

## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MANANG DISTRICT \*

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Manang District is situated in the north central part of Nepal. It borders in the south to Lamjung and Kaski districts, in the north to Tibet, in the west to Mustang and the east to Gorkha districts. The district is surrounded by Himalayan mountains: Annapurna to the south, Muktinath and Damodar in the west, Peru in the north and Manaslu in the east. The elevation of the district ranges from 1830 m (6000 feet) to 8092 m (26,500 feet), and the area of the district is approximately 2,170 sq. km. There are two main valleys made by the Marsyangdi river and her branches. The Marsyangdi river flows from west to east in this district. Most of her tributaries flow from north to south; for instance Jhar khola, Nar khola and Dudh khola, but some tributaries flow from south to north due to the extension of the Annapurna range in the south of the district.

On the basis of the existing ecological variation of the different regions, the district is divided into three micro-ecozones: *Nyesyang* (T), *Nar Phu* (T) and *Gyasumdo* (T).<sup>1</sup> Altitudewise, the district can be divided into three: 1830 m to 2280 m,

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\* Data which I will present in this paper were collected during my work in Manang for the degree of MA from Tribhuvan University from May 1974 to July 1975.

<sup>1</sup> (a) In Nepali, *Nyesyang* is called *Manang Chhachhum*; *Nar Phu* is called *Nar Phu*; and *Ghyasumdo* is called *Tingau*. These terms are related to the previous political division of the district made by His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The Nyesyangba call themselves *Man-O ChhachhumthE* (Ng); Nar Phu people *Narth-E* (Np); and the people of Ghyasumdo call themselves *SyarthE* (Ng) or *NasuthE* (G) T = Tibetan, N = Nepali, Ng = Nyesyang language, Np = Nar Phu language, G = Gurung.

(b) David Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*. Oxford/London, 1961. p. 205.

(c) J. E. Dobremez, *Carte Ecologique de la Region Annapurna-Dhaulagiri (Nepal)*. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1973.

2281 m to 3820 m and 3821 m to 8092 m.<sup>2</sup> These three physical divisions closely correspond to the divisions made on the basis of the ecological variations of the district.

Between the elevations of 1830 m to 2280 m it rains heavily in summer; this region is not arid and the natural vegetation is green throughout the year. This area is Ghyasumdo.

The area between 2281 m and 3900 m is arid and dry, it rains only a little in summer, and forests of pine and fir trees are found. These forests are green throughout the year. As the altitude increases, the forest thins out and trees are shorter up to 3900 m. Above this area no trees are found. The snow line is at 5000 m. Human settlements are found below the elevation of 3900 m. Villages in Nyesyang are found from 2281 m to 3820 m; and in Nar Phu from 3820 m to 3900 m.

Nar Phu valley is comparatively less windy than the Kali Gandaki gorge. The Gyasumdo valley is not windy. In Nyesyang and Nar Phu valley snow generally falls from the end of December and remains until February. Occasionally it snows earlier, and sometimes the snow remains until March, while in Gyasumdo it generally snows in January to February, sometimes even earlier.

The total population of the district according to the 1971 census is 7,436 (HMG, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973). Out of that number 4,802 live in Nyesyang valley, 850 in Nar Phu and 1704 in Gyasumdo. Manang district is the least populated district in Nepal. The density of the population is higher in Nyesyang than in the other two areas.

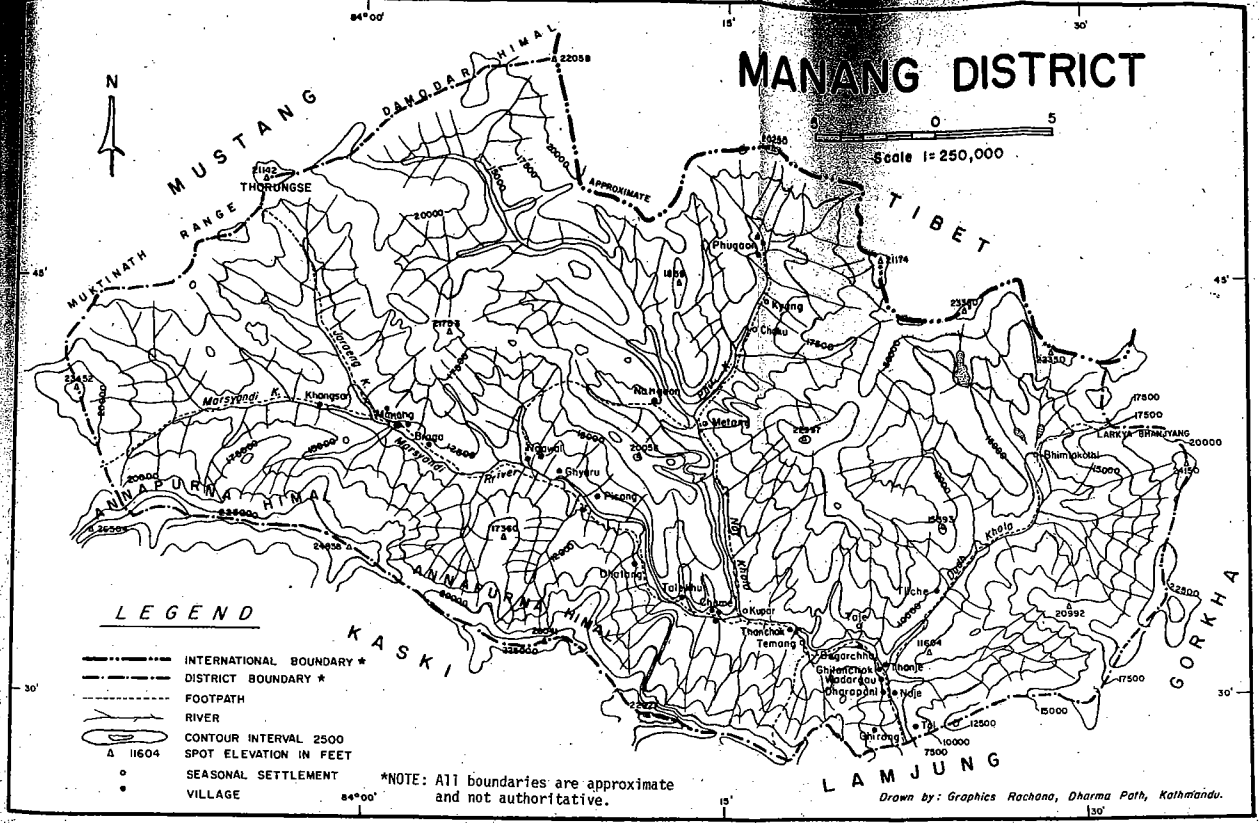
In Nyesyang there are altogether six villages, the names of which are *Khangsar* (N) or *Ngache* (Ng); *Manang* (N) or *Mano* (Ng); *Braga* (N) or *Pharaka* (Ng); *Ngawal* (N) or *Bangba* (Ng); *Ghyaru* (N) or *Khhyaru* (Ng); and *Pisang* (N) or *Pi* or *Piso* (Ng). All these villages are Nyesyangba settlements.

In Nar Phu valley there are two villages : *Nar* (N) or *Chhepru* (Np) or *Narme* (T); and *Phu* (N) or *Narpe* (Np) or *Narthe* (T). Both settlements are inhabited by Nar Phu people.

In Gyasumdo, there are twelve villages: *Chame* (N, G); *Thanchik* (N) or *Chagyü* (G); *Bagarchhap* (N, G); *Taje* (N) or *Tas* (G); *Dharapani* (N, G); *Ghilanchok*

<sup>2</sup> In *Mechidekhi Mahalaki Bhag Tin Pachhimanchal Bikaschetra* published by HMG of Nepal, 1975 pp. 195-120, Manang district has been divided into three physical divisions (a) *Nadinalale banayako basi* (valleys made by rivers and streams), (b) *Bhot tatha lekalipradesh* (Bhot and higher altitude region) and (c) *Himalipradesh* (Himalayan Region). The physical divisions I have made on the basis of elevation correspond to this division.

# MANANG DISTRICT



## LEGEND

- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY \*
- - - DISTRICT BOUNDARY \*
- - - FOOTPATH
- RIVER
- CONTOUR INTERVAL 2500
- △ 11604
- SPOT ELEVATION IN FEET
- SEASONAL SETTLEMENT
- VILLAGE

\*NOTE: All boundaries are approximate and not authoritative.

Drawn by: Graphics Rachana, Dharma Path, Kathmandu.

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(N) or Khelanchok (G); *Wadrgau* (N) or Rhogu (G); *Thonje* (N) or Thoche (G); *Tilche* (N, G); *Naje* (N, G); Ghirong (N) or Kherong and *Tal* (N, G). In Ghyasumdo, the settlement pattern is mixed Gurung and Bhotiya. Chame, Bagarchhap, Dhara-pani, Tal and Thonje are the Bhotiya villages. In Tilche, there are more Gurungs than Bhotiya villagers. The rest of the villages in Ghyasumdo are inhabited by Gurung and Ghale.

The indigenous inhabitants in Nyesyang valley are called *Nyesyangba* (T), Mano ChhachhumthE (Ng) or Manthe (G). The people of Nar Phu are called *Narba* (T) or NarthE (Ng and G). The people of Ghyasumdo are called *SyarhtE* (Ng) or NasuthE (G). Nyesyangba and Narba are separate ethnic groups. The people of Ghyasumdo are partly Gurung and Bhotiya or Tibetan immigrants who came to the area up to 80 years ago. Nyesyangba and Narba speak different dialects which are close to each other. The Gurung and Nyesyang dialects are closer to each other than Nyesyang and Narba dialects. Tibetan is different from Gurung, Nyesyang and Narba dialects.

#### ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The socio-economic structures of the three ecozones have many similarities and dissimilarities. Agriculture, animal husbandry and trade have played a significant role in framing the basic economic structure. Variation in the stages of evolutionary development of these three factors still exists. Sometimes in one area, animal husbandry has been in the primary stage of development, trade the most developed and agriculture secondary, whereas in some other areas, agriculture has been the most developed, trade has been in secondary and animal husbandry in the primary stages of development. However, agriculture, animal husbandry and trade have always co-existed, in different stages of development, in these three ecozones.

In Nyesyang, men are traders and semi-agriculturists. Women are full time agriculturists, and animal husbandry is in the primary stage of development. At the very beginning the Nyesyangba were probably pastoralist, then both pastoralist and agriculturist. Trade was probably in a primary stage of development a century ago.

Nar Phu people are traditionally pastoralists, and agriculture is still in the primary stage. Trade is less developed than agriculture in this valley.

In Ghyasumdo, trade and animal husbandry are now both in the primary stage. Trade used to be highly developed before the failure of the trans-Himalayan trade due to the political changes in Tibet from 1959-60 onwards. Animal husbandry has been in the primary stage of development since the very beginning. Agriculture was developed long before the development of trans-Himalayan trade, and the population of the Ghyasumdo are agriculturists at present. At the same time, these people are the

manufactured goods from other South Asian countries with foreign exchange obtained in Nepal, or with funds obtained from exports of various high value items. The Government of Nepal has given them passports since 1962. Since then, many complicated changes have taken place in their business methods. Their business activities now extend all over South Asia up to Korea. But this increased seasonal migration has adversely affected the development of agriculture and animal husbandry in Manang. Innovation of new business methods is continuing as part of their trading activities. Not having been real trans-Himalayan traders, the decreasing trans-Himalayan trade did not therefore have a severe impact on the economy of the Nyesyang people.

(b) *Nar Phu*

Nar Phu people were trans-Himalayan traders, but their trading activities were limited within Nyesyang, as the most direct trade route between Nar Phu and Tibet was remote and not much used. Hence, the decrease in trade with Tibet did not effect the economic pattern of Nar Phu too severely.

(c) *Ghyasumdo*

The economic pattern of the people of Ghyasumdo has changed drastically since the failure of the trans-Himalayan trade in 1959—60 AD. This population comprised the real trans-Himalayan traders of the region.<sup>4</sup> The impact has been equally severe on the people of other regions of Nepal who were involved in trading activities with Tibet. The failure of the Tibetan trade has led to increases in the seasonal migration of Ghyasumdo people to lower altitudes.

#### TRADE AND MIGRATION

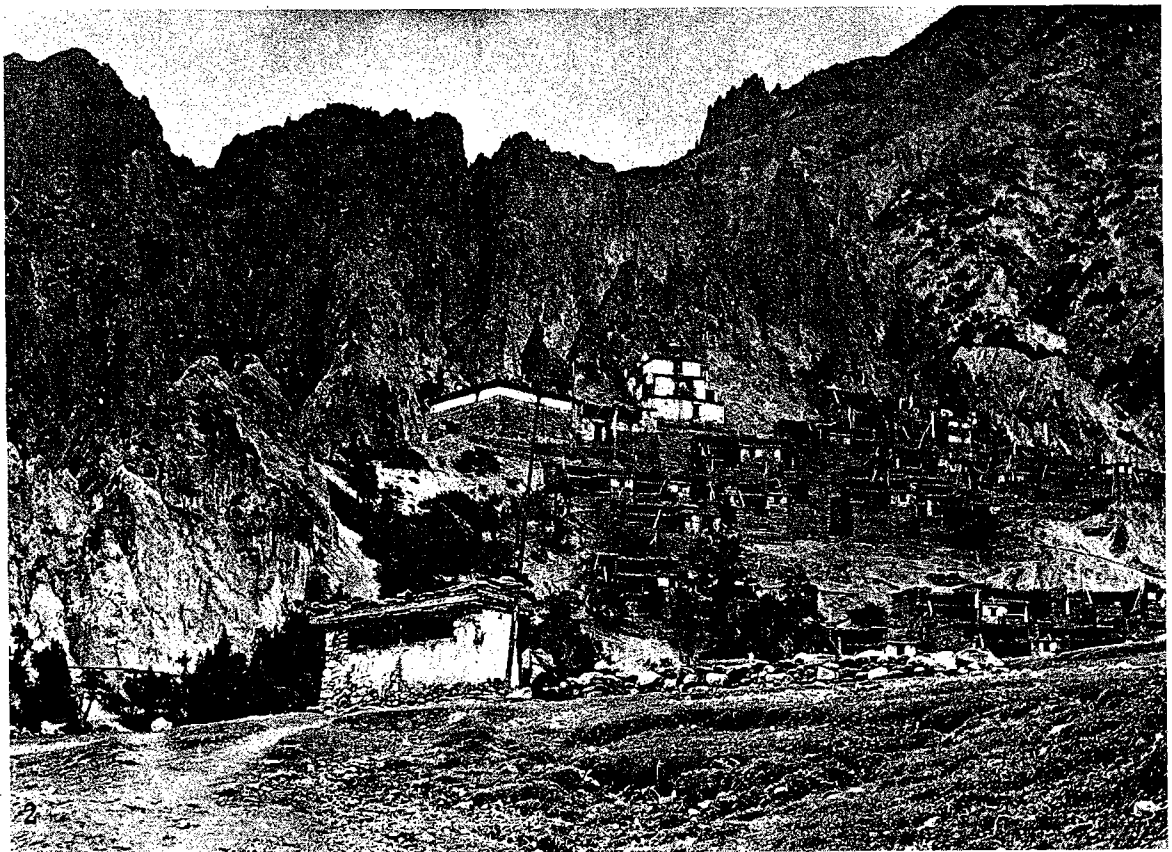
Nyesyang valley has a larger seasonal migration figure than Nar Phu and Ghyasumdo, and in the last two decades the duration of the migration period has increased. The migration of women is also higher than among men. There are very few cases of permanent migration. The permanent migration of some families have been caused by social or legal offences by heads of the households. More than eighty percent of the total Nyesyangba migrants spend the whole winter in Kathmandu. M. C. Regmi writes concerning unpaid labor obligations: "In some Himalayan areas such as Manang on the other hand, which lacked a stable population because of poor agricultural conditions, such labor appears to have been unknown before the Gorkhali Conquest"<sup>5</sup>. This in fact reveals that the seasonal migration is due

<sup>4</sup> Donald A. Messerschmidt and Naresh Gurung — "Paralell Trade and Innovation in central Nepal" in *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal*. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (ed), London, 1974, pp. 197-231.

<sup>5</sup> M. C. Regmi. *A Study in Nepali Economic History*, New Delhi, 1971 p. 35.



1. Manang village with Annapurna III in the background.



2. Braga village in Nyesyang valley.





3. *Dhaapaa* of Manang village [left] with member of the District Panchayat.



4. An old Nyesyangba with his prayer wheel in Manang village.

to poor agricultural conditions. This might have been the cause of migration, whether seasonal or permanent, in earlier periods, and Mr. Regmi's version might be generally concerned with the whole district. Higher seasonal migration, however, has created a problem of labor shortage in the agricultural sector, which has handicapped the development of agriculture in some respect. This problem does not exist in Ghyasumdo and Nar Phu areas at present, but it might have existed earlier. Poor agriculture has been a basic criteria of obtaining special trading privileges from His Majesty the King since before 1841 VS until now. This has been generally recognised by every King. In 2018 VS, 2029 VS these trading privileges were renewed; twice in the time of the late King Mahendra and once by His Majesty King Birendra. These trading privileges will expire by the end of 1976 (2033 VS). Presently, conflicting arguments are brought forth by the Nyesyang and Ghyasumdo people concerning their right to enjoy these privileges. The Nyesyangba argue that these privileges were traditionally just for themselves, whereas the Ghyasumdo people say that since 2018 VS, the privilege exists for the people of the whole district. Nar Phu people are not involved in this conflict.

## THE PEOPLE OF MANANG DISTRICT

### NYESYANG

As I have already mentioned, the Nyesyangba constitute the largest population group in the district, and is an endogamous ethnic group. Basically, two groups are found among the Nyesyangba : *KhE* (Ng) and *Phalma* (Ng). *KhE* has higher status in the clan hierarchy, though still *KhE* and *Phalma* are endogamous.

(a) *KHE* has two subclans : *KhE* and *Phraka lam* (Ng), *Chyurpen* (Ng) and *Dzyamlal thapki* (Ng) are not considered *KhE* in Nyesyang itself, but are considered *KhE* elsewhere. They are endogamous to each other (*Chyurpen*, *Dzyamal thapki* and *KhE* intermarry). *Phraka lam* is the local descent group of *KhE* and does not intermarry with *KhE*. *Chyurpen* and *KhE* are in largest number in Nyesyang valley. *Jutho* (N) (food and drink pollution) among these sub-clans and local descent groups does not exist in theory nor in practice, whereas *jutho* between *KhE* and *Phalma* has been avoided in theory but not strictly observed in practice. *Chyurpen* are said to come from *Nhubri khola* a long time ago, *KhE* from the north (Tibet). *KhE* were previously the *Rajas* of Nyesyang valley before the *Raja* of *Lamjung*. There are still ruins of a *KhE* *Raja* palace in *Ngawal* village. *Dzyamal thapki* came to *Manang* village five generations ago from *Jharkot* (*Baragau* area in *Mustang* district). This clan is known as *Baragau kutak* in *Mustang*.<sup>6</sup>

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6 C. F. Haimendorf, *Himalayan Traders* — London 1975, p. 151, 155. *Kutak*



(b) PHALMA is the majority in Nyesyang valley. This group comprises eight clans, and they have started to call themselves Gurung. These are the clans: *Tonde* (Ng); *Ngarchoba* (Ng); *Ngimachhiring* (Ng); *Bandilam* (Ng); *Samden* (Ng); *Kundendu* (Ng); *Phabai kuki* (Ng) and *Par Phabai*.<sup>7</sup> Each clan is exogamous but all the clans are endogamous. This theory of clan organization may look contradictory and perplexing in view of the socio-political organization in Nyesyang. Nyesyangba and Narba (from Nar Phu) do not intermarry at present. Previously they used to have marriage alliances with the KhE lineage of Pisang (Pi village) and they had wives from Nar valley. They seem to dislike the Narba at present.

#### N A R P H U

In Phu village I found *Nghochyo* (Np), *Lhata* (Np), and *Om Samde* (Np) clans.

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is considered a superior group among Baragauli groups. This group of people which has migrated to Nyesyang and Ghyasumdo are recognized as *Dzyamal thapki*. The *kutak* who had migrated to Nyesyang has higher social status than the Ghyasumdo people. In Ghyasumdo they are called *Dzyamal thapki*, and have no marriage alliance with any group of Nyesyang. In Baraguali, the *kutak* clan can have marriage relations with other Baraguali groups. Some of them do have wives from Nyesyang valley, mostly from Manang and Braga villages. A few people of Nyesyang have *kutak* wives from Baragauli. The Baragauli *kutak* are said to prefer Nyesyangba girls for wives, due to the smartness and active nature of the Nyesyangba girls. However, the Nyesyangba girls have no particular preference for the Baragauli *kutak*.

There are few *Dzyamal thapki* in Ghyasumdo. These people have very few marriage alliances with Baragauli. The Chuyrpen and the *Dzyamal thapki* of Ghyasumdo have lower social status and no marriage alliances with Nyesyangba, although they are considered to be of the same origin. The Hindu conception of purity and pollution has not been followed strictly to distinguish the social status of Nyesyang clans. Rather, self centered social traditions seem to be more significant. This is the reason of not accepting outsiders, except the *kutak* of Baraguali. Some oral historical evidence reveals that the *kutak* clans of Baragauli previously had strong indirect political and economic influence in Nyesyang. The apparently caused creation of marriage alliance between the *kutak* of Baragauli and the Nyesyangba. In Baragauli, the *kutak* tries to claim Thakuri caste, although the Thakalis disregard this claim (c. f. Haimendorf, 1975, *op. cit* p. 155), whereas the *kutak* include themselves in the KhE group in Nyesyang valley.

<sup>7</sup> *Phabai* is the term for clans and descent groups in the Nyesyang dialect. There might be more clans which I have not collected information about.

In Nar village: *Tonde* (Np), *Nhorpa* (Np), *Bandilam*<sup>8</sup> (N, G, Np) and *Manden* (Np). Manden is the local descent group of Tonde and these two clans are the only exogamous clans. Nghochyo and Nhorpa consider themselves as a Ghale (N) or KhE (Ng) clan, and do not intermarry. The marriage alliances between Nar and Phu villages are limited. Each clan of this valley seem to have come from different geographical areas.

#### G H Y A S U M D O

Among the Gurung of Ghyasumdo, there are two major groups *Khromai* (G) or *Charjat* (N) and *Tharmai* (G) or *Sora Jat* (N); in other words, four and sixteen jat clans. These two sub-tribes are exogamous but each sub-tribe is endogamous.<sup>9</sup> Minor groups include Tibetan immigrants and some nomads.

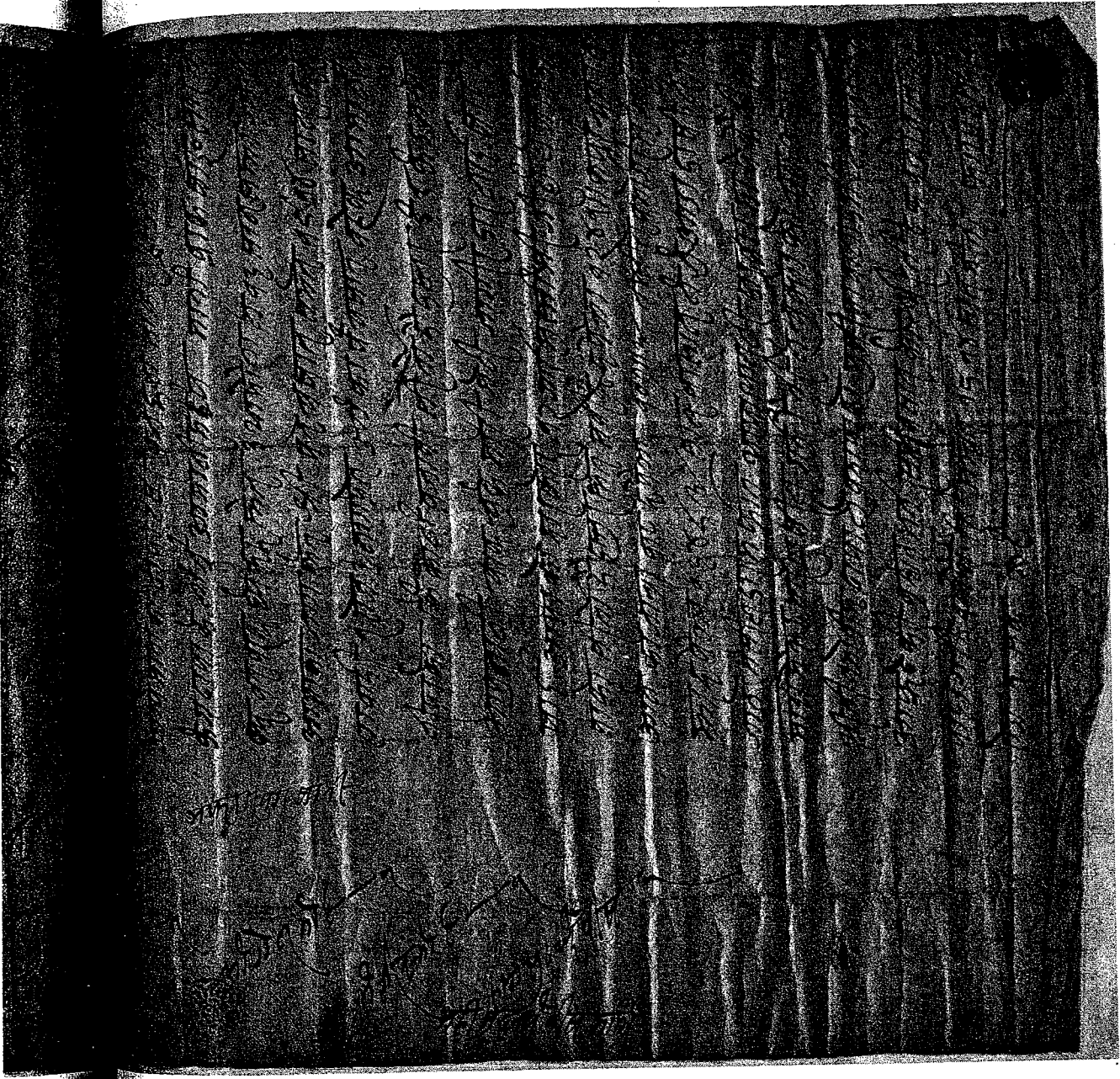
(a) KHROMAI in Ghyasumdo comprises three clans: *Klemai* (G) or Ghale (N) or KhE (Ng); *Lebmai* (G) or Lamichhane (N) and *Bandilam*<sup>10</sup> (G) (N). Klemai (KhE or Ghale) is in the largest number among the Khromai. There are two sub-clans

<sup>8</sup> *Bandilam* and *Tonde* are found in large numbers in Nar Phu and Nyesyang valley. Nar Phu people claim, and endeavour to equate those two clans of Nar villages with the Nyesyangba, but this the Nyesyangba do not accept. The Baragauli started to call themselves Gurung (c. f. Haimendorf, 1975, *op. cit.* p. 152), and in the same way the Phalma of Nyesyang and Nar Phu and the Bhotiyas of Ghyasumdo have started to call themselves Gurung.

<sup>9</sup> Donald A. Messerschmidt — "Social Status, Conflict and Change in a Gurung Community of Nepal", unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Oregon 1974. pp. 3-27.

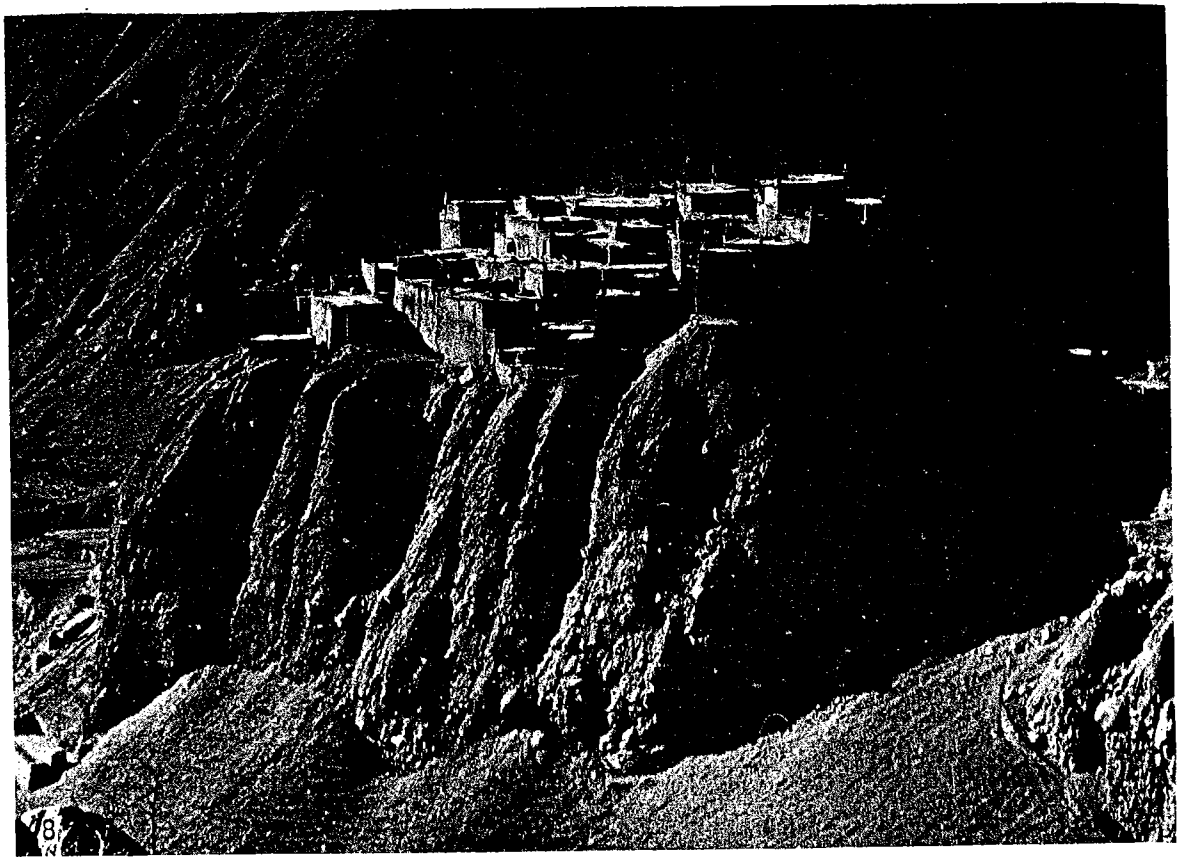
<sup>10</sup> *Bandilam* is a segmented group of a Lamai clan. The Gurung clan Lamai has three major subclans, *Khrogi*, *Mhigi* and *Paigi*. There is this legend : Khrogi was the oldest brother, Mhigi second, Paigi youngest. The oldest brother used to be *Khro* (headman) of the village, so his descendents were called *khroqilam*. The second brother was handsome, so he was called *Mhigi* and his descendents were called *mhigilam*. The youngest brother used to work as the assistant of the two brothers, so he was called *Paigi*; later on his descendants were called *paigilam*. Paigi is said to be Khromai also, but in considered Tharmai in the present concept of clan hierarchy. There exist more subclans, *lama* clans, segmented from these three major subclans, and these clans are exogamous. *Bandilam* is found only in Nyesyang, Nar Phu and Ghyasumdo. The *Bandilam* of Nyesyang and Nar Phu have no marriage relation with the Gurung of Ghyasumdo, The *Bandilam* of Ghyasumdo, have no marriage relation with Nyesyangba and Narba. The *Bandilam* clans of Nyesyang and Nar Phu are not included in the lama clans of the Gurung.

*[The page contains dense, handwritten text in a cursive script, which is largely illegible due to the high contrast and grain of the scan. The text is organized into several horizontal lines across the page.]*



7. Duplicate of a *lalmohor* from Manang village used as a passport by each individual of Nyesyang valley before 1962 AD.





8. Phu village.



9. The south face of Phu village.

(c) In Ghyasumdo, many Tibetan immigrant groups are integrated with the Gurung. There are some *Punel* (N) (a group of Thakali breed), who came to this valley four generations ago from the Kali Gandaki valley. There are also Chyurpen and Dzyamal thapki which are found in Nyesyang as well. These clans came to this area from Baragau four generations ago. Some Bhotiya settlements look indigenous, like the Bagarchhap and Chame villages, but according to the villagers themselves these settlements are not very old. Different groups of Tibetans have migrated to this valley from the Tibetan parts of Nhubri khola, Tingri, Kirong, Dhotang and other parts of Tibet. Some of the Tibetans are recent immigrants, but most of them migrated permanently much earlier than 1960.

Very few Tibetan immigrants have settled in Nyesyang and Nar Phu. There are some *Dropka* (T) nomadic families who move throughout the year. The trade relations between Ghyasumdo and Tibet generally led to migration from Tibet to Ghyasumdo. This pattern has now changed. Most of the territory of Ghyasumdo has been occupied by the Gurungs (and the Ghales). The Bhotiyas are traders and pastoralists and, more recently, agriculturist.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT NYESYANG AND NAR PHU

In Nyesyang and Nar Phu, the *Dhaapaa Shabaa Council* system traditionally operating in each village, is based on an equalitarian principle. This socio-political council is in a fairly developed stage. It has shaped the socio-political structure of Nyesyang and Nar Phu valleys, and no village panchayats have been organized in Nyesyang and Nar Phu until now.

In a Dhaapaa Shabaa Council, there are from three to fifteen working members. The size of the Council differs with the size of the village. Khangsar villag has three working members in the Council, whereas there are fifteen working members in the Manang Council, which is the largest. Manang village comprises half of the total population of Nyesyang valley. In other villages, the term of the members is for one year, whereas in Manang some posts are for one year, and others for two years. The theory of organization of the Dhaapaa Shabaa Council is the same throughout the area.

Each household sends one representative to participate in the succession process for the members of the Dhaapaa Shabaa Council. Only a male member between the age of 18 and 60 years old is allowed to participate in the succession process. This community traditionally have a nuclear family pattern. One must establish a permanent household separately from the parents within one year of marriage. Usually, the head of the family is the representative sent to participate in the succession process.



The succession process is organized on the basis of a rotation system of age seniority among the male members of 18 to 60 years. From the age of 60, a man retires from the socio-political activities of the community, and spends the rest of his life in religious activities. In case of *Dhongba Chha* (Ng)<sup>13</sup> a woman indirectly participates in the succession process for the member of Dhaapaa Shabaa Council. If she is married, then her husband represents her; if unmarried, she will be represented by her closest kinsman or someone else of her choice. This shows that the household is more important than the family in a village organization. However, women still play significant roles in the socio-economic and socio-political life of the community. While each Dhabaa Shabaa Council controls the whole administrative and social activity of the village, the Dhabaa Shabaa Council of Manang generally controls socio-political activities of Nyesyang and Nar Phu areas. This council plays both negative and positive roles in the social activities of the villages. The Council is concerned with social welfare and justice, but most of the time it is used as a source of income for the members, who impose heavy financial penalties for even minor social offences by the villages.

#### GHYASUMDO

Before the organization of the village panchayat system in Nepal, the mukhya (N)<sup>14</sup> (Government land revenue collector) used to be the political headman of the village in Ghyasumdo, as in other districts of Nepal. Now the members of the village panchayats have assumed the powers of the Mukhyas. The village headman still

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13 The inheritance of the parents is inherited by the daughter when they do not have a son, this called *Dhongba*. If a daughter gets married, and if there is no son, she brings her husband to her parents house; this is called *Dhongba Chab* (Ng). In Nepali, this system is called *Gharjawaipalne*. In such case, a man socially remains in the wife's parent's *phabai* (clan), but he would not lose his original *phabai*. Their offspring belongs socially in the mother's parents *phabai*: but originally to the father's original *phabai*. The original *phabai* is considered when making marriage alliances with other *phabai*. Two different *phabai* can be comprised when someone inherits the wife's parents' inheritance. In such case, a man's lineage will have dual *phabai*: socially his wife's parents, *phabai*, and originally his own parents' *phabai*.

14 Mahesh L. Regmi. *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, Berkeley, 1973, Vol. 1, page 270. He defines Mukhya as "Non-official land tax collecting agents on Pakho land (in the hill districts and Kathmandu valley)". But the predominant status of the Mukhya in the village has helped him to occupy important positions even in the village panchayat.

plays an important role, but at the same time the members of the village panchayats have usually become Mukhyas themselves.

## RELIGION

### NYESYANG AND NAR PHU

In Nyesyang and Nar Phu, *Bon* religion (T) used to exist along with the *Kargyud* (T) sect of Tibetan Buddhism. All the monasteries and temples of Nyesyang and Nar Phu belong to the *Kargyud* sect. The largest gompa is in Braga village and is assumed to have been built 500 years ago. It belongs to the *Kargyud* sect. At present there is a well trained native *Kargyudpa* Lama, who was trained in a *Nhubri Khola* monastery. Most lamas of Nyesyang are *Kargyudpa*. In Nar Phu there are some *Nyingmpa* (T) lamas. The *Tashi Lhakang Kargyud* gompa of Phu village is considered one of the most important from the religious point of view. It is said that the Lama who built the gompa of Braga built this Gompa also. *Bon* used to exist in both valleys until about three decades ago, and it has not disappeared yet.<sup>15</sup>

Tibetan Buddhism influenced this area from Tibet, Mustang and from *Nhubri*. Some boys are now studying at a *Kargyud* gompa in Kathmandu, and some are sent to Bhutan as well. In Nyesyang, there are very few *Nyingmapa* lamas at present.

### GHYASUMDO

In Ghyasumdo, two or three decades ago a *khepre* (G) priest used to be hired by the Gurungs (both *Khromai* and *Tharmai*). But some Ghale lineages have started to preach Tibetan Buddhism. Two decades ago, the *Nyingma* sect of Buddhism established itself in Ghyasumdo through *Nhubri*. The Tibetan people are Buddhists, and a number of the Gurung population still practise *Khepre* (G)<sup>16</sup> and a *Phadzu* (G)<sup>17</sup> is also hired by the Gurung people to recite various rituals. Three Ghale families of *Tilche* have started to employ Brahmin priests to recite home rituals. These families used to employ *khepre* to recite funeral and *argun* (N) or *pai*, (G)<sup>18</sup> two decades ago, but at present they still do employ Tibetan lamas to recite funeral and other minor rituals.

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<sup>15</sup> David Snellgrove. *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, Oxford, 1961, p. 214.

<sup>16</sup> *Khepre* is a kind of Gurung Shaman who keeps and uses oral traditions of the Gurung in a religious context. Anthropologists like Pignede (1966) and Macfarlane (1972) say that Gurung Shamanism is derived from Tibetan *Bon*.

<sup>17</sup> *Phadzu* is also a kind of Gurung Shaman which has many similarities and dissimilarities with *Khepre* in the ritual context.

<sup>18</sup> Donald A. Messerschmidt — "Rotating Credit in Gurung Society. The *Dhikur Association of Tingau*". *The Himalayan Review*, Vol. V, no. 4, 1972, p. 33.

## ANNEX I

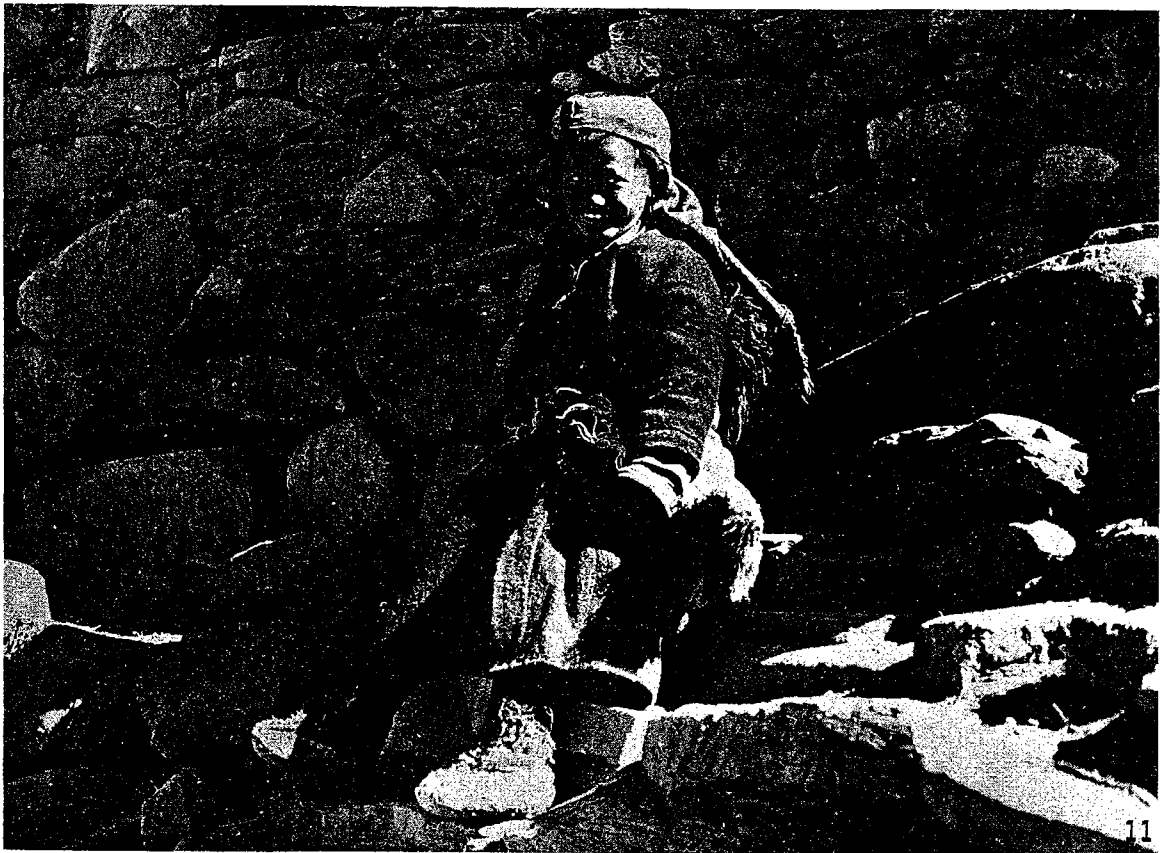
Comments on the document reproduced as illustration 7.

- (1) This document contains a duplicate of a *lalmohor* given to the people of Manang *Tinihapla* (N) (the Nyesyangba) by His Majesty King Rajendra Shaha Dev in 1881 V. S. (1825 A. D.). In this document it is stated that the Nyesyangba has to offer 45 pathi of flour, 45 pathi of rice, 3 large jars of *chhyang* (home-made beer), 3 dharni of ghee and 3 pathi of salt to the Bist of Jharkot Baragau in Mustang whenever the Bist would come to visit Nyesyang. Once the *Dhaapaa Shabaa Councils* of villages of Nyesyang refused to make those offerings to the Bist. Then a court case took place between the *Dhaapaa Shabaa Councils* of the Nyesyang villages and the Bist of Jharkot. His Majesty King Rajendra Bir Bikram Shaha Dev made a compromise and asked both groups to follow traditional rules. His Majesty added that those who would not follow traditional rules would be subject to heavy penalties. Neither group was allowed to suppress the other. His Majesty King Rajendra further stated that the people of Manang Tinthapla (the Nyesyangba) were allowed to do trade all over the country. No restriction would be put on their trading activities. No custom and other kinds of taxes would be imposed on the goods of Nyesyngbas by custom offices, government authorities and individuals as long as the Nyesyangba would pay *harsala* (N) and *nirkhi* (N) taxes once a year to the government. His Majesty added that he had also recognized the traditional rules and regulations regularized by his fore-fathers.
- (2) The document also contains a duplicate of a *Khadganisana* given to the people of Nyesyang Valley by Prime Minister Jang Bahadur Rana in 1914 V. S. (1858 A.D.) In this document it is stated that the Bist of Jharkot Baragau in Mustang used to raise *sirto* (N) and other kinds of taxes in the villages of Nyesyang Valley before 1914 V. S. Then this document asks the villages of Nyesyang Valley to pay the *sirto* and other kinds of taxes to the Thapathali (Kathmandu) Darbar through the Lamjung *Amali* (regional tax collecting office) from 1914 B. S. Prime Minister Jang Bahadur Rana ask the villages to follow the rules and regulations which he has now regularized.

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10. Lama dance at Phu on the occasion of the *dzor* ceremony.



11. A young charmer from Phu village.



12. Nar village.



13

13. Women representing their husbands in the *Dhaupaa Shabaa Council*