. Cela permet à l'artisan de créer n'importe quelle statue à trois dimensions. Deux sortes de fabrications se pratiquent: la fonte pleine et la fonte creuse.

1. On invente à cette époque la fusion des métaux et leur coulée, d'abord par fours ouverts, puis dans des moules d'argile: en même temps on découvre la cire d'abeille, qui permet le procédé de cire perdue.
2. *Radhakamal Mukerjee*, *The Culture and Art of India*, London, 1959. Le traité le plus élaboré et le plus précis est dans le *Silpasastra*, 68^{ème} chapitre. Ce texte, élaboré probablement pendant la période Gupta, sert de modèle aux artisans du sud de l'Inde.
3. Grands centres de civilisation et de commerce où se développe principalement la science des métaux.
4. *Samuel K. Lothrop*, "Metals from the Cenote of Sacrifice", *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University*, vol. X, No. 2. On trouve ce même procédé chez les Incas et les habitants des Andes, chez les Quimbayas (1000-1300 ap. J. C.) et les Chibchas (1300-1438 ap. J. C.)

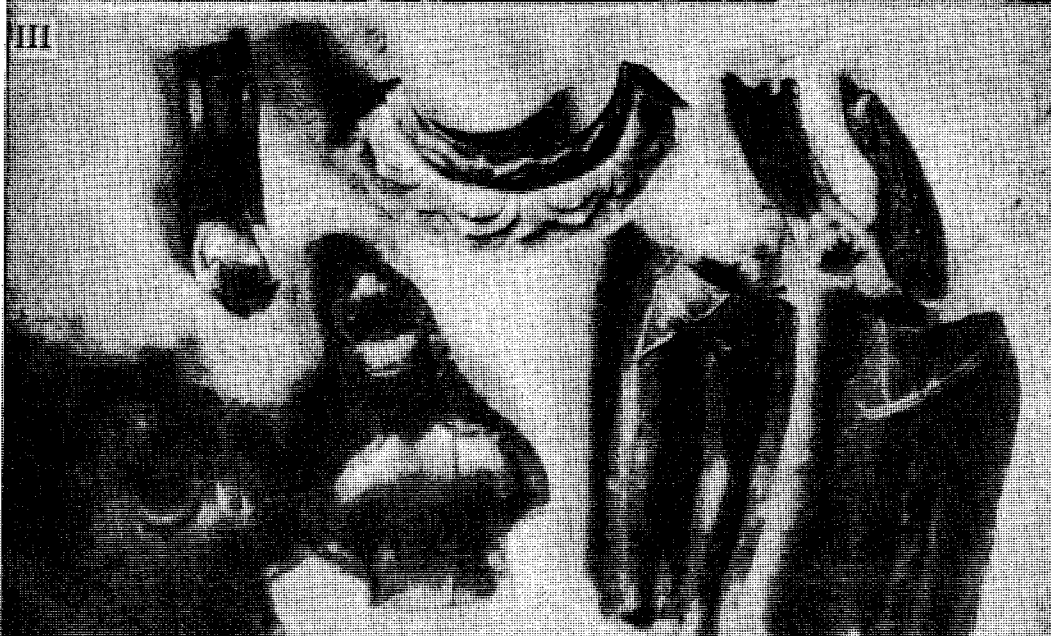


I. Outils employés dans la préparation de la statue en cire pour le passage des enduits.

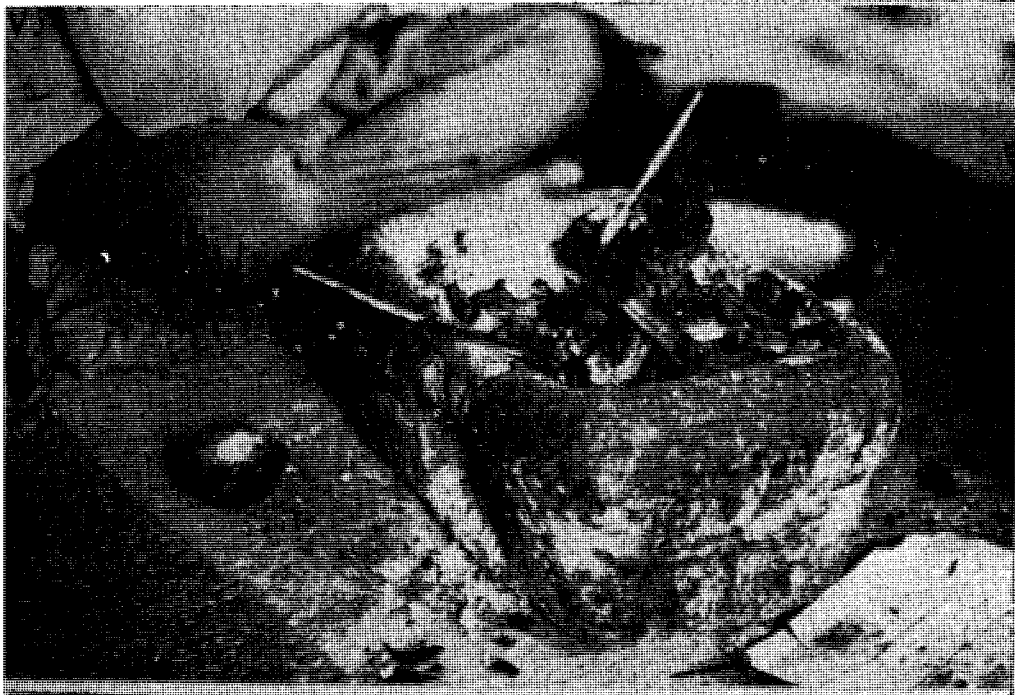
1. Gros silāyakū.
2. Compas.
3. Silāyakū, longueur 20 cm.
4. Lime, calaṃcā, (20 cm.),
5. Ciseaux pour découper la cire,
6. Brosse en poils de sanglier pour le passage des enduits : phāsa thakuṃcā.



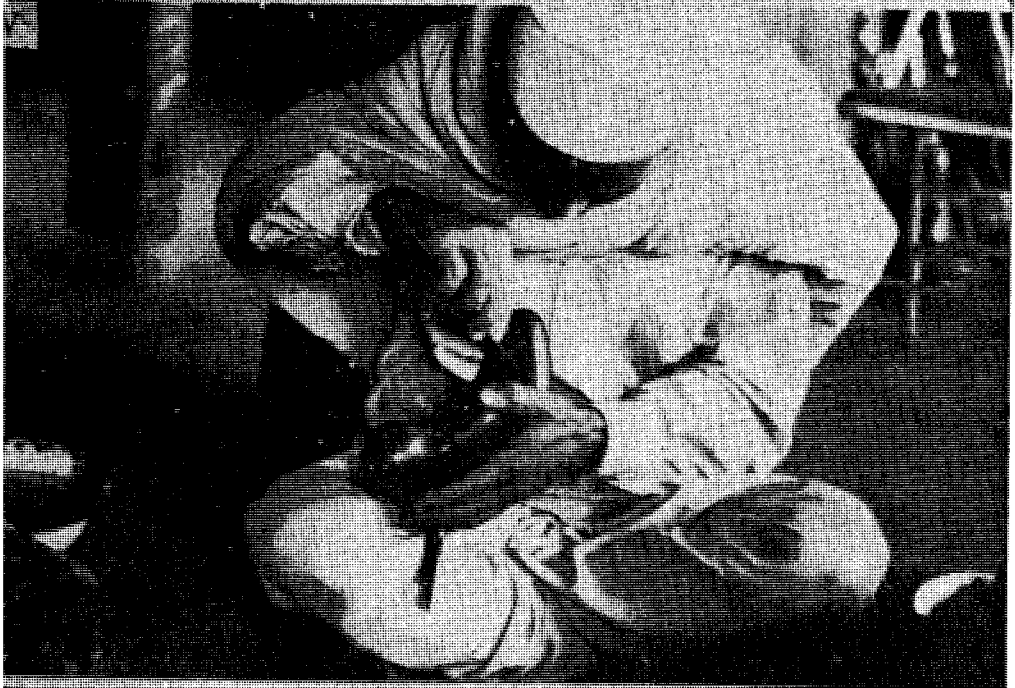
II. Les plaques de cire sont légèrement chauffées sur le milācā, avant d'être appliquées sur la matrice, pour donner ensuite les morceaux de moule mâle.



III. Morceaux de la matrice (thāsā), qui serviront à la fabrication en série des statues; ils sont faits d'après le modèle d'origine en cire dix fois plus



IV. Milācā: four autour duquel tout le travail s'accomplit. Une coupelle avec de la cire constamment chaude, dans laquelle trempe un petit baton de bois pour les retouches.



V. L'artisan aplanit les jointures avec le silā-yāku.



VI. Application du deuxième enduit, plus épais que le premier.

Pour la fonte pleine, le modèle en cire pleine est recouvert d'un enduit d'argile, la cire une fois chauffée s'écoule par un orifice préparé, et le métal en fusion rentre par ce même orifice. Cette technique est prépondérante aujourd'hui dans le sud de l'Inde.⁵

Pour la fonte creuse, un modèle d'argile est recouvert de bandes de cire de deux millimètres d'épaisseur, et puis de nouveau d'argile; le métal remplace la couche de cire.

Cette technique est principalement employée en Inde du centre et de l'est.⁶ Au Népal, le technique de fonte creuse est différente: le modèle en cire creuse est enduit à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur d'argile. Alors qu'en Inde la dynastie Pala a développé cet art durant le règne des rois Dharmapala et Devapala au Bengale et au Bihar,⁷ cette technique serait arrivée au Népal au XIème siècle, quand les fondeurs spécialisés en images bouddhistes ont fui vers le Népal l'invasion des musulmans au Bengale.

La plupart des statues du Népal datent de la dynastie Malla du XIVème au XVIIIème siècle. Au XVème, l'art a atteint son apogée. A cette époque un artiste népalais, Arniko, peintre et sculpteur, fut invité d'abord au Tibet puis à la cour de l'empereur de Chine. L'actuelle production au Népal est faite principalement par les Néwars.⁸

B. ETUDE DE LA TECHNIQUE ACTUELLE AU NEPAL.

(1) *L'artiste.*

L'étude a été faite à Patan chez un artisan Néwar, Jagat Man Sakya. Parmi les Sakya on distingue quelques groupes:

—les Bajracharyas

—les Sakyas, parmi lesquels: —sculpteurs sur bois (sika:mi)
—maçons (daka-mi)

5. *Census of India, State of Madras*, 1961 ("cire perdue at Swamimalai")

6. *Ruth Reeves*, *Cire perdue Casting in India*, 144 pp. 74 plates, Craft Museum, New Delhi, 1962. Aujourd'hui six centres de production existent à l'est, au centre et au sud de l'Inde.

a) Rampur, district de Bankura (Bengale de l'Ouest)

b) Lowadi, district de Ranchi (Bihar)

c) Pairakuli, Sorponkha, district de Mayarbhanj (Orissa)

d) Jagdalpur, district de Bastar (Madhya Pradesh)

e) Arnasol, Mundakota, district de Mayarbhanj (Orissa)

f) Swamimalai, district de Thanjavur (Tamilnadu)

7. *Chintavoni Kar*, *Indian Metal Sculpture*, vii et 46 pp., 61 fig., London, 1952.

P. 8 *ercy Brown*, "The Art Nepal," *Asiatic Review* vol. XXXLV, 1938

—orfèvres (lumka :mi)

—fondeurs (thaka :mi)

(2) *Le lieu de travail et le travail.*

L'habitat de l'artiste et son lieu de travail sont les mêmes. Jagat Man habite Uu Bahal, construit au XVIIème siècle. Au Népal chaque Sakya est attaché à un Bahal où se trouve le dieu tantrique auquel sa famille est reliée. 9

Environ vingt familles à Uu Bahal fondent le métal, tandis que dans le reste de la ville, environ vingt à trente familles font aussi ce travail. Alors que beaucoup d'artisans abandonnent leur métier, les fondeurs, au contraire, vu la demande croissante pour l'exportation, ouvrent de nouveaux ateliers.

La maison de Jagat Man est une maison néwar à plusieurs étages. Le travail de modelages de la cire et le passage des enduits se font aux deux étages supérieurs; et la fonte est au rez-de-chaussée, dans une petite cours carrée (chemli) où se trouvent les fours. 10

Tôt le matin, à six heures, l'artiste se met à l'oeuvre, aidé d'un oncle de quarante cinq ans, d'un cousin de trente-cinq ans et de deux apprentis de quatorze et quinze ans. Le travail continuera jusqu'au soir, dix-huit heures, et ne sera interrompu que par le repas de dix heures.

La tâche la plus appréciée est le modelage de la cire qui se fait toujours en groupe, par terre, en cercle autour d'un four d'argile (mina :). Ce four est recouvert d'une grille sur laquelle du charbon de bois brûle constamment, donnant un feu doux; l'air circule par une ouverture placée sous le four.

(3) *Les matières premières utilisées et le prix de revient.*

Il y a deux façons de faire le bronze :

—mélanger le cuivre¹¹ (12 pau) et le zinc¹¹ (5 pau)

—mélanger le laiton¹¹ (12 pau) et le zinc (1 pau et demi).

Les métaux sont généralement achetés en produits finis sur le marché de Patan, contrôlé et alimenté par les Indiens.

On emploie deux sortes de cire :

9. Bahal: cour entourée de maisons, ayant un temple bouddhiste.

10. Trois sortes de fours :

a) les fours qui servent à la récupération de la cire : (si lhvegu ga :)

b) les fours qui servent à chauffer le métal (bhamca ga :)

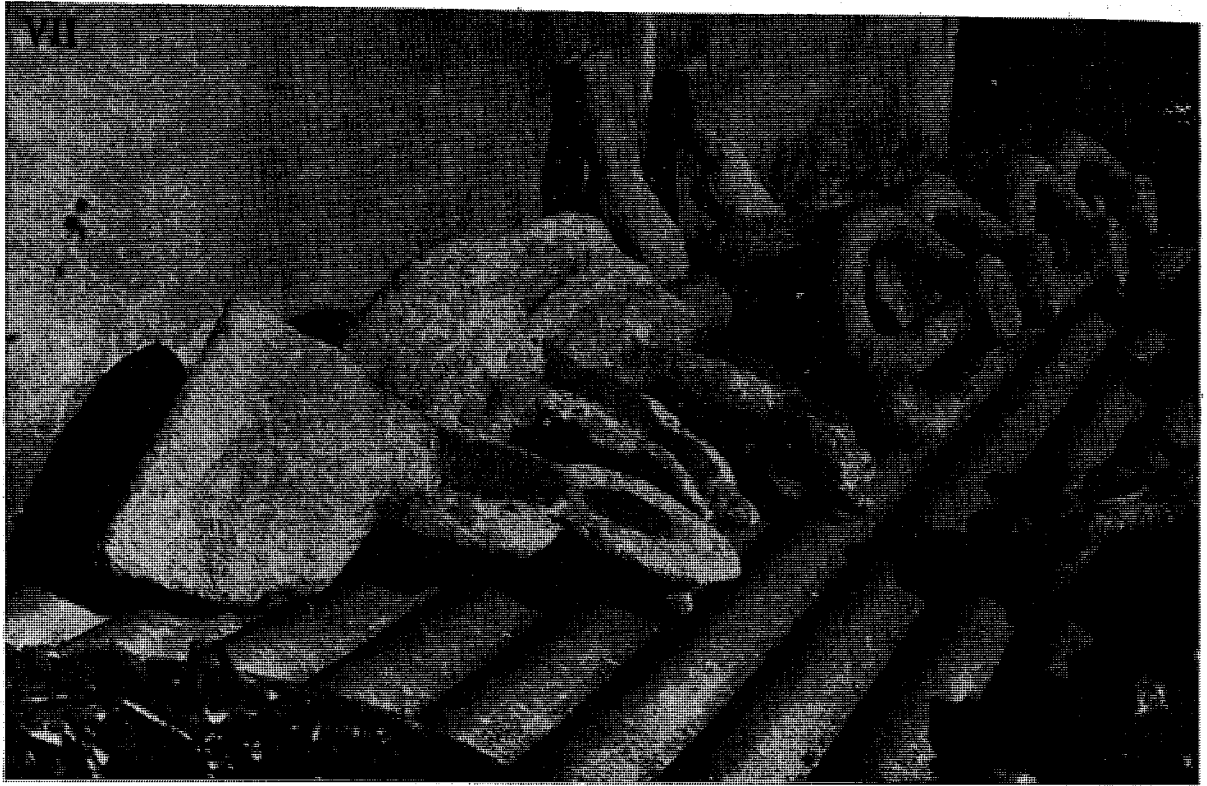
c) les fours qui servent à chauffer les moules (tham yaygu ga :)

11. a) zinc: N. Rs. 20 par dharni (254 grs.)

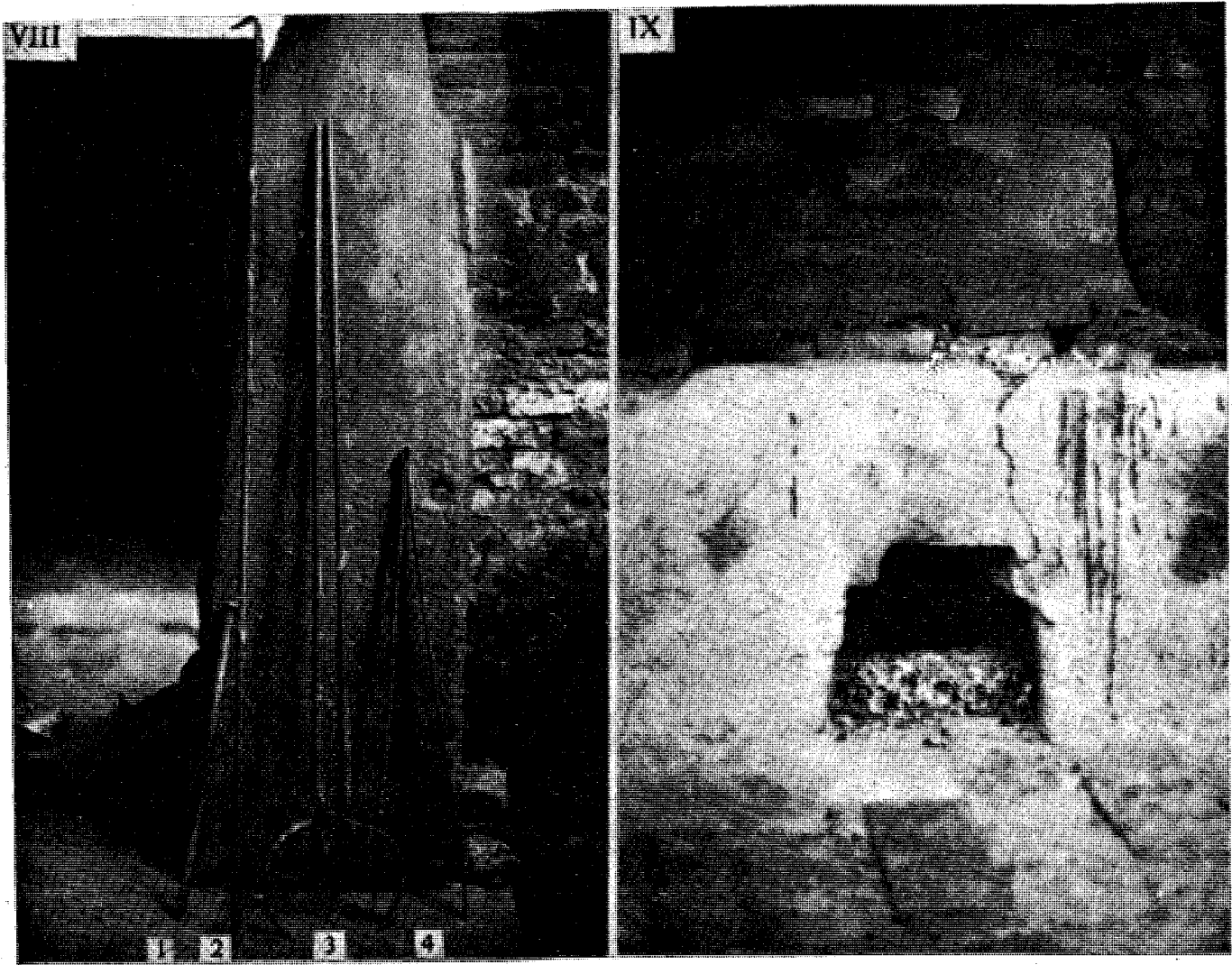
b) cuivre: N. Rs 44 par dharni

c) laiton: N. Rs 32 par dharni

d) cire: N. Rs 20 par dharni



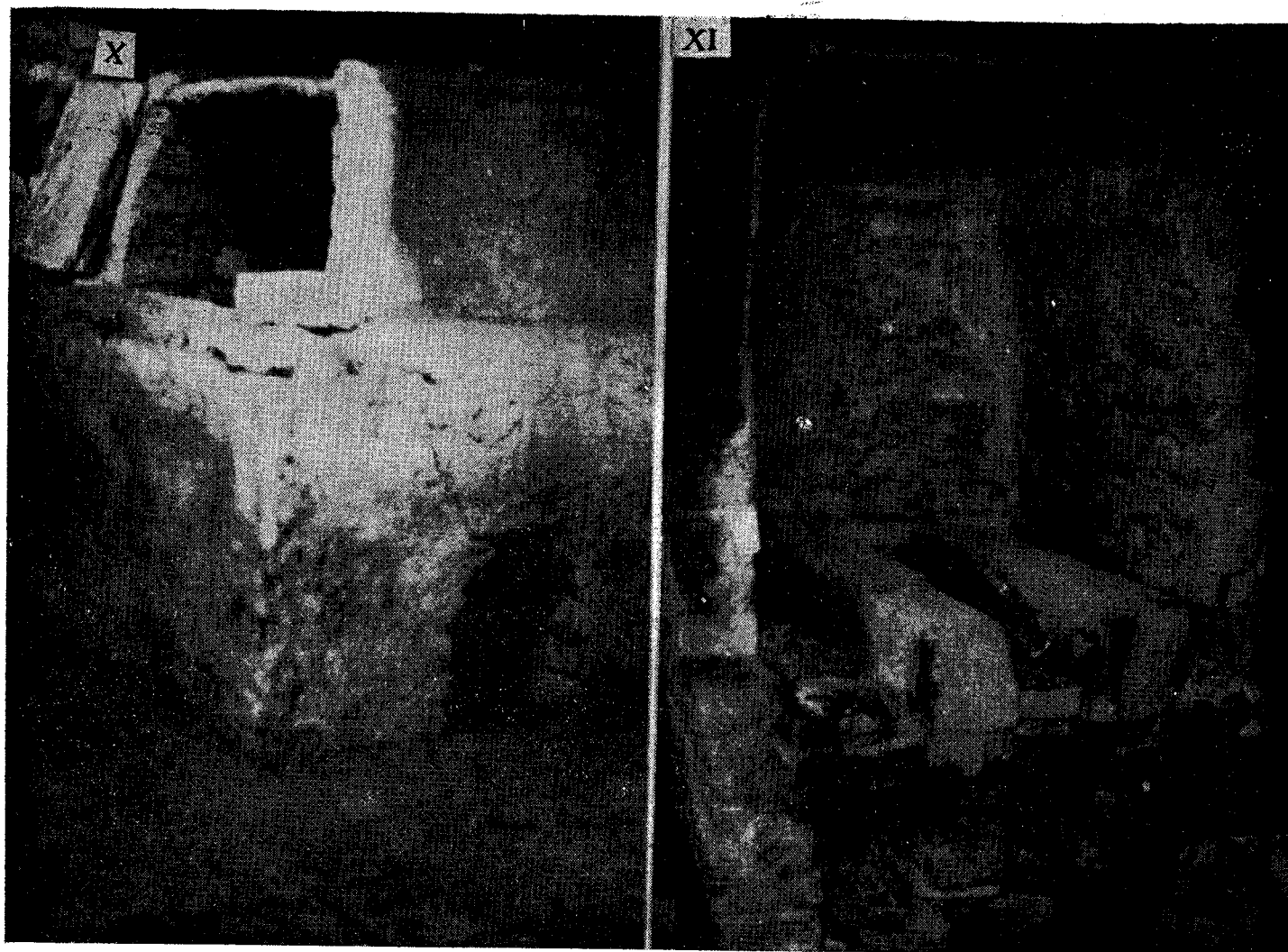
VII. Les statues en cire, recouvertes de leur enduit, sèchent au dernier étage de la maison.



VIII Outils servant à la fonte:

- 1. Barre pour gratter les enduits (30 cm.)*
- 2. Crochet pour percer les creusets: ham. (100 cm.)*
- 3. Pinces pour prendre les creusets et les moules: bhomcha chalim. (80 cm.)*
- 4. Pinces pour prendre le charbon de bois. (50 cm),*

IX Four pour la récupération de la cire: sî lhvegü ga: . Chauffé par en dessous par un feu de bois et par en haut par du charbon de bois retenu par une grille. (Hauteur: 60 cm., profondeur: 80 cm., largeur: 100 cm.)



- X. Four pour faire fondre le métal: *bhomcā*. Dans la partie supérieure, fermée lors de la fonte, on met six creusets que l'on recouvre de charbon de bois. (Hauteur: 100 cm.)
- XI. Four pour faire chauffer les moules: *tham yāygu ga:*. Les moules sont placés dans le four béant, qui est ensuite refermé par des briques amovibles. Par les trois ouvertures du bas on introduit le bois qui chauffera le four. (Hauteur: 150 cm., profondeur: 80 cm, largeur: 80 cm.)



XII. L'apprenti gratte l'enduit après la fonte.

- la cire d'été (tapala si) faite de résine (sila :) et de cire
- la cire d'hiver (cikula si) dans laquelle on ajoute une huile végétale extraite des graines de l'arbre *Madhura butyracea* (nép. cyuri). 12

La cire est achetée à des Tamangs autour de la Vallée; l'argile est apportée par les Jyapus Kumale chez l'artisan. 13

Une statue qui revient à 110 roupies est vendue 135 roupies. Le maître touche 20 roupies pour le modelage; on compte 20 roupies pour les aides, 50 roupies pour le métal, 10 roupies pour le bois et 7 à 12 roupies pour la cire.

(4) La technique

Avant d'aborder la technique proprement dite, il faut noter que l'étude de la durée des opérations est trop compliquée pour être mentionnée précisément ici. Les gestes sont toujours très rapides, vu les matières employées et la qualité de travail. Le temps peut varier selon les jours, la température, l'humeur de l'artiste. Le problème de temps ferait l'objet d'une étude à lui seul.

Le travail de cire perdue est utilisé non seulement pour les statues, mais aussi pour les ustensiles de cuisine. Nous étudierons ici la technique pour une statue.

(a) Fabrication du modèle original (bānki).

Il s'agit du modèle en cire créé par l'artiste d'après son imagination ou d'après une photographie ou autre modèle, et avec lequel il fera la matrice.

L'artiste prend les mesures de la photo avec un compas et multiplie ensuite selon la taille demandée. Il peut multiplier par cinq mais il garde toujours, selon l'ancienne tradition, un canon très strict des proportions.

Le modèle est fait en différentes parties qui ne sont jointes que pour le dernier modèle qui sera fondu pendant la fonte de la cire. Prenons l'exemple d'un Buddha, qui a neuf parties différentes;

- le devant de la statue avec les avant-bras
- le dessus des jambes avec le dorje
- deux dos de bras
- un devant de socle
- un dos de socle

12. Huile végétale (nep. cyuriko ghiu) N. Rs 10 par dharni (1973)

13. On trouve dans le sol de la vallée de Kathmandu cinq couches d'argile :

- a) paṃ ca : pour le sol des maisons, N. Rs 1 par dharni
- b) mahāsu ca : qui sert pour le deuxième enduit, N. Rs 1 par dharni
- c) gathi ca : qui sert pour les creusets et les grilles des fours, N. Rs 1 par dharni
- d) mesim ca : qui sert comme premier enduit, N. Rs 1.50 par dharni
- e) kaṃ ca : qui sert d'engrais, N. Rs 1 par dharni

La cire est aplaniée sur une grosse pierre carrée mouillée (ma loham) à l'aide d'une autre pierre ronde (macā loham) par un apprenti. Les plaques ainsi préparées sont ensuite chauffées à distance sur le four, par un autre apprenti, puis le maître commence à préparer les différentes parties. Pour ce travail il a quatre choses devant lui :

- le four (mina:) pour chauffer la cire et la rendre plus maléable
- l'eau pour refroidir et durcir la cire
- une spatule faite d'une corne de buffle, de vingt centimètres de long, sphérique, sauf le bout qui est légèrement applati (silāyakū)
- un petit godet dans lequel de la cire constamment fondue peut être appliquée à chaque instant avec un morceau de bois pour les retouches.

Pendant le travail, il mouille souvent la spatule avec sa salive pour que la cire ne colle pas à la spatule.

(b) Fabrication de la matrice.

Pour obtenir des répliques, des plaques de cire dix fois plus épaisses sont appliquées sur le modèle original. Pour ce faire, l'artisan met de l'eau sur la partie du modèle original sur laquelle il travaille, et y applique par pression des doigts la cire légèrement chaude; puis il décolle les deux parties et obtient la matrice (thāsā, "clef") qui sera utilisée pour faire les statues en cire.

(c) Fabrication du moule mâle.

Ce modèle sera fondu pendant le procédé de cire perdue. De nouveau la cire est aplaniée sur la pierre en plaques dix fois plus fines que la matrice; ces plaques seront découpées avec des ciseaux et préparées selon la taille de la partie à obtenir.

Pour durcir les plaques de cire chaude qu'il y applique, l'artisan humecte la partie intérieure de la matrice. Une fois la cire durcie, il décolle les deux parties et obtient une partie de moule mâle. Les contours sont ensuite découpés très précisément avec une lime coupante de vingt centimètres de long (calaṃcā) chauffée sur le four.

La dernière phase est la jointure des différentes parties du moule mâle, pour obtenir la statue de cire complète, exacte réplique de la future statue en métal. Après avoir égalisé de nouveau les bords des morceaux avec la lime, l'artiste cèle les parties avec la spatule pendant deux bonnes heures. Il finit par une vérification de l'aplomb de la statue. Avant la pose des enduits, un trou est découpé dans le dos pour faciliter l'application de l'argile à l'intérieur de la statue. Tous les ornements sont faits séparément.

(d) Pose des enduits.

Le premier enduit est le mesim ca:14 50% de bouse de vache et 50% de mesim ca. Cet enduit étant très liquide, l'artisan y immerge la statue quelques secondes se-

14. Dans le sud de l'Inde on ajoute du sable à l'argile pour une meilleure plasticité de l'enduit (Census of India, *op cit*)

XIII

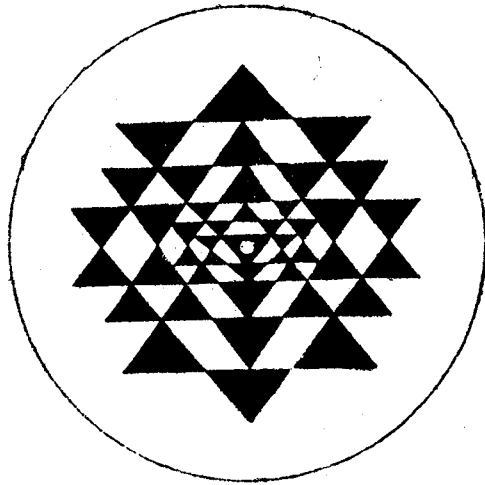


XIII. La statue vient d'être fondue et n'est pas encore nettoyée totalement de ses enduits; le trépied n'a pas encore été scié.

XIV



XIV. Travail de raffinage de la statue.



ulement et la sort. Ce premier enduit sechera au soleil entre deux et quatre jours. Puis une nouvelle fois on plongera la statue dans cet enduit et on la laissera sécher quatre jours.

On passe ensuite un autre enduit, beaucoup plus épais, qui sera la troisième couche: composé de 50% de terre jaune (mahasu ca) et 50% de balle de riz, il est passé à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la statue avec une brosse en poils de sanglier (phasa thaumca). Pour l'évacuation de la cire et la coule du métal en fusion un trépied en cire pleine est appliqué à la base de la statue, Pour ce travail, on gratte à la lime l'enduit à la base de la statue en trois points qu'on chauffe légèrement et sur lesquels on applique le trépied. En même temps l'artiste va fermer le trou qui est dans le dos. Pour cela il humecte les contours du trou, les gratte à la lime, les chauffe et y applique une pièce préparée d'avance et s'encastant parfaitement, puis il aplannit le tout avec sa spatule. Cette pièce sera recouverte de mesim ca et le trépied de mahasu ca.

Après quatre jours, quand les deux différents enduits sont secs, il pose le dernier enduit de mahasu ca, remplissant complètement l'intérieur de la statue et couvrant l'extérieur d'une couche très épaisse. Le tout sechera au soleil pendant environ une semaine.

(e) La fonte.

Pour la récupération de la cire le moule ainsi préparé (say) est légèrement chauffé pendant une à deux heures sur un four à charbon de bois (si lhvegu ga:) puis la statue est renversée sur deux planches au dessus d'un bac d'eau (atha:) dans lequel la cire durcit. Ainsi récupérée, elle sera réutilisée.

15. *Swarnakamal Bhowmik*, "Technical Study and Conservation of a Nepalese Image from the Baroda Museum", *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, vol. XIII, No. 4, 1964, (p. 393-398). Pour l'alliage, M. Bhowmik donne les proportions suivantes:

- a) cuivre 60%
- b) zinc 35,3%
- c) plomb 2,37%
- d) fer 2,75%
- e) le reste en or, arsenic et métal.

Le plomb rend plus fluide et aide à la fonte. Le fer était employé à sa place par les anciens métallurgistes. Il apparaît que la méthode d'extraction du métal adoptée par les Népalais était très avancée et atteignait une perfection considérable. Il y a peu d'exemples de laiton dans la civilisation ancienne avant le XVIIème siècle sauf en Chine, d'autre part le zinc est très difficile à extraire. Il semblerait donc que la fabrication de statues en laiton au Népal doit avoir commencé après le XVIIème siècle.

Les statues vidées de leur cire sont chauffées dans un autre four (tham yagu ga:), pendant cinq heures pour obtenir une température aussi proche que possible de celle du métal en fusion. En même temps le métal est pillé et mis dans les creusets (bhomca), faits de 50 % de balle de riz et de 50 % de fathi ca. Ils sont de trente centimètres de haut, chacun pouvant contenir environ quatre kilos de métal.¹⁵ Lorsque les flammes bleues apparaissent, le métal est fondu.

L'artisan prend les creusets avec une grande pince en fer (bhomca challim), et secoue deux à trois fois pour rendre le tout homogène et sentir si le métal est complètement fondu. Les moules sont sortis du four et renversés en position de remplissage. Les creusets sont perforés avec un crochet (ham) et le métal est versé par le trépied. Le métal durcit instantanément lorsque les moules sont immergés.

Finalement, les enduits sont cassés avec une barre de fer et le trépied est scié.

(f) Méthodes de vieillissement artificiel.

Seul le maître peut faire ce travail, et différentes méthodes se présentent à lui.

Dans la première méthode, une statue sur laquelle est appliquée un mélange de sel, poudre de charbon de bois et jus de citron, est mise, entourée de paille de riz, dans un endroit ensoleillé pour quelques jours.

Autrement, certaines statues en bronze et cuivre, enduites d'un mélange de sel et de citron sont placées dans un endroit humide, entourées d'un chiffon pendant six à douze mois, ou bien elles peuvent être chauffées sur une lampe à pétrole.

Le troisième procédé est d'enterrer la statue dans le sol pendant un an, enduite de purin, de cendres, de sel et de bouse de vache pour obtenir un effet corrosif.

Parmi les techniques artisanales au Népal, la fonte par cire perdue est une des plus élaborées et reste encore très vivante. Malgré une production croissante des statues due à l'exportation et à la demande à l'intérieur du pays, la technique de fabrication reste traditionnelle, outils et travail n'ont pas évolué depuis des siècles. Patan (Lalitpur) demeure le centre le plus important dans la vallée.

* * *

A MEDICAL-CULTURAL SYSTEM AMONG THE TIBETAN AND NEWAR BUDDHISTS: CEREMONIAL MEDICINE¹

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The first and simplest example of ceremonial curing that I have witnessed was in 1969 when I watched a Newar hierophant fan with a peacock feather his sacred utterances onto some pills which were in turn administered to a woman with a skin disease. I observed innumerable times almost the same basic process in the Tibetan community for a variety of complaints. As Tibetan and Newar ceremonial functions have roots in the Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition, it is not surprising that many parallels are found.

¹ Throughout South-Asia there are three medical systems: Western, Ayurvedic and ceremonial, which in many instances blend into each other. What I am calling ceremonial medicine is the most archaic and most mysterious to researchers and public health workers. Its neglect is due to three general misconceptions: 1) that Ayurvedic medicine is the dominant form of curing; 2) that curing rituals are somehow always associated with the concept of primitive magic and 3) that Vajrayāna Buddhism is a topic restricted either to a study of classical Sanskrit and Tibetan texts or to students who have received secret teachings which they are not allowed to reveal under any circumstances. First of all, Ayurvedic medicine has accommodated a certain aspect of what I am calling 'ceremonial medicine' under the heading *bhūta-vidyā*. 'Ceremonial medicine' in turn has incorporated the actual substances and sometimes techniques of Ayurvedic medicine. This same reciprocal accommodation process is true also for Western and Ayurvedic medicine. Indeed in some respects the process is continued into 'ceremonial medicine'. The second misconception is simply the fact that not enough ritual studies have been carried out in communities influenced by the tantric tradition with the view in mind to understand the cultural configurations of health and disease. The third points to the ritualistic nature, not the philosophical, of tantric texts which are the basis of the actual practices especially among the Newars and Tibetans of Kathmandu valley. This article is a revised version of a paper I read at the AAA meeting in Toronto, Canada on Dec. 1, 1972. It is the partial result of my fieldwork in Kathmandu, Nepal, carried out from 1968 through 1971. My many thanks go to Manavajra Vajrācārya and Padma Gyal Mtshan and Sa Bcu Rim po che of Kathmandu for guiding me through some of the arcane pathways of Vajrayāna ritualistic proceedings. I am also indebted to Professor Alexander, the head of the Department of Epidemiology at the University of Washington, for pointing out to me the importance of the medical aspect of cultural systems. And my deepest regards go to Dr. Christopher George at the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions. For his friendly and useful advice, I thank also Professor Alex Wayman of Columbia University who inspired me to write this paper.

My intention in this article is to briefly delineate the basic units which make up a medical-cultural-system as symbolized by language and myth in ritual. My proposal is that these units are fundamental to the Vajrayāna ritual complex, which is used for curing more than for any other reason. The model presupposes that curing should not be confused with enlightening; for they are one and the same process. Likewise disease should not be considered as an isolated event of suffering in the worldly affairs of man, for disease and the universe of man's affairs are not different. These qualifications are necessary in order to shift from our own semantic structure into that of the Vajrayāna universe of discourse itself. It is clear, however, that if we made the total shift we would be writing poetry rather than a scientific paper. Hence, I shift back and choose curing as a point of departure rather than salvation. The reason for this is that I can verify the curing process through ethnography which is more often than not philologically substantiated.

(i) The first unit of the medico-cultural system is the divinity as he is believed to exist and function in the community. He is always said to be equal with the sky, i.e. space. This sky-space is perceived in three circular realms: the realm where the highest aspect of the divinity dwells with his consort, who is called the sacred knowledge one; the realm of the sky where the son of the sacred knowledge one dwells; and the realm of the mythical Mount Sumeru where the worldly aspect of the former two resides. The divinity is referred to as composed of the Vajra body, speech, and mind, which designates the most perfected state of being possible.² During ceremonial functions the mythologies and histories of these divinities as well as the hierophants are visually represented in religious paintings as a sacred tree (tshogs.shiñ³) that reaches into the three upper realms. The tree represents the divinity in all his manifestations

² Vajra denotes the ultimate value placed on substance, form and imagery.

³ Tshogs means mass, group or assemblage. Specifically it is used in the system I am proposing in three ways: (1) as the assemblage of divinities, Bodhisattvas and other cultural heroes that are found on the sacred tree i.e. literally the assemblage tree (tshogs. shiñ), (2) referring to the monks and hierophants who gather to invite the assemblage on the tree to merge in their own assemblage for the sake of the mass (tshogs) of merit (bsod. nams) and the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi) for the sake of themselves, the community and all sentient beings: hence the place for performing ritual is called the assemblage house (tshogs. khañ) and (3) the necessary articles used in religious services (htshog. chas. ni. yo. byed. dam. ñe. mkho) which include food which is eaten at the end of ceremonial performances as transubstantiations for the purpose of curing. Hence there is a hierarchical tshogs which is a symbolical reality of the triad: a) divinity assemblage; b) assemblage of monks and priests and c) the assemblage of offerings. This forms another conceptual framework of the vertical system.

as well as the source of the religious medicine (chos.sman) which is called ambrosia (bdud.rtsi) or splendourous ripples (byin.ci.brlabs).

(ii) The second unit is the hierophant (slob.dpon.rdo.rje.) who assumes the role of leadership in the community.⁴ More often than not he is not only the charismatic priest who calls the divinity into the ceremonial circle⁵ but is a master of the ancillary sciences as well. The Newar hierophant differs from most of his Tibetan counterparts in that his lineage is continued through caste marriage and the begetting of sons. And although the Tibetan community does not seem to be caste-like, the hierophants are geographically, educationally and morally elevated above the people. The main point is that in both communities the selection of the hierophant, whether it be by birth or metaphysical processes, is carefully controlled through tradition, for without this control Vajrayāna Buddhism as it still exists today in Nepal and some parts of India could not exist. Remove this unit and the system collapses.

By virtue of the fact that the hierophant calls the divinity, he has a learned or conditioned rapport with the divine structure. For example, in order to invite someone to dinner we must first of all have had some previously experienced friendship or whatever. In a sense we project the person we desire (or do not desire) in order to share food with him for some desired goal even though it may be just good fellowship. This extends itself to objects: we pick up a seashell because we think it symbolical of the whole sea, or just because it pleases our sense of aesthetics and so on. The projected and conditioned feelings of good fellowship, symbology, aesthetics, or whatever may have little to do with the actual phenomenon in itself unless we are poets, artists or philosophers. The hierophant in his projection of the divinity is all three, and he has the additional purpose of obtaining the divine power for the sake of

⁴ Slob. dpon. rdo. rje. in Sanskrit means Vajrācārya. We should understand the ācārya as one who has completed his training in Sanskrit. We should understand Vajra as an ultimate Buddhist value which is inherent in all things. The tantric Buddhist ācārya is hence one who has completed his study of Buddhist doctrine and so on, via the medium of Sanskrit. The Tibetan ācārya (slob. dpon) has done the equivalent in Tibetan. In Kathmandu it is more or less understood that every Vajrācārya has completed a study of at least the Guhyasamājatantra. Crucial to being a vajrācārya in Nepalese society is initiation (diksa) which formalizes the transition from being an ordinary person to one who is established within the ultimate value of vajra. It is only after diksa that he can study the Vajrayāna texts and perform tantric rituals.

⁵ I am using the phrase 'ceremonial circle' as the place of ritual. Hence it not only includes the mandala and other ritual items but members of the lay community who pass in and out of it to receive the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi).

healing. From the point of view of curing, the divinity is a symbolical reality⁶ of the ideal substance, which is the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi). The divinity, an outer and inner projection, is an image that he understands as only a projection to be recycled and reduced in order to maintain a proper circulation of the curing ambrosia, which I call the “ambrosia cycle.”

The “ambrosia cycle” includes an inner projected arrangement called the Vajrabody (rdo.rje.lus), which is basically a model of three vertical channels within the body (*Lessing and Wayman*, 1968, pp. 327) where the curing ambrosia drops.⁷ Only the hierophant has a fully developed Vajrabody and hence the skills to call, create, and transfer the splendid ripples (byin.ci.brlabs) of ambrosia (bdud.rtsi). The system, so far hierarchically structured, includes the projected divinity, whom we can call here Vajradhāra (he who holds a Vajra), the Vajrācārya (master concerning the Vajra), and the projected Vajrabody (rdo.rje.lus), which acts as a vessel for the divinity. It would certainly be appropriate not to make the divinity a separate unit. It would also be appropriate to view the Vajrabody as a separate unit. However most lay Tibetans and Newars see the divinity as outside of themselves. The hierophants see the divinity as outside and inside as well. Since the divinity is called, established, recycled and transferred as if it were an outer projection, I am making it a separate unit.

Briefly, how does the system as explained thus far actually work? To use a crude but effective example, it works somewhat in the manner of recycling waste material: i.e. nothing can be really thrown away but either properly re-used or simply wasted, in some way or another harmful for mankind. The machinery by which this is done is ritual (cho.ga) which is a symbolic reality of the entire medical-cultural-system. The method within ritual that begins the “ambrosia cycle” is grasping the sound (tiñ.ñe hdzin). It is called in Sanskrit samādhi which is usually translated ‘profound concentration.’⁸ In Newar rituals it is more often than not called ‘samādhipūjā’. As the ultimate grasping of sound is difficult, the neophyte does not usually embark on this method until he is ready for advanced teaching which is usually referred to as dzogs.

⁶ ‘Symbolical reality’ designates the fact that symbols have value which in turn make men act. The ceremonial circle is structured on the basis of curing. Even rituals of life crises can be viewed in this way. For example, the Newar death ritual is to a great extent conducted because of the fear that diseases can issue from a dead body not properly purified. The point is that the ceremonial circle including the imagery projected by the hierophant has the value of curing old age, sickness and death.

⁷ Lalanā, rasanā and avadhūti are located in the left, right and middle parts of the body. (See also, Bharati, 1970, pp.175,292).

⁸ Lessing and Wayman in their *Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantra* leave the word ‘samādhi’ untranslated. There does not seem to be a proper English equivalent simply

rim (the way of completion). As this process is the essence of yoga, it can also be regarded as yogic curing.

When the hierophant is ready to grasp the sound (tiñ.ñe.hdzin) which begins the ambrosia cycle, he projects the divinity in union with his consort. This outer projection is fed back into the Vajrabody. What seems to be an erotic configuration is actually symbolical of the recycling of the essential nature of lust; for its seemingly erotic nature does not touch the corresponding sense organ of the hierophant. If it did, the process we are discussing would be a kind of erotic day-dream which in the Vajrayāna system of thought would be a harmful fantasy. Instead of the production of ambrosia there would be gross semen.

This inner projection of the divinity is tantamount to planting the sacred tree within the Vajrabody (rdo. rje. lus). As the hierophant mentally casts the seed syllables within his Vajrabody, there issues the following configuration: 'om' plants in the head the white reflex of the coupling divinities who represent confusion (gti.mug); plants in the throat a pair of red divinities symbolizing lust (hdod. chags); 'hūm' plants in the heart the bluish divinities standing for hatred (zhe. sdañ); 'hram' plants the yellow divinities representing ego (ña. rgyal) in the navel; and in the region of the genitals 'ham' plants the green divinities symbolizing jealousy (phrag. dog). The seed syllables then draw out the five poisons, after which they are burned i.e. refined by a red drop (thig. le. dmar. pə) which the hierophant projects as originating four fingers beneath the navel. During this process, the hierophant holds his breath. By means of the heat issuing from the red drop, each of the five poisons is then recycled, together with the five divinities, into white drops (thig. le. dkar.po). Then the curing ambrosia i.e. the ambrosic sacred semen (bdud. rtsi. byañ. sems.) falls from the head. Therefore the inner body goes through a heating process and the ambrosia maintains its falling from the region of the head, after which there is no sound. The outer and inner projections are now dispensed with. The sound of the seed syllables in their work of creating the curing ambrosia has been grasped and dissipated.

Since the ultimate etiology of old age, sickness and death is the five poisons, which are epidemic in the world of sentient beings, their recycling should be viewed as basic because in our own cultural system there is not a similar use of the imagination. The Tibetan translators obviously had a similar problem. Tiñ.ñe. hdzin. is not a literal translation of samādhi; however it corresponds to the psycho-physical events under consideration. I take tiñ. to mean sound in the sense of tiñ. shags which literally means small metal cymbals which are used in puja. For what it might be worth, an eminent Tibetan teacher once told me that when the little silver cups (called tiñ) which are kept on the altar make the sound "tiñ" it is a sign of the divinity. Is the gradual dissipation of the sound and the creation of the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi) at the origin of the Japanese koan "the sound of one hand clapping"?

to the curing process.

(iii) Another unit of substance (rdzas) is the total composite of the world which has as its basis the procreative and vegetative cycles i. e. in Buddhist terms the transmigratory world of saṃsāra.

As this is the field of the five poisons, it is the foremost concern of the hierophant's work. As we saw above, the five poisons in essence are recycled into the curing ambrosia; this is meant to be a symbolic reality of the purification of the whole world. In fact, during the recycling process, the hierophant may imagine the whole world entering his body via the breath and into the nostrils of the coupling divinities within his own body. Then, after the divinities make sounds of enjoyment, the world is emanated as a ball of sacred semen (byan. chub. sems) which in turn produces the seed syllable hūṃ that is gradually dissipated. What ensues is (1) that the hierophants' own semen is transubstantiated into a sacred entity; (2) because there is a sympathetic relationship between the curing ambrosia and this subtle-sacred aspect of semen, the recycling produces the curing ambrosia; (3) because the hierophant does not reject the possibility that this sympathetic relationship sacred semen /ambrosia/world will take effect and purify all of existence, he never begins the recycling process until he contemplates that it is for the sake of all sentient beings – a kind of contemplative ecology – and (4) he knows that the curing ambrosia that is generated in his very being will take effect on his immediate surroundings i.e. he recycles a chosen substance into the nature of Vajrabody, speech and mind which is formally called a pill (ril. bu).⁹

The pill is usually made from a combination of ayurvedic substances¹⁰ placed in a vessel, sometimes a human skull, which is called the sky-space of female

⁹ The Sanskrit word for pill is guṭika which in the Mahākālatantra is given the following symbolic meaning: "The blessed Lord said: A pill is the formation of the body, speech and mind into one (entity). Gu is said to be based on the body. That which is called ṭi is the self nature of speech. Ka is thought (in the sense of own nature of mind). Having made these three into one (we have) a pill".

bcom. Idan. hdas, kyis, bkah. stsal pa/ ril. bu. ni. lus. dañ/ 'nag dañ/ yid gcig tu byas pa' o/ gu. zhes. bya. ba. ni. lus. la. brten. pa' o/ ṭi. zhes. bya. ba. ni. nag. gi. rañ. bzhin. no/ ka. zhes. bya. ba. ni. sems. so/ gsum. gcig. tu. byas. pa. ni. ril. bu' o/ (Chapter 9, Mahākālatantra, translated MSS. in personal library.)

¹⁰ The eight basic substances which are used in ceremonial medicine are (1) tsan dan (Sanskrit candana; English, sandal wood), (2) li shi (Sanskrit lavaṅga; English, cloves), (3) gur gum (Sanskrit kuṃkuma; English, saffron) (4) dza ti (Sanskrit jātikusuma; English, jasmin), (5) ga bur (Sanskrit karpūra; English, camphor), (6) shin tsha (Sanskrit guḍatvak; English cinnamon), (7) rgya shug (Sanskrit badara;

(yum. gyi. mkhah dbyiñs), and then pulverized with a pestle called the vajra of the male pestle (gtun. bu. yab. kyi. rdo. rje). As the substances are ground, the hierophant

English jujube) and (8) gandhabhadra (Sanskrit; Latin, *paedira foetida*). These are generally called the outer roots. Further, following the analogy of the tree, the eight inner substances which represent the growth of the human are: (1) the root, which is the flesh and bone of bodily form (gzugs. phuñ. dbyibs. kyi. sha. rus. sdoñ. po), (2) the four limbs, likened unto branches (yal. ga. yan. lags. bzhi); (3) the hair and nails, which are like leaves (lo. ma. sen. mo. skra. dañ. spu); (4) the five senses, like flower buds (me. tog. dbañ. po. lña): (5) the five inner organs, like fruits (hbras. bu. don. sñiñ. lña) i.e. lungs, heart, liver, kidneys and spleen; (6) the marrow, like the pith of a tree (sñiñ. po. rkañ. mar); (7) the circulating brain fluids, like resin (thañ. chu. sla. ba. klad. rgyugs); and (8) the skin, which is like bark (shun. pa. pa. gs. pa). And lastly the eight arcane substances which according to the procreative processes, are: (1) the sacred semen (byañ. chub. sems) located in the head; (2) the central path by which it travels (gzhuñ. lam. rgyugs. sa) presumably the *avadhūti*. (3) the arcane fruit (near) the door of the navel (lte. ba'i. sgo. ba'i. hbras. bu) i.e. testicles and (4) the great root of the vajra with its opening (gshegs. shul. rdo. rje'i, rtsa.bo. che). These are for the male. For the female there are: (5) the liver, which is the vessel of blood (called the) lotus (padma. rakta'i. snod. mchin. pa); (6) the womb, which is the vessel that collects (the blood and semen) (gsogs. pa'i. snod. bu. snod); (7) the door of the lotus i.e. vulva, which is the place to obtain (len. pa'i. gnas. padma'i. sgo). and (8) the stamen and petals of the lotus, which is the path of movement (rgyu. lam. padma'i. ze'u. hbru).

These twenty-four categories make up the fundamental substances that go into ceremonial medicine. The first eight are made into pills (ril.bu) and sometimes just offered. The second are offered symbolically by an offering cake (gtor. ma) which is actually made into the shape of eyes, ears, nose, tongue and skin, which are the five cognitive senses (dbañ. po. lña) that are likened unto budding flowers on the tree. The arcane substances show us the basis by which the hierophant recycles the procreative matters of existence into what I am calling the "ambrosia cycle." The above categories, though an aspect of my ethnographic research in Nepal, are mentioned in slightly different ways in three small manuscripts which I am in the process of translating: they are (1) 'the crystal garland teachings showing whatever methods may be for the preparation of various necessary substances' (ñe. bar. mkho. ba'i. rdzas. sna. tshogs. kyi. sbyar. thabs. lag. len. ci. rigs. bstan. pa. shel. gyi. hphreñ, ba. bzhugs. so) and (2) 'Perfect Medicine (sman. sgrub)' and (3) 'The clear explanation of necessary substances concerned with the sublime arcane practise of pledged ambrosia' (dam. rdzas. bdud. rtsi'i. sgrub. thabs. gsañ. chen. mchog. gyi ñe. bar. mkho. ba'i. zin. bris. dgos. don. rab. gsal. ces. bya. ba. bzhugs. so).

projects that the sacred ambrosia produced by the coupling divinities recycles the substances into a like ambrosia. The sacred utterance used in this procedure is 'om āh hūm pañcāmṛta hūm hrīh tha!'

'Om āh hūm' recycles the substances into a purified field of Vajrabody, speech and mind. 'Pañcāmṛta' refers to the five colors sometimes conceived in the form of light rays that recycle the five poisons. The second 'hūm' is called the pledged one (dam. tshig. pa); and 'hrīh' designates the sacred knowledge one (ye. shes.pa). When the syllable 'tha' is cast, the pledged and sacred-knowledge-one are joined into one as represented by the formation of the pill (ril.bu) and called religious medicine (chos.sman).

In order for the system to work the substance must go through a process similar to the above model. It should be clear that the substances do not have to be ayurvedic ones. They can be any substances or symbolic realities that correspond to the categories in footnote 10. Substances do not have to be eaten. They can be seen, heard (in case of sound), smelled, tasted, touched or just perceived by the mind.

The essential factor in the transference from the hierophant to the substance is the pledge (dam. tshig). When a substance receives the splendorous ripples of ambrosia (bdud. rtsi. byin. brlabs) it is called a pledged substance (dam. tshig. rdzas) by virtue of the fact that the hierophant is a pledged being (dam tshig. pa) i.e. he is pledged to the Buddhist dharma which is ideally represented by the divinities. In an effort to understand the full meaning of pledge one inevitably should understand it in the context of the ideal image of the Vajrayāna community.

(iv) The fourth unit is community: the ideal image of the community lies in the histories and mythologies of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and hierophants of the past who are visually represented by the assembly tree (tshog. shiñ). For the non-Buddhist this is just a visual representation and an antiquity. For the Vajrayānist it represents the limits of his spiritual as well as material possibilities to which he is pledged as a member of a community. As the assembly of divinities is his projection, he mentally imitates them over and over again much in the same way a child imitates his own movements—as if they were separated motions. As he grows older he realizes that his motions and gestures are really his own. On a more sophisticated level the hierophant understands his mental projections of the divinity as one and the same with himself—but not as a matter of pure mechanicality. Rather he makes a conscious effort in each major ceremony to project the divinity as himself. Since he has received the vows (sdom. pa) that maintain his charisma as a priest, the image of the divinity, like himself, is a pledged being (dam. tshig. pa). When he invites the main tutelary divinity (yi. dam) from space, i.e. the sacred-knowledge-one (ye. shes. pa) (*Lessing and Wayman*, 1968,p.

163)¹¹ the two are joined in his Vajrabody and hence the same recycling process as mentioned before takes place. The main point is that the hierophant as a pledged being in the traditional community performs the main function of investing worldly substances with the pledge. Substance is pledged i.e. infused with ambrosia and given to the layman who shares it with the rest of the community.

When the devotee approaches the hierophant for curing, he utters prayers, prostrates himself, makes an offering and then receives the cure in the form of pills, food, or cloth; he is given a sacred utterance to recite, and receives a physical touch from the hierophant's fingers or feet. On special occasions the hierophant may touch the devotee's forehead with the image of the divinity. For a moment the distance between the divinity, the hierophant and the devotee is reduced to one point. This oneness is the peak moment of the transference and conceptually and symbolically points to the almost everyday goal of every person in the Vajrayāna community.

The hierarchical structure of the divine imagery reflects the religious and many of the so-called secular behavioral patterns of the community. The Triad: divinity, hierophant and layman, reflects the symbolical concepts of pledge (dam. tshig), vow (sdom. pa) and faith (dad. pa): dam. tshig is based on sdom. pa which in turn is determined by dad. pa, constituting the vertical system.

¹¹ My own ethnography corresponds to Lessing and Wayman's translation of a section of the snags. rim. chen. mo. that briefly points out that the pledged circle is the ceremonial circle and also conceived of as the hierophant's own being. The knowledge one's circle is in space. A question could arise, however, concerning the significant difference between the pledged being (dam. tshig. pa) that is projected from the pledged hierophant and the sacred knowledge being (ye. she. pa). If we look at the problem from the vantage point of the actual dynamics of the ritual, we first of all have the mere projection. And here I mean by projection mainly two symbolic configurations: 1) the ritual setting and 2) the imagery of the divinity. The other projections are the human bodies that enter the ritual area as well as the body of the hierophant. The latter formally transubstantiates the ritual setting by means of the divinities' imagery into a pledged (dam. tshig) field by symbolically offering the five senses of the body; i.e. he offers flowers, incense, light, food and sound, to the divinity. Hence the ceremonial circle is pledged (dam. tshig). It is only now that the hierophant can make the second transubstantiation into the sacred knowledge one (ye. shes. pa). It is from this process that probably arose the dispute among the philosophers over why the hierophant needs to project anything at all. I have asked hierophants this very question and they usually answer that one who is accomplished in the way of completion (rdzogs. rim) does not have to project but does so anyway for the sake of the people. Indeed the people (community) are dependant on the hierophant for the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi)

In summary a medical-cultural system of those communities in Kathmandu valley currently practising Vajrayāna Buddhism is as follows: (1) the hierarchical structure of divinities and cultural heroes as represented by a vertical system; (2) the hierophant who projects the divine hierarchy which is fed back as an inner projection within his Vajrabody (rdo. rje. lus) through which flows the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi). (Because the hierophant and the layman respond to the divine hierarchy as if it were a separate unit, I include it as such for the sake of analysis); (3) substance, which through the recycling of the hierophant becomes pledged and hence the cure par excellence; and , (4) the traditional community that shares the pledged substance and has faith that even if it does not produce the miraculous cure that is hoped, it will at least give the strength to accumulate more religious merit for a peaceful death and better afterlife.

As the above model of ceremonial medicine is an archaic one, similar patterns may well occur in other South Asian communities which are not yet industrialized. Also, as all the units are delineated in Buddhist tantric texts, I propose that these texts can be analyzed in a similiar fashion, i.e. as a medical-cultural system.

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[Words in brackets are Tibetan unless otherwise indicated. For more Newar parallels see in the near future my article *A Descriptive Analysis of the Content of Nepalese Buddhist Pujas as a Medical-Cultural System with References to Tibetan Parallels*, to be published in connection with the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.]

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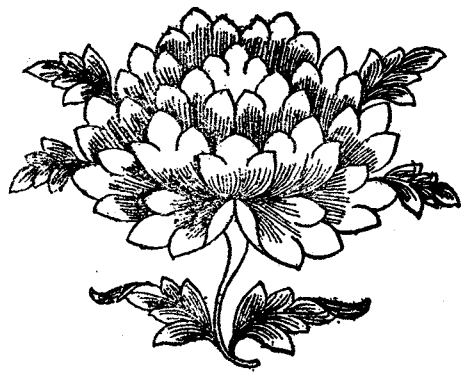
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STRUCTURE AND DIVISION IN KULUNGE RAI SOCIETY*

Charles Mc Dougal

Kathmandu

The Rais, together with their neighbours the Limbus, form a substantial part of the population of the eastern hills of Nepal known as the Kirati, speakers of a number of related Tibeto-Burman languages. The Kirati are the earliest known inhabitants of the region, traditionally named Kirat. In relation to the Kathmandu Valley, the eastern hills region is divided into Near Kirat, Middle Kirat and Far Kirat. Middle Kirat, also known as Khambuan, has long been recognized as the land of the Rais, the descendants of Khambu, while Far Kirat, or Limbuan, is the home of the Limbus. Many Rais, however, have migrated eastward into Far Kirat and beyond into India. (According to the 1961 Population Census there are 216,817 Rai speakers in the eastern hills region of Nepal.)

The degree of local and linguistic differentiation exhibited by the Rais is unique among the tribal, Tibeto-Burman speaking populations of Nepal. Other groups, including the closely related Limbu, usually have a common language intelligible to all of its members, although there may be differences in dialect. The Rais, however, are divided into numerous, discrete local groups, or tribes, speaking mutually unintelligible languages. Moreover, although the various tribes are broadly similar in social structure, share certain distinctively Rai features of culture, and constitute a self-conscious ethnic community, they at the same time exhibit quite marked social and cultural variation. There are at least 15 such tribes, each localized, or at least concentrated in a particular area—one or more valleys, or portions thereof—such as the Kulunge, Khalinge, Thulunge, Bantawa and Chamlinge, only to mention a few of the larger and better known groups. This high degree of local variation would appear to be the result of a gradual process of differentiation over time.

When I did field research among one of these tribes, the Kulunge Rais in the Hongu Valley of Solu-Khumbu District, it soon became clear that much the same kind of differentiation, on a smaller scale, existed within the tribe itself. The Kulunge Rais were divided into sub-tribes, and the latter further divided into smaller units, occupying separate areas. Between these various local units there was very little regular

* The data presented in this paper were collected in 1964-65 while doing field research in Eastern Nepal. The present tense as used throughout the paper, refers to the period when I was in the field. My research among the Rais was made possible by a postdoctoral fellowship from the National Science Foundation, Washington, D. C., and by a grant from the London-Cornell Project for South and South East Asian Studies, financed jointly by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Nuffield Foundation.

co-operation and, I gradually discovered, very little intermarriage. Empirically there was a very strong tendency toward local endogamy. The Rais do travel and do have contact with their fellows in other localities. Nevertheless, these contacts are usually transitory and are not reinforced by regular, recurrent bonds of co-operation. Fellow Rais of other localities are frequently regarded with suspicion.

Internal Divisions

The Rais are divided into tribes, the latter are divided into sub-tribes, which in turn are divided into branches, each of which is composed of a number of clans. This is a structure of agnatic descent; recognized common ancestors form the points of articulation whereby clans are grouped into branches, branches into sub-tribes, and sub-tribes into tribes. Furthermore, the Rais of Middle Kirat are divided into a segmentary series of territorial units, structurally paralleling the series of descent groups, territorial units at each level being linked to corresponding units of descent.

When the Rais were conquered by the Gurkha Kingdom of Nepal as the latter extended its power eastward in the latter part of the eighteenth century, their rights to ancestral lands they then occupied were recognized by the conquering power. Their headmen were given the honorific title *rai*, or "chief" which since has come to be applied to all the members of the ethnic group. Thereafter, the Rais held their lands in Middle Kirat under a system of tenure known as *kipat*: their lands were recognized as a communal holding, to which the members of the group had unalienable rights. Each household paid the same amount in taxes, more in the nature of tribute, regardless of the amount of land cultivated. The greater Rai *Kipat* was divided into smaller *kipats* for each of the tribes; it is probable that these tribal land divisions existed well before the establishment of *kipat* tenure as such. The *kipat* of a tribe was further divided among its component sub-tribes, and so forth. It was the clans-or local clan groups-which actually exercised corporate rights to land and resources, controlling access to them, and regulating their use. In spite of the abolition of *kipat* tenure two decades earlier, the system described still existed in the Hongu Valley when I did field-work there. It is essentially a system of land allocation among the Rais themselves, and in the upper valley, at any rate, there were few members of other ethnic groups.

It cannot be claimed that the genealogical framework, which links hierarchically arranged territorial units and descent groups, is a truly accurate representation of relationships, or that genealogies have never been manipulated for purposes of political expediency. Nevertheless, the parallel structuring of territorial units and descent groups, in general if not in particular instances, reflects a process whereby partition of the common estate occurs in conjunction with descent group fission.

Clan fission is precipitated by an intra-clan marriage. Clans are exogamous with the qualification that exogamy is related to the genealogical distance between the clan's

component sub-clans. After seven generations of common descent, but not before, a marriage between persons belonging to separate sub-clans within the clan is permissible indeed, it is expected; a single such marriage results in division of the clan into two separate clans—the former subclans of the principals to the marriage—which are then free to intermarry. When the clan divides, its common estate is also divided. This process will be described in greater detail later, but note here that, viewed in formal terms, the system facilitates the fission of clans with periodic regularity, by an almost mechanical process, whereby the division is always between two segments of equal order. Note further the contrast between this situation and one of a localized descent group observing a rule of absolute exogamy. In the latter case brides must of necessity be recruited from outside the locality. Here, given the rule of limited exogamy, fission of the localized descent group makes possible the recruitment of brides within the locality.

In practice of course, clan fission, involving as it does reallocation of rights to land and resources, is a phenomenon from which political considerations cannot be divorced.

The traditions of every Rai tribe assert that they are immigrants from outside the regions they presently occupy. Without wishing to pursue the complex question of their migrations, suffice it to say that movements were probably gradual, that it is likely that displacements were caused by the pressure of other groups, and that the Rais were no doubt divided already into a number of tribes when they arrived in Middle Kirat, a long time ago, after which a great deal of local differentiation also took place.

The Kulunge Rais of the Hongu Valley are divided into 4 sub-tribes: the Kulunge proper, the Pelmunge, the Namlunge, and the Sotange. The first 3 occupy the upper part of the valley, called Kulung, and may be grouped together as opposed to the Sotange, living in the lower valley, known as Sotang. (The valley as a whole is called Sotang-Kulung, or alternatively "Greater" Kulung). In this study we are concerned primarily with Kulung, which is much more homogeneously Rai, and only incidentally with Sotang, where there are fair numbers of Chetris and Brahmins settled among the Rai. Kulung is divided into Kulung proper, Pelmung and Namlung, the territories of the 3 sub-tribes. Of the latter, the sub-tribe of the Kulunge proper is the largest, being found at 8 villages: Chemsing, Chheskam, Bung, Sadi, Sano Sadi, Tomou, Lacham and Gudel; the Pelmunge are at Pelmung and Chocholung Villages; and the Namlunge are found at Namlung Village. These groups, as well as the Sotange at Sotang and Sitang, all speak the Kulunge language, although a small amount of local variation exists even within the valley.

Environment and Settlement Patterns

Many generations ago the Kulunge immigrated to the Hongu Valley from the Rawa Valley to the southwest, which they had occupied previously. Persons throughout the valley agree that the first settlement was at Chhemsing, founded by the first immig-

rant, Chhemsî; his brother Tamsî founded the neighbouring village of Chheskam shortly afterwards; subsequently the other villages occupied by the Kulunge sub-tribe were established by the descendants of these two brothers. The villages of the Pelmunge and Namlunge sub-tribes were founded by cousins of Tamsî and Chhemsî. The assertion that the upper valley was settled first supports the conjecture that the Rais in general, and the Kulunge Rais in particular, are not traditionally cultivators of rice but of dry, high-land crops. The chief crops today are maize and millet, supplemented by barley, wheat, buckwheat and potatoes, and there also is a good deal of dependence on stock raising in the upper valley. Rice cultivation is negligible except in the lower valley around Sotang, where it may have been introduced by the Chetri and Brahmin settlers, who significantly have not settled north of Sotang, with the exception of a few households near Sadi.

The present population of Kulung (including Kulung proper, Pelmung and Namlung) is approximately 7,200; that of the entire valley probably close to 12,000. With the exception noted, the only non-Rais in Kulung are some Sherpas living in small settlements at higher elevation, and a few households of Kamis (Blacksmiths) in most of the Rai villages. In the area of Chhemsing and Chheskam Villages, the ratio is 93 percent Rais, 5 percent Sherpas, and 2 percent Kamis.

The topography of the Hongu Valley is extremely rugged, as is much of Middle Kirat, especially in the north. There is virtually no valley bottom land. Villages are not situated in the valley bottom or on the tops of the main ridges flanking the valley, but on the slopes of the spurs between tributary streams dropping, sometimes quite literally, into the Hongu, which in the upper valley forms a deep gorge. Except at two points where permanent wooden bridges have been constructed, it is necessary to cross the Hongu by temporary bamboo suspension bridges, washed away every year at the onset of the monsoon.

The villages of Kulung are divided into a number of localities. Thus, Chhemsing, Chheskam and Sano Sadi form one locality; Pelmung, Bung and Sadi a second; Tomou, Lacham and Gudel a third; and Chocholung and Namlung a fourth. Villages of the same locality form a recognized community, and are linked by bonds of regular co-operation and common interest, lacking between villages of different localities, although in a few cases individual villages have divided loyalties. The locality (indeed the village, in the case of the larger ones) tends to form an endogamous unit.

Villages are quite large, the biggest of them having populations of over a thousand. The houses of which they are composed are scattered over the hill-slope. Terraced fields not only occupy the area between houses, but extend to outlying areas. There are huge tracts of uncultivated land, especially in the higher areas, above the settlements, but much of it is unarable or of indifferent quality. Moreover, the elevation sets limits beyond which certain crops may not be grown. (The villages range from 6,000 to 8,000 feet in elevation.)

Although population pressure on available resources is not as acute as in many parts of the eastern hills, considerable numbers of Kulunge Rais have moved eastwards in search of new lands, and there also has been a limited amount of emigration to the Darjeeling region of India.

Land Ownership and Use

The land owned by clans is uncultivated land, which is not to deny its importance, as much of it is valuable for grazing and the gathering of a variety of forest produce. Land which has been improved for cultivation is individually owned. All members of the clan residing in the locality have the right to reclaim its lands for cultivation upon payment of a fee to the headman of the local clan group. Thereafter it becomes his personal property for which he pays taxes to the government through his headman. Prior to the abolition of *kipat* he was not permitted to sell it to a non-Rai. Nowadays this is possible, but in Kulung, at any rate, the Rais are reluctant to sell land to outsiders, and the amount of land which has been alienated from the Rai community is still negligible. (In Sotang, however, the situation is different, a large proportion of the land having passed into the hands of persons of other ethnic groups.)

A member of another clan might be given permission to reclaim clan land for cultivation, but this required a meeting of clansmen, and permission could be refused. The Sherpas in the valley had been permitted by particular clans to cultivate on their lands. They paid the required fee to the Rai headman concerned, and in addition formerly had to pay him an annual tribute in the form of liquor and foodstuffs. Under *kipat* tenure the Sherpas were not allowed to own land outright, ultimate rights to it being retained by the Rais. For the most part the Sherpas exploit different resources than the Rais, while the few Blacksmiths settled in the Rai villages exchange their services for the use of land or an annual payment of grain. Consequently, the legal abolition of *kipat* tenure has not essentially altered the relationship between the various ethnic groups with regard to the control of land and critical resources, at least not above Sotang. The system of clan-owned communal lands is still very much in operation (Implementation of the lands Act, 1964, no doubt has brought about significant changes since the time I did fieldwork.)

Economic Organization

Early partition of the household estate is the empirical norm; the maintenance of a joint family is not even particularly idealized. Shortly after a man brings his bride to live with him, he builds his own house and separates from the parental household, receiving his share of inheritance at that time. The rule is that brothers share equally. After partition there is little obligation for brothers to co-operate economically. They share equally the brideprice subsequently received when a sister marries, and

must contribute equally toward her dowry. The successive establishment of independence by brothers as each in turn marries is considered the normal course of events.

The household, with an average size of 4 persons, and seldom having more than 7 members, is the primary unit of economic production. The bulk of the agricultural work is done by women, except during the peak months of activity during the rains when maize is weeded and millet transplanted, at which time the entire available labour force is mobilized. Men do the heavy work of constructing and maintaining terraces and rock retaining walls, and do the ploughing. Only the larger fields are ploughed, the remainder being hoed. When outside assistance is required, a man can claim the services of his married sisters and daughters; alternatively day labourers may be hired for a standardized wage in kind.

Although subsidiary to agriculture, animal husbandry is of great importance. Moreover, the demands of ecology necessitate the organization of a substantial portion of the population in terms of a herding economy. Pigs are raised by everyone in pens adjacent to the houses, but cattle require extensive pasture lands. Immediately after the harvest in the fall, cattle are quartered on the harvested fields in and around the village, for two months or so, in order to obtain manure for the next year's production. For the bulk of the year, however, they are dispersed over a very wide area, moving from one pasture to another, depending on the season. Efficient use of fodder resources depends on dispersal and frequent movement. Most households own some stock, and it is necessary for them either to keep part of their personnel with the animals at all times, occasionally rotating the herdsmen, or to enter into cooperative arrangements with another household—most in fact herd independently, although camping close by others at the same pasture.

The various pastures, or *kharkas* are owned by particular clans. To use a pasture a group of cattle-owners combine to lease it for a period of several years. The local group controlling the land sets the amount of rent required for the period desired. The cattle-owners each contribute the same amount toward the rent, which they pay to the headman of the local clan group, who distributes it in equal shares to all householders of the group. The stockowners make an annual adjustment among themselves, according to the number of animals which each takes to the pasture. Each cattle-owner combines with others, not necessarily or even usually the same group of persons on each occasion, to rent several pastures, where his animals are grazed at different times of the year. Only members of the landowning clan have the technical right to rent its pastures, but affines and others may be included. With some exceptions, men residing in another locality are not included, even if they are members of the clan. Each locality has its own pasture lands and tends to be independent of the others. It is the members of the clan who are co-residents of the same locality who enjoy common rights to their clan's holdings there. Basically the same resources are available to each locality

although they vary in quantity and quality. Important to note is the fact that there are no individually owned pastures.

Small-scale trading is of some importance as a supplementary source of income. Livestock and butter, for example, are sold at the bazaar towns to the south, the proceeds being used to purchase cloth, salt, tobacco and other items, which then are sold locally for a profit, either in the village or at the small markets held weekly in some localities. There is also considerable trading with the Sherpas, the Rais to some extent acting as middlemen between the Sherpas to the north and the bazaar towns to the south. With the exception of the weekly market held at Sotang, the largest in the valley, there is little trade with fellow Rais outside the locality. The Rais are not self-sufficient, but the important point to make is that different local units are drawn into parallel relations of dependence on the external economy, rather than into relations of interdependence with one another.

Descent and Locality

The Kulunge Sub-tribe is divided into two branches: (1) the Chhemsis Branch, containing 7 clans claiming descent from Chhemsis, and (2) the Tamsis Branch, composed of 9 clans claiming descent from Tamsis, Chhemsis's brother. Clan members co-resident in a particular locality form a corporate group—"the local clan group." It controls the use of communal land and resources. It has a leader, the *talukdar*, or *rai*; the members of his group are referred to as his *raiti*, or "subjects." (A large clan group may have two or more leaders, or headmen, for its segments at different villages within the locality.)

The clan as a whole has not only a popular name, but also a magical name, or *daphning*, used only in ritual contexts. Although some clans have members in different localities where they form separate local clan groups, it is true that clans tend to be concentrated in particular localities, and many have only a few scattered members in others. When small numbers of clansmen emigrate to a neighbouring locality they may be allowed to remain affiliated with the clan group in their parent locality for some time, temporarily enjoying the rights and privileges attaching to membership in that group. To cite an example, Morokhu Clan, one of the largest of the Chhemsis Branch clans, is concentrated in Chhemsing-Chheskam-Sano Sadi locality (mainly at Chhemsing): a few members who have recently emigrated to Pelmung in the neighbouring locality continue to be extended rights of membership in the parent local clan group, but others, who emigrated to Chocholung-Namlung locality in the more distant past form a separate local clan group—in any case, since the locality to which they emigrated is not a neighbouring one, their rights of membership in the parent group were terminated immediately. Large local clan groups such as Morokhu and Pidimu at Chhemsing Chheskam-Sano-Sadi locality, may have a membership of 50-75 households, small ones only a dozen or so; most contain 25-30 households.

The feature which the Rais themselves claim to be diagnostic of the local clan group is that it constitutes a unit for the payment of a marriage prestation known as *duri*. When a man marries he must pay a fee of 16 paise to every householder of his wife's natal local clan group. The group of co-clansmen who receive *duri* when one another's sisters and daughters marry is coincident with the group of co-clansmen who exercise communal rights to land—i. e. the local clan group. With the temporary exception of recent emigrants to a neighbouring locality, who continue to receive *duri* when girls of the parent group marry, and who continue to exercise rights to the communal lands of the parent group, membership is limited to coclansmen of the same locality.

Clan Fission

Stated genealogically, it is forbidden for a man and woman tracing common agnatic descent to marry until their common ancestor is seven generations removed. Stated in clan terms, this means that the clan is strictly exogamous for seven generations beginning with the generation of the sons of the founder, but that from the eighth generation onward it is permissible for a marriage to occur between the lineages descended from the founder's sons—i. e. between the component sub-clans of the clan. Sexual relations or marriage between members of the same clan are classed as *hadphora* or "breaking the bones." When they occur between agnates separated by less than seven generations of common descent it is considered a heinous crime, requiring expulsion of the principals from the region.

Although marriage between a man and a woman whose common agnatic ancestor is more than seven generations removed is permissible, the intra-clan marriage which precipitates clan fission is still classed as *hadphora*, even though it is a phenomenon both accepted and expected, and one upon which the whole system of clan dynamics hinges. Although it is thought to entail a certain amount of danger to the principals, it is not a reprehensible union. Subsequent marriages between persons of the two units which acquire separate clan status as the direct result of this single intra-clan, *hadphora* union are no longer classed as *hadphora*. Units having separate clan status are free to intermarry according to the normal rules.

After 3 or 4 generations of common descent, lineages descended from the sons of the founders of the clan acquire separate names, at which point they may be said to have become sub-clans. (Although it is theoretically possible for there to be as many sub-clans as there are sons of the clan's founders, binary division is the empirical rule.) As soon as the clan reaches a depth of eight generations, fission along the line of cleavage between its component sub-clans by means of a *hadphora* marriage is potentially possible at any time. When it actually occurs depends on a number of factors, the most important of which is the size of the clan. Other things being equal, the larger its membership (within a given locality), the more readily will fission take

place. For example, Walakham, a medium-size clan, is still intact in spite of having reached a great depth, whereas Pidimu, with lesser depth but far more members, is in the process of division.

When the initial rite of marriage for the intra-clan marriage is performed, the sub-clans of the bride and groom are given separate magical names. (A marriage requires two rites, which may be separated by several years; it is on the occasion of the final rite that *duri* is paid.) When the final rite of the intra-clan union takes place, the husband pays *duri* to the householders of his wife's sub-clan, but not to those of his own sub-clan. In so doing—by recognizing his former co-clansmen of the other sub-clan as affines—the *duri* group is divided and becomes two separate groups for the distribution of that prestation whenever future marriages occur. Shortly after the final marriage rite a ceremony is performed to formalize the division between the two new clans; usually in conjunction with it the former common estate is partitioned.

A case illustrating a number of aspects of the process of fission is that of Pidimu Clan. Three marriages have been contracted between its sub-clans Hocheràu and Pokhoti, and the initial rites of marriage performed in each case. The sub-clans possess separate *daphning*, or magical names. Nevertheless, for various reasons—death, desertion and divorce—all of these unions were terminated after a short period, and in no case was the crucial final rite of marriage performed. As a consequence Hocheràu and Pokhoti have not become separate units for the distribution of *duri*, and Pidimu remains a single clan. Quite recently the initial rite for a fourth union, between a Pokhoti boy and a Hocheràu girl, was performed. When, and if, the final rite of marriage for that union takes place, Pokhoti and Hocheràu will become separate clans.

Fission of the clan resulting from an intra-clan, *hadphora* marriage in any given locality, and the contingent division of the *duri* group there, results in separate clan status for the sub-clans in question at whatever localities they happen to found, and other local *duri* groups of the clan, if any, are divided accordingly.

It is necessary to distinguish the physical separation of co-clansmen living in different localities, discussed earlier, from the phenomenon of clan fission through intra-clan marriage. In the former case, co-clansmen residing in different localities may become separate *duri* groups, but the division is defined by the criterion of locality and not by a genealogical criterion. In the latter case, the division of the *duri* group is along the line of cleavage between genealogically defined segments, irrespective of the criterion of locality. Assume that co-clansmen physically separated by residence in different localities constitute separate *duri* groups. An intra-clan marriage in one locality dividing the *duri* group there automatically divides the *duri* group in the other locality also, provided the same two sub-clans co-exist there. A final point is that the separation according to locality does not affect the rule of clan exogamy, whereas an intra-clan marriage between persons of different sub-clans necessarily does so, since the former sub-clans become separate clans which are free to intermarry.

Marriage Exchange

Marriage exchange between clan units (local clan segments) is symmetrical: each unit gives to and takes brides from the other. The members of a given clan classify all females of their clan married to men of other clans as *samlume*, while all females of other clans married to men of their clan are classed as *bomme*. Stated differently, a married woman is classified as *samlume* by her natal clasmen and as *bomme* by her husband's clansmen.

When a woman's final rite of marriage takes place, the men of her local clan group (those who receive *duri* for her marriage) tabulate all of their *samlume*. A prestation of four paisa, known as *mauks paisa*, must be made to the households of all *samlume* (out-married clanswomen), regardless of locality of residence. After the death of the *samlume* and her husband, the prestation continues to be given to her son, and after his death to her son's son; the obligation to give *mauks paisa* lapses only after the third generation. The amount required for all these prestations to *samlume* (or their descendants) are demanded from the husband of the woman whose final rite of marriage is being performed, whereupon the members of her natal local clan group make the distribution to the recipients. The *mauks paisa* which a married woman (or her descendants) receive from her natal group every time a subsequent marriage of a woman of that group occurs is conceived as an expression of "brotherly" love for "sister."

Those who receive *mauks paisa* also have obligations to the group from which they receive it. Whenever a man of that group dies, four out-married women of the group (*samlume*) or their sons or son's must each contribute four paisa to pay for two flags called *sibalo* in commemoration of the deceased, this presentation being known as *sibalo paisa*. All *samlume* of the group, as well as their descendants who receive *mauks paisa* after they die, are called upon to give *sibalo paisa* for these flags of commemoration, on a rotation basis, as successive deaths occur. *Sibalo paisa*, given by a married woman (or her descendants) to her natal group when a male member dies, is thought of as an expression of "sisterly" love for "brother".

The prohibited degrees of marriage are related to these prestations. A man should not marry any woman of his mother's natal clan—i. e. the group from which he receives *mauks paisa* following his mother's death. Similarly a man should not marry the daughter of any *samlume* since his group gives *mauks paisa* to her natal household. In the third generation (that of the final *mauks paisa* recipient, the son's son of the *samlume*), persons belonging to the two lines directly connected by the original marriage may not marry: a man (*mauks paisa* recipient) may not marry his father's mother's brother's son's daughter (belonging to the *mauks paisa* giving group). Likewise, a man (of the *mauks paisa* giving group) may not marry his father's father's sister's son's daughter (the sister of a *mauks paisa* recipient). All unions of the above type are classified as *dudh-*

phora—"to break the milk." Only in the fourth generation (when *mauks paisa* is no longer given) may persons belonging to lines linked by a former union intermarry.

In practice, however, the rules tend to be relaxed in the case of larger clans with great genealogical depth. Thus, marriage with a woman of mother's natal clan will be condoned if she does not belong to mother's natal sub-clan. Similarly, a man may be allowed to marry the daughter of a *samlume* (clanswomen) if the latter's natal sub-clan is different from his own. Of Chhemsing males who are, or who have been married, only 6 percent married a female of their mother's natal clan, and in no cases a woman of their mother's natal sub-clan. Seven percent married the daughter of a clanswoman, in two instances the daughter of a woman of their sub-clan. The latter unions were considered flagrant violations of the rules: the marriage ceremonies were boycotted by the village. In spite of such cases, it is clear that the rules generally are observed.

The locality, indeed the village, tends to be an endogamous unit. Over 90 percent of all marriages occur within the locality, and over 80 percent within the village. Note that villages tend to be quite large. Chhemsing (from which the above sample was drawn) has a population of nearly 700 persons: certain other villages, such as Chheskam are even larger, while most contain at least 500 persons. Nevertheless, at any given time, intermarriage among the local descent group within the village and to a lesser extent within the locality, approaches the saturation point: there is nearly as much intermarriage as possible consistent with the observation of the prohibited degrees. Given the comprehensive rules governing the latter which do exist (and which are observed), it would be impossible to maintain a high rate of local endogamy over time were it not for the process of clan fission by means of intra-clan, *hadphora* marriage, which periodically creates new opportunities for obtaining spouses locally, within the framework of the existing rules. Not only are relations of intermarriage established between units formerly recognizing a common bond of exogamy but the restrictions governing intermarriage with other groups which the two units previously observed jointly, now apply separately, with the result that certain unions which before would have been classified as *dudhphora* are now permissible.

Marriage and Authority

Marriage is better described as a process than as an event; there is an interval of several years between the initial and final rites of the union. Unmarried boys and girls mix freely and have ample opportunity to become acquainted with potential mates in their locality, both during work and leisure time. Moreover, they have a good deal of say in the selection of their spouse. When a family is ready to arrange a son's marriage he is asked which girl he favours. That girl's mother's brother, sent by the family as an intermediary, discusses the match with her parents, and in their presence questions the girl herself, whose wishes in the matter are almost always respected.

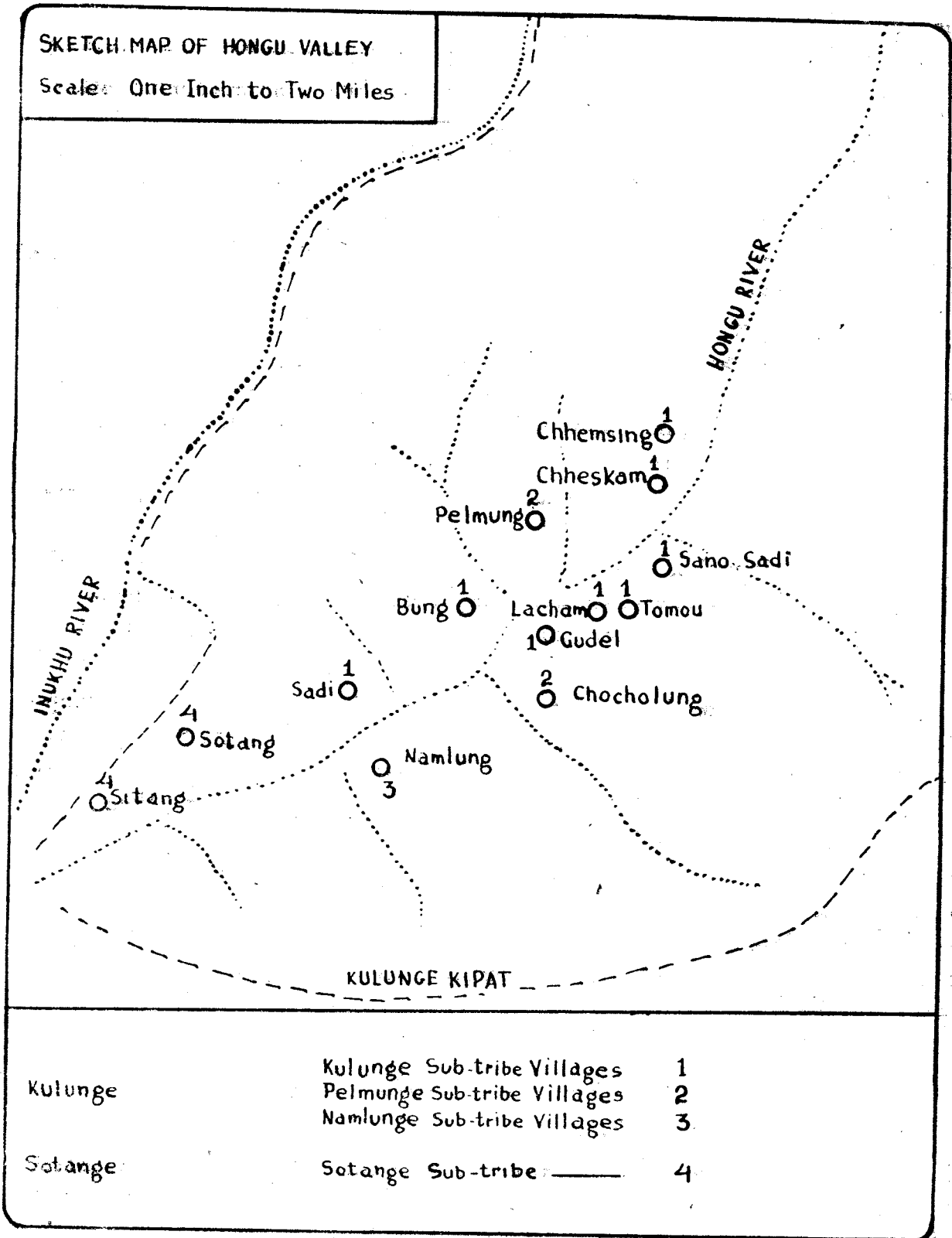
The initial rite of marriage establishes a man's exclusive sexual rights to his bride, and certain rights to his children by her, although the latter do not acquire fully legitimate status until the final rite is performed. The bride's natal family retains jural and ritual authority over her. The period following the initial rite is considered a trial period. The bride and groom continue to reside separately at their respective natal homes, usually for a couple of years or so. It is up to the groom to prove his worth, and to persuade his bride to come and live with him. Her family will not send her against her will, and her husband cannot force them to do so.

When the bride does go to live with her husband—who establishes his own separate household shortly thereafter—the latter necessarily acquires a good deal of *de facto* authority over her. Nevertheless, jural authority and responsibility continue to be vested in her natal family even at this stage. Should she die leaving debts (an unlikely but illustrative contingency), for example, they and not her husband, are responsible for them. Her natal family still has the right to demand her services. Divorce is fairly easy at any time before the final rite of marriage is performed: about 20 percent of all unions are terminated by divorce during this interim period. Both parties have recognized grounds for divorce, and the subsequent settlement depends on which is judged to have been most at fault. Should another man abduct his wife—and wife-stealing is by no means uncommon—the husband receives compensation, half paid by the abductor and half by the woman's natal family, with divorce as an automatic consequence.

A man must obtain the permission of his wife's natal family in order to have the rite of marriage performed, since their participation is essential. They normally do not consent until children have been born, and it is not unusual for the ceremony to be delayed past the birth of two or more children. Of married couples who have not yet completed the final rite of their union, 36 percent are still residing separately at their respective natal homes, 26 percent are living together but have not yet produced any children, and 38 percent already have one or more offspring.

The final marriage rite transfers jural and some ritual authority over a woman to her husband, and it establishes the legitimacy of all children of the union. Some ritual authority, however, continues to be vested in the married woman's natal clan group, in which she retains membership. The husband must pay brideprice, consisting of a number of large copper vessels to his wife's natal family; he must also pay *duri* to each of the other households of her natal clan group, as well supply that group with the money which it requires to make *mauks paisa* and other obligatory prestations on this occasion.

Subsequent to the performance of this rite the jural bonds of marriage cannot be broken—i.e., divorce is no longer possible. Should the woman establish a conjugal union with another man, either by deserting her husband while he is still alive or by living with someone else after his death, that union can never be legally recognized,



nor can the offspring ever be fully legitimized, for as the Rais say: "Brideprice cannot be accepted twice for the same woman."

Shortly after the final marriage ceremony, the woman's brothers are required to give her and her husband a dowry, consisting of household utensils, cooking vessels, tools, cloth, grain, livestock, and possibly some cash. The dowry is given not only for the benefit of the married woman, but especially for that of her children. It forms part of the inheritance of her son, who combines it with the estate which he receives from his father; out of this he in turn gives a dowry to his own sister when she marries. It is noteworthy that the inheritance of personal gods is also bilineal: some are inherited from the father (who earlier had already inherited them partly from his father and partly from his mother) and some from the mother, those from the latter source being considered the most powerful and potentially dangerous. When a man establishes his own household he must periodically make offering not only to all these gods which he has personally inherited, but also to those which his wife has inherited. His children inherit both his personal gods and those of his wife.

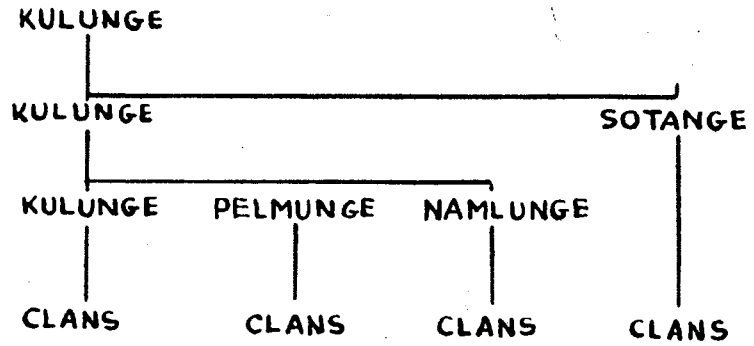
If a marriage is terminated either by death or divorce before the final rite or the union has been performed, any offspring are considered illegitimate. In order that their status be legitimized it is necessary for a rite to be performed on their behalf by their mother's brother, who alone has the authority to do so. It is also important to note that when a girl marries, her mother's brother plays an indispensable part in the proceedings.

To summarize this section, a woman has strong, enduring ties to her natal group. Rights over her are relinquished gradually, reluctantly as it were, and even after her final marriage rite this bond is not severed—her natal group retains certain claims to her, and to her children. The important tie in this relationship is the sibling bond between brother and sister. It is her brothers who receive the brideprice which is paid, and it is out of their inheritance that her dowry is given. Her brothers have the authority to legitimize her marriage, as well as the status of her children. Before the final rite of her marriage the interests of these men focus on their sister; after it has been completed, their interests focus on her children, who gain legitimate status as the result of that rite.

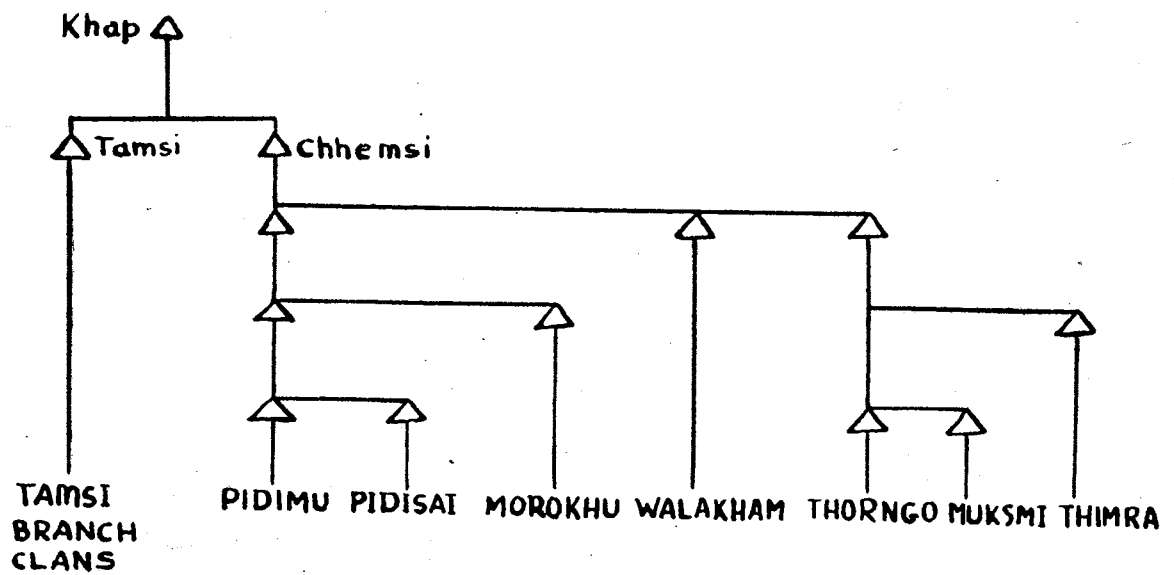
Community Leadership

I speak here of traditional leadership. The situation has altered since 1962 when His Majesty's Government of Nepal introduced a system of elected local Panchayat assemblies throughout the country. Since this took place only a short time before I did fieldwork, I have not attempted to describe the changes in local leadership which were brought about.

TRIBAL SUB-DIVISIONS



KULUNGE SECTION

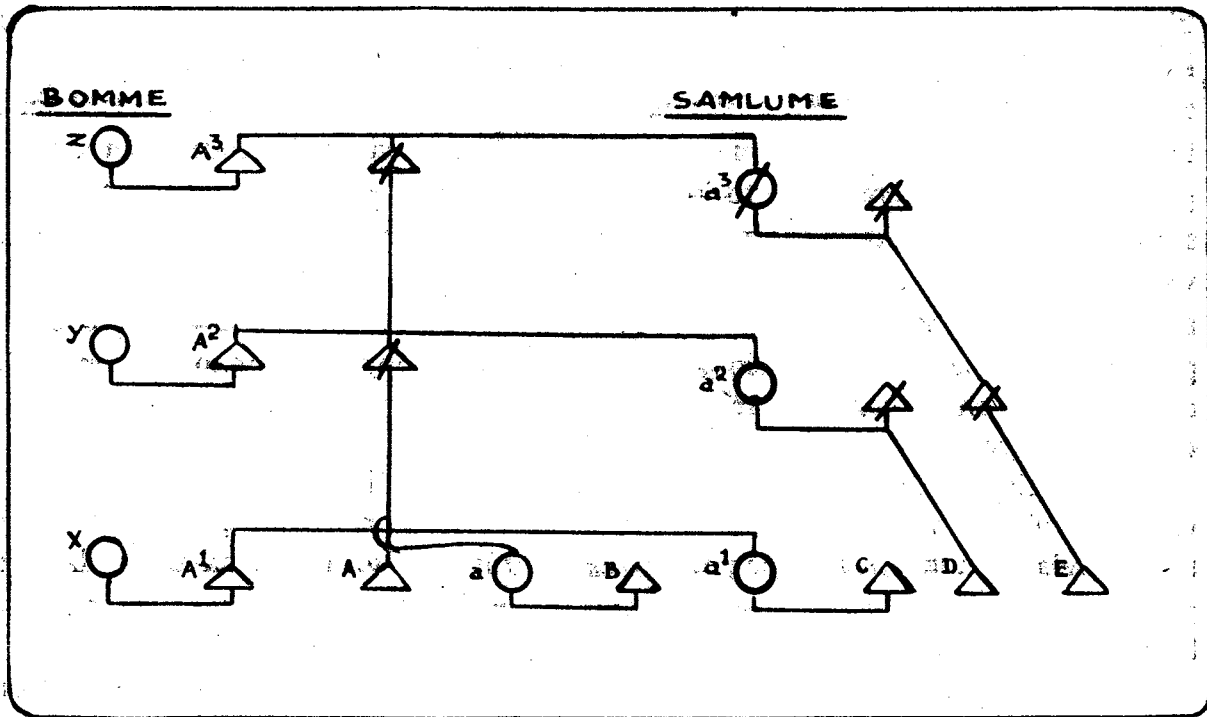


Formerly local authority was vested by the Administration in the *talukdars* (or *rais*) who served as intermediaries between it and the villagers, and who were responsible for the collection and delivery of taxes. The role of *talukdar* was grafted on to an already existing one, that of clan group headman. At the two large villages of Chhemsing and Chheskam there were 18 *talukdars*, representing 13 clan groups; the largest group had 2 *talukdars* at Chhemsing and 1 at Chheskam, 2 other large groups had 1 *talukdar* for the segment at Chhemsing and 1 for that at Chheskam, while the remainder only had 1 *talukdar*, either at Chhemsing or at Chheskam. The *raiti*, or "subjects" of the *talukdar* were the members of his clan group (or segment), as well as any non-*kipati*—i. e. Sherpas or Blacksmiths under his jurisdiction. The role of the *talukdar* was normally hereditary, passing from father to son, but new posts could be created.

There was no local super-ordinate authority, no village headman over all the various *talukdars*, who were largely autonomous. The *talukdars* had the legal authority to settle disputes among his *raiti*; in the event of quarrels between persons of different groups, the respective *talukdars* of the two parties involved were supposed to decide the issue. In practice, however, disputes were settled by *ad hoc* assemblies which included other influential villagers in addition to the *talukdars* concerned—men of wealth, with knowledge of customary procedure, or powers of persuasion. The participation of these persons with no formally vested authority supplemented the role of the *talukdar*, and acted as a check on his power. The limited power which the *talukdars* did manage to exercise was rarely translated into substantial economic gain. They received gifts in return for favours, and were the beneficiaries of certain customary fees and prestations. Each of their *raiti* was required to render them two days of unpaid labour per annum. Nevertheless, the *talukdars* did not constitute a wealthy class, and in fact many remained men of quite moderate means. The *talukdar* had obligations toward his *raiti*, and on certain occasions was required to feast them. His power and influence depended to a large extent on his generosity.

Since the *talukdars* could not recruit *raiti* from outside their own group (except non-*kipati*, such as Sherpas and Blacksmiths cultivating on the group's land) and local areas of jurisdiction, there was no competition to build up followings of *raiti* at each other's expense. The distribution of power among the various *talukdars* in a given locality depended on differential capacity for leadership and ability to influence the behavior of persons generally, not only on the relative size of their groups of *raiti*. (One of the most respected *talukdars* in the locality where I worked was that of the smallest clan group). Moreover, since natural increase in the size of the group over time was liable to be interrupted by clan fission, there were limits to the number of *raiti* which could be maintained by the *talukdar* under his jurisdiction. When fission occurred, the *talukdar* retained only those *raiti* of whichever of the two units he hap-

MARRIAGE PRESTATIONS



Initial Rite
(Sagun)

B marries a.

B pays LASTUR (8 copper pots) to A.

Final Rite
(Janti)

B pays DURU (16. paisa) to A¹, A², and A³.

A, A¹, A², and A³ distribute MAUKS PAISA (4 paisa), paid by B, to C, D, and E.

A, A¹, A², and A³ distribute BOMME PAISA (8 paisa) paid by B, to x, y, and z.

Dowry

A subsequently gives DAIJU (dowry) to a and B.

pened to belong; a new *talukdar* was created for the other unit. The latter was in effect "elected" by the members of that unit, although the old *talukdar* often played a privileged part in the selection process.

A traditional aspect of the *talukdar's* role was that he had the authority to decide whether a proposed marriage was to be allowed or to be forbidden, on the grounds that it constituted a violation of customary practice. Knowledge of the genealogy of his clan was consequently one of his responsibilities. Although this was not common knowledge, most persons, even if they did not know the genealogical details, were aware, at least approximately, of the number of generations which had elapsed since the founding of their clan, such knowledge being passed down from generation to generation. Some were liable to know parts of the genealogy fairly accurately, since possession of knowledge of this kind was one source of influence. There were thus limits to the extent to which the *talukdar*, even in consort with others, could manipulate the genealogy for his own ends or those of his friends. Moreover in practice, the genealogical considerations bearing on any questionable union were discussed by an *ad hoc* assembly of influential villagers, including the *talukdars* of other clan groups.

When clan fission occurred, the communal land holding of the clan was not divided equally between the two units acquiring separate clan status, but according to their relative numerical strength. An agreement had to be reached by the two parties, and that having the ablest and most determined spokesman often got the better share.

The effective political unit tended to be the locality. Ideally a dispute between parties resident in different localities could be settled in much the same way as one within the locality, the respective *talukdars* of the disputants co-operating together in order to effect a settlement. In practice, unless the issues were exceptionally clear-cut, it was much more difficult to resolve disputes arising between members of different localities than ones between parties residing in the same locality. The leaders of each locality tended to support their man, regardless of the issues. Such a situation was not ameliorated by the feelings of mutual suspicion which often characterized the relationship between localities generally.

Ritual Co-operation

Although Rais throughout the valley share a common body of ritual practice, the largest regularly constituted ritual congregation is the village. Common descent does not act as a focus for ritual co-operation involving the participation of members of different villages: even within the village the local clan segment does not form a ritual unit. Although members of more than one village frequently co-operate during the performance of a marriage ceremony or funerary rite, participation is situational and Ego-oriented.

There are two types of ritual practitioners, the *nokchha*, a part-time priest, and the *dhami*, a shaman who is a diviner and spirit-medium. The role of the former is ideally hereditary, but in practice tends to be filled by the most competent candidate, possessing the greatest fund of ritual knowledge; the role is not monopolized by particular descent groups. Recruitment of shamans is through personal inspiration. The two types of practitioners are concerned with mutually exclusive bodies of ritual and deal with different supernatural forces, although the basic objectives of their activities to some extent overlap. Household rites are performed periodically for the purpose of curing sickness, warding off calamity, and promoting family prosperity. The householder summons a shaman to perform rites for the household gods, including all of the personal gods which he and his wife have inherited. Once a year he employs a priest to perform a rite for *nagi*, the water serpent, an important supernatural being influencing the health and well-being of the household unit.

The object of one series of village rites, performed by priests, is to promote the growth of crops by placating the supernatural agencies which control the forces of nature. There are other ceremonies, some officiated by priests and some by shamans, to ward off sickness and calamity, and to promote the general well-being of the community. For some rites attendance is mandatory: every household in the village must be represented, absentees being fined. Although members of other villages are not prohibited from attending ceremonies they rarely do so. Each village has its own shrines, its own religious practitioners, and performs rites independently of others.

At certain times of the year there are large gatherings, or *melas*, at various places in the region, usually on hill tops, where shamans make offerings to local deities and dance. Persons from many different villages and localities attend these events to sing, drink, dance and enjoy themselves. Far from being occasions when the solidarity of the wider group is given expression, it is at these times that feelings of aggression, and hostility between different localities are liable to be overtly expressed. As a result certain *melas* have had to be discontinued. At some of those still held, persons attending from different localities may seek to avoid contact by camping on different sides of the hill, with the consequence that social intercourse is minimal. At these *melas* even the shamans of different localities do not perform together as a body, but individually or in small groups from the same village or locality.

Among the Kulunge Rais – and among Rais generally – we find a high degree of local separatism and divergence of interests. The environmental situation is such that the rugged topography tends to divide people. The same resources are found in different areas, obviating relations of interdependence. Nevertheless, this situation applies to a good part of the hills region of Nepal; the environment in itself cannot explain the rather unique divisiveness and atomization which characterize Rai society.

Taken in association, the following features of Kulunge Rai society which we

have examined would appear to be significant: The unit exercising corporate rights to land is a localized, agnatic descent group. Economic co-operation between different localities is for the most part lacking. Married women retain strong, unbreakable ties to their natal group; relations with maternal kin are very important, being reinforced by ritual bonds and considerations of property. The locality, in fact the village, tends to form an endogamous unit—marriages are rarely contracted with distant parties. The structure of constituted authority is highly de-centralized; the maximal effective unit for the settlement of disputes tends to be the locality. The largest regularly constituted ritual congregation is the village; bonds of ritual co-operation between different localities are lacking.

The critical feature of the society, which has a bearing on all of the above factors, is the process of descent fission by means of intra-group marriage, which occurs with periodic regularity, given natural increase in group size. If the population rises, the size of corporate descent groups, upon which process of fission places a ceiling, remains relatively constant, while their number multiplies. Over time the communal holding of the group is subject to greater and greater fragmentation. Authority structure becomes more and more de-centralized as roles for new headmen are created. Multiplication of descent groups within the locality makes endogamy increasingly feasible, given the other rules of the system.

The paradox of Kulunge-Rai society is that marriage divides rather than unites the segments which compose it. *Hadphora* marriage, dividing as it does clans and periodically creating new opportunities for obtaining brides within the local unit, allows the latter to remain largely endogamous, obviating enduring ties of intermarriage between the larger segments of the society. *Hadphora* union amounts to a repudiation of the principle of reciprocity underlying marriage exchange, which after all depends on the repudiation of the women of one's own group in favour of men of other groups. Intra-group marriage can only be at the expense of inter-group alliance.

* * *

THE LAMA AND THE GENERAL.

Alexander W. Macdonald

It is well-known to all who have read accounts of the earliest attempts to climb Mount Everest, that these British expeditions arrived at the mountain from the Northern, Tibetan side. Their approach route lay up the "Rongbuk Valley" where they visited in passing the "Rongbuk Monastery".¹ C. K. Howard-Bury described the valley and its monastery in 1921² in these terms:

"The valley was considered very sacred and was apparently a great place of pilgrimage. We found the base camp of the Alpine climbers pitched close to the Rongbuk Monastery, where there lived a very high re-incarnated Lama who was in meditation and not allowed to see anyone. This valley was called the Rongbuk, or inner valley—a name well suited to it³; the legend was that from this valley there used to be a pass over into the Khumbu Valley,⁴ but the high Lama who lived here forbade the use of it, as it disturbed the meditation of the recluses and hermits of which there were several hundred here. At first these good people did not at all approve of our coming into this valley, as they thought we should be likely to disturb and distract their meditations.⁵

1. *There exists a "Guide" to this region in Tibetan—entitled Rong-phu rdza-yi gang kyi gnas-yig dad-pa'i mdongs-ldan dga'-skyed dbyar gyi rnga-sgra. My manuscript copy was made from a print which has fourteen pages. The guide was written when Ngag-dbang bstan 'dzin nor-bu, who lived from 1867 to 1940, was 67 (Tibetan) years of age. The name of the Rongbuk Monastery is, in fact, Mdo-sngags zung-'jug chos gling.*

2. *C.K. Howard-Bury, Mount Everest, The Reconnaissance, 1921, London, Edward Arnold & Co., 1922, p. 83, 84.*

3. *Phu in Tibetan designates the upper part of a valley as opposed to mda', the lower part. The word rong generally designates valleys populated by farmers as opposed to 'brog, pasture lands where nomads live. In particular cases rong means "gorge, defile" rather than "valley." So rong-phu means "the upper part of the gorge".*

4. *There is of course a pass further west over to Khumbu which has become well-known to Westerners since these lines were written. See for instance H. W. Tilman, Mount Everest 1938, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948, p. 48, where the legend told to Tilman—"no animal is ever brought across it"—seems to have been vehicled by the Sherpas to increase their own carrying wages. I have seen plenty of "four-footed" animals going up and coming down from this pass.*

5. *Elsewhere Howard-Bury was clear-sighted enough to remark: "In these out-of-the way parts they had heard vaguely of the fighting in 1904, and they imagined that our visit might be on the same lines. They imagined, too, that all Europeans were cruel and seized what they wanted without payment. They were therefore much surprised when they found that we treated them fairly and paid for everything that we wanted at very good rates." Ibid., p. 175.*

The Rongbuk Monastery lies at a height of 16,500 feet, and is an unpleasantly cold spot. This monastery contains twenty permanent lamas who always live there together with the re-incarnated Lama. Besides these, there are three hundred other associated lamas who in come periodically, remaining there for periods of varying length. These associate lamas are mostly well-to do, and having sufficient money to support themselves are not a drain upon the villagers. They will often invest several thousand trangkas with some village, and in return for this money the village will supply them with food, barley, milk, eggs and fuel. Higher up the valley there was a smaller monastery, and dotted along the hillside were numerous cells and caves where monks or nuns had retired to meditate. Every animal that we saw in this valley was extraordinarily tame. In the mornings we watched the burhel coming to some hermits' cells, not a hundred yards away from the camp, to be fed, and from there they they went on to other cells. They seemed to have no fear whatever of human beings. On the way up the valley we passed within 40 to 50 yards of a fine flock of rams, but they barely moved away, and on the way back we passed some females that were so inquisitive that they actually came up to within 10 yards of us in order to have a look at us. The rock pigeons came and fed out of one's hand, and the ravens and all the other birds here were equally tame; it was most interesting to be able to watch all their habits and to see them at such close quarters. . ."⁶

What is perhaps less well-known is that the lama in question noted in his autobiography the passage of these strangers. One reads on p. 287a of the xylograph *dus-mthar chos smra-ba'i btsun-pa ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin nor-bu'i rnam-thar 'chi-med bdud-rtsi'i rol-mtsho* as follows:⁷

"After that six British Sahebs with a group of thirty servants and a train of seventy baggage animals, and with a permit issued by the Tibetan Government,

6. H. Rutledge, who passed by the same route in 1936, was more interested in the men than in the birds. He writes: "We think ourselves hardy when we approach these regions in the spring, with our tents and windproof clothing and swan-down sleeping bags and pressure cookers. What have these men in the depth of winter but perhaps an old woollen rug and a smouldering branch of juniper, with a pittance of food just sufficient to ward off starvation?" "Our religion," they would probably reply, and the answer must suffice". (Everest: the Unfinished Adventure, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937, p. 79.)

7. *de rjes dbyin-ji'i dpon-khag sa-heb drug dang/ g-yog-po sum-cu skor/khal-ma bdun-cu skor/ gzhung rtsal lag khyer dang bcas 'di-ga'i gangs-ri glang-ma'i rtsar 'gro-tshul-gyis 'dir 'byor/ shar gyi lu-sgor gur-gra phub-nas gzhis-mal bcas/ dpon-khag rnam gangs rtsar song/ zhag nyi-shu rtsa grangs shig bsdad kyang gangs-rir 'dzeg ma-thub-pas 'di khul rdab-bsigs gang yang med-par gnod med du phyir log-ste mkhar-rta brgyud song/*

arrived here on their way to Mount Everest⁸ in this area. They pitched their camp at the mouth of the Eastern valley, and prepared their beds. The group then left for the mountain. Although they remained there an estimated twenty days, since they could not climb the mountain, they returned without incident and without harm to this vale. They then crossed over to Mkharrta⁹

The following year there was another British expedition and its leader C. G. Bruce described its arrival at the same site in these words:

“We pitched our camp just below the monastery with considerable difficulty, as the wind was howling rather more than usual. Then we went to pay our respects to the Rongbuk Lama. This particular Lama was beyond question a remarkable individual. He was a large well-made man of about sixty, full of dignity, with a most intelligent and wise face and an extraordinarily attractive smile.¹⁰ He was treated with the utmost respect by the whole of his people. We were received with full ceremony, and after compliments had been exchanged in the usual way by the almost

8. The text has simply *'di-ga'i gang-s-ri glang-ma'irtsar*; but this certainly designates Mount Everest, the usual Tibetan name for which is *Jo-mo glang-ma*. For instance the *rnam-thar* (p. 46 a) speaks of *la-stod lho'i cha pha-drug rgya-mo rong gi phu/bkra-shis tshe-ring-ma mched lnga'i ya-gyal mi-g-yo glang bzang-ma'i sa spyod kyi rten gnas gangs kyi ri-bo | lhun stug jo-mo glang-mar grags-pa'i 'dab-tu* And practically the same words are employed in the *gnas-yig* (p. 3a) where, speaking of the time when the whole of Tibet was a prey to the *sha-za 'dre srin*, the writer affirms: *de-tshe bkra-shis tshe-ring mched-linga'i nang -tshan mi g-yo glang bzang-ma'i sa-spyod kyi gnas gangs-ri mtho zhing lhun du chags-pa'i gangs jo-mo glang-mar grags-pa di'i mdun du | o-rgyan rin-po-che byon-nas mi-g-yo glang-ma sogs bka' bsgos dam la btags...* In F. W. Funke, *Religiöses Leben der Sherpa Innsbruck-München*, 1969, p. 77, 78, 233-245, one finds the form *Mi g-yo blo bzang-ma* which is also cited by Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet, S' Gravenhage*, 1956, p. 179, 180. The latter authority devoted some pages to the *Tshe-ring mched-linga* (*Ibid.* 177-181) but did not clearly situate them in the Everest area. The sacred geography of the Everest area has, in fact, been much less studied than its physical make-up. Bāburām Acārya has written in *Śārada*, 4th year, no 8, B.S. 1995, an article entitled *Sagarmāthā yā Jhyamolongmā* in which he argues that the Nepali compound *Sagarmāthā* signifies *asmān samma kapāl pugeko*, “the forehead of which reaches up to the sky”. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult J. Schubert, “Mount Everest Das Namens-Problem,” in *Sino-Japonica, Festschrift André Wedermeyer, Leipzig, Harrassowitz* 1956, p. 148-196.

9. This is the “*Kharta*” of Howard-Bury, *op. cit.*, Ch.V.

10. There is a photo of the “chief lama” in Bruce as quoted in the following note, facing p. 78.

grovelling interpreter, Karma Paul (who was very much of a Buddhist here), the Lama began to ask us questions with regard to the objects of the Expedition. He was very anxious also that we should treat his people kindly. His inquiries about the object of the Expedition were intelligent, although at the same time they were very difficult to answer. Indeed, this is not strange when one comes to think how many times in England one has been asked, "What is the good of an exploration of Everest? What can you get out of it? And in fact, what is the object generally of wandering in the mountains?" As a matter of fact, it was very much easier to answer the Lama than it is to answer inquiries in England. The Tibetan Lama, especially of the better class, is certainly not a materialist. I was fortunately inspired to say that we regarded the whole Expedition, and especially our attempt to reach the summit of Everest as a pilgrimage. I am afraid, also, I rather enlarged on the importance of the vows taken by the members the Expedition. I told the Lama, through Paul, who fortunately enough was able to repress his smiles (an actual record for Paul, which must have strained him to his last ounce of strength) that I had sworn never to touch butter until I had arrived at the summit of Everest. Even this was well received. After that time I drank tea with sugar or milk which was made specially for me... The Lama finally blessed us and blessed our men, and gave us his best wishes for success. He was very anxious that no animals of any sort should be interfered with, which we promised, for we had already given our word not to shoot during our Expedition in Tibet. He did not seem to have the least fear that our exploring the mountain would upset the demons who live there, but he told me that it was perfectly true that the Upper Rongbuk and its glaciers held no less than five wild men. There is at any rate, a local tradition of the existence of such beings, just as there is a tradition of the wild men existing right through the Himalaya. As a matter of fact, I really think that the Rongbuk Lama had a friendly feeling for me personally, as he told the interpreter, Karma Paul, that in a previous incarnation I had been a Tibetan Lama. I do not know exactly how to take this... The following morning, in cold weather, as usual, we left to try and push our camp as far as possible..."¹¹

The Lama's account of these happenings ¹² is as follows: "In the third month (of the Tibetan year) once again a group of thirteen Britishers with a hundred coolies

11. *C. G. Bruce and other members of the Expedition, The Assault on Mount Everest 1922, New York: Longmanns, & Co.; London: Edward Arnold & Co. 1923, p. 45-48.*

12. *Rnam-thar: p 289 b zla-ba gsum-pa nang slar yang dbyin-ji'i dpon-khag sa-heb bcu-gsum dang/ku-li brgya skor | dos-khal sum-brgya skor bcas 'byor-nas mdun du gur-grar zhag-gcig bsdad/lam sna sa rgyus shel rdzong sku-tshab ding-ri gra sgrigs-pa'ang sleb/ lha rab ngo g-yog thams-cad dang/ ma-thar spyi-saheb der mjal-kha ma-btang thu-med yin tshul zer-bas lta-log mi-gcig dang 'phrad-na gzhan-kun bkag don mi 'dug*

kyang| rang nyid nad babs thu-bas de'i sang-nyin sngags-khang mdun gyi g-yab chen du ja-nan zer-ba sogs sa-heb gsum dang skad bsgyur bcas la mjal-kha btang | dpon-po gtso-ba des gong-sa yas-phyin gyi sku-par gcig dang/skyin-khab yug-gcig kha-btags bcas phul| der gsol-ja dang| zho 'bras (290 a) btang | gar'gro dris-pas 'dzam-bu gling nas gangs-ri di mtho-bas 'di'i rtser sleb-na dbyin-zhung nas phogs dang | go-sa chen-po yong zer | bdag gis nged kyi lung-pa 'di ha-cang grang-ngar che zhing chos-byed las gzhan tshugs-par dka' zhing| gnas-bdag gnyan-pas zab-lcag gang che mdzad-dgos mol-bas| thugs-rje che| bla-ma nas kyang skyabs 'jug dang | nged rnam la me-shing spen-ma phran-bu sgrugs chog-pa mkhyen| gzhan gnas-nang gi bya ri-dvags la gnod-pa mi-byed| gri-chung ltab-gri cam las tshon-cha'i rigs gtan nas yod ri kan zer-nas song rjes 'di nas yul babs sna len sha-khog gcig dang| ja-sbag gcig gro-phye ka-to-ra gang bcas bskyal-bar btang| de nas song-bar gangs rtsar sgar-chen phogs-nas| de nas yar gur-gra rim-pa bdun rgyab-nas yod tshul gleng | zla-ba phyed gnyis tsam bsdad-de gangs-rir 'dzeg-pa'i rtsol-ba lcags-phur | lcags-thag| lcags-sder sogs thabs-'phrul la brten nas shin-tu dka' ngal chen-pos 'dzegs-pas sa-heb gnyis rkang-lag gangs-chib theb-te sngon la song rjes lag-mgo chad (290 b) skad 'dug | da-dung gzhan-rnams kyi dbu btsugs kyis 'dzegs-te gangs kyi gsum-gcig tsam sleb-pa na nyin-gcig 'ur-sgra dang bcas gangs nyir-te mi 'ga' zhig g-yang la zags| sa-heb che-ba gnyis shi-ba yin-nam grangs mi tshes| g-yog ku-li bdun brgyad cig shi-bas 'di gar ngo-sar bsngo-ba byed-dgos zer spyi-kkyab sa-heb des dngul srang bco-lnga btang-ba 'byor-bas dgos-med kyi las la de-lta-bu'i sdug-bsngal myong dgos las bskos la shin-tu snying-rje zhin bsngo-smon gnad-smin byas | sa zla'i sgrub-mchod skabs sa-heb lnga dang ku-li mang zhig yong | gar-cham sogs par btab | de rjes dpon 'khor tshang-ma phyir log gi skyas bstegs-nas 'dir dgong sdod byas | sang-nyin sde-yangs du sa-heb brgyad dang| g-yog gang yod la mjal-kha btang | spyi-khyab des kha sngon ku-li bdun shi-ba'i bsngo zhu tam-brgya dang | da lam shel-rdzong sku-tshab la 'bras dang| 'khrul gyi me-thabs sgam bcas 'bul-rgyu btang-yod byung-ngam zer-ba byung zhes mol| khyed sku snyel ma-byung-ngam byas-pas | nga-rang kham bzang| mi kha-shas shi-song zer cung-ngo mnong-pa 'dug| kha-zas | (291a) shing-bkrol gang dang| gser zangs gsar-pa'i sgröl-ma'i sku-zhig byin-nas ma 'ong-pa na rgyal-ba'i bstän-pa rin-po-che'i gdul-byar gyur-pa'i smon-lam gyi mtshams-sbyor byas| de nas phyir log 'gro-ba na bod-srol lta-bus zhva phud-nas bzhugs bzhugs zer song | de'i rjes gangs rtsar dbyin-ji'i bsdad shul-rnams su tsampa dang| 'bras| zhun-mar sogs phon-che lus yod-tshul go thos kyis chos-sbug-pa'i bzhon-pa mi grangs nyi-shu skor 'di-ga'i dgon yas mas kyis ma-tshor-bar mtshan-gung gsang-stabs su phyin-nas nam langs-te gangs-ri'i rtsar 'byor nyer rdza gseng nas dred-bdun thon-pa thog-mar mi-gcig gis mthong| de rjes kun-gyis mthong-bas dngos chas kyi re-ba lta ci 'jigs skrag chen-pos phyir bro-s-nas 'di-gar ngos-sar yong-te mi-shes-pa'i lta ngan-pa dang| gla tshe nyams-pa sogs med-dam zer-bar| denga skabs sbas-yul gnas-bdag zu-ra-ba dang| gzhis-bdag shar-lung sogs ma-dga'-ba'i 'khrul yin 'dug rim-gro skang-bshags sogs byas-na skyon mi 'dug ces mol|

and three hundred pack-charges pitched their camp in front (of the *Sngags Khang*) and stayed one day. The Ding-ri representative from Shel-rdzong¹³ also came as guide and assistant.

He said to me, 'The best thing would be to meet the leaders and all their servants or at least the principal Saheb. There is no means of avoiding it.'

I said, 'If one meets one heretic, there is no point in keeping all the others back;' but I was feeling very sick.

The next day I greeted the General, ¹⁴ three other Sahebs and their interpreter in the big shelter in front of the *sngags-khang*. The leader gave me a photo of the Dalai Lama ¹⁵ and a length of gold brocade ¹⁶ with a ceremonial scarf. I had tea and rice-with-curd served.

'Where are you going?' I asked. ¹⁷

'As this snow peak is the biggest in the world, if we arrive on the summit we will get from the British Government a recompense and high rank,' he said.

I replied, 'As our country is bitterly cold and frosty, it is difficult for others than those who are devoted to religion not to come to harm. As the local spirits are furies, you must act with great firmness.'

'Thank you. As we shall also come under the lama's protection, we trust you will allow us to collect a little brushwood for firewood. Moreover we won't harm the birds and the wild animals in this area. I swear we have no kinds of weapons apart from this little knife, the size of a side-knife.'

After saying this, they took their leave. Then from here, according the custom of the country, I had conveyed to them a carcass of meat, a brick of tea, and a platterful of roasted wheat flour. After they had left, they established a big camp near the mountain. It is said that they next pitched seven successive camps. They stayed about a month and a half. Making use of instruments such as iron pegs, wire-ropes and crampons they strove to ascend the mountain. They climbed with the most extreme

13. *On Shel-dkar rdo-rje'i rdzong, see, for instance, T. V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas-bshad, Roma, 1962, p. 66,133.*

14. *The Tibetan ja nan renders the English word "general".*

15. *It is just conceivable that gong-sa yas-phyin could signify the Panchen Lama; but the Dalai Lama seems much more probable in this context.*

16. *See H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, Delhi, 1968, 2nd edition, s.v. kincob.*

17. *The lama of course knew perfectly well where they were going. This is just the usual Tibetan formula for breaking the ice.*

difficulty. Two Sahebs got frost-bitten feet. After their passage down¹⁸ it was said that they lost the first joints of their fingers. Meanwhile the others climbed on ahead. When they had reached about a third of the way up the mountain¹⁹, one day, with a roar, an avalanche occurred and some men were projected over the cliff face. It was not known whether two big Sahebs died. Seven or eight coolies died.²⁰ The leader of the expedition sent to where I am, fifteen silver *srang* with a request to perform a *bsn go-ba*²¹. I was filled with great compassion for their lot who underwent such suffering on unnecessary work. I organised very important *bsngo-smon*²²

At the time of the *sgrub-mchod*²³ in the fourth (Tibetan) month, five Sahebs and many coolies arrived back. They took photos of the *gar-cham*, etc. After that the group changed their quarters for the return journey. I asked them to stay the night. The following day I met eight Sahebs and all the servants present on the balcony.

The leader started by saying, 'Previously I sent one hundred *ṭamka* with a request for a *bsngo* for the seven coolies who died. Just now I sent rice and a cook-box for the Shel-rdzong representative. Did they arrive?'

I asked, 'Are you not weary?'

'Me? I'm alright. A few men died,' he replied and was a little ashamed.

I gave him a wooden tub-full of breads²⁴ and a new gold and copper image of

18. *I think this must be a reference to Geoffrey Bruce and Norton (Bruce, op. cit. p. 78; but see also p. 75).*

19. *This is not so absurd as it sounds if the lama was calculating the height of the mountain above the monastery.*

20. *The avalanche and its consequences are described in Bruce, Ibid., p. 280-285.*

21. *'After the news of the accident had been received we immediately got in touch with the great lama of Rongbuk who was intensely sympathetic and kind over the whole matter. It is very strange to have to deal with these curious people; they are an extraordinary mixture of superstition and nice feelings.'* (Bruce, *Ibid.*, p. 75).

22. *"Buddhist services were held in the monasteries for the men who had been lost and for the families; and also the porters, and especially the relations of the men who were killed, were received and specially blessed by the Rongbuk Lama himself"* (*Ibid.*) *bsngo-smon* are prayers the merits of which are supposedly beneficial to those who have accumulated bad karma.

23. *See F. W. Funke, Religiöses Leben der Sherpa, Khumbu Himal 9, Innsbruck-München, 1969, p. 115—138.*

24. *Kha-zas is not an easy term to translate. One hesitates between "biscuit" and "bread". See G. Tucci, Les Religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie, trad. de l'allemand, Paris, 1973. p. 188, n. 1.*

Tārā;²⁵ I resolved to pray for his conversion to Buddhism in the future. Then, as he left, as is the custom in Tibet, he took off his hat and said: 'Be seated, be seated,' and so saying went away.

After that, getting to know that there remained much roasted barley flour and rice and oil, etc., in the places where the Britishers had stayed near the mountain, some youngsters from Chos-sbug,²⁶ about twenty of them, be unknown to the monasteries—the upper and the lower one in this area—passed by secretly at midnight and, at dawn, arrived at the base of the mountain. From a cleft in the nearby scree, seven bears came out. At first one man caught sight of them; after that they all saw them. Whatever their hope when they saw the supplies, in a great panic, they all ran away. When they came back here, they asked, 'Is not this inauspicious sight terrible and will not our lives be harmed?'

I said, 'It is a sign that at the moment Zu-ra-ba, the *gnas-bdag*²⁷ of the *Sbas-yul*²⁸ and Shar-lung²⁹ the *gzhis-bdag*, are not pleased. If we do the *skang-bshags* rituals in order, no harm will come.'

25. Cf. Bruce, *op. cit.* p. 78: 'The Lama made special inquiries after the expedition, and then began the blessing. He offered us his very best wishes and presented me, through Paul, with a special mark of his goodwill, a little image of one of the Taras or queens, of Tibetan mythology. My special one was the Green Tara, who takes precedence among all ladies. This was a mark of very great favour.' It would have been a greater favour if he had received on old image.

26. This is the place called Chobu by Howard-Bury, *op. cit.* p. 82, 95, 190, 191, 312, 317.

27. On *gnas-bdag* and *gzhis-bdag* generally, see von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet, S' Gravenhage*, 1956. *Bdud-po zu-ra* is mentioned along with the twelve *Bstan-ma* in the shorter of the two "guides" quoted in the note which follows.

28. The *Sbas-yul* in question is surely *Mkhan-pa lung*. F. W. Thomas, in his translation of the "booklet" for E G H Kempson, as published in H. Ruttledge, *op. cit.* p. 286, identified *Mkhan-pa lung* as 'Abbot's Ravine, evidently the valley where is the Rongbuk Monastery'. This localisation is quite wrong. *Mkhan-pa lung* is mentioned, for instance, in the *Sbas-yul 'bras-mo ljongs kyi gnas-yig phan-yon dang bcas-pa ngo-mtshar gter-mdzod* which (p. 4b-5a) divides up the *sbas-yul* into four big, four small and others. The four big are:

East: *Tsa-ri gangs kyi ra-ba*

South: *Bar-yul gangs kyi ra-ba*

West: *La-phyi gangs kyi ra-ba*

North: *Gnod-sbyin gangs kyi ra-ba*.

The four small are:

South-East: *Rgyal gyi mkhan-pa lung*

One can of course speculate as to what degree of objectivity was sought for and achieved in the respective writings of the lama and the general. Certainly in the circumstances Karma Paul's position was unenviable. Caught between his loyalty to his religion and his fidelity to his British employers, the role he had to play was no easy one. Moreover Bruce sometimes clearly misunderstood what Paul said. It is most improbable, for instance, that Karma Paul ever told him that "this Lama has the distinction of being actually the incarnation of a god, the god Chongraysay (read: *Spyan ras gzigs*=Avalokiteshvara), who is depicted with nine heads."³¹

Years later, the same Karma Paul was asked by Tilman at Rongbuk to "disabuse the minds of our hosts that expeditions to climb Mount Everest are undertaken at the instigation of and assisted by the British Government for the sake of national prestige."³² Tilman continues: "We assured them that this was not so and explained that Mount Everest, supreme though it was, was not the only mountain we tried to climb: that we belonged to a small but select cult who regarded a Himalayan expedition as a means of acquiring merit beneficial to soul and body, and equivalent to entering a monastery except that the period of renunciation was short and that such admirable macaroni stew as was served in monasteries was seldom available." Certainly Karma Paul does not seem to have got this message across in 1922.

South-West: Dpal gyi gra-phu lung

North-West: Dpal gyi 'jag-ma lung

North-East: Skyid kyi gro-ma lung.

The others (gzhan yang) are, according to this source: Spar-phug gangs kyi ra-ba; Gsal-rje gangs kyi ra-ba; G-yu lung gangs kyi ra-ba; 'Brong-rdza gangs kyi ra-ba; Jo-mo gangs kyi ra-ba; Snye'o gangs kyi ra-ba; Sna-nam gangs kyi ra-ba; Shel-bzang gangs kyi ra-ba; Rong-btsan gangs kyi ra-ba; Shar sgam-po gangs kyi ra-ba; Lho-rong gangs kyi ra-ba, etc. I possess two manuscript "guides" to Mkhan-pa lung. 1) Sbas-yul mkhan-pa lung gi gnas kyi lam-yig dang-po, 9 pages, Rig 'dzin rgod ldem gyi gter-ma. 2) Sbas-yul mkhan-pa lung gi gnas-yig dang lam-yig bcas, 37 pages, Padma gling-pa'i gter-ma. I hope to return shortly to the problem of Mkhan-pa lung. However, in the present context one can note here that Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin nor-bu's rnam-thar speaks of "the country called Mkhar-rta in the district of Pha-drug, on the Northern side of Mkhan-pa lung the place of the hidings of the Guru, which is to the South-East of Rong-phu rdza, in the Southern part of La-stod" (p. 48 a: la-stod lho yi sa'i tsha | rong phu rdza yi shar-lho | gu-ru'i sbas-gnas mkhan-pa lung gi byang ngos-su pha-drug mkhar rta zhes-pa'i yul. .)

29. *The gnas-srung/gnas-bdag Sha-lung | Shar-lung is mentioned in the Rong-phu gnas-yig, p. 9 a, 9 b.*

30 *See F. W. Funke. op. cit. p. 82-85, 115, 247-255; bskang-gso are propitiatory rituals addressed to the protective deities.*

31. *Bruce, op. cit. p. 45.*

32. *Tilman, op. cit. p. 98.*

SHORT REVIEWS.

John K. Locke, S.J.,

Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati;

Tribhuvan University; Institute of Nepal and

Asian Studies Historical Series No. 5,

Kirtipur, 1973, xi and 118 pages.

In five short chapters Father Locke has summarized information derived from European and Nepalese sources concerning this very interesting cult; and he has added clear descriptions based on his own observation of the ritual, and knowledge of the sites. He begins by describing the two temples of Rato Matsyendranath – Taha Bahal at Patan and the temple at Bungamati—and gives some new facts about the thirty-one Panjus, who reside at Bungamati, and their role in the ceremonies. The second chapter is devoted to the Chariot Festival: details are given of the Snan Jatra, the Bhoto Jatra, and the twelve-year festival, several of which are not to be found in the writings of previous writers such as Gopal Singh Nepali or D. R. Regmi. The author then passes in review the Buddhist and Hindu versions of the legends of Matsyendranath and some legends concerning the Bhoto Jatra. Data to be found in chronicles, inscriptions, *thyasaphus*, and descriptions of the Chariot Festival by foreigners in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries are then grouped together in an examination of the historical evidence concerning the origin of the cult. The final chapter discusses the identity of Rato Matsyendranath.

This is a useful and unpretentious—although at times somewhat pompously written, book. The author is particularly to be commended for his use of Nepalese sources: and the photographs which illustrate his text are interesting and clear. An important title missing from his bibliography is 'S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, Calcutta, 1962.

There is no doubt that the study of a cult of this importance raises many problems of method. As the author himself remarks (p. viii): "An immediate problem is that of what name to use for the deity. The deity is known as Machendranath (with variant spellings), Matsyendranath, Aryalokitesvara, Lokesvara, Padamapani, and Bunga Deva (not to mention identifications with Laksmi, Vishnu, and other gods). After going through all of the relevant data one can make a very good case for the thesis that the proper name of the deity and therefore the one that should be used, is Bunga Deva. Yet this name is currently confined to Patan and Bungamati, seldom used by Nepali writers and virtually unknown to non-Nepali writers." In fact, when one has read through this book, one is still pretty uncertain as to who the divinity really is. Perhaps in future studies less attention should be paid to historical problems of nomenclature and more to the structure and the economics of the rituals. If it is true

that similar chariot festivals were not "a feature of Tibetan Buddhism" (p. 103), it should also be pointed out that they were, up to recent years, of some importance in Mongolian Buddhism. For an attempt to plot out the structure of some similar Indian rituals, see "Juggernaut reconstituted" in *Journal Asiatique*, 1953, 4, p. 487-528. Michael Allen, from another viewpoint, has recently written: "Hindu devotees equate Machchendra-nath with Siva and Buddhists with Aryalokitesvara, Lord of the Universe. He is worshipped by all Newars regardless of caste or religion, but he is wholly owned, administered by and ritually controlled by Buddhist priests" ("Buddhism Without Monks: The Vajrayana Religion of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley" in *South Asia, Journal of South Asian Studies*, No. 3, August, 1973, p. 14.) Dharmasvamin (p. 64) was not the only Tibetan to take an interest in Bu-kham which, incidentally, he mentions before Thām vihāra (see G. N. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvamin*, Patna 1959, p. 512-513 of the Russian reprint in *Izbrannye Trudy*); Smin-grol qutuqtu in his 19th century 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad also wrote of A-kam bu-kam (T. V. Wylie, *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*, Rome, 1970, p. 14-17); and the *Yul chen-po nye-ba'i tshandho-ha bal-po'i gnas kyi dkar-chag* which I hope to edit and translate in the near future, has quite a lot to say about this cult.

Father Locke has not written the last word on the question but his book should certainly stimulate further research.

A. W. M.

David and Nancy Watters,
An English-Kham, Kham-English Glossary;
 Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal
 and Asian Studies, Kirtipur, 1973, vi and 126 pages.

This little book which is very well printed in off-set, is a fine example of the work being done at Tribhuvan University by members of the Summer Institute. The greater part of the work is constituted by an English-Kham glossary (p. 1-53) and a Kham-English glossary (p. 53-113). Kham is spoken by 30-40,000 people living in the Daulagiri and Rapti Zones of West Nepal. The glossaries are based on the particular dialect spoken at Taka, Baglung District, by about 1500 people who live in the geographical centre of the linguistic area, and whose dialect is described by the authors as "the prestige dialect." In Nepal, Kham is a minority language of the Tibeto-Burman family; and the authors estimate on the basis of Swadesh List comparisons that its vocabulary is "about 25 per cent cognate with the Magar and Gurung groups, slightly below 25 per cent with the Tibetan group, and about 15 per cent with the Rai and Limbu groups" (p. i.) Kham speakers are Magars of the Bhuda, Gharti, Pun and Rokha subtribes, Taka village being composed almost entirely of Bhuda. The authors use the term Kham-

Magars to distinguish Kham-speakers; for as they point out the term Magar usually designates people of Palpa and Southern Gulmi who speak the Magar language.

Kham-speakers have to date received little attention from anthropologists. As the authors obviously know a good deal about the material culture of this interesting group (see the entries under "cold" p. 8; "jug" p. 22; "knife" p. 23; "loom" p. 25; "pole" p. 32; "pot" p. 33; and "sheep" p. 39), it is to be hoped that they will give us the benefit soon of a short ethnographic description of Kham-Magars. In the present state of our ignorance of many of Nepal's ethnic minorities, simple, straightforward descriptions of ways of life are very valuable. Indian ethnography and the world would have been poorer if the scruples of not having been trained as a professional anthropologist had inhibited Verrier Elwin from writing about the Indian tribals.

The glossaries are introduced by a very short summary of Kham phonology and of the orthography used in spelling Kham entries, and a note on major phonetic variants and pronunciation. Appendices are added, after the glossaries, on Indeterminate Dimensions, that is to say "a special class of quantities which are immeasurable in terms of specific weights and measures" (p. 114-119); on Locatives and Directionals (p. 119-124); and on Weights and Measures (p. 125).

One would have liked to see more entries in the areas of communication and geography. How do the Kham-Magars designate their neighbours and those with whom they do business? There are some tantalizing entries under "shaman" (p. 38, 39), but the glossaries tell us little of Kham-Magar magico-religious beliefs and of their knowledge of and interest in the outside Nepalese world. However this is an excellent beginning and we shall perhaps learn more soon about this very interesting group. There is little likelihood that they will be confused with the Khams-pa who are from Khams and not, as the authors seem to suggest (p. i), from Central Tibet. Is Kham ever noted down in devanagari orthography and if so with what success? However frivolous this question may appear to professional linguists, the point is not altogether irrelevant in the perspective of Nepalese national linguistic integration. One cannot help wondering how many readers this book will have inside Nepal.

A. W. M.

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