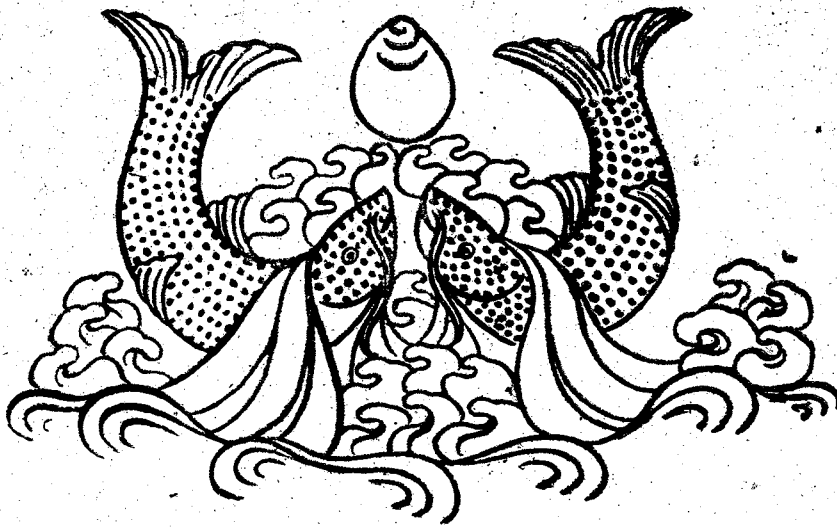


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FOLK ART AND CULTURE CHANGE AS OBSERVED IN A KHALING VILLAGE¹

Ingrid Toba
Tokyo

INTRODUCTION

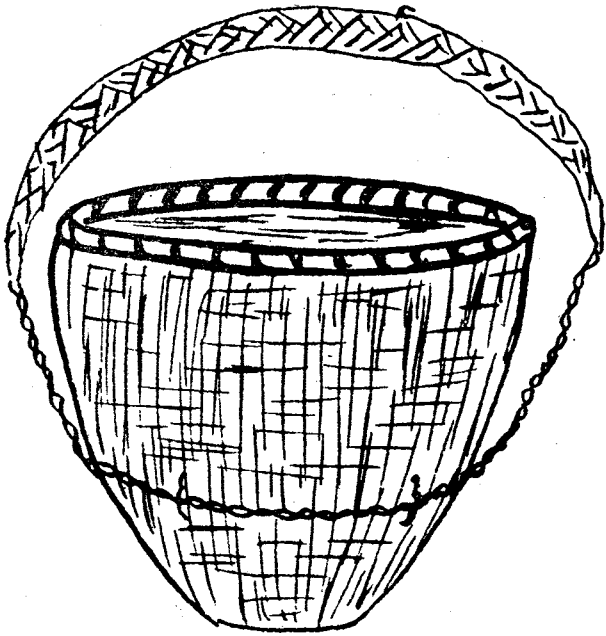
Living in a rural community secluded from through-traffic and markets requires people who are self-sufficient and independent of the conveniences of shops for the supply of essentials in daily living and working. When we started living in the Khaling village of Khastap, the self-sufficiency of the people was one of the things which I noticed and appreciated most. I sensed a harmony of supply and demand. People were accustomed to make their own utensils, for there was plenty of raw material just for the getting out in the jungle surrounding the village, and they would take time to make the item in question.

The situation of self-sufficiency and independence of the market has since noticeably changed. Less than ten years ago, a market was established only one day's walk away from Khastap. The variety of merchandise has increased considerably. With this of course, the number of Khaling customers has increased, as well as the variety of things they buy in the market.

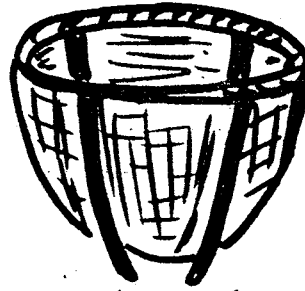
The purpose of this paper is to describe items of daily living distinctive to Khaling culture and made by the people themselves, for there is good reason to suppose that before long the Khalings will have stopped making their own tools and utensils. This will also result in some linguistic change. Not only will Nepali words come into Khaling vocabulary with the new and bought items, but also Khaling terms for particular hand-made items will disappear, or, instead of original terms for certain items, derived words will be used. One example is the word for 'ladle': the original Khaling word is used for the hand-made bamboo-carved utensil (*lophe*), but for a market-bought aluminum

¹ Khaling are a group of Tibeto-Burman language stock. They live on both sides of the Dudh Kosi, and on the west side of the Inku Khola in the Solu-Khumbu district of Sagarmatha Zone of Nepal. The village of Khastap comprises about 75 houses of Khalings and altogether 5 houses of blacksmiths and one house of the village tailor.

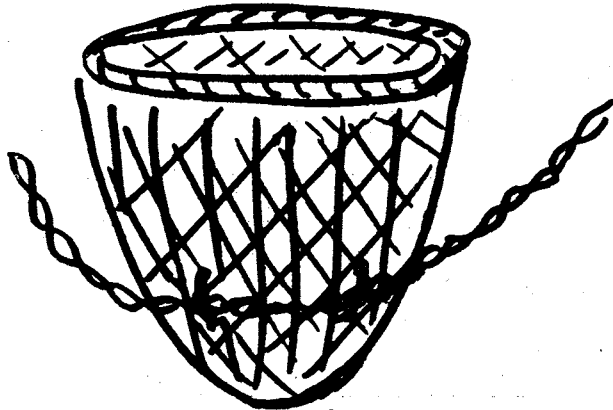
Field work in Khastap was undertaken in 1970 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies of Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal.



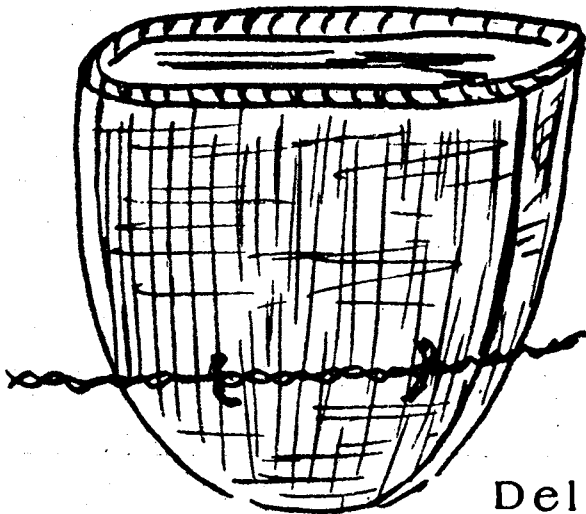
Polu



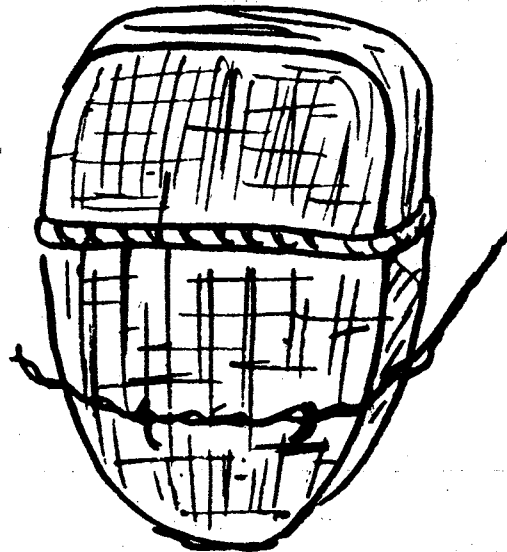
Kheng



Lang



Deli

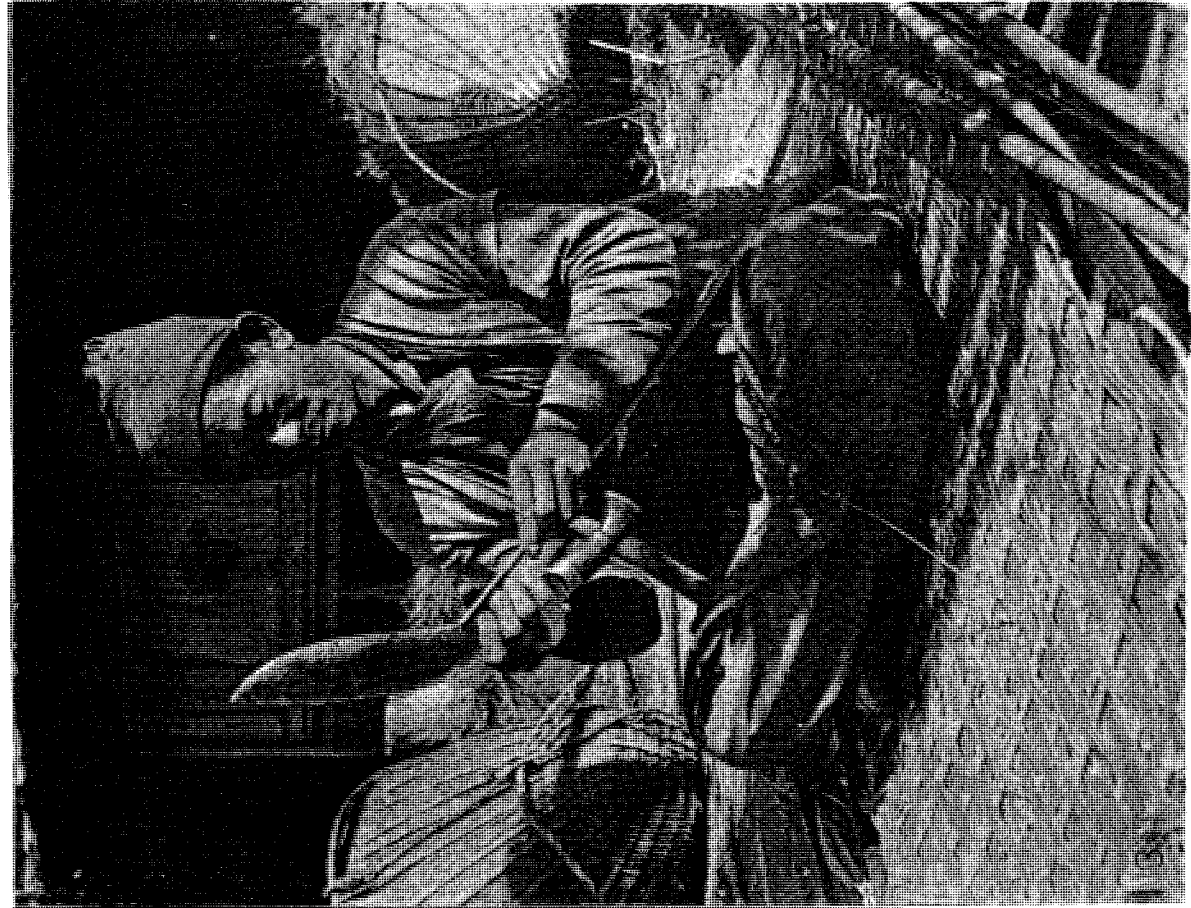


Gogro



1. Khastap, a Khaling village in Solu-Khumbu District.





3. Khaling man preparing for bamboo-weaving.



4. Khaling Rai couple.

ladle, a derived word (*pheyde*) is used which actually is composed of a verb stem meaning 'to spread' and an ending which denotes an instrument. The same is true for 'comb', to name but two.

1. ARTICLES OF HOUSEHOLD USE

It is the job of the men to see that household articles are in good shape, repaired or replaced. This includes weaving of bamboo into baskets and mats as well as cutting or carving of bamboo into various tools and vessels. There are also a few things in every household which are made out of wood.

1.1 Bamboo weaving

Bamboo is a very versatile material and the different varieties are suitable for different kinds of baskets which serve various purposes. Usually, there is one male member of a household who is able to supply the need for baskets around the house and in the cattle-shed. But there are different techniques of weaving these baskets and some are more difficult to make than others. As a consequence, there are some men who are especially skilful in making certain kinds of baskets and who may have a reputation as professional basketmakers. Nevertheless, in a Khaling's opinion, anyone can and should learn to make all types of baskets, and it is considered a virtue of if one is able to make any kind as the need arises.

A *polu* is a funnel-shaped basket used for transporting grain. It stands about three to four feet high with a top diameter of about 2 1/2'. It is carried with a headband which is attached with loops woven into the lower end of the basket. The technique of weaving a *polu* is called "twilling" which allows for the necessary change in width from bottom to top. The material may be any kind of bamboo except the thick kinds which are not suitable.

A *deli* is also a funnel-shaped basket woven in the same technique as a *polu* and about the same height, but it is not round like the *polu*. In accordance with its use, the *deli* is shaped in a rectangle with rounded corners so that it can be leaned against the wall in the cattle shed where it is used as a storage place for clothing and other items needed. The *deli* also has a lid which is about half the height of the basket proper. The lid not only keeps animals from the contents of the *deli*, but it also makes it possible to pile things up high when the cattle shed is moved to another place and the *deli* is used to transport things.

A *kheng* is a small basket with legs used to keep small supplies of grain or flour. The *kheng* frequently is made by Tamangs who sell it to Khalings in exchange for grain. The fixed price for one *kheng* is three *kheng* full of any grain.

A *lang* is used for many purposes, such as carrying wood, stones, or fodder. It is funnel-shaped and carried with a headband. But compared with the above-mentioned

baskets, it is quite coarse and is supposed to be the simplest basket to make. The strips of bamboo from which it is woven are quite thick, and they need to be soaked in water while the basket is being made. The weaving technique is loose hexagonal and it takes only a few hours to make a lang.

A *gogro*² is the rectangular basket in which babies and even small children are commonly carried by use of a headband. It is woven fine bamboo, twined with narrow slates of wood stuck through horizontally on the outside the full length of all four sides to give the basket stability. The cutting of the bamboo rods must be done on certain auspicious days. The measurements for a *gogro* are surprisingly small, 10" x 20", and often the children have to dangle their legs out when they are put to sleep in their *gogros*.

A *dhæmyongme* is a large 2½' by 2½' basket with low sides woven in loose check. It is kept above the fireplace (supported by the cornerposts) and is used to dry grains or to keep cooking utensils. A special basket of similar shape called *khemu* is exclusively used for drying millet before grinding. It is not put above the stove or fireplace, but outside in the sunshine.

A *ræykhim* is a basket-sieve of rectangular shape, about 18" long and 9" wide. The bottom is woven in checked manner, with very small spaces at the crossing points of the rods. Sides are double, the inside being twilled, the outside loose hexagonal. Around the rim, a stronger rod is inserted, and at the same time the sides are bent down to the bottom level where again a stronger rod is inserted to give stability and steady stand. For material, only completely straight bamboo rods of the fine kind are usable because the bottom needs to be evenly woven with regular holes at regular intervals. The *ræykhim* is rather difficult to make, so not everybody can make it.

A *thep* is a small, about 10" high, funnel basket which is used in making beer. The weave is twill, and like the *raykhim*, it is made of fine bamboo rods which need to be perfectly straight and regular.

A *cüringgi* is a small hand basket.

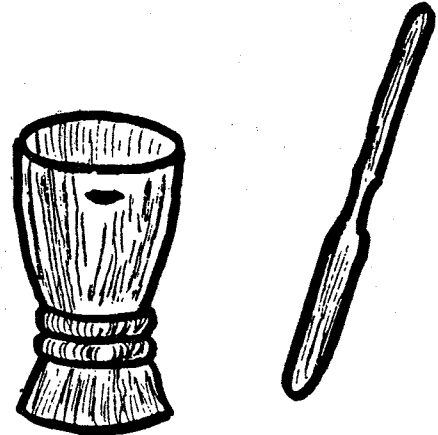
A *phocel* is a small rectangular basket, used for all kinds of foods which are either ready to cook or to be eaten.

The carrying band, *lenwaam*, which is attached to the lower end of the basket and worn across the forehead is also woven of bamboo. Its center, that is, the part that stretches across the forehead, is braided of flat and straight strips. The ends are left unbraided and wound with string to prevent undoing of the braided part.

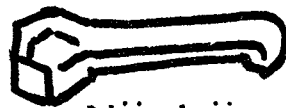
² This basket, though not unique or limited to Khaling culture, is included here because it nevertheless is typical and in common use. Sometimes a professional basket maker of the blacksmith caste is given an order for such a basket rather than the father making it himself.



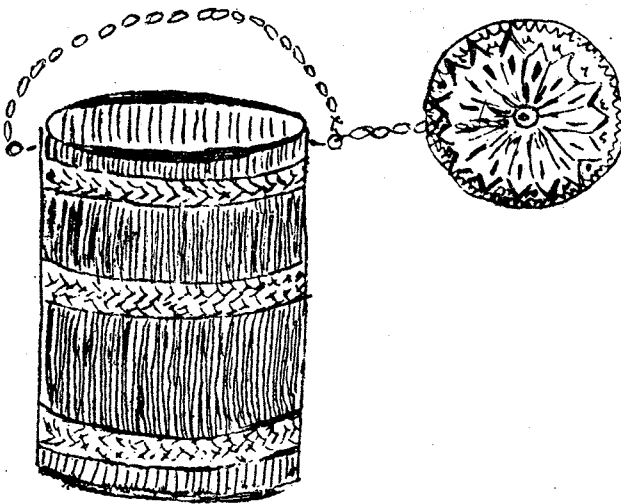
Pokam



Saamkraa Thaalam



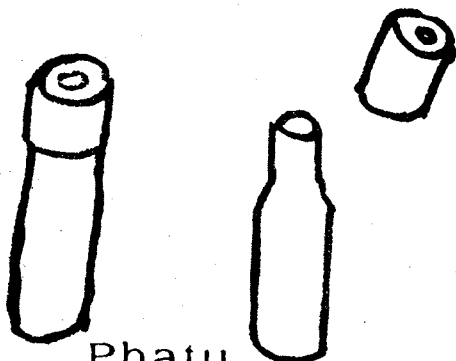
Näsbä



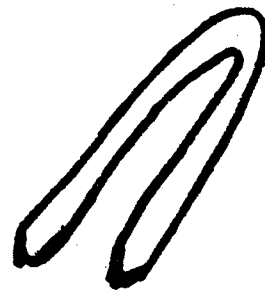
Thökläa



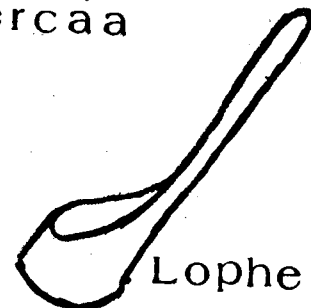
Wäwäm



Phatu



Pepercaa



Lophe

Mats are used for various purposes. Those made by the Khaling people themselves are all made out of split bamboo. For the roof of the cattle sheds, large mats called *chelme* are used. The weave is twilled, the strands of bamboo being quite coarse. It takes about a day to weave a *chelme*, once the bamboo is prepared. As it is quite simple, anybody is expected to be able to weave a *chelme*.

A *gharme* is used to dry grain and also as walls or partitions in the cattle shed. It is woven in twilled fashion, but the strands are much finer than those of the *chelme*. Any kind of fine bamboo is suitable for making it.

1.2 *Bamboo carving*

Bamboo is not only used split up for weaving baskets and mats; it is also used with the whole stem cut in half lengthwise. In this way it makes efficient water-pipes to irrigate fields or to bring water to a housebuilding site. Even for drinking-water supply bamboo pipes are used. For this purpose, the stems are first split into half lengthwise and the knots removed; then the halves are tied together again.

Bamboo stems with carved-in steps are used as ladders across fences which are also made of bamboo stems.

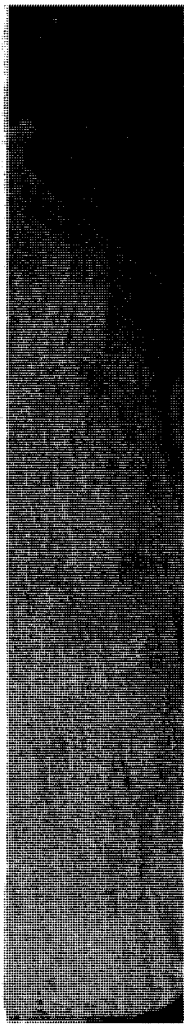
A dipper to dish out soup is called *lophe*. It is made of the large bamboo, using the knot as the base while the handle is a strip which is left. This is scarce to find as it is being replaced by cheap aluminum dippers bought in the market. So far, Khaling have not considered that the change may not be altogether for the better, because however cheap market-bought items may be, they do require cash. And cash is rare in Khaling households which are geared to be self sustaining rather than depending on buying things of daily need. Moreover, the hand carved bamboo dipper lasts much longer than an aluminum one.

A handy container for tea leaves, salt, spices, tobacco, etc. is a bamboo tube with a lid, *phatu*. In the same pattern, it is made in various sizes to fit the purpose.

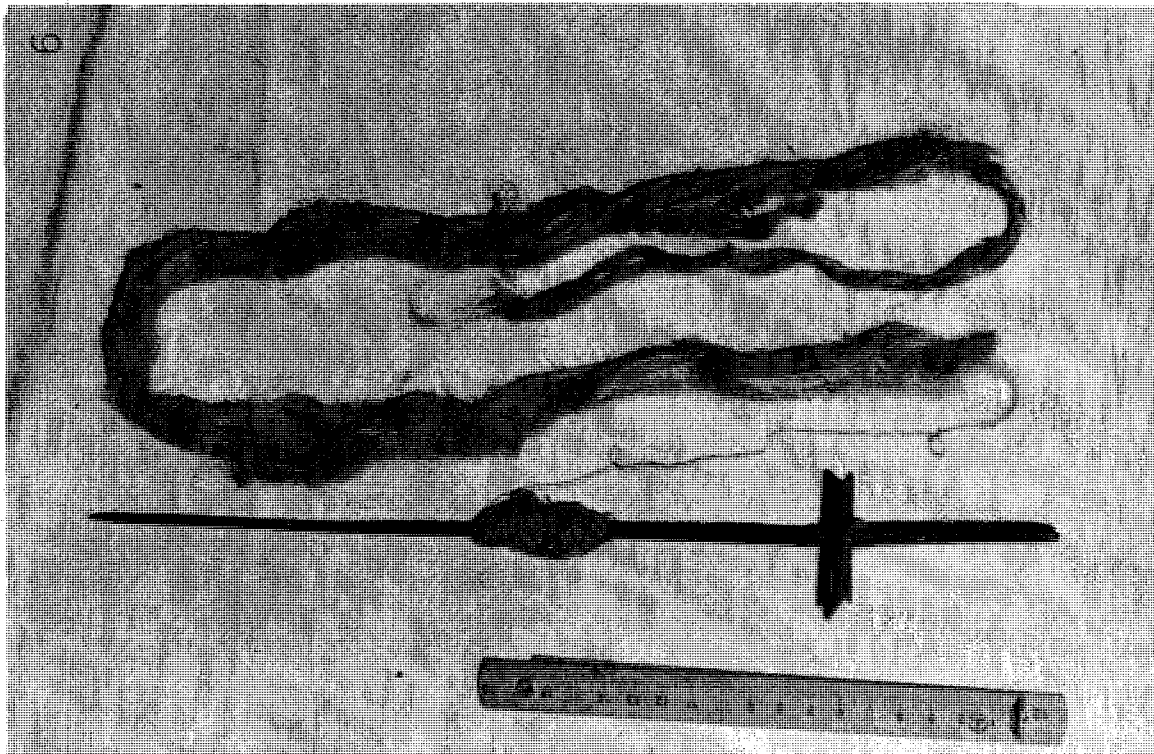
A cup to dip out beer from a large container on occasions like weddings is called *wawam*.

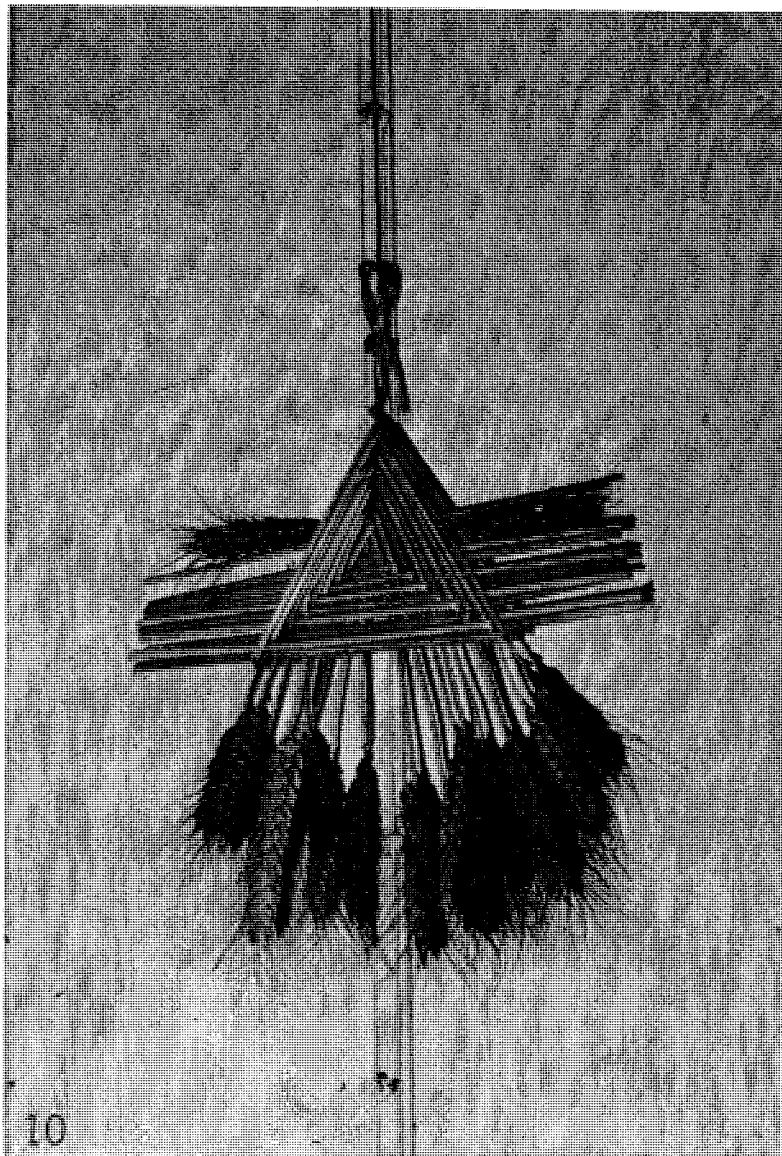
Tongs to pick up pieces of charcoal or to pick nettles are called *pepercaa*. They are made of narrow band of the large bamboo which is soaked first and then bent. It is sometimes decorated with a scorched-in design. Like all the other items mentioned, the tongs also are rapidly replaced by items bought in the market. The original Khaling term is also being replaced by the Nepali word.

The ceremonial beer container called *thöklaa*, which is used by men only, is also made of a bamboo stem, the knot providing a natural bottom. The sides of this beer container, which holds about two pints, are decorated with strips of braided bamboo consisting of very narrow strands. Notches are carved out of the bamboo surface in order to keep the braided strips in place. Actually, the purpose of these braids



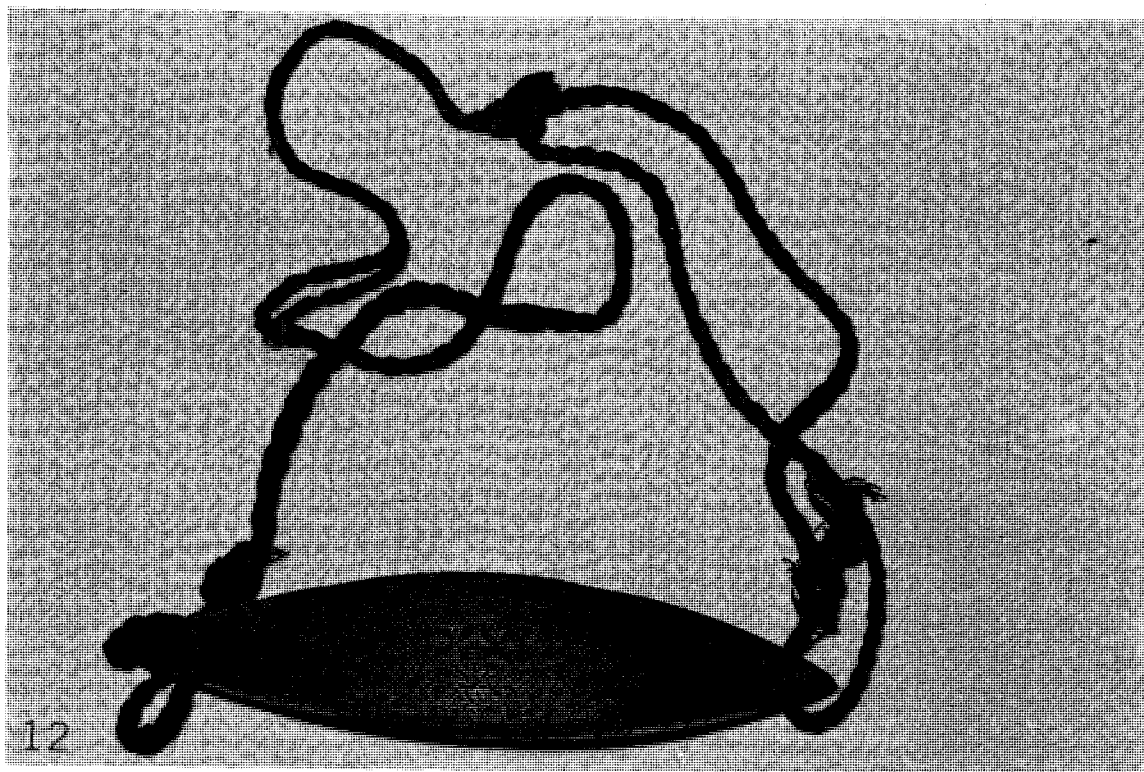
7. Decorations on vest.



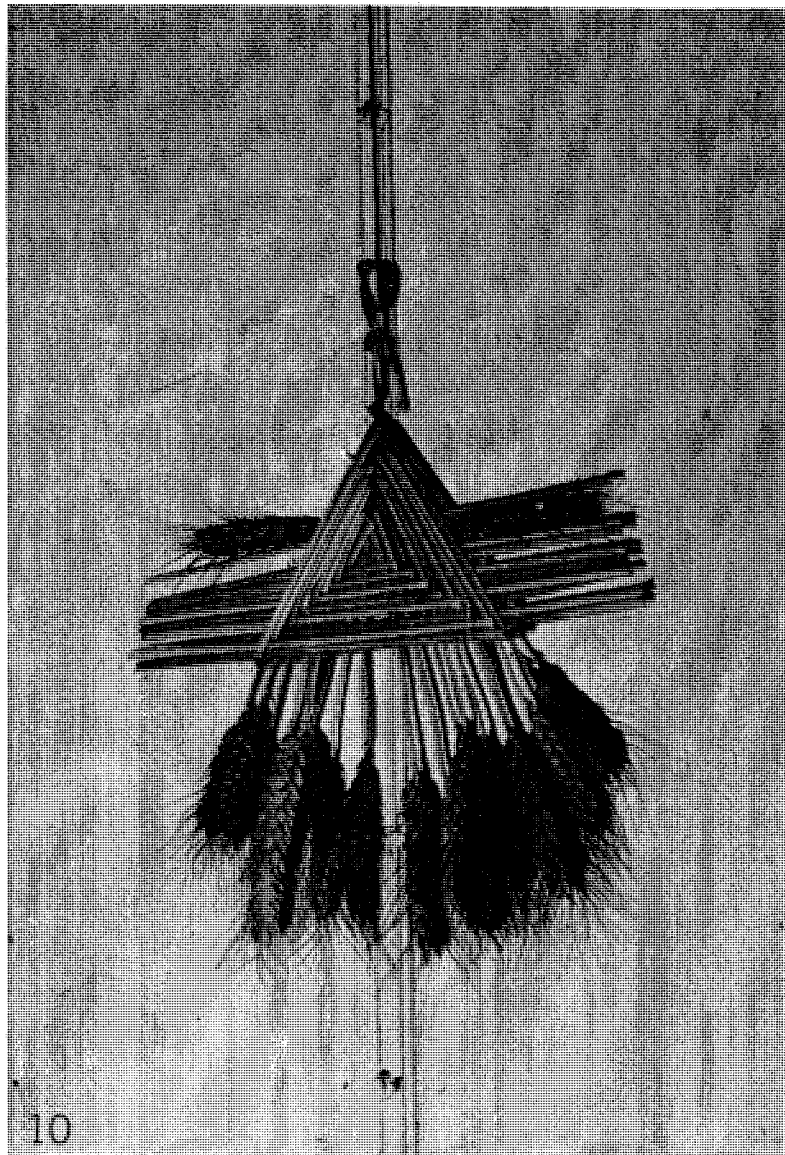


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10. Wall decoration.

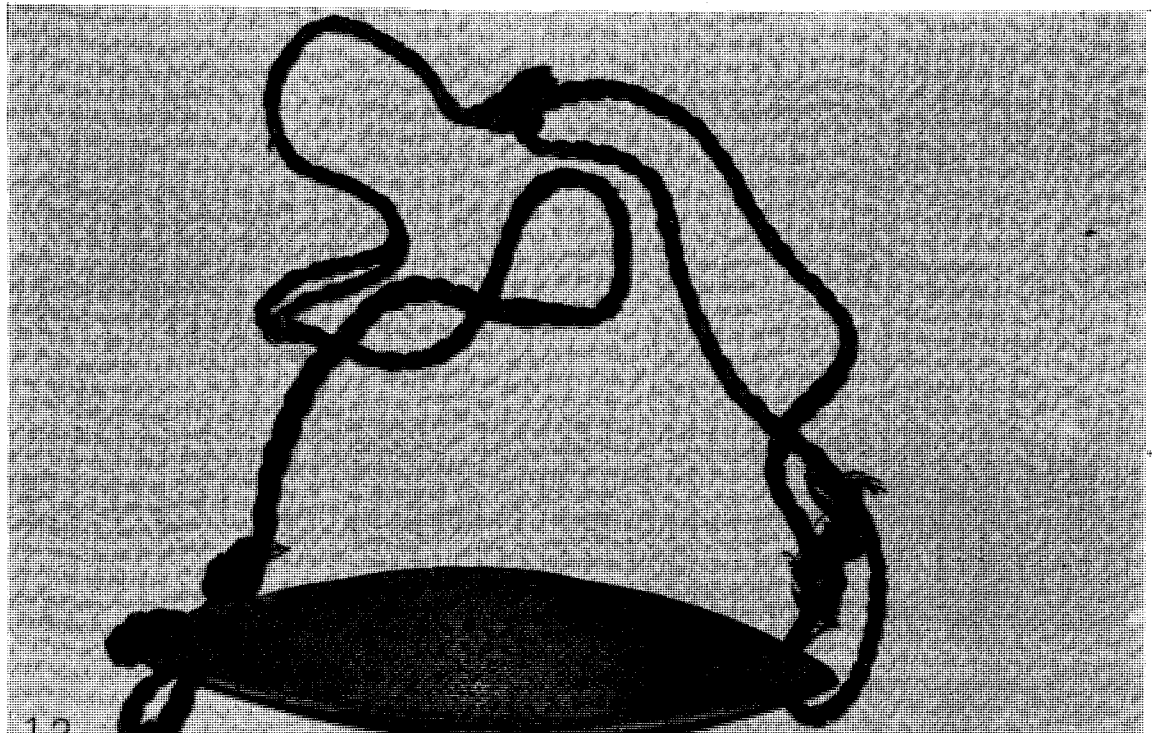


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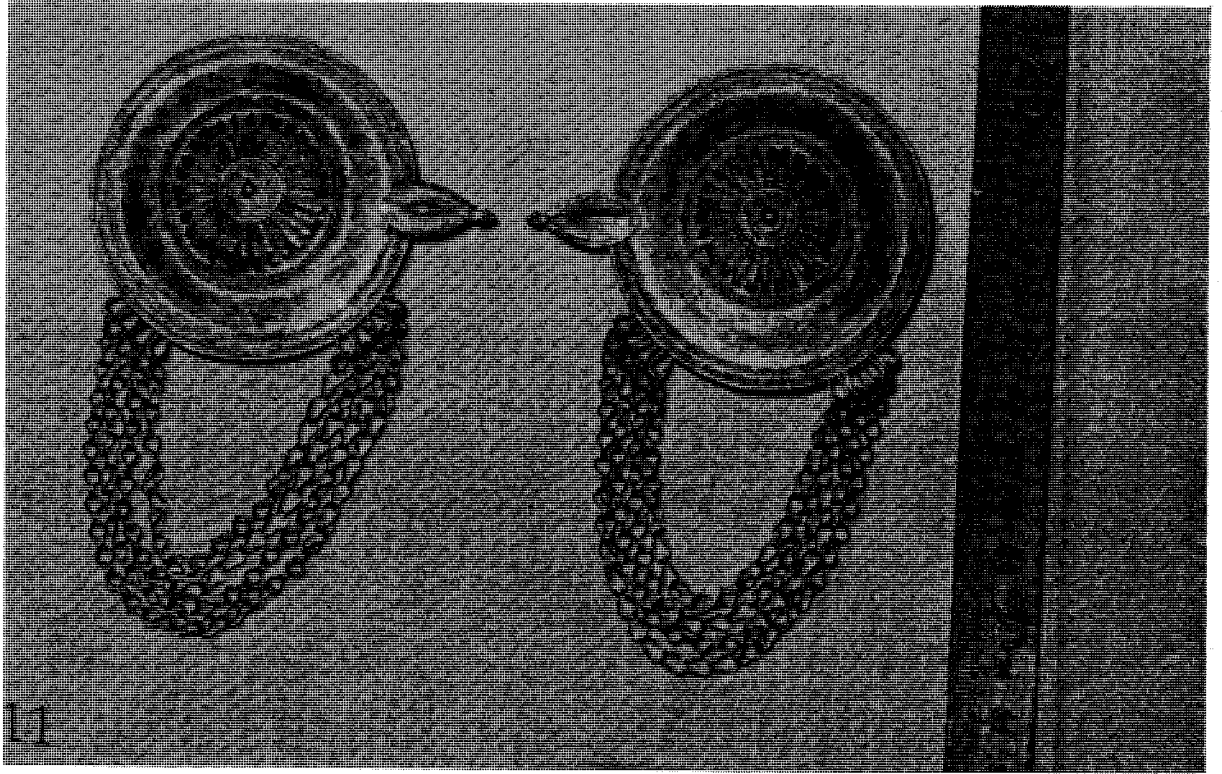
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10. Wall decoration.

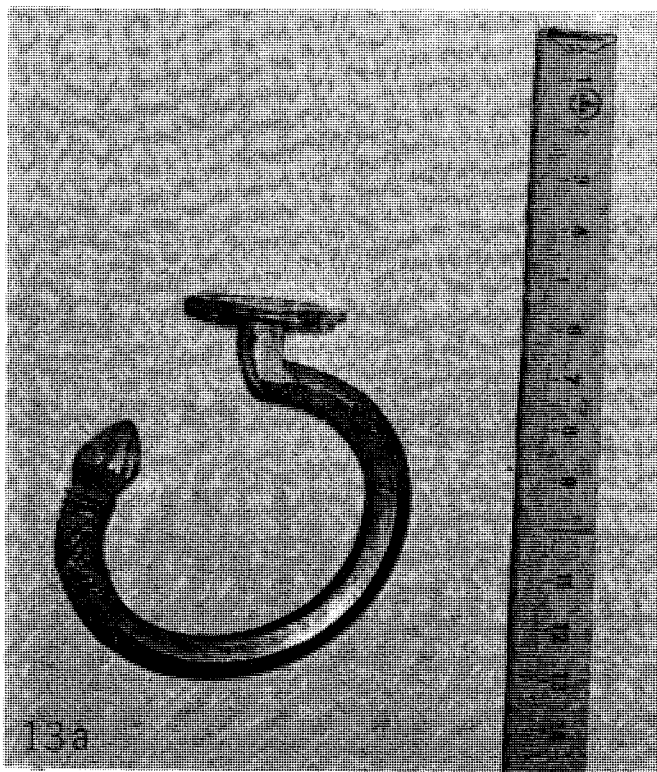


12

TUD



11. Ear-ring (tariun)



13 a & b. Bracelet or bangle.

is double: they are decorative as well as practical for they prevent the bamboo from splitting. The thöklaa is usually handed down from father to son, and with age it turns into a beautiful redish-brown colour. The lid of the thöklaa consists of a carved wooden disk with a cooper or iron chain fastened in the center and fastened also at the side of the thöklaa with a peg. The thöklaa also has a chain handle so that it can be carried easily. There are very few men nowadays who can make a thöklaa, and they make them only to order.

1.3 Wood

Other items made by the men of each Khaling household are carved from wood. Some of these are made very simply; that is, the raw material is only crudely worked e.g. for the threshing stick or the laundry beater. Others are more sophisticated and include ploughs, troughs, pestle and mortar, and, of course, handles for hoes, axes, and hammers. *Næsbæ*, a sort of dipper, is used to sprinkle beer at religious ceremonies.

For ploughs, only certain trees provide suitable wood (S. Toba 1975). Ploughs need to be carved long before they are actually needed in order to let the wood dry out before the metal tip is attached. Ploughs carved from a piece of wood which bends naturally the way the plough should bend are best. Therefore, it takes some searching to find a suitable piece of wood. The plough is one of the standard items made by Khaling men, but strangely, it does not have a Khaling name and is always called by the Nepali word for plough. This may indicate that originally Khaling people did not know the plough and used only a stick. Yet once they become acquainted with this useful tool, they incorporated it into their stock of agricultural tools.

The *pokam* is a trough in which leftover food is kept and mixed with water. Every evening, some of this mixture is dipped out and heated up as food for the pig. The *pokam* may be made of any kind of wood provided the diameter is big enough. The piece of wood is hollowed out and flattened at the bottom so that it stands firmly on the ground. A smaller container of the same type is made for the chickens' water.

The *saamkraa* (mortar) and *thalam* (pestle) are also necessities in each Khaling household. The mortar resembles the shape of an oversize eggcup, standing almost 2' high with a diameter of almost 1'. Although all mortars are basically the same shape, there are some which appear to be especially well proportioned, even some with simple decorations carved on the outside, usually the foot. The pestle is a stick of heavy wood, about 3' long with rounded ends and an indentation in the center to provide a place for holding it.

2. CLOTHING

2.1 Weaving

While it is the task of the men to do all the bamboo weaving, it is the domain

of the women to do all other weaving. But while the men do their weaving usually whenever an item is needed, the women weave only during the dry winter months when there is not too much field work to be done. Before the time of markets in their immediate neighborhood, Khaling women got all their raw material from the jungle. Wild hemp (sisal hemp, *Girardinia palmata*) used to grow abundantly there, but now, since the number of people has increased steadily and no efforts have been made to cultivate the plant, it is rather scarce. However, the thread gained from wild hemp is very durable, and in more far-away places, good housewives still find their supply. The preparation of hemp is quite a lengthy process. In fall, the new shoots are cut. They are then peeled and left to dry, resulting in stiff dark brown strips. These strips have to be soaked overnight—usually just held in place in the creek by some heavy stones. Then they are boiled in water until the individual fibres are separated from the strips. After boiling, the fibres are bleached by kneading them with lime earth and leaving them for a few days. The lime dust has to be beaten out and the fibres are hung up to dry completely. Then the spinning can begin. The spindle, called *wasen* in Khaling, is a very simple instrument consisting of a smooth stick about 1' long and 1/8" thick which is somewhat thinner on the one end. On the thicker end it is stuck through a square disk. The spindle is then twirled between the thumb and index finger of one hand while the fibres are arranged with the other hand, a process which looks amazingly simple and yet requires a lot of practice from childhood on. The result is a strong thread of beige color. It is woven into a rather coarse material which is used to make bags, sacks, and especially clothing. Of clothing items, the most outstanding is a characteristic vest called *bhangaaraa*. This is actually a Nepali word, *bhangro*, meaning 'hessian, sackcloth, a mantle of this cloth'. In Khaling, only the last meaning is used and that even for *bhangaaraa* woven of cotton thread.

For such weaving, a simple loom is used which is common throughout Nepal (Taylor 1969) and which consists of only a single beam supported horizontally by its ends. The person operating the loom sits on the ground. A piece of rope or headband attached to the sides of the cloth beam forms a loop behind the operator's back; thus the weave is kept stretched during working time. The loom is rolled up when not used.

The material for the *bhangaaraa* is plain weave, with a border of colored thread forming part of the warp on either side. At one end, there is also a border of colored thread worked into the weft which is later elaborately embroidered.

The skill of weaving cloth is passed on from mother to daughter. There are very few women who do not possess this skill. Even little girls make mats and blankets for their "dolls" (usually small sticks dressed in scraps of cloth). In their teens, girls are taught more formally the art of weaving. At first they sit just watching, but then they are given opportunity to work on their own.

For other material, such as men's clothing or women's skirts (these are traditionally blue with fine white stripes), a more complicated loom is used where the raising and lowering of the heddles is done with the feet. The bobbins in this type of loom are weighted down with loom weights.

A kind of net or bag is made of hemp or cotton by Khaling men. It is called *phaji* and has become very rare as the *jhola* or common Nepali bag is rapidly replacing it.

2.2 Knitting and crocheting

While weaving is a common skill of women (in fact, before there was a market within short distance, it was the task of the women to weave all the cloth needed to clothe all the members of their household) knitting and crocheting are recent introductions and rather luxurious skills. The British Army to which many Khaling men are recruited allows a man to bring his wife on a second term of duty. It was during such stays with their husbands in the Army that Khaling women learned knitting and crocheting. Oftentimes the patterns are quite elaborate and are remembered only by memory. However, though very useful, knitting and crocheting have not become necessary skills like weaving. The main reason for this is not the lack of material—almost every Khaling household keeps a few sheep for wool—but the pattern already set, in two respects. For one thing, the women who learned how to knit while away from home learned knitting with bought wool which of course is much finer than homespun sheep wool. On the other hand, the wool of the sheep kept by Khalings was already being used, being woven either into blankets or vests. Therefore, women who returned from the Army to their home villages had to convince others of the usefulness of the new skill in order to make it a common practice. Since most of them failed in this and since they were not urged to teach the new skill to others, knitting did not spread. Also, buying wool is virtually impossible as it is only available in larger cities, and it is too expensive.

For crocheting, the situation is somewhat different. Soldiers' wives would crochet mainly "nice" things, such as headscarves or stoles. Like knitted items, these are also done in quite elaborate patterns. The thread used is cotton thread. This is available more widely, even in smaller marketplaces. Also, there is no competition from any existing custom which would hinder the spread of the new skill. However, the women find it difficult to improvise; therefore, if they lose or break their crocheting needle, they do not make a new one out of bamboo which is also suitable material and readily available. (Of course, bamboo knitting needles also are hardly used). But again, it is the fact that the skill is acquired with bought materials, and thus the pattern is set.

2.3 Embroidering

Embroidering is, as mentioned above, the finishing touch for the bhangaaraa. Mainly one border across the waistline in the back (which is beforehand

indicated by a band of colored thread woven into the material) is stitched in red, blue, and green. But if the maker is skilful and artistic, she will stitch flowers of her own design on the back. Some women also embroider flowers of their own design of white material to be worn as a headscarf. Originally, embroidering also was introduced to Khaling women through women returning with their husbands from the army.

3. DECORATIONS

3.1 *Personal decoration*

Making clothing, and making it as pretty as possible, is the task of women, but both men and women make little items of decoration which are worn pinned to clothing. The main material for such items is bamboo, but other plants also are used, for instance, threads from splitting the stem of one particular kind of orchid, seeds, or roots.

Almost every young girl has pinned to her blouse or bhangaaraa one or several *yongbem* (jew's harp). This little instrument is about 3"-4" long and half an inch wide. It consists of a split piece of bamboo with a narrow tongue cut in the center. On either end a piece of thread is fastened. The tune is produced by holding the jew's harp at the base end of the tongue and pulling the thread at the other end where the tongue swings free. When playing the jew's harp, it is held between the open lips and the open mouth provides for resonance. Glottal stops (saying inaudible "k" sound) add rhythm to the tune which swings back and forth in a quint. Some jew's harps have tiny carved designs which are filled in with red color.

A metal variety of the jew's harp is called *mucungaa*. It is not made by the Khaling people themselves but bought from the blacksmiths. What the Khaling do make is a little sheath or container for the *mucungaa*, as it is quite delicate, having the tongue curved up in a right angle so it can be pricked in order to produce the tune. The little sheath is called by a Nepali name, *khol*. It is made of bamboo and is just a tube with both ends open. At the upper end, holes are pierced into it and a slit made into the sides where draw strings are fastened to hold the *mucungaa* in place. The *khol* shows elaborate minute design usually filled in with red color.

An item rather peculiar to Rais is a little brush called *kuci*. (It seems strange that this item which is declared a specialty of Rais has a Nepali name.) The bristles are of pig's hair (pigs are kept by Rais and are killed only on rare occasions for religious feasts, weddings, or burial feasts). The handle is made out of rhododendron wood or of bamboo. If wood is used, this is made by the men who carve designs into it. The girls make the bamboo handles. They use the very thin kind of bamboo reeds, four to eight pieces, and tie them together in a row. At the lower end the bristles are stuck in; at the upper end it is hung up or rather pinned up. The individual bamboo pieces

are covered with a weave of red thread and the thread gained by splitting the stem of a particular orchid (*waarme, Dendrobium Pierardi*).

Daajuraa or *phurkhaa* are an other kind of decoration. They may be worn at the end of the braid of hair or pinned to clothing. In the latter case, they may consist of small pieces of the root of Spikenard (*ngoroci, Nardostachys jatamansi*) which are used like beads. At the lower end are several tassels; at the upper end a loop to hang it from. This is made by women.

Rice straw provides material for little “flower” pendants worn on blouse or vest. For this, regular pieces of straw are woven together by bands of different strands of colored yarn. The upper end is gathered, the lower end is flat, so that the shape roughly resembles a flower pressed flat. This is also made by the women.

In addition to these homemade and handmade items of decoration, of course, women also wear market-bought beads of various sizes and colors. To top these off, and oftentimes as a sign that the husband has been in the Gurkha army, one or several necklaces made of coins are worn, sometimes reaching down to the waist. Nowadays, however not only the handmade things are held in low regard but also the coin necklaces. More and more the particular taste of Khaling women—e. g. for large red beads and long coin necklaces—gives way to a uniform or rather urban taste or fashion in accessories. This trend would not be deplorable in itself. But, since women do want to decorate themselves, added cash is needed for this purpose which is not easily available in the average Khaling household. Thus, the discontinuing of making items of decoration by hand, with a cost of almost nil, contributes to the overall observed change of a once self-sustained culture to one that relies more and more heavily on markets and cash.

3.2 House decoration

Originally, old Khaling people told us, all the Khaling built were temporary houses made of mats and branches. Nowadays, these sheds are only used as the shelter for those who work with the cattle. By their very nature, these shelters are not apt for decoration. But nowadays Khaling houses are built of stone and whitewashed. On some houses we find not only the usual band of red from the ground up for about 1', but also geometrical flower designs on the walls between the windows. Window frames and veranda pillars may be carved if the builder is a gifted craftsman. We were told, however, that for some reason it is a dying art to decorate one's house.

4. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Some Khaling musical instruments were mentioned above as decorations pinned to clothing. There are more to mention now. A little flute called *bibilim* made of the

stem of a small reed grass is carried in the pocket by girls as well as boys. The tune it makes is similar to that of an oboe. The range is a quint. Tunes are very rhythmical.

A very important instrument is the horn, *bham*. It is made from buffalo horn and is played on the days of the most important Khaling festival, the "dance". Its range is only one tone which is quite hard to produce.

Made of bamboo is the *tungmaa*, a bamboo string instrument with two tones. It is made by boys who watch the cattle. The *tungmaa* consists of a piece of the large bamboo (*pæb*, *Dendrocalamus sikkimensis*) with the natural knot providing a closed body for resonance. On the long side, it has a hole about an inch in size. The two strings consist of strips of bamboo which are vertically separated from the body but left attached at either end. They are supported above the center hole with a flat piece of bamboo. Again it is the rhythm which makes the tunes played on this instrument.

5. STONE MONUMENTS

Stone monuments in memory of a deceased relative, usually an army soldier, are characteristically found in the Khaling area. These consist of carvings on the back walls of the chautaras along the trails. Invariably, they show a stick man in the center and sun and moon to the left and right. The inscription tells about the person to whom the stone is dedicated.

6. DANCE AND DRAMA

One of the highlights in the course of each year is the *wass*, a kind of dance festival connected with earth worship which takes place in the month of May. It is usually the women who do the dancing, while the men make the music by clapping cymbals. The cymbalist stands in the center of a circle which is formed by the women who face sometimes the inside, sometimes the outside of the circle. As they step around in the circle, they go one step, then pull the other foot along, then do another step. With their hands, they make various gestures, such as planting rice, making bread, arranging flowers, gathering up grain at harvesting time. There is one leader whose gestures are followed by the others. Unfortunately, there are not too many women these days, we were told, who really know what the gestures of the leader mean. As a consequence, their gestures are no more ~~than~~ a vague moving up and down of arms and hands. Nevertheless, they dance with enthusiasm and endurance.

While the *wass* is a genuine Khaling dance, there is also several times a year a *nadak*. This is kind of rustic drama or opera which is done in the Nepali language. Performers of the play are only young men, even for female characters. There are

stage, curtain, accessories, etc. This is done with great enthusiasm, but it is definitely a very recent introduction.

7. CONCLUSIONS

We have tried to enumerate and describe those items of Khaling material culture which are to date made by hand of materials provided by the natural surroundings of Khaling villages. As we mentioned above, the number of these items is rapidly decreasing. Khaling preference is increasingly for those manufactured items available at a nearby market. Plastic combs, cigarette lighters and aluminum ladles are valued greatly. Khaling women desire the plastic beads and other purchased decorations for personal adornment rather than the traditional handmade items. This is true even though such items may be inferior in quality and require cash which is not yet easily available in most Khaling households. Such a relation of a folk society in contact with a more technological culture is of course, commonly observed. Yet apart from this contact centered on the nearby market, there is another, and possibly more serious, reason for the decline in handmade items. Some of the raw materials needed, especially hemp but bamboo and wood as well, are getting very scarce. This is due to lack of cultivation and a general threat of severe deforestation.

Khaling culture is beginning to change in such a way that field work no longer is the only source of income. As visits to the market become a more established and more and more frequent habit, other sources of earning cash income must be found. This is a real problem for Khaling people who do not live as many of the Sherpas do, in recently opened areas of tourism. Therefore, finding work, e.g. as porters, is very difficult. Thus, some Khalings are trying to get involved in trade. They usually begin by selling small quantities of their own surplus grain. The next step then is to buy grains such as rice, corn, even millet at markets where the prices are lower than in other markets. Suntala, salt, sugar are also profit-making trade objects when these are sold at the market in Namche Bazar. As yet, Khalings are quite naive in their trading, as success is often considered to be a mere coverage of expenses and as much real gain as needed to cover immediate needs. Though this is a general philosophy, we have met a few individuals who seemed to be gifted traders and actually advanced through their trading activities, even to the point of being able to buy land.

There is one more thought that comes to mind when we consider the change from making utensils and decorations as well as clothing from natural resources to buying these items. As indicated above, there is also a linguistic change that goes with this. And with the linguistic change, there is a change deeper down in peoples thinking and in their attitude which increasingly puts a high value on market-bought items. It seems that in

comparison with such items, the traditional homemade counterparts are given no value at all. This in my observation leads to a real loss of their identity, as together with the language the original material items are now changing. It is for this last reason that we found it necessary and profitable to study Khaling material culture, especially with respect to handicrafts.

* * *

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THE ROYAL EDICTS OF KING RAMA SHAH OF GORKHA

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New York

INTRODUCTION

In two significant articles, A. W. Macdonald has called our attention to the importance of traditional Nepali law for our understanding of the history and society of the central Himalayas.¹ This law was codified in the middle of the nineteenth century and was given the name of *Mukuli Ain*, or "Law of the Realm".² In this form, it consists of a large body of complex principles, mostly Hindu in inspiration, which attempt to regulate social intercourse between the various castes and ethnic groups inhabiting the country. Many of these principles are similar to those contained in the Hindu law books, and many of them may indeed be derived directly from them. Of even greater interest, however, is the independence from orthodox Hindu thought displayed in the Nepali code, for in this freedom from orthodoxy we can see how Hinduism changed in order to conform to the complicated ethnic situation prevailing in the mountains. Whatever the sources of the code, it is clear that it reflects the influence of the Nepali-speaking peoples of Western and Central Nepal and their rulers, the Shahas³ and

1 "La Hiérarchie Des Jat Inférieurs Dans le Mulukī Ain De 1955," in Jean Pouillon et Pierre Maranda (eds.) *Echanges et Communications: Mélanges Offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'Occasion de Son 60ème Anniversaire* (La Haye: Mouton, 1968) pp. 139-152; and "La sorcellerie dans le Code népalais de 1853", *L'Homme* VIII, I (Jan.-March, 1968), 64-69.

2 Except for passing references cited by Macdonald, the *Muluki Ain* or *le code Népalais*, as he calls it, has rarely been discussed elsewhere, in part because of ignorance of its existence, but also because of the great difficulty of its language. In the first article listed above, Macdonald cites its importance for the field of Himalayan anthropology: "L'étude ethnographique descriptive des diverses populations du Népal demeure nôtre tâche essentielle. Mais cette ethnographie en même temps qu'elle éclaire le Code, peut être éclairée par lui. C'est autour de cette double confrontation que l'on bâtira, un jour qui semble encore lointain, une véritable ethnologie structurale du Népal" (p. 152).

3 I have used the common English spelling of this name rather than the transliterated forms, Sāha or Śāha.

later the Ranas. It is through their conquests and rule that it eventually became the law of all of Nepal, and was to be so until the middle of this century.

A full discussion of the development of the *Muluki Ain* is beyond the scope of this paper. One of the most important links in its development, however, can be found in the edicts of King Rama Shah of Gorkha, and it is my purpose here to present both the text and translation of these legal maxims. Rama Shah has had little notice outside of Nepal, but he played a major role in strengthening the kingdom of Gorkha; it was his descendant, Prithvi Narayan Shah, who extended Gorkhali rule over all of Nepal a little more than a century later.⁴

1. RAMA SHAH (1606-1636)

According to traditional accounts, Rama Shah acceded to the throne of Gorkha in 1606 A. D. upon the death of his brother, Ksatra Shah, who reigned for only seven months. Their father, Purandara Shah, had ruled for thirty-five years, and had ascended the throne in 1570 upon the death of his father, Dravya Shah, who founded the dynasty in 1559 A. D.

While scholars still accept the traditional date of Rama Shah's accession, there is some uncertainty over the length of his reign. The traditional accounts state that he ruled for twenty-seven years, died in 1633 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Dambar Shah. More recently discovered evidence indicates that he was still ruling in 1636, however. According to Surya Bikram Gyevali, "recent findings make it necessary to revise this traditional chronology. According to a document published by Yogi Naraharinath in *Itihas Prakasha* (Book 1, p. 40), King Rama Shah had established a monastery in Shrawana 1558 Shaka (1636 A. D.) thus disproving the Vamshavali's claim that he reigned only until 1555 Shaka (1633 A.D.) We may now conclude that King Rama Shah reigned until 1558 Shaka (1636 A. D.)"⁵

Rama Shah is said to have extended the territory of his kingdom by conquering territory which extended to the Trisuli valley near Nepal proper. He is said to have

⁴ On the career of Prithvi Narayan, see L. S. Baral, *Life and Writings of Prthvinarayan Sah* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 1964); L. F. Stiller, S. J. *Prithvinarayan Shah in the light of Dibya Upadesh*, Kathmandu, 1968.

⁵ Surya Bikram Gyevali, "Śāha Vamśakā Kehi Rājāharukā Vishayamā Vicāra" (Thoughts On the Regnal Years of Some Kings of the Shah Dynasty), *Ancient Nepal*, No. 9, October 1969, pp. 33-35; translated into English "Chronology of Shah Kings", *Regmi Research Series*, Year 4, No. 1 (1972) pp. 97-100. See also: Dinesh Raj Pant, "Rāmaśāha ko Rājyakāl-ek carcā," *Kailash*, I, 1, pp. 76-79.

sent missions to Delhi and to Udaipur, both of which were received cordially, and he established relations with the kingdom of Patan. ⁶

In addition to his skill in foreign relations, the tradition firmly establishes his reputation as a law-giver in west and central Nepal. Gorkha became the place where disputes were resolved, and in this regard, the *Gorkhāvamśāvalī* records the following incident:

tāhā-dekhin caubisi bāisi rājāharukā
mulukmā baḍā baḍā gāhrā jhagaḍā paryā.
vahā kasaile chinna sakyānan. jab
gorkhā śrī pānch mahārājā rāma sāha kā
kacaharimā jāu bhani jhagadiyā joḍi paṭhāi
dina lāgyā jhagadiyāko citta bujhāi sab ko
citta bujhāi jhagḍā toḍi baksanu hundā “vidyā
harāyā kāski jānu nisāph harāyā gorkhā jānu”
boliko nisāna po cha tyo pani śrī pānch mahārājā

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- ⁶ Rama Shah is mentioned only briefly in western works on Nepal. In the early accounts of Kirkpatrick (*An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, Cambridge 1811), and Hamilton (*An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, London, 1819), he is barely noticed. Some of his edicts are summarized in Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal*, Cambridge 1877, pp. 278-9; and the traditional length of his reign given. Lévi (*Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 262) mentions him as a law-giver, but provides no other information. More recently, D. R. Regmi, *Modern Nepal*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 19 has summarized portions of the edicts. Leo Rose and Bhuvan Lal Joshi, *Democratic Innovations in Nepal*, Berkeley, 1964, p. 12, have called attention to his importance, and to the fact that the edicts may have played an important role in strengthening Gorkha rule over the central tribes. In another work, *Nepal: Strategy for Survival*, Berkeley 1971, p. 13, Rose discusses briefly his campaigns against Tibet and his conflict with King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu. Bikrama Jit Hasrat (*History of Nepal*, Hoshiarpur, 1970) has translated sections of a *Gorkhāvamśāvalī* which deal with Rama Shah (pp. 106-120). Several court regulations are given (pp. 114-15) which are not included in the works used herein. See also: Naya Raj Pant, *Srī 5 Prthvi Nārāyaṇ Śāha ko Upadeśa* (401-600 prstha samma) for an interesting account of Rama Shah. The text of the edicts is given on pp, 561-79.

I have not seen the Nepal work of Gyevali, *Rāma śāha ko jivanī* (*Life of Rama Shah*), Darjeeling, 1933

rāma sāha dekhin caldo bhayo. 7

Then in the country of the Caubisi and Baisi kings, a very grave dispute arose. No one could resolve it. The parties to the dispute were sent to the court of King Rama Shah, where the arguments were settled and all, including the litigants, were satisfied. From the time of King Rama Shah, therefore, the following proverb has been current "If knowledge is lost, go to Kaski, if justice is lost, go to Gorkha."⁷

2. THE EDICTS

The edicts which have survived represent, in all probability, only a small portion of the number which Rama Shah promulgated. They do not form a code, but are, rather, single orders or proclamations.⁸ Unfortunately, they have not been preserved in their, original form, for the language in which they are cast has many characteristics of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Nepali.⁹ At some point, they were also preserved as *sūtra* that is, as very short maxims which indicate in abbreviated form the main intention of the edict. These are so brief that it is difficult to determine to which century they may belong. Possibly, they are anterior to the full forms of the edict, and may have been mnemonic devices used to recall the import of the edicts.

According to the official text, there are twenty-six, possibly twenty-seven, edicts. The number is artificial, however, since some which have been divided are

⁷ Yogi Naraharinath, *Gorkhāvamsāvalī*, Kashi, B. S. 2021, p. 39. (This work is hereafter referred to as G). The proverb as quoted here differs from the one in common use which refers to Kāśī i. e. Banaras, rather than Kaski.

⁸ Here I disagree with Rose's judgment, *op. cit.*, p. 13, which refers to Rama Shah's edicts as an organized code, comparing it to the thirteenth century attempt of Jayasthiti Malla to institute a caste system in Nepal. On the evidence available now, it does not appear that the edicts were originally a code, but rather a series of individual proclamations. The reference in one of the edicts to four *varṇas* and thirty-six castes is merely a traditional way of referring to the castes.

⁹ For a grammatical sketch of the Nepali of this period, see my *A Nepali Version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, New Haven, 1971, pp. 15-48. For the language of the sixteenth century, see the important article by T. W. Clark, "The Rani Pokhari Inscription", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XX (1957), 167-187.

acutally single edicts. They cover many different subjects. In the order in which they are usually given, they cover the following topics:

1. The Royal Guru
2. On Measures
3. On Weights
4. On Debts of Grain
5. On Debts of Money
6. On Disputes Regarding Watering Places
7. On Disputes Regarding Oil Presses
8. On Disputes Regarding Irrigation Channels
9. On Endowing Land to Brahmans
10. On Endowing Land to Brahmans (cont.)
11. The Six Clans
12. On Pasture for Cattle
13. On the Preservation of Trees along the Road
14. On the Preservation of Trees at Watering Places
15. On Banishment of Brahmans and Kinsmen Who Commit Murder
16. On the Execution of the Members of Other Groups Who Commit Murder
17. On the Wearing of Gold
18. (Lost in the Original)
19. On the Duties of Brahmans
20. On the Duties of Pande Brahmans in Gorkha
21. On Worship in Talhā Kot and the Darbar
22. On the Appointments of *Dadā* etc.
23. On the Division of the Harvest
24. On the Twelve and Eighteen Thar
25. An Agreement with King Siddhi Narasimha Malla of the Kingdom of Patan
26. On Touching the Stone in Expiation
27. On Witches

Edicts 18 to 24 are the most problematic in the official version which I have used here. Edict 18 in the original is lost. Edict 19 is garbled, and Edicts 20, 21 and 24. are fragmentary; in the case of Edict 24, there seem to be contradictory versions.

Edict 27 does not occur in the official version of the edicts, but because it occurs in the other texts, I have added it at the end. In the other versions, it occurs much earlier in the list as number five. It is possible that it is the missing Edict 18, but this is not at all certain.

3. THE TEXT

The text of the edicts presented here is essentially the same as that contained in *Itihās Prakās* (IP in the notes.)¹⁰ and in the first appendix to the 1965 edition of the *Mulukī Ain of King Surendra* (MA in the notes).¹¹ The latter, while it is the official government version, is derived directly from the first.¹²

In addition, two other important works have been consulted. These are the *Gorkhāvamśāvalī* (G. in the notes) and a document in the *Itihās Prakāśmā Saṁdhipatra Saṁgraha* entitled “Rāma śāha kā Gorkhāle gareko kehi pragati” (SP in the notes).¹³ Both of these are narrative accounts of events in Gorkha, and both give versions of the edicts of Rama Shah. Neither of them contains all of the rules given in the first two works listed above, nor do the rules given differ in content. However, they are often worded differently, which in many cases has been helpful in preparing the translation. Edict 19, for example, which is confused in the official text, is much more clearly stated in these. In my notes, I have included the important variants between the various texts, and also, where available, the *śūtra* for each edict.

4. THE TRANSLATION

The language of the edicts is difficult for it is filled with rare vocabulary and obscure terminology. Where the translation is uncertain, I have tried to clarify my interpretation in the notes. Many points remain unclear, however.

The notes to the translation contain translations of each *śūtra*, and, where necessary, translations of parallel passages contained in G. and SP. Notes are numbered consecutively.

¹⁰ Yogi Naraharinath (ed.) *Itihās Prakās*, No. 2, Part III, Kathmandu, 2013 B.S., pp. 419-426.

¹¹ *Śri Pāñc Surendra Bikram Shāh Devkā Śāsankālmā Baneko Mulukī Ain*, Kathmandu: Śri Pāñc Ko Sarkār, Kānun Tathā Nyāy Mantrālaya, 2022 B.S., pp. 695-700.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 6.

¹³ Yogi Naraharinath (ed.) “Rāma Śāha Kā Gorkhāle gareko kehi pragati” in *Itihās Prakāśmā Saṁdhipatrasaṁgraha*, Kathmandu, 2022 B.S., pp. 674-702.

Mr. Mahesh Raj Pant reviewed the translation with me after it had been prepared
I am indebted to him for his many suggestions and improvements.

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Nepali Text and English Translation

pratham thiti // // śrī nandamīśrajūlāi guru tulyāi baksanu First Edict: ¹

bhai hāmṛā saṁtānle tapāikā saṁtānlāi guru tulyāunu arulāi ¹

na tulyāunu bhannyā dharmā bhayo

Having appointed Śrī Nanda Miśra guru, the law (dharma) ²

is proclaimed that our descendants will appoint your descendants guru. No others shall be so appointed.

1. Sūtra: none

G: no thiti, but the story of Nanda Miśra is told in detail,

P. 21.

Sūtra: None

1. Nanda Miśra is not identified beyond the story in G., p. 21. This is the only use of the word dharma in the edicts. The words used most frequently are hukum, "royal order, decree", and thiti, "order, regulation". Thiti is collocated with the verb bāndhnu, lit. "to bind", and baksanu, lit. "to give", but used only of royalty. hukum baksanu and thiti bāndhi baksanu both mean "to issue a royal order, edict, or decree." In the text given by Itihās Prakāś and the Muluki Ain, the expression thiti bāndhi baksanu is used most frequently.

dosro thiti // // pailhe bāmskā dhumgrāle dālāle āhrile
bharnyā bastu bhārikana linu dinu estā tarāhko linu dinu gardā
vithiti hunāle 10 muṭhiko 1 mānu 8 mānāko 1 pāthi 20 pāthiko 1
muri gari calan garnu bhani mānā pāthimā chāplāi baksanu
bhayo

Second Edict:

Formerly, it was the custom to use a vessel such as an earthen pot or a bamboo pipe or basket for filling. Because this has been without regulation, henceforward the following measures are to be used: 10 muṭhi = 1 mānu; 8 māna = 1 pāthi; 20 pāthi = 1 muri. The King has caused the māna and pāthi to be so stamped.

2. Sūtra: mānu pāthi muri
G: tesai belāmā pāthi mānu tulo esko sthiti hukum garnu bhayo. kyā arthale esko sthiti bhanyā bāskā dhumgrile dālāle āhrile estai tarāhsita calan garthyā. tasartha das muṭhiko mānu. āṭh mānāko pāthi. bis pāthi ko muri. es ritile calan gara.
Sp: aghi bāskā dhumgrāle kāthakā āhrile coyākā dālāle calan garthyā. ghatibadhimā vithiti bhayāko thiyo // tadartha das muṭhi annale bhārimā tabāko 1 mānu // āṭh mānāko ek pāthi // bis pāthiko ek muri // es ritile annaprabhiti bhārinā bastumā calan gara.

Second Edict

Sūtra: On māna, pāthi, and muri.

SP: es ritile annaprabhiti bhārinā bastumā calan gara: in this way use these vessels for measuring out grain etc.

1. Āhri, also spelled āri: a tray, trough, pot, water clock.
2. The vessels often bear the dated royal seal guaranteeing their accuracy.

tesro thiti // // tulo dhakko pani aghi vithiti hunāle 10
 lāl-ko 1 māsa 10 māsāko 1 tolā 18 lālko 1 pal 27 tolāko bodi
 108 tolāko 1 bisaulī 2 bisaulīko 1 dhārni tulyāi calan garnu bhani
 tulāmā amk kāṭi dhakmā chāplai baksanu bhayo³

Third Edict:

Because in the past weights and scales have not been according to rule, the following are to be used: 10 lāl = 1 mās; 10 mās = 1 tolā; 18 lāl = 1 pal; 27 tolā = 1 bodi; 108 tolā = 1 bisaulī; 2 bisaulī = 1 dhārni. The King has ordered the scales to be inscribed with numbers, and the weights so stamped.

3. Sūtra: bodi pal bisaulī dhārni
 G: tastai ritte bodi pal bisaulī dhārni estai tarahle tulāko pani byavasthā bādhi calan gara bhani hukum bhayo.
 Sp: tastai tula taraju kata prabhrtimā taulinyā bastumā // das lālko ek māsa // das māsāko ek tolā // athāra tolāko ek pal // sattāis tolāko ek bodi // car bodiko ek visauli // dui bisauliko yek dhārni // yas rit-le calan garnu //

Sūtra: On bodi, pal, bisaulī, dhārni

1. bodi: this term is not listed in the lexicons, but Turner (p. 328), in his definition of dhārni gives: 1 dh = 2 bisaulī = 4 bodi. These weights have slightly different values in Nepal today. For details, see M.G. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History 1768 - 1846, New Delhi, 1971, p. 207.

Fourth Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed by the King: ¹

Formerly, interest on a loan of grain was calculated annually for as many years as the borrower was not able to repay the money lender. Because the interest could be calculated annually even if the period of time were very long, everyone in the country could become debt ridden and would never be free of the money lender because of his inability to repay his debts. For ² this reason, the following edict is proclaimed: Twenty per-cent interest per year in ten years is equivalent to triple the amount.

The money lender is to take this triple amount. No matter how many years over ten a debtor is not able to repay the loan, when he is again able to pay, the money lender is not to take annual interest, but only triple the amount.

cautho thiti // // annako pahile asāmile sāhuc̄heu liyāko
karjā tirna nasaki jati sukai varṣa rahyā pani varṣai prati-ko
vyāj hisāb gari lidā dherai varṣamā rina tirna na saknyā bhayā
pani varṣa pratiko vyāj jamā hunāle kahile pani rina tirna nasakdā
mulukmā kohi ta kahile pani sāhudekhi chuṭi nahunyā bhai sabai
rinagrāhi bhayā taskāran 1 varṣako pacaudakā hisāble das versamā
3 gun hunc̄ha sāhule tevar linu asāmile sāu vyāj kehi pani tirna
nasaki 10 varṣa dekhi ubho jati sukai varṣa rahyā pani pheri
saknyā bhai tirdākā belāmā varṣai pratiko vyāj sāhule nalinu ⁴
tevar mātra linu bhannyā thiti bāmdhi baksanu bhayo

4. Sūtra: annako tinu

G: tastai ritle annako stiti pani tebar linu bhani bāmdhi
baksanu bhayo.

Sp: varṣa pratiko vyāj das varṣa nāghyā pachi na linu tastai
annako tebar linu. bhani sthiti bāmdhi baksanu bhayo //

Sūtra: Three times the grain

1. This phrase occurs at the end of many of the edicts and is a late addition.

2. pacaud - one fifth. This in all probability means two hundred per cent interest in ten years plus the principle. This would be the maximum which a creditor could take. Wright, op. cit., p. 279, translates one fourth rather than one fifth: "He also made laws for debtors and creditors, fixing the rate of interest at ten percent for money, and one fourth of the quantity of grain. If the debtor was unable to pay within ten years, the creditor after that time might take twice the principal in money, and three times the amount in grain, but no more. He made many other laws." See also D.R. Regmi, Modern Nepal, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 18-22 for a brief summary of the edicts.

pāncāu thiti // // dāmkō pani pahile asāmile sāhuc̄heu

liyako karja tirna nasakī jati sukai varṣa rahya pani varṣai
 pratiko vyaj jama hunāle kahile pani rina tirna na sakdā mulukma
 kohita kaile pani sāhudekhi chutti na hunya bhai sabai ringrāhi
 bhayā taskāran l varsaka hisāble dasaudkā 10 varṣamā dobar humcha
 sahule dobar linu asāmile saum pani vyaj pani tirna na saki 10
 varṣa dekhi ubho jati sukai varṣa rahyo bhanya pani pheri saknya
 bhai tirdākā belāmā varṣa pratiko vyaj sahule na linu dobar mātrai
 linu bhannya thiti bāndhi baksanu bhayo

Fifth Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed by the King:
 Formerly, interest on a loan of money was calculated annually
 for as many years as the borrower was not able to repay the
 money lender. Because the interest could be calculated annually
 even if the period of time were very long, everyone in the
 country could become debt ridden and would never be free of
 the money lender because of his inability to repay his debts.
 For this reason the following edict is proclaimed: Ten per-cent
 interest per year in ten years is equivalent to double the
 amount. The money lender is to take this double amount. No
 matter how many years over ten a debtor is not able to repay
 the loan, when he is again able to pay, the money lender is not
 to take annual interest, but only double the amount.

5. Sūtra: dāmkō dūnu

G: dāmkō dūnu bhanyāko kyā artha bhanyā. aghi ta asāmile
 karjā li dasauti vyāj tirna na saki jati sukai varṣa rahyā
 pani varṣai pratiko vyāj gari tirna saknyā bhayākā belāmā
 liṃdā ta. kailhe pani sāhudekhi chutti na paunya hunya bhai
 muluk dherai rāgrāhi hunyā. taskāran dasavaḍkā hisāble
 das varṣamā dobar humcha. dobar linu. asāmile sāu pani
 vyāj pani tirna sakena das varṣadekhi ubho jati sukai varṣa
 tirna na saki rahyo bhanyā pani. pheri saknyā bhai tirdākā
 belāmā. varṣai pratiko vyāj sahule na linu. dobar mātrai linu.
 bhannyā esto thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo.

SP: dāmkō dūnu bhanyāko kyā artha ho bhanyā // aghi ta
 asāmile karjā liyāko dasaud vyāj kā hisāb bamojim prativarṣako
 byāj lidā ta kadācit tirna nasaki kehi varṣa rahyo // tirna
 saknyā belāmā tirna gayā pani sāhu dekhi chutti na paunya
 bhayara dherai muluk rāgrāhi hudā vithiti bhayāko thiyo...
 tadarth dasaudkā hisāble das varṣamā dobar humcha dobar
 linu // asāmile sāu pani vyāj pani tirna na saki das varṣa
 ubho jatikusai varṣa rahyo bhanyā pani sahule dobar mātrai
 linu //

Sūtra: Twice the money.

Sixth Edict:

chaitaṃ thiti // // padhyārāko thoro thoro jhagarā nasuṃnu
 bhanyā hukum bhayo kyā arthale bhanyā padhyārāmā bahut strījāti
 jānyā tāhā dekhi aru kōhi cākar jānyā pāni na bhāi bhanyā kasaiko
 kām nacalnyā tasārtha jo aghi padhyārāmā lina pugyo tasaile aghibāta
 lyāunu arkāle ma lai jāñchu' na bhānu tes pachikāle tesai pachi
 lai jānu yastai kramle pāni lyāunu tesmā pani kasaile alikati kurāmā
 jhagarā garyo bhanyā kacahari jori jhagarā nasuṃnu bhanyā thiti
 bāṃdhi baksanu bhayo

In order not to hear trivial disputes with regard to watering
 places, the following edict is proclaimed by the King: Many
 women go to the watering places and, besides this, servants
 go. If there is no water, no one's work will go forward.

Therefore, he who reaches the watering place first is to take
 water first. No one is to claim priority without right. Each
 one in turn is to take water; in this way water is to be taken.
 This edict is proclaimed by the King so that if some one causes
 such a trivial dispute, such (conflicting) arguments shall
 not be heard in court.

6. Sūtra: padhyāro jhagarā na sunnu
 G: substantially the same.

Sp:

Sutra: On not hearing disputes regarding watering places
 1. padhyāro = padero = panero, watering place, spring, public well.
 This and the following two edicts are approximately the same
 in wording, and appear to be directed toward keeping servant
 disputes out of the courts. D.R. Regmi, op. cit. states that
 Rāma Shāh intended that these disputes be settled by village
 councils, but none of the texts of the edicts indicates any
 such intention.

Seventh Edict:

satau thiti // // kolako pani thoro thoro jhagarā nasumnu
 bhāṇyā hukum bhayo kina bhanyā dherai gharko kol yakai huṃcha
 āphnā āphnā pālāle pelnu arkāle ma aghibāṭa pelchu na bhāṇnu tasmā
 pani dherai strījāti aru kōhi cākar bākarāi huṃchaṃ kadācit thoro
 jhagarā bhayo bhanyā kacaharimā lyāi jhagarā na sumnu bhāṇnyā
 thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo

In order not to hear trivial disputes with regard to oil presses, the following edict is proclaimed by the King: For many houses there is but one oil press. Therefore, each person is to take his turn in pressing. No one is to claim priority without right. Moreover many women and servants go to the presses. If there is some trivial dispute, this edict is proclaimed to avoid hearing it in court.

7. Sūtra: kolāko jhagarā na sumnu
 G: Same
 Sp: omitted

Sūtra: Disputes regarding oil presses will not be heard.

Eighth Edict:

In order not to hear trivial disputes with regard to irrigation channels, the following order is proclaimed by the King: Often bondsmen, slaves, and servants go to the irrigation channels. Each one is to take in turn his share of water according to the extent of his fields. No one shall take water out of turn or more than his allotment. This edict has been proclaimed so that if there occurs a trivial dispute, it shall not be heard in court.

āṭhaṃ thiti // // kulāko pani jhagarā nasunnu bhāṃnyā hukum
bhayo kyā nimitta bhanyā kulāmā pani bahudhā bādḥā kamārā
cākarai jāṃchan tsaṣṭha āphnā āphnā khetko hisābmā āyāko
pāniko bhāg pālīpālāsita lāunu āphnā pālā bāhik ra āphnā hisāb
bāhek arkāle pani na lāunu tasmā pani thoro jhagarā bhayo bhanyā
kacaharimā jori jhagarā nasunnu bhanyā yastai sthiti bādhi
baksanu bhayo

8. Sūtra: kulako jhagarā na sunnu
G: substantially the same.
Sp:

Sūtra: Disputes regarding irrigation channels will not be heard.

Ninth Edict:

navaṃ thiti // // aghi brāhmaṇlāi birtā didāma pani phalānu
 dādo phalānu kholo phalānu paharo phalānu kāmlo bhitrako jagā
 virtā dīnyu bhanyāko mātrai eti muri yeti ropani yeti khet
 bhanyā thegānā kehi na hunāle brāhmaṅko birtāko ra raikar jagākā
 sādḥ kilako baṃdej na bhayāko najar hudā kasto hukum bhayo bhanyā
 aba uprānta brāhmaṇlāi birtā samkalp pari baksadā śrī 5 mahārājako
 bhumi cautariyāko jhāri kājiko biṃti brāhmaṅko hāt dān garnāle
 yeti khet yeti ropani yeti muri bhani samkalp garnu, samkalp
 garāunyāle pani samkalp vākye yahi yeti khet yeti ropani yeti muri
 bhanyā vākye pari samkalp garāunu birtā linu arulāi dilāunu śrī
 5 mahārājākā hukumle thar ghar pāc-haru gai sād lāi 4 killā gādi
 yeti khet yeti ropani bhani sādhlāi śrī 5 mahārājākā bāhulibāṭa
 samkalp bhayāmā ghaṭi baḥhi katti napāri jati samkalp bhayāko cha
 tati sādhlāi ānu bhanyā thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo

Formerly, in giving land to a Brahman, because there was
 no regularity in indicating the number of ropani and muri, or
khet¹, one simply said: "I give the land between
 such and such a hill, such and such a stream, such and such
 a bluff, such and such a boundary."² Observing, therefore, that
 there are no boundary markers for Brahman birtā³ and raikar land⁴,
 the following edict is proclaimed by the King: Henceforward,

when reading the samkalpa of the land for a Brahman, the number of
ropani and muri shall be given by the [authority of] the king's
 realm (bhumi), the water jug (jhāri) of the king's kinsmen
 (cautariya), the word (biṃti)⁵ of the judge (kāji), and
 the hand (hāt) of the Brahman. The agent of the king shall give
 a statement indicating the size of the land.⁶ In taking⁷
birtā from one and having it given to another, surveyors shall
 go by order of the king and bury four pegs as boundary markers
 indicating the amount of land and the number of ropani. Within
 the boundary,⁸ there should be no more no less than the amount
 awarded by the king's hand.⁹ As much as is given, so much
 should be within the borders.

9. Sūtra: rājako bhumi // cautariyāko jhāri // kajiko biṃti //
 brāhmaṅko hāt // pāmcoko sāmḥ
 aghi brāhmaṇlāi birtā didāma pani. phalānu dādo. phalāno kholo.
 phalānu paharo kāmlo bhitrako jagā. birtā dīnyuṃ. bhanyāko
 mātrai. yeti muri yeti khet bhanyā thegānā na hunāle. brāhmaṅkā
 birtāko ra raikar jaggāko. sādḥ killāko baṃdej na bhayāko dekhdā.
 yo thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo. śrīrājako bhumi. cautariyāko
 jhāri. kājiko biṃti. brāhmaṅko hāt. pāmcoko sāmḥ. kasto
 sāmḥ bhanyā. cār killā gādi yeti muri eti saya bhanyā
 sādḥ garnu hukum bhayo. yasta tarahle dān garnyāle pani
 dān garnu. dān linyāle pani dān linu bhanyā hukum bhayo.
 p: Substantially the same.

Sūtra: the bhumi of the mahārāja, the jhāri of the cautariya,
 the biṃti of the kāji, the hand of the Brahman, the border
 of the pānc.

1. Ropani, muri and khet are measures of land. According to M.C. Regmi, op. cit., p. 205, the muri, the smallest of these units, was an area yielding 1 muri of grain (a muri of grain being equal to two maunds of 160 lbs.). "If the land was of high productivity, a smaller area was required to produce 1 muri of grain than if it was of low productivity. Accordingly, 1 muri of land of the lowest grade of productivity was larger in area than 1 muri of the highest grade. Irrespective of the grade, 4 muris of land made one ropani," and twenty ropani = one khet. These units were generally used to measure khet or rice lands, dry lands, (pākho) seldom being measured, according to Regmi.
2. kāmlho = kāllo: Turner, p. 87, gives: "A boundary of stones or earth (less frequently of bamboo or shrubs) dividing two fields."
3. birtā, "freehold land," usually granted to a Brahman without rent, in which case it is called kus birtā, or to a chieftain with a small rent, in which case it is called sunā-birta.
4. raikar, or raikar jaggā, is leasehold land owned by the state. For complete discussions of the various kinds of land in the Nepalese economy, see the works of M.C. Regmi, A Study of Nepali Economic History (1768 - 1846), New Delhi, 1971, and his earlier, Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, Berkeley, 3 vol., 1963-65.
5. tharghar: Turner gives "surveyor", a meaning confirmed by the Nepali lexicons. M.C. Regmi, however, defines it as "chiefs of selected castes who were in charge of such functions as demarcation of Birta boundaries." (op. cit., p. 229.) The word appears to have originally referred to the leaders of the thirty-six clans in which the nobility of Gorkha was divided. See Edicts 11 and 24.
6. sādh = sāmdh, "border" (Skt. sandhi)
7. bahuli, lit. "sleeve", a royal honorific for "hand".

Tenth Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed:

In endowing land for a god, or a dharamsala, or giving birta land to a Brahman, the purpose of [recognizing] the water jug (jhāri) of the cautariyā is this: The cautariyā is one's own brother. A brother is one's most important limb. If one makes one's limbs strong and gives gifts, one receives the fruits according to what has been said (in the sāstras). This is the reason for the water jug of the cautariyā.¹

The meaning of [recognizing] the word (biṃti) of the kāji is this: The kāji beseeches the King without partiality for what is right and what is not right. This is the meaning of the biṃti of the kāji. The meaning of the paṃcas of the boundary is this: Members of the six clans and paṃcas from other families,² having witnessed a field of a certain extent, of so many ropani and muri, with so much hillside land, having determined the entrance way and the exit, and the thoroughfare between the fields,³ sink four pegs, thereby giving the borders. This is the meaning of the paṃcas of the boundary.

10. Sūtra: Same as above.

G: and Sp. same

Sūtra: None

1. Here, as in the following edict, is a recognition of the political power of the cautariyā and the necessity of authority.
2. aru pāc sādḥ bhāi basi...the sense is not clear here.
3. saṃdhi sarpan, a thoroughfare where two pieces of land come together.

dasauṃ thiti // // śrī devatāko guṭh dharmasālāko guṭh

brāhmaṇharulāi birtā saṃkalp gari baksadā cautariyāko jhāri bhanyāko

kyā nīmitta ho bhanyā cautariyā bhanyākā āphnā bhāi bhāi bhanyākā mukhe

aṃg hun aṃg pūrṇa gari dān garyā āphulāi yathokta phal buṅcha bhāni.

cautariyāko jhāri bhanyāko karaṇ yeti ho kājiko biṃti bhanyāko kyā

artha bhanyā panapakṣe na gari yogyāyogya bicār gari kājile biṃti garnu

kājiko biṃti bhanyāko yeti ho. pāṃcko sādḥ bhanyāko kyā artha ho bhanyā

cha thar prabhṛti aru pāṃc sādḥ bhāi basi yeti khet yeti ropani yeti

muri yeti khetko ghaḍyāri yeti pākho bhāni nikās paisār saṃdhi sarpaṅko

bicār rākhi cār killā gāḍi sādḥlāidinu pāṃcko sādḥ bhanyāko yo ho bhanyā

10

thiti badhi baksanu bhayo

yeghāraṃ tithi // // pāṃḍe paṃth arjyāl khaṇāl rānā bohorā
 timiharu cha thar bhayau timiharulāi cha thar bhanyāko bādhyāko
 kyā arthale ho bhanyā cautariyā kāji sardār i prabhṛti aru jo kōhi
 anyāy anritimā lāgi gādiko bigārnāmā ra nisāph bigārnāmā pasnan
 tinko katti mohabad molāhijā na rākhi jo bhayāko bistār biṃti garna
 ānu bhani marji bhai cha thar bhāṃnyā vyavastā bādhi baksanu bhayo
 timiharukā saṃtān darsantānlāi hāmṛā saṃtān darsantānle gādiko
 sojho garamjyālsamma thāmi baksaulā bhani hukum bhai thiti bādhi
 baksanu bhayo
 11

Eleventh Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed:

To you of the pāṃḍe, Panth, Arjyāl, Khaṇāl, Rānā, and Bohorā
 clans, is given the title of Six Clans, for the following
 reasons: If a cautariyā, kāji, or sardār, etc., should
 enter into an unjust or unlawful act in order to destroy
 the throne or impair justice, then the Six Clans should
 come (to the court) and explain the details to the King
 without bias or compassion. This order is given to you,
 your descendants, and their descendants, by us, our
 descendants, and their descendants, in order to preserve
 the throne upright.

11. Sūtra: cha thar

G: pāṃḍe panth arjyāl khaṇāl rānā bohorā timiharu cha thar
 bhayau. timiharulāi cha thar bādhyāko kyā arthale ho bhanyā.
 cautariyā kāji sardār i prabhṛti aru jo kōhi anyāy anritimā
 lāgi gādiko ra prajāko bigārna pasnan bhani mero aṃg
 tulyāi cha thar ko bandhyān garyāko kārān yehi ho. timiharule
 gādiko sojho ra prajāko hit garinjyal hāmṛā saṃtān darsantānle
 timiharukā saṃtān darsantānlāi na phernu. bhani bandhyānko
 hukum bhayo.

Sp: Substantially the same.

Sutra: None

1. In these statements is the recognition of the power of the
cautariyā and kāji. Hence the necessity for a permanent
 alliance with the Six Clans. The ancestors of these groups
 were supposedly the allies who helped Drabya Shah take the
 throne of Gorkha from its Tibeto-Burman kings in 1559.
 See Wright, op. cit., p. 278.

bāhram thiti // // gaucar rākhnu bhanyā hukum bhayo brāhmaṇlāi
 khāna kana duḥkh huṅcha ra rājālāi pratyavay lāgcha bhanna nimitta
 gāu gāumā nikās paisār kṛ cāldo mildo pari gaucar rākhnu bhanyā
 thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo 12.

Twelfth Edict:

A royal order is given to preserve pasture for cattle. It is difficult for Brahmins to get food and because of this the king may incur guilt; therefore, the edict is proclaimed by the King to establish entrances and exits in every village and to preserve pasture for cattle.

12. Sūtra: gocar rākhnu
 G: gāu-brāhmaṇko rakṣā rājāibāta huṅcha. gaucar na rahyā
 rājālāi pratyavay lāgcha. bhani gāuṃ gāuṃ nikās....bhani
 hukum bhayo.
 Sp: Same as G.

Sūtra: Preserve cow pastures.

G: Protection of cows and Brahmins is the king's responsibility. If there are no meadows, the king incurs guilt.

1. paisār? entrance? possibly a derivative from pasnu, "to enter".
2. nikās = exit.

Thirteenth Edict:

tehraum thiti // // bātākā rukh rākhnu bhamnyā hukum bhayo
 kyā arthale bhanyā dukhī garīb kāj kām gari thāki ānyā bojhā boki
 hidhyā aru jo kōhi bātāmā hidnyā mānis pani garmi huncha bhani
 chāhāri basna khojchan bhamnā nimitta bātākā rukh pālno bātākā rukh
 jo kattacha 5 rupaiyām daṃd gari linu bhanyā marji bhai thiti
 13
 bādhi baksanu bhayo

A royal order is given to preserve trees along roads for this reason: the wretched poor who work become tired, those who carry loads, and everyone else who walks along the road become hot. They all search for shade in which to sit. Therefore, trees are to be preserved along the roads. He who cuts down a tree will receive a fine of five rupees.

13. Sūtra: bātā-mā rukh pālno
 G: Same
 Sp: Same

Sūtra: Preserve trees along roads.

Fourteenth Edict:

caudaṃ thiti // // padhyārāmā ban pālṇu rukh na bhayā
 dekhi jaile khojyo taile pāni rahadaina sukī jāncha ban
 dherai phāḍiyā paio pani jāncha dherai paio gayā upadhāhā
 calcha upadhāle khet pani lai jāncha ban na bhayā gṛhastiko
 kaunai kām pani caldaina tassartha padhyārāko ban jo kāṭlā teslāi
 pani 5 rupaiyām daṃḍ gari linu bhanyā thiti bādhi baksanu
 bhayo
 14

The following edict is proclaimed: Forests are to be preserved near watering places. If there are no trees, there will be no water whenever one looks for it. The watering places will become dry. If forests are cut down, there will be avalanches. If there are many avalanches, there will be great accidents. Accidents also destroy the fields. Without forests, the

householders' work cannot be accomplished. Therefore, he who cuts down the forest near a watering place will be fined five rupees.

14. Sutra: padhyārāmā ban pālṇu
 G: padhyārāmā ban na bhaya jailhe kailhe pani rahadaina sukcha. tassartha ban pālṇu. padhārāko ban jo kāṭlā. taslāi pani 5 rupaiyām daṃḍ linu...etc.
 Sp: tyastai ritle padhyārāko ban kaṭṇāle jailhe kailhe pani pām rahadaina tassartha padhyārāko ban kaṭṇyālāi pani pām rupaiyā dān linu...etc.

Sūtra: Preserve trees at watering places.

1. upadhāhā? cf. upadyaha = hardship, misfortune, accidents. Sharma 118/1 gives "upadhā, chai, kapat," i.e. deception, deceit, identical with Skt. upadha. Possibly the word is derived from upa + dah, "to set fire, burn.

pamhraum thiti// // cautariyā bhāi gotiyā inharule jiy
 sambandhī thulo birāu garyā muḍi bides garāunu samnyāsī vairāgi
 bhāt inle pani thulo birāu garyā bhanyā muḍi bides nikālā garāunu
 bhāi cautariyā gotiyālāi bides garāunu bhanyāko kyā artha bhanyā
 jiu mārinyā pirāu garyo bhanyā jiu linyāko jiy linu bhannyā
 sāstramā pani kahyāko cha jiu mārinyā bhanyā gotrahatyā lāgnā
 namārāyo
 dekhī bhanyā rājālāi pratyavāy lāgnā tasārtha des nikālā garnu
 pari mārinyā tulya cha bhani bides garāunu bhanyāko ho brāhmaṇlāi
 pani mārinyā brahmahatyā lāgnā na mārinyā rājālāi pratyavāy lāgnā
 taskāran mudnu pani mārinyā tulya cha bhani muḍi bides garāunu
 bhanyāko
 ho vairāgi samnyāsī bhekh liyākā hunale avadhya chan bhāt pani
 avadhya chan bhani des nikālā garnu bhanyāko ho tasārth yasai
 garnu
 thiti bāchi baksanu bhayo

Fifteenth Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed: If a cautariyā, brother, or gotiyā, should commit a great crime pertaining to life or body, he shall be shaven and banished. If a samnyāsī, vairāgi, or Bhāt should kill someone, he shall be shaven and banished. The reason for the first rule is this: it is written in the sastras that if a person kills someone, he shall be killed. However, in this case, if one executes the murderer, one is guilty of killing a kinsman; if one does not kill him, the king incurs sin. Therefore, it has been written that banishment is the same as death. If one kills a Brahman, one is guilty of murdering a Brahman; if he is not killed, the king incurs guilt. Therefore, shaving is said to be the equivalent to death, and so the Brahman is to be banished. Because vairāgi and samnyāsī have taken on the clothes of holy men, they are not to be killed; the Bhāts are also not to be killed, so that they too must be banished. And so it should be done thus.

15. Sūtra: gotra samnyāsī bairāgi bāhun bhāt kā jiu na linu muḍi bides garnu.
 G: cautariyā bhāi gotiyā inle jiy sambandhiko thulo birāu garyā bhanyā bides garāunu. brāhmaṇle jiy sambandhiko thulo birāu garyā bhanyā muḍi bides garāunu. samnyāsī vairāgi bhāt...etc.

Sp: the same as above, except bhikṣuk bhekh is used instead of only bhekh.

Sūtra: Kinsmen, holy men, ascetics, Brahmins, and bards, are not to be killed but shaved and exiled.
 1. These three refer to relations of the king. G. states that they shall be banished but does not state that they should be shaved.
 2. Samnyāsī and vairāgi refer to holy ascetics. Bhāts are bards. The term also designates Jaisi Brahmins and offspring of Brahman and samnyāsī women marriages.

sohrauṃ thiti // // khas magar nevār prabhṛti jāt madhyamā

jiye sambandhi birāu garyā bhanyā jasle birāyāko cha usaiko mātra Sixteenth Edict:

jiye mānu jasko pap usko gardhan bhanyā thiti bādhi baksanu

16

bhayo

The following edict is proclaimed by the King:

If there occurs a murder among the Khas, Magar, Newar, castes (jat)etc., then he who has committed such a crime is to be killed in accordance with the edict: Of whom there is guilt, of him the neck.

16. Sūtra: aru jasko pāp usko gardhan

G: Khas magar prabhṛti aru sab jātmā jiy sambandhiko birāu garyā bhanya. jasle birāyāko cha....etc.

Sp: Same as above.

Sūtra: For others (aru), he who commits sin shall pay with his life (lit. whose sin, his neck).
G: This text does not include the Newars, which may indicate that its formulation is an earlier one written before the Gorkhalis came in full contact with the Newars of Kathmandu.
1. The distinction made in Edicts Fifteen and Sixteen, between collateralals of the king, Brahmans, and holy men on the one hand, and the Khas, Magars, Newars, etc., on the other, presages one of the major legal caste distinctions of the Muluki Ain: those who are tāgādhāri (wear the sacred thread), and matvāli (lit. those who drink alcohol), a group which now includes most Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples, but not the Khas, who are tāgādhāri.

thiti // // suvarṇakā gahanā śrī pātbaṁdi mahārānile
 āumā paihranu kyā arthale bhanyā suvarṇa bhanyāko nārāyaṅko
 jā bhanyākā pani nārāyaṅkā aṁśa huṁ pātbaṁdi mahārāni
 ā lakṣmīkā aṁśa hunāle pātbaṁdi mahārānile suvarṇakā gahanā
 aihranu bhaiyāt cautariyāharukā cautārniharule tā śrī 5
 ā śrīmahārānibāṭa bakṣyā mātraī pāmā na lāunu bakṣī ta
 k mātramā lāunu bhāi cautariyākā rautelā rautelī lāi bālakhkālā
 āumā lāunu brāhmaṇ khas magar prabhṛti aru jātile ta
 rājabāṭa bakṣyā mātra hātmā lāunu bhani thiti bādhi baksanu
 17

Seventeenth Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed: the Queen alone is allowed
 by the King to wear gold ornaments on her feet. This is
 for the following reason: Because gold is a part of Nārāyaṇa,
 and the king is a part of Nārāyaṇa, the Queen is a part of
 Lakṣmī, and therefore is to wear gold on her feet. Brothers,
 cautariyās and their wives, are allowed to wear gold on the
 feet only if the king and queen give permission; if it is
 not granted, they may wear it only up to the feet. The
 sons and daughters of the King's brothers and the cautariyā
 are allowed to wear it on their feet only during childhood.
 Other castes, Brahmins, Khas, Magar, etc., are allowed to
 wear it on the hands only if the king so grants.

Sutra: None

Sp: Only Her Highness the Queen is to wear gold ornaments down
 to her feet. The reason for this is the following: By the
 earth (wife?) of Śrī Viṣṇu, through the delusion of the
 Golden Mountain, gold was worn from head to toe. Viṣṇu
 is the lord of the three worlds. The kings are incarnations
 of Śrī Viṣṇu. So that they will have complete lordship over
 the earth, it is appropriate that gold be worn down to the
 feet by Her Majesty the Queen. The person who has no authority
 in the kingdom, if he wears gold on his feet, he incurs guilt.
 Brothers and the wives (rāni) of cautariyā may wear it if it
 is so granted by the king; if it is not so granted, then it
 may be worn everywhere except the feet. Their children may
 wear it in childhood only. Brahmins, Khas, Magars, and other
 castes, if permitted by the king, may wear it on their arms;
 if not so granted, they may wear it everywhere except on the
 arms.

Sutra: None

Sp: Only Her Highness the Queen is to wear gold ornaments down
 to her feet. The reason for this is the following: By the
 earth (wife?) of Śrī Viṣṇu, through the delusion of the
 Golden Mountain, gold was worn from head to toe. Viṣṇu
 is the lord of the three worlds. The kings are incarnations
 of Śrī Viṣṇu. So that they will have complete lordship over
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 is so granted by the king; if it is not so granted, then it
 may be worn everywhere except the feet. Their children may
 wear it in childhood only. Brahmins, Khas, Magars, and other
 castes, if permitted by the king, may wear it on their arms;
 if not so granted, they may wear it everywhere except on the
 arms.

pātbamdi, lit. "she who wears the royal turban," or patta. There are several variations used in Nepalese documents, pattabandhi, pattabandha, pattamahārāni, patarājñi, and pattadevi. amś = amśavatār = partial incarnation. Kings are said to be partial incarnations of Vishnu; the present king of Nepal is still considered to be an incarnation of Vishnu. bakṣyā mātrai pāmā na lānu baksi ta paubāhek mātramā lānu -- na and lānu should be reversed in order to preserve the sense. bhaiyād = bhaiyāt = brothers, brothers and nephews. For an interesting article dealing with the use of gold ornaments in Nepal from Licchavi times, see D.R. Pant, "Sunko Gahanā," ABHA, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 5-8 and 64.

athārauṃ thiti // (omitted)

Eighteenth Edict¹ (Omitted)

unisaṃ thiti // // cār purohit tulyāi baksanu bhayo
 arjyāllāi arjyāli hotu acārja bagālyā lāi hotu bihāryā lāi
 arjyāli ācārye khanāl lāi brāhmaṇ bhāṭṭarāi lāi gaṇeś ti cār
 purohitkā vyavasthāko thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo¹⁹

Nineteenth Edict:

The King has appointed four purohīts: to the Arjyāls he gives the office of hotu and the office of Ācārya which is specifically for Aryāls. To the Bagālyā Arjyāl he gives the office of hotu; to the Bihāre Arjyāl the Ācārya, which is specifically for Aryāls; to the Khanāl is granted the office of Brahma; to the Bhaṭṭarai the Gaṇeśa. This is the arrangement of the four purohīts.

19. Sūtra: pāmc puret
 G: Substantially the same.
 Sp: gaṇapāti brahmā bhāṭṭarāilāi baksanu bhayo // tasma bagālyā arjyāl khanāl bhāṭṭarāilāi baksanu bhayo // tasma bagālyā arjyāllāi hottu karma // bihāryā arjyāllāi ācārya karma // bhāṭṭarāilāi gaṇapāti karma // khanālāi brahmāko karma bhamnyā yo vyavasthā // inkā bhāgko vyavasthā ... pātha japkā dakṣiṇāko pani vyavasthā gari baksanu bhayo //

1. This edict is not preserved in any of the documents, though it may correspond to Edict 27, which I have added to the main text.

Sutra: The five priests

Sp: There are four karmas: Gaṇapāti, Brahma, Hotu, and Ācārya. The following arrangement of them is made: The office of priest (purohit) is given to the Arjyāl, Khanāl, and Bhaṭṭarai clans. To the Bagāle Arjyāl is given the Hotu karma; to the Bihāre Arjyāl is granted the Ācārya karma; to the Bhaṭṭarai is granted the Gaṇapāti karma; and to the Khanāl is given the Brahma karma. These are their shares. Arrangement for patha, japa, and daksina is also made. (This last sentence leads directly into the next two edicts which are not separated from this one in Sp.)
 1. The text of IP and MA is confused. They list five purohīts, but state that there are four. The sūtra indicates that there are five. Sp is at least consistent in giving four.
 2. bagāle? = baṅgāle?, "Bengali." Bagāle and Bihāre (Bihari) are two sub groups of Arjyāl Brahmins.

bisaum thiti // // **gorkhāmā** praves' hudā palle tallā kotmā
 gādī puryākā hunāle pāṇḍe brāhmanī lāī purohityāim baksanu bhayo
 aryet paryet (adya paryanta) pani pāṇḍe brāhmanharu tallā
 kotmā purohit chadai chan

Twentieth Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed by the King: when entering
 Gorkha at first, because the throne was reached in the Talla
 kot, to the Pāṇḍe Brahmins was given the work of purohit. Even
 today the Pāṇḍe Brahmins are priests in the Talla kot...

20. Sūtra:
 G: Same
 Sp: Same

Sūtra: None

yakaisaṃ thiti // // tallā koṭṃā śrīdevatā sthāpanā gari Twenty-first Edict:

balidān gari māthi darbārmā balidān garnu tallā koṭṃā devtā

sthāpanā gari balidān garikana māthi darbārmā balidanādi bidhi

21

garnu bhanyā thiti bāṃdhi baksanu bhayo

The following edict is proclaimed by the King: Having consecrated the god Śrī Devatā in the Tallā Kot, having offered her sacrifice, sacrifice is to be done above in the palace. Having consecrated the god in Tallā Kot, and having sacrificed to her above in the palace, sacrifice and other rites are to be performed.

21. Sūtra:

G: tallā koṭṃā śrīdevatā sthāpanā na gari balidān na gari yahāG: darbārmā balidān na garnu. bhani hukum bhayo.

Sp: Same as above.

Sūtra: None

G: Because there is no god established nor worship done in Tallā Kot, worship is not to be done in the palace.

1. Here G. and Sp. appear to contradict IP and MA, neither of which is clear.

baisaṃ thiti // // grāmjā thāpā lāi dadāngi mān baksanu
 bhayo turukakṣāki āle grāmjā thāpā gyāmi rānā i tin tharle ālo
 pālo gari rākhnu bhani kapardāri mān baksanu bhayo pāṇḍe panth
 arjyāl i tin tharlāi ālo pālo gari rāknu bhani khajānāko kām
 baksanu
 bhayo dharmādhikār sardāri bhānsyā yeti mākā pani arjyālāi lāi
 baksanu bhayo bhanyā thiti, bādhi baksanu bhayo

Twenty-second Edict:

The following order is proclaimed by the King: The Grāmjā Thāpā¹ are given the office of dadā.² The three clans, Turukṣaki Āle, Grāmjā Thāpā, and Gyami Rana, are to be appointed kapardar in turn. To the Pāṇḍe, Panth, and Aryāl clans in turn is given the position of khajāmci.³ The positions of dharmādhikār, sardār, and bhānsyā, are also given just to the Aryal.

22. Sūtra: grāmjā gyāmi āle lāi dadāngi
 G: grāmjā thāpā lāi dadāngi mān baksanu bhayo. trokakṣāki
 āle grāmjā thāpā grāmjā rānā i tin tharle ālo pālo gari
 khānu bhani karpardāri mān baksanu bhayo. pāṇḍe panth
 arjyāl i tin thar lāi ālo pālo gari khajānāko mān baksi
 khajānāko kām calāuthyā. dharmādhikār khardāri bhānsyā
 eti mān kām pani arjyālāilāi baksanu bhayo.
 Sp: Same as above.

Sutra: To the Grāmjā, Gyāmi, and Āle the post of Dadā
 G: Gives the name of the clans as Torkakṣaki Āle, Grāmjā Thāpā, and Grāmjā Rānā.

1. Grāmjā Thāpā is the name of a Magar clan.
2. dadā usually refers to one who cares for the royal children. It may also refer to the royal huke or huka preparer.
3. turukṣaki āle, a clan of the Magar tribe. D.B. Bista, People of Nepal, 1967, lists a clan known as Torchaki Āle (p. 59). The names Āle, Rānā, and Thāpā, are the names of clans (thars). These are further subdivided into exogamous lineage groups called Torchaki, Gyami, etc.
4. These are all high administrative officials or part of the court: a. kapardār, head of the king's wardrobe; b. khajāmci, the royal treasurer; c. dharmādhikār, the highest criminal judge; d. sardār, a high military official; e. bhānsyā, the royal cook.

Twenty-third Edict:

teisaum thiti // // birautāko trisālā kamāi bālī āphaile khānu
 cauthā sāl dekhī dhani boṭi talsimlāf dinu bani boṭi kamāunyāle
 23
 khānu bhāmyā thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo

The following edict is proclaimed by the King with regard to landlord and tenant shares of the crop: the harvest of the first three years on freshly tilled land is to be given to the worker. From the fourth year, the owner gets his share¹ and the tenant his wages.²

23. Sūtra: bihrautāko trisālā āphai khānu cauthā sāl baniboti
 dhaniboti chuttānu
 G. and Sp: omit

Sūtra: One takes (lit. eats) the first three years' crop oneself. From the fourth year one releases (chuttānu) dhaniboti and baniboti.

1. dhaniboti, Dhungana, p. 224, gives: jagādhanile pāune rakam vā bhāg, "i.e. the share to be received by the land owner."
2. baniboti, for bani, Dhungana, p. 290, gives: "jyālā, majduri," i.e., wages. The expression baniboti is not given in the lexicons. Sharma, p. 768, glosses it as bhāg, "share".

caubisaum̐ thiti // // bāhra thar athār thar bhanyā caubisaum̐
 24
 thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo

Twenty-fourth Edict:

The twenty-fourth edict proclaims the twelve clans and the
 1
 eighteen clans.

24. Sūtra: none
 G: and Sp: omit

Sūtra: none

1. This is a mere fragment, or is possibly the sūtra itself. The reference is fairly clear, however. In the nobility of Gorkha, thirty-six clans were enumerated, and these were divided into a hierarchy of three groups. The first six, or Six Clans, have been referred to previously. They formed the highest level. The next two groups, the bāhra thar (twelve clans) and the athāra thar (eighteen clans) formed the remainder. Whether this edict established these divisions or was merely commenting upon them is not known. For a description of them in the time of Prithvi Nārāyan, see Lévi, I, p. 286.

pacisaum thiti // // pātānkā rājā siddhinarsimha malla hāmā
 samtān
 na bhayā tamrā samtānle tamrā samtān na bhayā hāmā samtānle
 rājye garnu bhanyā hukum bhāi yasto bamdōbastā gari baksi pāṭān
 bāta caubis koṭhi jhikāi in lāi sāt khat māph gari baksanu bhayo
 bhanyā thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo²⁵

Twenty-fifth Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed by the King: ¹
 With the King of Patan, Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla, the (following
 agreement is made): if we have no descendants, your descendants
 are to take our throne; if you have none, ours are to rule in their
 place. We have arranged for twenty-four merchants ² to come from
 Patan. They are exempted from the seven punishments. ³

25. Sūtra: None

G: omits

Sp: tāhām pachi cha thar prabhṛti aru manisharulāi pani
 nepālkā rājāharu sitako ghā bamdōbast ra nepal taraphko
 hal surāt bujhā nimitta sarsaugat khalta patra samet vakil
 pan...ghaya hāmā samtānle rājya garnu // hāmā samtān
 nabhayā timrā samtānle rājya garnu bhanyā ghā saltānko
 khalta patra jādā // sri 5 mahārājādhirāj rāmsāhka hajurmā
 jāu bhāni caubis koṭhi mahājanharulāi sarsaugat khalta patra
 samet gari pathayā ra // tinheru pani gorkhā sri 5
 mahārājādhirājaka hajurmā dakhil bhāi sarsaugat khalta patra
 cahrāi darsān garyā ra // timiharū yahi bas bāni hukum bhāi
 jagā jamin baksanu bhayo // sāt harāu birāu pani māph gari
 baksanu bhayo //

Sutra: None

Sp: After that, in order to understand the conditions of Nepal
 and the treaty agreement with the kings of Nepal, representatives
 welcome.../(the text is interrupted here)...(If you
 have no descendants) ours shall rule. If we have none, yours
 shall rule. He sent to the king Ram Shah twenty-four merchants
 with a letter of greetings. They arrived in the presence of
 His Majesty and presented the letters of greeting. The king
 ordered them to remain there and gave them land. He exempted
 them from the seven punishments.

chavisauṃ thiti // // śrī 6 mahārāja rāmsāhabāṭa maile bādhyākā

thitimā choṭā baḍā prajā prāṇi cār varṇ chatiṣ jāṭ jo lambhan
gariā

taslāi ma merā saṃtān mā jo rājā holā usle dhumgā chuvāi khat

anusārko rājāle daṃḍa garnu bhanyā thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo ..

yo dhumgā chuvāunu bhanyāko kasto ho bhanyā śrīlakṣmīnārāyaṇ
devtā

ko pākā pratidinhi dhumgo ho. so jāni pān phul dravya tasai

silāmā caḍhāi anyāya garyāko pāp chutnyā upāye yehi ho bhani

26

yasto thiti bādhi baksanu bhayo

Twenty-Sixth Edict

The following edict is proclaimed by the King:

Whoever, be he great or small, a living subject and member of
the four varṇas or thirty-six castes, violates one of the rules

proclaimed by me, King Rāma Shāh, is to be punished by me or by

my descendants and made to touch the stone. The purpose of

touching the stone is this: The stone is the representative of

the foot of Śrī Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇ. Knowing this, one should offer

betal nut, flowers, and coins to the stone. Having made offerings

in this way, one who has committed an injustice frees himself of

guilt.

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26. Sutra: dhumgā chuvāunu

G: vahāṃ dekhi śrī 5 mahārāj rāmsāhabāṭa bāṃdhi baksanu

bhayāko sthiti ra aru anriti anrah anyāv gari choto baḍo

prajā prāṇi jo hiḍlā taslāi śrī rājāle daṃḍ garnu. dhumgo

chuvāunu. tyo dhumgo chuvāunu. kasto ho bhanyā. śrī

lakṣmīnārāyaṇkā pratiridhi dhumgo ho. so jāni pān phul

dravya tasai silāma caḍhāi anyāy garyāko pāṭak chutnyā upay

ehi ho.

Sp: Substantially the same as above.

Sutra: Touching the Stone

G: Then, His Majesty Rām Shah proclaimed the order that whoever among

his subjects, great or small, commits an injustice or evil

shall be punished by the king. He shall be made to touch the

stone. The meaning of this is the following: The representative

stone is that of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇ. Knowing this, the way for someone

to become free of guilt for a crime is to offer betal nut, flowers,

and money to the stone.

1. The four varṇas and thirty-six castes are traditional numbers and

the use of the terms here does not imply that they were created

during the time of Rām Shāh.

2. Cf. Turner, p. 267, dhungā-chuwāi, "A ceremony among Rais, in

which on his decision a magistrate orders a stone to be brought.

Upon this grass (dubo or dubho) is laid. The loser of the case

has to place one rupee and four dams on it and to touch it in

acknowledgment of his offence, after which he is said to be

dubho dhungo garera cokhyāeko."

Twenty-Seventh Edict:

The following edict is proclaimed by the King:

The reason for not providing a plaintiff¹ against a witch is this: Because a witch can only be punished by execution, her destructive power cannot be stopped and witnesses are not obtained. Justice, therefore, is to be administered without argument.² If the witch wins, she is to receive a five rupee reward; if she loses, she is to be banished from the village.

Sūtra: boksīlāi bādi na dinu //
boksīlāi bādi na dinu bhanyāko kyā artha bhanyā. boksīko
bigo jiy saṃbandhi hunāle bigo bādhnu sakdina ra bādi paunna.
ekoharo nyāy dinu ra boksīle jityo bhanyā pāmc rupaiyāko pagari
dinu. hāri bhanyā gāuṃ bāṭa nikāli dinu. bhannyā yasto sthiti
bāṃdhi baksanu bhayo.

Sutra: No witness for the witch (Boksi)

1. bādi, plaintiff. I have taken it in the sense of witness.
2. ekoharo, lit. "one-sided", i.e. without legal procedure which would involve argument for and against her.

IMAGINATION OR REALITY:
THOUGHTS ON MYSTICISM AND EXPLORERS IN TIBET.*

Alex Kerr
Oxford

*"Comme ceux qui partent en voyage pour voir de leur yeux
une cité désirée, et qui pensent qu'ils peuvent goûter dans la
réalité tout le plaisir du songe."*

(Proust)

The priest then, all in a frenzy, dances in a fight against the air, displaying a fury quite like a madman in a rage. With charms uttered at the top of his voice, he cuts the air right and left, up and down, with his fist clenched and finger pointed. If in spite of all his efforts the volleys of hail thicken and strike the fields beneath, the priest grows madder in his wrath, quickly snatches handfuls of the bullets... and throws them violently against the clouds as if to strike them. If all this avail nothing, he rends his garment to pieces, and throws the rags up in the air, so perfectly mad is he in his attempt to put a stop to the falling hailstones.¹

If he fails, he is fined for negligence. Hardworking villagers of southern Tibet who have dutifully paid the annual Hail Prevention Tax expect results. And Tibetan sorcerers frequently achieve them.

Meanwhile across frozen mountain ranges and horrid wastes of incredulity my reader idles, delaying his exploration of Tibet. Demons far more frightful than the most crazed Lamaist inventions gesticulate and whisper powerful mantric curses, like "Superstition", and others I dare not divulge. But, as Ippolito Desideri, brilliant explorer of Tibet, warned in 1725, one must not believe that "a thing out of common must necessarily be false."² The explorer is after all one who embraces the unknown, chases after dreams, and delights in the unexpected.

*This essay won for its author the Chancellor's English Essay Prize of Oxford University in 1976. Alex Kerr is a Rhodes Scholars reading Chinese at Oxford University.

¹ Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet*, (London, Theosophical Publishing Society, 1909), p. 275.

² John MacGregor, *Tibet, A Chronicle of Exploration*, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 59

For explorers, the obvious and chief attraction of Tibet, to this very day, is that it is hard to get to and far away. Geographical and political barriers make it still one of the least known regions on this planet. In fact, at the moment Lhasa is farther away from the world and more secretly guarded than at any time since the 17th Century.

Tibet owes its seclusion to sheer altitude. The rugged plateau of Tibet, large as Western Europe, rarely dips lower than 12,000 feet, except at the edges where it crinkles into the world's highest mountains and deepest canyons. Inside Tibet nomads and yaks wander amongst vast bog-lands, icy mountain ranges, deserts of shifting sand, and mineral plains splattered with poisonous lakes. Truly Tibet, said Pere Huc, is a "dreadful country"³.

Even the bravest early Chinese explorers only passed through the fringes of already mythical land. Sung Yun, writing c. 518 A. D. expresses the awe of all those who followed him:

From this spot westward the road is one continuous ascent of the most precipitous character; for a thousand *li* there are overhanging crags, ten thousand fathoms high, towering up to the very heavens. . . . After entering the Tsung-ling mountains, step by step, we crept upwards for four days and then reached the highest part of the range. From this point as center, looking downwards, it seems just as though one was poised in mid air. Men say this is the middle point of heaven and earth. . . . To the south of this country are the great Snowy Mountains, which in the morning and evening vapours, rise up like gem spires.⁴

Other explorers, like Grueber in the 1660's, wrote of twisting Himalayan trails with toe-holds nine inches wide hung over sheer crevasses 1,500 feet deep.

The desolation of northern Tibet is outstripped only by the sea and the polar regions. Grenard and Dutreuil de Rhins travelled sixty days in the Chang Tang wilderness in 1894 without meeting a soul; Sven Hedin travelled an incredible eighty-nine days in 1908. In some places muskdeer and the delicate Tibetan wild horse (*kiang*) swiftly race over the horizon, but even birds never attempt the absolute boundary of the upper Chang Tang.

Tibet is a land where, due to the altitude, contrasts are fierce and the laws of nature seem deranged. The air is so thin that temperatures between sun and shade

³ Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya, Discovery and Adventures in Tibet*, (London, Mac-Millan and Co. Ltd. 1910) Vol III, p. 144.

⁴ Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the West*, (London, Kegan Paul, French, Trubner & Co, 1906), p. lxxxix-xc.

sunburns and frostbite simultaneously. Rivers, swollen by snow melting in the day, ebb and flow like tides, or flow underground. The body is slightly lighter, the lungs gulp more air, the traveller's mind may find itself near a state of trance. Indeed, trance may lead to dizziness and severe altitude sickness.

The sky and earth seem reversed, for the sky turns deep dark and vibrant, while the earth glistens brightly yellow, red, and white. At night, the mountains glower in silhouette, while the moon refracts sheaves of beams through glittering frost mists.

The exceptional clarity of the air lends colours "all the naked intensity of a dream"⁵. The annals of exploration of Tibet are rich with unearthly visions of colour. Lama Anagarika Govinda's account of Pangong Lake (1936) is, according to other reports, by no means exaggerated:

before us stretched a lake like a sheet of molten lapis lazuli, merging into intense ultramarine in the distance and into radiant cobalt blue and opalescent veronese green towards the nearer shore, fringed with gleaming white beaches, while the mountains that framed this incredible colour display were of golden ochre, Indian red and burnt sienna, with purple shadows. Yes, this was the luminous landscape of my dream, rising out of the blue waters in brilliant sunshine under a deep, cloudless sky!⁶

This is because the lake is so saturated with magnesium as to be devoid of any organic life.

Tibet abounds in minerals. Ever since Herodotus wrote of a race of gold-digging ants north of the Himalayas, rumors of gold have lured explorers. For perhaps the chief impetus to explorers throughout history has not been the love of the unknown, but greed. Greed animated the Dzungar Mongols who sacked and pillaged Tibet in the 18th Century, and the English who dispatched pundits to survey the Rudok gold fields in the late 19th Century. And now state prospectors seeking for valuable deposits are the only explorers allowed onto the plateau.

But whatever an explorer seeks, he must seek it in the unknown. And in Tibet, where the contrasts at a pass can be as vivid as turning the leaf of a large picture book, where the landscape seems like one vast hallucination, like the lacustrine north shimmering with 10,000 shards of shattered mirror, where the colours everywhere blind with brilliance, the mind loses itself.

Passing through mountains and lakes, the explorer now meets a greater marvel—the Tibetans. For nothing stirs the soul like man himself. Somehow a few million

⁵ Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, (London, Rider & Co, 1966), p. 64

⁶ Lama Anagarika Govinda, *ibid.*, p. 65

nomads in the bitter wilds created under Buddhist influence a magnificent civilization. Tibet is a triumph of the creative spirit of man. Huge castles crown the hills, the world's largest monasteries cluster in remote valleys. It is difficult to describe adequately the Tibetan architecture, which resembles in its severe purity, Mayan and Egyptian temples.

The traveller encounters a Hieronymus Bosch world, a cross between a comic book and a mystery play. Tibet is the very home of the bizarre. He passes human skeletons by the roadside from which the skulls and femurs have been removed to carve cups, drums, and trumpets. He may spend an afternoon hunting anchorites with dogs, as Alexandra David-Neel did in Sikkim about 1912. He meets enigmatic travellers disguised in masks to protect their faces against the sand; hermits immured in rock cells for ten, twenty, thirty, sixty years; trance runners flying over the plain; medieval processions of nobles resplendent in Chinese silks; nomads semi-naked in sub-zero weather; pilgrims making the arduous circuit of sacred Mt. Kailas by prostration, i. e. by literally measuring the ground with their bodies; women smeared for beauty's sake with butter, yak-dung, and catechu, wearing enormous headresses heavy with coral, turquoises, gold, and amber; outcasts cutting up corpses and feeding them to the birds, for in Tibet, as Turner remarked, "Men do not eat birds, but rather are eaten by them."⁷; monks on stilts bearing statues of butter forty-five feet high; a woman slapping one of her five husbands (polyandry is the rule); naked ascetics drying icy wet sheets against their bodies in contests of proficiency at *Tummo* or mystic body heat; monks acquiring merit at the river bank by immersing brass molds into the waters, imprinting the river with endless sacred images; temple reliquaries tens of feet high made of solid silver or gold completely encrusted with glittering precious stones; small children reigning as incarnates over great monasteries. . . .

Every traveller since the Chinese annalists of the T'ang Dynasty has commented on the filth of the Tibetans. One is reminded of Fukuzawa Yukichi, Japanese explorer in the 1860's of the hitherto forbidden continent of Europe, and his astonishment at the filthy habits of Englishmen of all classes. But in Tibet, grease and revolting uncleanness were almost elevated to a virtue. The infamous city of Pari near Bhutan had accumulated so much refuse in its streets that by 1900 the street level had risen a full story—Pari was literally buried in its own rubbish. Strangely enough, grime seems to have served a purpose; it protected against the chill and the ultraviolet rays of the sun. W. Montgomery McGovern, a Balliol man who disguised himself as a peasant and travelled to Lhasa in 1923, even reports that filth became pleasantly habitual—at the end of his journey he found himself quite unwilling to take a bath.

Banditry was endemic. Perhaps this is why Atisha, in the 11th Century, gave the town near Mt. Kailas the name *Pretapuri*, "City of Hungry Demons". Certainly

⁷ Captain Samuel Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, (New Delhi, Mañjuśrī Publishing House, reprint 1971)

Tibet was a ways in Chinese eyes a land of fear. In 1765 A. D. citizens deserted the capital of Ch'ang-An at the mere threat of Tibetan invasion. The Goloks of wild north-eastern Tibet are still, it is said, not completely tamed.

Explorers have set out for Tibet for almost any reason: Christian proselytizing mineral prospecting, geological study, religious pilgrimage, conquest and glory. But the hallucinatory landscape, and human nightmare disturb the soul profoundly. Explorers everywhere in the world have felt face to face with the mystery of things. But Tibet almost forces the explorer to take another step into a further unknown of the spirit. The story of the last Guibaut-Liotard Expedition of 1940 is an especially haunting account. Guibaut and Liotard set out into Eastern Tibet in 1940 with the typically modern and progressive wish to "submit this country to the discipline of geography."⁸ They passed through valleys scented by incense wafting from monasteries perched on peaks, visited spooky Buddhist chapels, were bedevilled by comic-opera brigands. Before long Liotard was killed at a mountain pass by Golok bandits, while Guibaut ended shivering in a desolate wood, agitatedly imagining evil spirits all about him.

For Tibet is pre-eminently the land of demons and spirits. "The people are necromancers," says Marco Polo, "and by their infernal art perform the most extraordinary and delusive enchantments that were ever seen or heard of."⁹

Almost no explorer has not sensed at some point the eerie atmosphere. Sven Hedin describes the ghostly god-room at Linga-gompa filled with innumerable statues sitting quietly in the dust and gloom undisturbed by the scurrying of sacred rats. Others describe the fantastic interior of the Jokhang, the "Holy of Holies" at Lhasa, walls teeming with gods, riding on wind animals, flying through the air, grimacing, gesturing, waving arms and legs carrying a myriad devices, from thunderbolts to skull-cups filled with blood, copulating with naked consorts equally frenzied, all while trampling over a teeming world of cruel and lustful creatures desperately racing round the painful circle of life. Terror and eroticism mingle in a bewitching kaleidoscope of dazzling colours. Who can resist what the horror writer H. P. Lovecraft used to call "a thrill of unutterable ghastliness"? The human imagination enriched by centuries of Buddhist introspection has run riot in Tibet as nowhere else in the world.

Among and above these extravagant images are the symbols of the peace of Nirvana, gently smiling Bodhisattvas wrapt in a profound stillness.

Many explorers have commented on the soul-stirring effect of Tibetan music. The deep bass of the horns, the clash of the gongs, and shrill voice of the flageolets, rise wave upon wave creating a harmony as deep, wide and sad as the sea. One recalls

⁸ Andre Guibaut, *Tibetan Venture, In the Country of the Ngolo-Setas*, trans. Lord Sudley, (London, John Murray 1948), p. 61

⁹ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. William Marsden, (New York, Dell Publishing Co. Inc. 1961), p. 230

the statues of the Tibetan ascetic Milarepa, who sits with one hand held up to his ear, listening to the sound of the earth turning.

Here we have reached a frontier beyond which only a handful of explorers venture. Even F. Spencer-Chapman, the very model of the unflappable British explorer, confesses to a moment of panic when he comes across a mysterious monk in Gyantse fort. Yet he never inquires into this feeling, gateway to a much greater unknown. Why ?

Tibet is (was. . .) an anomalous survival of the past, as out of place in the 20th Century as the coelocanth. Perhaps nothing is so fascinating to man as a glimpse into the past; the religious faith and feudalism which lately flourished in Tibet remind the West of its own Middle Ages. But Tibet was more than that—it was the very link which still connected man to a far more ancient tradition: of oracles and psychic forces alive everywhere, of philosophers and sages in a harsh world where man is still half animal. Travellers often marvelled at the way Tibetans could see in the dark. Half animal—but half god. Surely the choosing of the Dalai Lama must be the strangest political institution ever invented: after the Dalai Lama dies, the oracles are consulted, then monks scour the country searching for the child who is to be the Dalai Lama's new incarnation. They administer various tests until given unmistakable proofs; then the child, who may come from the poorest background, is elevated for life to the highest position in the land. Hundreds of reincarnating Lamas were chosen similarly throughout Tibet.

Tibet was pervaded through and through with religious feeling. Ekai Kawaguchi in 1900 relates how people would listen rapt, with tears in their eyes, to his religious lectures. Grenard wrote in 1894:

They build thousands of temples; make tens of thousands of statues; prostrate themselves; sing hymns; mutter endless prayers; grind out an even greater number by water-power or by hand; say their rosaries; celebrate solemn services; make offerings and give banquets to all the gods and all the devils; wear amulets and relics; write talismans; wave streamers covered with prayers or lucky emblems, which the breath of the wind sends flying through space; pile up numberless heaps of stones with pious inscriptions; turn around all the objects which they regard as sacred: mountains, lakes, temples, heaps of stones; go in processions and on pilgrimages; swallow indulgences in the shape of pills made by the lamas out of relics; drink down without compunction the divine nectar composed of the ten impurities, such as human flesh and worse; practise exorcism, witchcraft and magic, even to obtain spiritual blessings; perform pious

sarabands to drive out or shatter the devil: and thus is Tibet made to spin distractedly, without rest or truce, in religion's mad round.¹⁰

The past is fascinating, but also repelling. Waddell, pseudo-expert on Lamaism, went so far as to call the Tibetans, "enemies... by reason of their savagery and superstition, of the human race."¹¹ The Chinese have always viewed the Tibetans as barbarians. Crimes in Tibet were punished by amputation of hands and feet, and the putting out of eyes. Every sort of loathsome disease was rampant. Many explorers turned back from the manifold cruelty, superstition, fanaticism, and misery which faced them. Cruelty, fanaticism, and misery are bad enough, but for modern man, superstition is intolerable.

Csoma de Körös was one who ventured beyond. Even as a child, we are told, his friends could never keep up with him, for having scaled one hill he never tired until he had attempted the next. Although he endured dreadful privations in the Himalayas 1810-1820, he never actually reached Tibet. Yet he was the first to systematically study the vast literature of Tibet, and make it available by means of a dictionary, to the world. His own discovery of Tibet was at least as exciting as the voyages of explorers to Lhasa. He unearthed whole libraries ranging in content from subtle philosophical texts, to grammar, medicine, and astronomy, to the curious music manuscripts looking like squiggly encephalograms.

In his path followed the handful of explorers who made an attempt to penetrate the religion and language of the country: Giuseppe Tucci, Marco Pallis, Alexandra David-Neel, Lama Anagarika Govinda, Ekai Kawaguchi. They travelled to lonely mountain hermitages and talked with the monks they met there, they studied in the religious universities, witnessed religious debates, and discussed with Tibetans the basics of philosophy.

The first thing they discovered was that certain mystic skills, like telepathy, trance-running, artificial body-heat, weather-divining, and oracular prediction were indisputably real phenomena. Heinrich Harrer, the Austrian adventurer who witnessed the last few years of traditional Tibet, was deeply affected by the State Oracle at Nechung. The temple of the Oracle, cloudy with incense and ringing with eerie chords, practically danced with gruesome ghouls and macabre incubi painted over every inch of its surface. The Oracle himself, a gifted young medium of nineteen, flew into superhuman trances, during which he contorted under a heavy crown which two strong men could hardly lift, and twisted metal swords into spirals. Harrer, generally

¹⁰ F. Grenard, *Tibet*, trans. A. Teixeira de Mattos, (London, Hutchinson & Co., 1904), p. 311

¹¹ L. Austine Waddell, *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, (London, Methuen & Co., 1905), p. 160

antipathetic to the occult, could find no explanation for the tangible and intangible evidence of magic forces.

These things have been commented upon by so many observers that one has practically no alternative but to accept them as truth. Kublai Khan actually arranged a comparative demonstration between some Lamas and Christian Nestorian priests. Afterwards he informed the Polos that he chose Lamaism over Christianity because it was richer in miracles. Kublai Khan's beliefs may not qualify as evidence, yet one meets with numerous accounts throughout a millenium in which explorers in Tibet describe apparently miraculous episodes. The great explorer Abbé Huc wrote in 1846 that it is quite possible the Tibetans are "in possession of very important secrets, which science alone is capable of explaining, but which very possibly science itself may never discover."¹²

Tibet devoted itself for many centuries to mysticism and developed extremely sophisticated techniques under Buddhism, which teaches the illusory nature of all things and the world-creating power of mind. In addition, the fervent faith, or rather fanatical devotion of the people of Tibet created the psychological conditions in which seeming miracles like faith-healing may take place. Meditation fostered an intuitive openness to the universe, and practice in one-pointed mental concentration. Harsh surroundings and a fascination with death prevented the Tibetans from averting their eyes from the uncanny, ugly, or perverse.

It is related that when the first airplane appeared at the Tibeto-Chinese border town of Tachienlu, in the 1930's, the Chinese reacted with astonishment, but the Tibetans accepted it calmly as merely another manifestation of the miraculous world around them.

Alexandra David-Neel once asked a Lama why it is that Tibetans do not eventually become incredulous. He replied,

(Incredulity) is one of the ultimate objects of the mystic masters, but if the disciple reaches this state of mind before the proper time, he misses something which these exercises are designed to develop, that is, fearlessness. Moreover, the teachers do not approve of simple incredulity, they deem it contrary to truth. The disciple must understand that gods and demons do really exist for those who believe in their existence, and that they are possessed with the power of benefiting or harming those who worship or fear them. . . . However very few reach incredulity in the early part of their training. Most novices actually *see* frightful appritions.¹³

¹² John MacGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 236

¹³ Alexandra David-Neel, *With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet*, (London, John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd. 1931), p. 146-7

We have only begun to explore the human unconscious, and the paradoxical laws of causality. The Tibetans point the way to these mysteries, and to the poetical and spiritual truths beyond them.

Indeed, what are we to make of this farrago of refined mysticism and crude superstition? For the ways of the occult are haphazard and obscure at best, and the material usefulness of magic, minute. A Hail-Prevention priest in trance can hardly compete with a storm-seeding airplane; all the mumblings and mutterings of an enigmatical oracle can never rival the accuracy of a Government White Paper. And the rewards of the supernatural are very small in relation to the arduous labors required to produce them. *Lungompa* trance runners underwent a spartan regimen including up to twelve years spent meditating in solitary confinement. Reliable telepathic powers, and *tummo* body heat likewise come only after years, or decades of concentrated religious routine. The Buddha, it is said, once encountered an ascetic who had mortified himself for sixty years and thus learned how to walk on water. "What a waste," said the Buddha, "when you can cross the river on the ferry for a penny!"

Many Tibetan masters regarded such practices as actually harmful to the sincere seeker after truth. They viewed mystic technique simply as "method" (as opposed to "wisdom"), a useful gateway to the divine, not an end in itself.

One could say that these as yet dimly understood phenomena stand in the same relation to our scientific world, as relativistic and quantum effects stand to Newtonian physics. On the ordinary human plane such effects are swamped: quantum unpredictability, while crucial at the atomic level, seems to have nothing to do with the apparently regular laws of cause and effect which operate in our daily lives. It is only recently that these regular laws have been recognized as crude manifestations of far-reaching cosmic mechanisms which still elude the scientist.

Likewise the occult dwindles almost to nothingness before the clear gaze of modern enlightenment. But may it not be, indeed, that the spiritual, while weak, is at the very root of being?

The explorer stops here, if he has not expired somewhere along the way already. But having once been seduced into the realm of the spirit there is no turning back! For Tibet, the last civilization on earth over which the shadow of mystery still lingered, has vanished in one generation as suddenly as the morning mist. Only in the small Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan do the last wisps of the mirage persist. The very mountains and lakes, seemingly eternal, dissolve before dynamite and tractors. The Tibet described here is now merely a memory in the minds of the last Tibetans who grew up in the tradition, and aging foreign explorers. It exists only as a figment in the thoughts of armchair explorers at Oxford, essay writers and readers; Tibet is nothing but a world recreated by imaginations, as real as dreams and conjured spirits.

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SHORT REVIEWS

HIMALAYAN TRADERS: LIFE IN HIGHLAND NEPAL.

By Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf. xv, 316 pages; plates and maps.

Published by John Murray, London, 1975. Price: £ 7.50.

The northern border trade of Nepal provides an interesting subject for anthropological investigation. It not only shapes the economic institutions of many ethnic groups in Nepal, but also affects the social life of those respective groups. The importance of this trade has been stressed by investigators of the Himalayan region, and consequently receives mention in many of the works concerning that area.

Although some descriptive material has been written about this trade, the various accounts remained unsynthesized until now, leading to confusion and ambiguity on the subject. Lack of a coherent overall account was not the only problem. There also existed an insufficiency of data for large segments of the northern border trade. The inherent nature of some research had led to generalizations that, while not technically incorrect on any given point, were nonetheless skewed because of the overemphasis given to certain aspects in areas where rather intensive research had been done. The trading complex of the border regions is a complex phenomenon that is not easily explained by reference to any one group participating in it.

Taken as a whole, then, the existing literature was inadequate because it consisted of disparate accounts of uneven quality. The value of an accurate and balanced description of the border trade should therefore be obvious.

I am pleased to state that Professor Fürer-Haimendorf's *Himalayan Traders* represents a milestone in the study of the Himalayan trading complex, giving a solid foundation for any further research along these lines. Drawing from both his own wide fieldwork in the area and that of others Professor Fürer-Haimendorf provides a detailed description of the economic institutions of the various northern border groups. Among the groups discussed are the Sherpas of Khumbu, the Bhotias of the Arun and Tamur regions, the highlanders of the Dhaulagiri Zone (including those of Dolpo, Lo and the Thak khola) along with more westerly groups in the Karnali Zone. In each case, the relation of trade to other sectors of economic life is described; in addition, the connection between social patterns and economic institutions is detailed. The book is factually "dense", abounding with case histories of transactions in salt, wool, grain and other goods. Thus, this work will serve future researchers as a documentary source.

But to represent this book's main theme as a static description of the mechanics of trade would be misleading. The thread that runs throughout the book and binds it

together is the change—social and economic—wrought upon the northern border trade by abrupt shifts of the political and economic situation in the past 20 years. The drastic reduction in trade with Tibet, along with increasingly improving transportation in Nepal and the influx of Indian salt into the area have had their effect on the northern border groups, who had previously derived profit from their strategic role as middlemen between areas of complimentary scarcities. Some groups, the Sherpas being one, have responded to the crisis through economic diversification, largely in the growing tourist industry. Other groups have not had the same opportunities, and their prospects appear bleak unless their areas are opened to carefully regulated tourism. The problem is cogently presented and one might well hope that policy-makers take heed. I might add that one need only examine the case of the Kumaon Bhotias, who experienced a near total breakdown of their old society, to see what might occur if enlightened help is not given.

In passing, one might make minor criticisms; I, for one, would have found helpful a wider coverage of the trading complex, to include ethnic groups in the bordering Himalayan regions. This inclusion could serve as a reference for events that are particular to the Nepalese border trade. Inasmuch as I appreciated the historical detail relating to trade, I had hoped for even more historical depth concerning it.

Summing up, this book has consolidated and put into perspective our knowledge of the trading complex of northern Nepal, along with providing a wealth of new information. Its orientation towards detailed description may be seen as a fault by the theoretically minded anthropologist. However, Professor Haimendorf has done what was most needed; he has provided the factual base on which any theoretical analysis of the Himalayan trade must rest, in an area where to some degree even the hard facts were lacking until now. His work is to be commended and it deserves a wide audience.

D. R. TUMASONIS

INTRODUCTION A L'ICONOGRAPHIE DU TANTRISME BOUDDHIQUE,
By Marie Thérèse de Mallmann.

Bibliothèque du Centre de recherches sur l'Asie centrale et la Haute Asie, vol. I, Published by Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve. Paris, 1975. xii, 497 pages, with twenty b/w plates. Price not stated.

Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann died shortly after the publication of the volume under review. Since the appearance of her first major study, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara*, which was published in Paris in 1948, her reputation was firmly established as one of the foremost western specialists of problems of Buddhist iconography. In 1963, she published an important work on Hindu iconography, *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa*, which was followed a year later by another Buddhist study, her *Etude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*. Her last work set out to be "an initiation to the difficult iconography of Buddhist Tantrism" (p. ix). It is based almost entirely on the study of two Sanskrit texts, the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, but also makes use of a few passages from the *Hevajra-Tantra*, the second and third chapters of the *Kriyāsamgraha* and diverse articles in English, French and German which include quotations of iconographical texts. It is therefore based directly and almost entirely on Sanskrit sources with which the author had long and first-hand familiarity. The plan of the volume is simple and the information has been distilled and presented with admirable lucidity. The result will therefore be useful not only to specialists but also to collectors and amateurs of art in search of means of identifying particular objects with precision. The vocabulary employed has been deliberately simplified; and Sanskrit words only figure in the text when they are truly un-translatable. Specialists will find all the necessary technical terms and references in the notes, the inventory and the introduction.

A short introduction (p. 1-3) defines the general features of the divinities, their hierarchical positions, their iconometry, the multiplicity of their faces and limbs, etc. This is followed by an inventory of the characteristics of the divinities (p. 5-40) which lists their animals, their attributes, their colours, etc. The third chapter (p. 41-82) summarises the main *maṇḍala* and is followed by a catalogue, arranged in European alphabetical order, of the divinities, which constitutes the bulk of the book (p. 83-472) of which it forms the fourth chapter. There is an excellent bibliography; an index of the most common Sanskrit names; a list of the tables to be found in the text concerning such matters as the groups of six, eight and sixteen Bodhisattva, the eight Nāga, the *Śmaśāna*, etc.; a table which explains the plates, and an index of proper names. The drawings which are the work of Mademoiselle Murielle Thiriet are clearly executed; and the volume is very well printed on good paper. It will be a standard work of reference for many years to come. It is very easy to consult because of its intelligent lay-out.

In homage to a deeply respected colleague, and because it may be of use to readers of *Kailash*, I append a list of those articles of M. -Th. de Mallmann which are not listed in the bibliography of this volume. It includes only those articles of which I have personal knowledge and is grouped in the alphabetical order of the titles.

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A. W. M.

THE DREAM OF LHASA. THE LIFE OF NIKOLAY PRZHEVALSKY.

By Donald Rayfield, *xii+221 pages with 2 maps, 14 b/w ill.* Published by Paul Elek, London, 1976.

While there are many Russian "lives" of Przhevalsky, Mr Rayfield is his first English biographer. Przhevalsky is, of course, well known to English readers through Delmar Morgan's *Mongolia, the Tangut Country and the solitudes of Northern Tibet* which was published in London as far back as 1876. Moreover, many who have not read that book will have seen the horse which bears his Polish name, *Equus przewalskii*, in some major zoo. But the man himself was a complex character on any count and was involved in great events which, to some extent, he provoked; so Mr. Rayfield has done well to give us this well-researched and tightly-written biography. Przhevalsky was undoubtedly one of the great nineteenth century explorers. His contributions to science were truly heroic even if today, when Anthropology has to some degree influenced public opinion, we tend to consider the methods he employed with fanatical singlemindedness in making these contributions, as distinctly unsympathetic. Mr. Rayfield sees his subject as "a man of ruthless determination and of shy tenderness, an apostle of European superiority who loathed European society, an explorer of China who despised the Chinese, a big-game hunter on an epic scale who mourned the death of his dogs, major-general who disliked the army, a materialist and Byronic Romantic, he had the paradoxical temperament and university of genius" (p. xi). Today this portrait seems just; the personage in his lifetime inspired awe, disgust, hero-worship and pity; and Mr Rayfield has done a good job in clearing away the

mists of myth which surround his fantastic and somehow frantic journeys. These journeys are re-told with talent in this book, which includes adequate, if somewhat small, maps, some interesting old photographs, a good bibliography and indexes. Quite apart from its assessment of Przhevsky's contributions to the natural history and geography of Central Asia, the book is a serious contribution to the history of The Great Game, which was played at the time between Russia and Britain for the control of Tibet and parts of Central Asia. Many who today read or re-read Kipling's *Kim*, in an age when Flashman is more to our taste, find it a rum sort of book. But, just as Kipling has fascinated generations of readers, so too has Przhevsky fascinated many men as different as Anton Chekhov and Vladimir Nabokov: and when one reads this book one understands why. To everything he did, Przhevsky brought a passionate intensity—whether it was killing and collecting birds and animals, collecting plants, stopping his collaborators from getting married, teaching, writing, quarreling with his superiors, driving himself and his companions constantly onwards on his largely self-imposed tasks. With his phenomenal memory and his card-playing to acquire funds for his projects (p. 39), he reminds us of the young Paul Pelliot: but there, pride apart, the resemblance ends, for the Frenchman was philologist of genius with interests even wider, yet more balanced, than those of the great Russian. It is curiously appropriate that one of Przhevsky's last recorded acts was to struggle out of his *ger* and shoot dead a black vulture. He "stretched out the bird's wings, studied them and went back to the *ger*" (p. 200).

This reviewer would hope that Mr Rayfield will go on to give us a biography of Pyotr Kozlov, another great explorer of Central Asia.

A. W. M.

TIBETAN RELIGIOUS DANCES. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. Tibetan text and annotated translation of the *'chams yig*. Edited by Ch. von Furer-Haimendorf, with an appendix by Walter Graf. *viii+319 pages*. Published by Mouton, The Hague-Paris, 1975. Price not stated.

René von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, whose major work *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* has recently been reprinted, needs no introduction either to Tibetologists or to the general reader. Many will have read in the original German or in translation his *Wo Berge Götter sind*. "Nebesky" did a great deal of hard work in his short life-span of 36 years; and his contributions to our knowledge of Tibetan ritual and iconography were important. The posthumous publication under review is the second volume in a series entitled 'Religion and Society' published under the general editorship of Leo Laeyendecker of Leiden and Jacques Waardenburg of Utrecht. The general reader may find parts of it rather heavy going; but Tibetologists, and those seriously

interested in the religion, music and dances of pre-Chinese Tibet and its borderlands will be grateful to all those who, in spite of difficulties, ensured its publication. Like all Nebesky's writings, it contains much solid information, clearly set out and carefully documented.

A preface by Haimendorf explaining the history of the book's publication is followed by a brief general introduction, written at the time when the Dalai Lama was still in Lhasa. The first chapter deals with the dances of the Bon-po, the Rnying-ma-pa, the Rdzogs-chen-pa, the Sa-skyapa, the Bka'-rgyud-pa and the Dge-lugs-pa sects. Then comes a short analysis of various 'chams. We are then introduced to "the 'chams yig"; Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, the fifth Dalai Lama, began to compose it in 1647 A. D. and it was written for the monastery called Rnam par gyal ba'i phen bde legs bshad gling in the precincts of the Potala. However, it is based primarily on Rnying-ma-pa and Sa-skyapa tradition. Iconographic details, the participants in the dance and its phases are enumerated. The Tibetan text in romanization of this 'chams yig and a complete English translation are followed by some remarks on the rhythm of the dances. The book ends with an Appendix by Dr. Walter Graf on the performance of Tibetan music and its notation, which includes photographic reproductions of chant notation. Useful indexes complete the volume which is illustrated by five photographs taken by Dr. P. H. Pott at 'Gye-mun monastery in Lahul.

Nebesky, whom I had the pleasure to know in Kalimpong shortly before his death, spoke Tibetan very fluently. With his wide reading and his ethnological training he was admirably equipped to write on the 'chams. While thankful for what we have been given in this book, I feel sure that if Nebesky had lived longer he would not only have put some finishing touches to it but would also have deepened the analyses it contains. As it is, nobody competent seems to have made an attempt to bring the bibliography up to date and there are some strange gaps. There is, for instance, no mention of J. Bacot, *Zugijima*, Société Asiatique, Paris, 1957, 2 vols. And if a work by Prof. R. A. Stein published in 1962 is quoted on p. 5, not 30, why is there no mention of his thesis *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, published by the Presses Universitaires at Paris in 1959? The table of contents states (p. vii) that the Tibetan text of the 'chams yig is to be found on p. 244; but in my copy it starts on p. 110.

BUDDHISM IN MODERN PERSPECTIVE. Edited by Charles S. Prebish. xv + 330 pages. Published by The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London. Price: US. \$ 7.95

For students starting to study Buddhism, this is the most useful book I have seen. The contributors to the volume are Stefan Anacker, Stephen V. Beyer, Francis H. Cook, Roger J. Corless, Douglas D. Daye, Mark A. Ehman and Lewis L. Lancaster. Like the editor Charles Prebish, who is also a contributor, they are all former students of the late Richard Robinson whose influence and example made Madison, Wisconsin, the only university in the western world which, to my knowledge, offers Ph. D. in Buddhist studies. The material, perhaps one should say the subject matter, is divided into forty-five short "lectures". These are grouped into two parts, the first concerning Indian Buddhism (pp. 3-158), the second Buddhism outside India (pp. 161-254). To each "lecture" is appended a brief list of publications (including some written in French and German) for "suggested reading". The book ends with an Appendix by R. J. Corless and C. S. Prebish consisting of "A Partial Listing of Representative Groups in the United States" (pp. 255-58); a useful glossary of Sanscrit, Pali, Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese terms and proper names (pp 259-310); a bibliography grouping together the "suggested readings" and an Index. The pupils of Robinson have done a truly remarkable job. The limitations imposed by the *genre* are difficult to face up to; and to maintain a uniform treatment when several different authors collaborate is no easy task. An immense amount of ground has been covered in astonishingly few words and some of the "lectures", particularly those by Douglas D. Daye, are *tours de force*. I was glad to see the space given both to Meditation and to the Buddhist Councils. More advanced scholars too will find this volume very handy.

A. W. M.