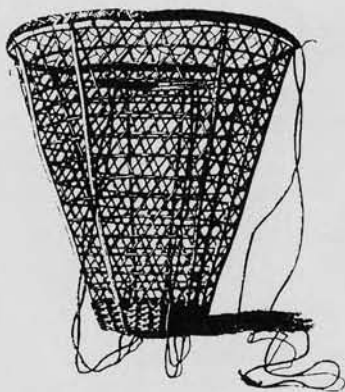


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EDITORIAL

The European Bulletin of Himalayan Research is now edited by a French board for issues nbr. 10, 11, 12, 13.

The presentation has been slightly modified for easier reading. We have introduced a new section called "Dissertation abstracts" concerning theses submitted in Europe. New "doctors" are encouraged to send us their abstracts.

We would like to gather contributions about Himalayan music and about humoristic oral traditions for the next issues. You are welcome to submit articles, book reviews or news about these topics.

Conference reports, news and announcements will also be welcome.

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ABORTION AND RAPE IN NEPAL - A LEGAL ASSESSMENT

Shanta Thapalia

Introduction

Human rights, and particularly women's human rights, have been a burning issue in this decade. The protection of women's human rights has been discussed in various conferences from the past up to the preparatory meetings of the Beijing Summit of 1995.

The recently held Cairo meeting on population has taken a further step towards securing these rights, since population issues are directly related to this sector. The Cairo meeting faces the challenge of controlling population growth-rate through three negotiations. First, the reduction in infant, child and maternal mortality, and universal access to family planning information and services; second, estimates of financial resources, i.e. the breakdown, levels and sources that will be required to provide reproductive health services, including family planning; and third, the issue of the definition of terms like "reproductive health", "safe motherhood", "fertility regulation" and "family planning".¹

It can be observed that all negotiations of the current meeting are oriented towards family planning. Family planning not only decreases population, but must also be regarded as a branch of human rights. Women, who are the main sufferers, must be given

¹ *The Rising Nepal*, September 4, 1994.

rights over their own bodies as well as rights to take decisions with regard to family planning. Hence, abortion emerges as a leading issue in the present day situation. Rape is yet another issue which severely affects women. The number of gang rapes and child rapes has been increasing rapidly in recent years. Women who become pregnant as a consequence of rape are also not allowed to undergo abortions. These women, who are actually the victims of such criminal offences, face stark social and legal injustice.

It is high time for concerned groups and the government to take action against these offences and to uphold the rights of the women's sector. This paper attempts to assess the laws governing abortion and rape, and discusses the proposed bills for amendments of the existing laws. This paper is an analytical presentation against rape and towards securing reproductive rights for women - that is, towards legalising abortion. To this extent it is partially or wholly devoted to the protection of women's human rights.

The substance

The most sensitive issue on moral rights of humans is the right to live, and the right to freedom provides the backbone of this fundamental right. The two rights are interrelated, as no one can live without freedom and the notion of freedom is irrelevant without life. Yet very few understand the eminence of these interwoven laws. Abortion is also directly related to these rights, since by abortion - i.e. snatching the right to live - we misuse the right to freedom. Abortion is deeply related to social conscience, and the existence and emotions of a woman. But at times abortion takes a more serious

stand with respect to the emotions and conscience of humans. This the main reason why this issue still exists in a problematic condition, and no one has been able to decide whether this is an optimistic or pessimistic step for women.

Abortion in Nepal has existed from traditional times, something proved by sloka 317 of chapter 8 of the Manusmṛti, where it is stated that for the crime of abortion the punishment is extended even to those responsible for the crime. There have been various definitions of abortion. Black's *Law Dictionary* defines it as the "unlawful destruction of the human foetus before the natural time of birth", whereas the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines it as "the termination of pregnancy before independent viability of the foetus has been attained". According to Modi's *Medical Jurisprudence*, abortion is "the termination of a pregnancy before twenty-eight weeks of pregnancy". Thus jurisprudence allows only the termination of a pregnancy of four months i.e. within the first trimester, as abortion. In legal terminology "abortion" denotes an intentional interruption of pregnancy by removal of the embryo from the womb (Weinberg, 1979).

Various definitions of abortion conclude that abortion in real terms is the termination of pregnancy with or without the consent of the woman, before the right time of the child's delivery. Countries which are bounded by traditions, strict social norms and religious constraints regard abortion pessimistically and consider it a criminal offence. On the other hand, more developed countries have practical views on abortion and think positively. Mixed views on the subject can also be observed in the Western and European nations.

Nevertheless, their laws are flexible. Groups fighting for women's rights to control their bodies champion the right of abortion, whereas conservative human rights groups fight against it, as they consider it a deprivation of the right to live.

Existing laws governing abortion

Under Nepalese legal provision, abortion is permitted only when it is performed to save the mother's life. The existing legal provisions governing the act of abortion are as follows.

Section 28 of the chapter on homicide states that, whoever causes a woman with a foetus to miscarry shall, if such miscarriage be caused not in good faith for the purpose of saving the life of the mother, be punished for the offence of abortion.

Section 29 of the chapter on homicide states that whoever, without intention of aborting, causes miscarriage of a foetus in the event of anger, shall also be counted guilty of the offence of abortion.

Section 31 of the same chapter states that if miscarriage is caused without the woman's consent, whoever commits the offence should be punished with imprisonment of two years for a pregnancy of up to six months and imprisonment of three years for pregnancy of above six months.

If miscarriage is caused with the woman's consent, then such a woman and whoever commits the offence shall be punished with a year's imprisonment if the pregnancy is up to six months, and one year's imprisonment for a pregnancy above six months.

If the foetus takes the form of a child in both cases, in spite of attempts to induce miscarriage, then the punishments are halved.

Section 32 of the chapter on homicide states that under section 29 of this chapter, if, in the event of anger the offender is conscious of the pregnancy, then for up to six months' pregnancy a three-month term of imprisonment and for a pregnancy of above six months a six-month term of imprisonment are specified. Further, if in the event of anger the offender is unaware of the pregnancy, then fines of Rs. 25 and Rs. 50 are imposed for pregnancy of up to six months and above six months respectively.

These legal provisions in Nepal seem inadequate. They do not take into consideration the health status of women. The World Health Organisation defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity". These legal clauses just consider physical well-being when they refer to "good faith" in section 28. Further, the limit of what constitutes "good faith" is nowhere defined. No mention is made of whether abortion for women carrying children as a result of rape or gang rape constitutes good faith. This does not guarantee the social well-being of women. The clause where abortion is allowed with the woman's consent does follow the line of women's rights, but it is backed up by punishments. Therefore, it is felt that abortion in rape cases, gang rape cases, failure of family planning devices and to uplift women's status must be legalised. This requires extensive amendments to the existing clauses.

The Bill proposed for discussion and subjected to amendments in the sixth session of the House of Parliament concerning abortion is as follows:

1. Instead of the previous section 28, the following amended version is to be considered. Section 28 of the existing law runs as follows: whoever causes a woman to miscarry a foetus, knowingly, with intention or in action with confident rational or reasoning, be punished with an imprisonment of from two months to two year for up to six months pregnancy and with an imprisonment of from six months to five years for above six months pregnancy, for an offence of abortion.

2. Clause 28 a) is to be added after the amended section 28, which is to be stated accordingly. In the existing section 28 of the code abortion is considered illegal under other conditions than "in good faith". But, in this amended version if such an act is performed by a competent obstetrician in an accredited hospital where satisfactory hospital procedures are observed, abortion is not considered illegal. But certain conditions are stated which run as follows.

The abortion of a foetus within three months, if carried out with the consent of the husband, under the condition that he is living, is not considered illegal.

The abortion of a foetus carried by a woman who is a victim of rape or incest, if performed with six months of pregnancy and with the woman's consent, is not considered illegal.

If pregnancy threatens the mother's life or harms the physical and mental states of the mother; or if there is a possibility of foetal

impairment, then with the consent of the woman, if a competent obstetrician performs the act, abortion is not considered illegal. These amendments, if passed by the House and implemented properly, will help to secure women's human rights.

Legal assessment of abortion

Various international personnel and organisations have been deeply involved in the issue of abortion - whether to legalise it or not. Legalising abortion would mean securing women's human rights, and the rights of women over their bodies. This would further ensure population control, especially in cases that are the outcome of the failure of family planning devices. But, as a result of the severe legal restrictions obtaining in all jurisdictions, most women are driven to what are at least technically illegal abortions. A study conducted by IIDS on 1,241 cases in Nepal showed that 7.5 per cent were induced abortions performed by untrained personnel.² However, in reality this figure must be higher, as this was a limited study.

In 1966, for the first time, twelve heads of state proclaimed that family planning must be given the authority of human rights. It was also declared that the greatest possible number of couples should be made aware of the existence and use of family planning devices, and they must be given the right to use them. In 1967, eighteen more nations, including Nepal, supported this campaign. In 1968, the UN held a conference on human rights. A proclamation was passed

² *The Kathmandu Post*, Sunday, August 14, 1994.

to the effect that the full responsibility for decisions concerning childbearing belonged to parents, and that they held full rights in taking these decisions. This was the UN Convention on Human Rights. In the same year support for women's human rights and a campaign for forwarding family planning were established, along with other issues related to women. The UN announced 1974 as the year of world population. A world population conference was held in Romania, which supported the population control campaign and vested the right of bearing a child upon the mother, thereby securing women's human rights. 1975 was International Women's Year, and the Mexico summit held in this year devoted its activities to the amendment of legal clauses that directly or indirectly supported women. Nepal also conducted activities supporting women. Various amendments were made in the family law clauses, and the Government itself initiated activities on family planning. However, laws and regulations concerning fertility have not yet been passed.

In this way, since 1966, various international level organisations have been working hard to support the family planning campaign, vesting the sole rights upon women to control over their bodies and emotions. And, since those days, efforts have been made to recognise family planning as an integral part of women's human rights. Moreover, after the UN Convention on Human Rights, each member nation is bound by the promise to amend reproductive rights in its existing codes.

Thus the recognition of family planning as a component of women's human rights, and support for the move to give women rights over their bodies and emotions, have long received

international affirmation. This ensures abortion as one of the options for family planning. Yet, many controversies have been posed, especially from the Muslim countries who hold abortion as being against their national policies. For this purpose even the recently-held UN Cairo meeting on population is facing problems, with many Muslim countries boycotting the gathering and many Muslims and Roman Catholics raising voices against it as well as accusing the UN of promoting abortion. The Vatican is not ready to compromise its religious position. As a result of this broad opposition, the Cairo meeting concluded on a negative note to the extent that it refused to accept abortion as one of the family planning options and even to encourage the use of contraceptives for this purpose. Though the summit ended on this negative note, I would like to express my view and further advocate that "abortion under certain conditions", as mentioned above, be used as an option for family planning and as an alternative means of protecting victims of rape and incest. This will work towards protecting woman's rights. If not, the conclusions are alarming.

Many experts hold the view that abortion should not be legal and that the use of contraceptives must be encouraged, arguing that abortion encourages the development of an illicit character among unmarried women. But, according to the *Kathmandu Post* sources, in a study of 1,241 cases, only eighteen cases were registered for abortion among unmarried women and widows. This number is negligible and can be improved with other modes. Yet, when family planning devices fail or for some reason cause side effects and cannot be used, abortion is the only measure for family planning.

Therefore, abortion "under certain conditions" must be legalised and the existing laws must be amended as proposed earlier. Not legalising this would take the women to unskilled hands and they would suffer maternity deaths. This is the case in Nepal, where 50 per cent of maternity deaths occur for such reasons.

Since under existing laws abortion is a criminal offence directly related to women's rights, rape is yet another criminal offence that is strictly and directly related to women's human rights. The victims of rape have to suffer social humiliation and legal injustice, not infrequently culminating in a life of prostitution or even in suicide, since the women who are so victimised and bear children as a consequence are not allowed to abort legally. Furthermore, the social and legal security of such children are not even secured under the existing laws.

Hence, in order to observe the situation of women's human rights in the country, it becomes very important to assess the clauses on rape under Nepalese law. First, however, let us note various definitions of rape. As defined by Black's *Law Dictionary* rape denotes "the unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman by a man forcibly and against her will". Rape is an ancient crime, dating from at least the time of the Anglo-Saxons in England, when it was punishable by death. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries consent was the main issue in rape. Women had to show by resistance that they did not consent. The requirement that women show their non-consent by resistance is peculiar to the law of rape. Therefore, the case of rape is one of the toughest to be proved. Due to inherent social stigmas and the likelihood of social recriminations,

the filing of such cases is very rare. Nevertheless, police records show that numerous cases are recorded every year, and that this number is increasing annually. Hence, to secure the victims' rights, Nepal's legal code also has legal clauses, however inadequate these may be.

Laws governing rape

No. 1 of the chapter on rape in the Nepalese Code defines rape as the act of coercing any unmarried girl, widow or married woman to illicit sexual intercourse, with or without the woman's consent if she is under sixteen years of age, and without consent if she over sixteen years of age. Further, if such an act is performed with consent, terrifying the girl on any basis, or even through undue influence, it is also considered as rape.

The punishments for rape are as follows:

According to No.3 of the same chapter, the accused is punished with imprisonment from six to ten years if the victim is below fourteen years of age and from three to five years if she is above fourteen years of age.

No.8 of the same chapter excuse the rape victim from punishment if she kills the accused within an hour of the rape or attempted rape in the course of defending herself. However, if an hour has passed, she will be either fined Rs. 5,000 or sentenced to a term of ten years' imprisonment.

No.10 of this chapter makes the victim of rape liable to receive half the share of the property of the offender without losing her rights over her former husband's property.

Further, there are provisions for punishment for people involved in helping the rapist and people involved in gang rape, and moreover for people otherwise involved in this business and for people who order others to perform such an act. A legal clause of fining Rs. 500 for the rape of a prostitute also exists in the chapter on rape in the civil code.

These clauses on rape are not adequate to discourage the crime. It is little wonder that, even with the existing legal clauses, the number of cases filed against rape is increasing as a geometric progression. For example, no. 8 of the chapter on rape allows an hour for the victim to take revenge, something that is neither adequate nor practical: few women would be likely to be in a position to exact revenge within an hour of brutal treatment. Furthermore, the specified punishment is also inadequate to discourage men from committing the crime. Even men holding relations with prostitutes must be punished to discourage this profession. Therefore, it was realised that various amendments were required, and appropriate changes were proposed by the Government.

The bill proposed for the amendment of existing laws on rape in the sixth session of the House of Parliament deserves our attention. In the proposed bill for amendment of the chapter on rape, instead of the existing no. 3 of the chapter, the following no. 3, dealing with the punishment of offenders, was proposed:

If the victim is below 12 years, imprisonment of 10 to 20 years

If the victim is above 12 but below 16 years of age, imprisonment of 7 to 14 years.

If the victim is above 16 years of age, imprisonment of 3 to 10 years.

Instead of no.4 of the existing law wherein a year of imprisonment is specified for those knowingly involved in rape, the term has been increased to between one and three years. The period of imprisonment is doubled if the victim is below sixteen years of age.

Instead of no.10 of the existing laws which includes words like "former husband" and "life-long possession", such words have been eliminated from the clause and other clauses are added. For example, the proposed 10 (a) makes the following specification: for the investigation of crimes under this chapter, while taking the statement of the victim, a policewoman is to be appointed, and in the absence of a policewoman the statement is to be taken by a policeman in the presence of a woman social worker. And according to the proposed 10 (b), during the court procedure of crimes under this chapter, only the concerned legal personnel or the advocate, the accused, the victim, the guardian of the victim, the police personnel investigating the suit and the authorities of the court shall be present on the bench.

It can be observed that the proposed bill for amendments in the existing laws is really a step towards protecting women from this inhuman act.

The provision of equal punishment for the rape of girls below sixteen years of age, however young the victim may be, is unsatisfactory. There are records of child rape in which the victims are below four years of age. Moreover, these cases are also heard in open courts, further humiliating the victims. Therefore, the present proposed bill, which links the term of imprisonment to the age of the victim - i.e. the younger the victim the severer the punishment - is a very welcome clause. The term of imprisonment ranges from a minimum of ten years to a maximum of twenty years. This reform is very appropriate. Further, the proposed bill of amendment allows the hearing of such cases in privacy, by women police officers or in the presence of a woman social worker, and protects women from being raped - mentally - for a second time: the open court amounts to the mental rape of victims who have already suffered physical rape. It can be said that even raping a prostitute constitutes a crime.

Eliminating the term "former husband" from the existing no. 10 would entitle the woman to remain the wife of her husband even after rape. Previously, stating "former husband" would imply that he ceased to be her husband after the rape, which is actually not fair, since no woman would consent to being raped, and such injustice towards a man's wife cannot be construed as adultery.

This proposed bill, which was actually prepared by the Women Security Pressure Group and later realised by the Government in proposing it in the Sixth Session, represents a considerable step. I welcome this bill and hope it will help in protecting the women's sector from the inhuman act of rape and from general oppression.

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महाराज जङ्गबहादुर

THE PLAY OF THE SHEEP

Christian Schicklgruber

The play of the sheep is about a quarrel. It is performed by two discursive positions --a corrupt mayor and his recalcitrant village community. The quarrel costs the lives of some of the villagers. I shall describe the main characters, tell of the cause of their conflict and relate the way they carried out their quarrel. Two non-human actors play a main role in these events: a sheep and a *yul lha*.

The Stage

The village of Phijor¹ lies in a steep ravine in the Dolpo (*dol po*) province in north-western Nepal. The thirty or so houses which make up the village are inhabited by Tibetans belonging either to *rnying ma pa* or to *bon*. The pronounced local *yul lha* cult is typical for Tibetan regions situated on the outskirts of governmental authority. The most important *yul lha*, called *smug po ron* is worshipped by Buddhists and Bön disciples together.

Until the eighteenth century, Dolpo had to pay taxes. The internal political organisation was left to the inhabitants of Dolpo. When *smon thang* was conquered by the Gorkhas, Dolpa was

¹ Snellgrove transcribes "Phijor" "*bi cher*" (1992, 2), or "*phyi mtsher*" (1981,282). A locally written text (cf. this paper) spells the village "*byi geer*". This spelling corresponds to the founding myth of the place, according to which a lama shot an arrow from a mountain pass and founded the village on the very spot where his arrow had speared a mouse.

incorporated into the state of Nepal. On the village-level the original political structure remained unchanged throughout all periods of integration into superior political circumstances. At the head of each village stands a "mayor" (*gras po*), in whose hands the administration and the jurisdiction of the village rest. This position is heritable.

I shall narrate the play mainly in thematic categories. In order to facilitate the understanding of the narrative, I shall explain some of the background, such as which religious concepts justify the mayor's authority, what the sheep stands for and who the *yul lha* actually is.

"When the people are not happy, the God is not happy" (*mi ma dga' na lha ma dga'*) --"When the people quarrel with each other, the God is angry with them" (*mi 'khrugs na lha 'khrugs*). So say the people of the village of Phijor.

The Actors

The God

The God Mukparong (*smug po rong*) referred to in the above-mentioned proverbs, is embodied in a steep mountain at the valley head. Oral tradition tells, the God came here with the immigration of the first family from Tibet as the protector (*pho lha*) of their lineage (*brgyud*). After his arrival he chose a mountain as the manifestation of his being. Since then it has been the spiritual centre of the settlement area. With the arrival of other patrilinear clans (*rus*), the connotation of the mountain changed from 'lineage God' (*pho lha*) to "God of the territory" (*yul lha*). At the adoration ceremonies (*yul lha gsol, lha bsangs*) for the mountain deity, the Lama recites a locally

drawn up text with the title *lha btsan smug po rong gi bsang(s) mchod bzhugs so*.

To present the god I shall mention synoptically a few passages from this text. Here Mukparong appears as a white being, his head adorned with multicoloured silk, the colour of his body is white and clear, he shimmers like light on a glass. His body radiates the colours of the rainbow, the sun and the moon circle above his head. All the glory and prosperity of the universe are united in him. The importance of worldly things pales beside him.

The god described in this fashion is endowed with almost human character traits in the interpretation of the villagers. One informant described him as "... resembling a child, capricious and greedy. When he receives something, he is full of joy. But he can get angry just as easily." The text then tells the god of the sacrifices presented to him by his worshippers such as bee honey made of turquoise, medical sacrifices, precious barley and milk, yaks, sheep and goats, their blood and meat all the good-looking sacrificial substances and the sheep of god (*lha lug*). When the god is thus supplied with sacrifices, he can be asked for a favour in return. Referring to this subject the text goes back to the mythological story of the Lama, who entered into a relationship with the mountain god by magic. The god is told never to stray from the activities appointed to him. Since *bla ma yang ston rgyal mchan rin chen*²

and all the other late high Lamas instructed him, with whatever orders and statements they gave, Mukporong will never forget it and do what he was told to do.

What is expected from the mountain god? In the text the list of sacrifices is immediately followed by requests: may it rain in time and may the harvest be rich and the animals multiply, may the age of sickness and drought be banished. May he prolong the lives of the aged and strengthen the activities of the young. The enemies, who are filled with envy and the demonic powers (*gnod pa'i bgegs*), whoever wants to do harm, may he bring them under his control (*dpang*) and crush them to dust in doing so.

The mountain and the protection it grants are the preconditions for settlement in a certain area. It grants fertility and protection from demons, whose only intention is to harm the humans.

The First Lama

The Lama, whose encounter with the god is mentioned in the text, also plays an important part in the founding history of the village. Lama *yang ston rgyal chen rin chen* founded a dependency of his home monastery. In oral tradition the foundation of this monastery is accompanied by miraculous deeds. Relying on his magic powers the Lama could dare to engage the capricious mountain deity Mukparong in a duel. As was to be expected the Lama kept the upper hand. Up to this point the protection of the god had only applied to the line which had brought him here. Now the Lama succeeded in expanding the deity's patronage to everyone

² This Lama came from the *ya ngal* family, who were residents of *klu brag*, a village of southern *glo*, in the Kaligandaki village. In the 12th century, he was brought here to Dolpo from *stag rtse*, by his uncle, the celibate Bon lama *bla ma sngags pa*, to found a lama lineage in *byi gcer*. He is regarded as the founder of the *bsam gling* monastery (Snellgrove, 1967, 4-5).

settling in this area. In return the *yul lha* was offered regular worshipping and a large number of sacrifices.

In connection with the mountain cult, the Lama also laid down the village's structure of power once and for all. In addition to the ownership of the Samling monastery which he had founded, he also assigned the position of village Lama to his direct successors. The regular worship of the *yul lha* is his responsibility.

The Mayor

But the approach to the "supreme protector" was not exclusively reserved to the village Lama. The first-born son of each generation, from the line which had brought the mountain as its lineage protector (*pho lha*), was appointed as the "treasurer (*phyag mdzod*) of the mountain. While *phyag mdzod* designates the head of the economic department of a monastery, on the village-political level the role of "treasurer" for the god is expressed by the position of "mayor" (*gras po*). He has the power to administer justice in cases of litigation among the villagers and impose (financial) sanctions. He is the preserver of all documents concerning the village. Thus, he keeps all the records on real estate and tax assessment. Beyond the authority directly assigned to him through his position, it also endows him with a great amount of prestige. Thus the mayor's voice carries great weight and cannot be ignored in the decision-making process at assemblies.

The villagers attach certain moral expectations to the mayor's power. He is supposed to keep social harmony in the village. "When the people are happy, the god is happy", as the say goes.

"Happiness" is used as a synonym for the term "harmony" (*mthun pa*) which is equally applied. The concept of "harmony" is best explained by its antonym "defilement by conflict" (*'khon grib*). "Defilement by conflict" designates a state of broken social order or refers to a smouldering quarrel between individuals. When a society lives in such a state the god turns his back on them. With this the way is open for the constantly pressing powers of evil, not only to harm the individual but the whole society. Thus the preservation of "harmony" is the key to safeguarding the social life. And the mayor plays the most decisive role in this safeguarding.

Apart from the political functions the first Lama also charged the "treasurer" with ritual performances. He too must keep the mountain deity in a good mood by performing a quarterly adoration ritual (*yul lha gsol*).

The Sheep

The mayor is the one and only person who can sacrifice the "sheep of God" (*lha lug*) to the *yul lha* as it is told in the text. The live animal is handed over to the god and is well-tended to his glory. The sheep must be jointly paid for by the entire village community and handed over to the "mayor", who will then "set it free" in the course of an adoration ceremony for the mountain god. Should a "sheep of god" perish, it must be replaced as soon as possible.

At the end of the description of the spiritual stage and the actors of the "story of the sheep", I would like to draw a brief summary of the most important points. The mountain god and his

demands draw a picture for the information of the people of Phijor and for the creation of their social conditions. These will be based on the moral demand for the avoidance of "defilement by conflict". In the regularly recurring ritual of "setting free the sheep", the villagers present themselves to the mountain god as a society in harmony.

The Story

With the description of the spiritual construct of society, I have evoked an image of Phijor as a harmonious world, protected by a benevolent mountain god. And yet it was just the one, who plays a particular role in the creation of an harmonious society who destroys this image.

It is said of the last mayor that his judicial decisions were always passed for the benefit of his friends and relatives. Also, he very often imposed extremely excessive fines. For example, at one time villagers kept animals of relatives from other villages on pastures, which were actually reserved only for animals belonging to residents of Phijor. As one villager put it, "the problem was that the grass in our pastures was so high. But still the sanctions he imposed were much higher than the actual value of the grass. Everybody grumbled, but they all paid up." The mayor often embezzled the fines he collected instead of using them for community projects such as the construction of roads, the maintenance of the irrigation system or the enlargement of the monastery library. Time and again the mayor's biased judgements were the cause of new quarrels and discord in the village. And the old conflicts remained unsettled. In

all of these cases the mayor was never alone on the winning side. The profits resulting from the abuse of power were always shared by its buyer and seller.

For a long time the mayor's shady dealings were covered by the cloak of a purported harmony. This lasted until it became known that funds remitted to Phijor by the Nepalese government for "the development of very underdeveloped areas" were vanishing into the mayor's pockets. Now the village community unanimously began to revolt against the mayor. And they were intent on action. But how to do so? The use of force promised no solution, as the reaction of the *yul lha* would have been terrible. But it was only a few weeks later than an opportunity should arise. The "mayor" is responsible for the well-being and protection of the "sheep of god" (*lha lug*). The last two sheep had not survived their first year as the property of the god. A new sheep had to be chosen for the god. The mayor said that he owned a sheep himself which would be well-suited for the mountain deity. Some of the villagers also claimed to own sheep of a pure white with a reddish head, which would fulfil the requirements. The mayor chose one from his own flock. The villagers paid the price and the mayor set the sheep free. Shortly thereafter he complained to the villagers that the price he had been paid had actually been too low and demanded more money.

Now for the first time, the villagers refused to comply with the mayor's orders. They did not pay him anything else. A short time later this sheep perished, too. It was to be the last one. In an assembly some villagers of high standing decided that, for the time being, no one should talk to the mayor about another sheep. The

village community decided to depict the disharmony in their society. They did not want to continue acting as if everything were in perfect order. By withholding the sheep from the god, who was in fact entitled to it, the villagers conveyed the impression of appealing directly to the god as a superior authority, as if they were saying: "Look down upon us, but bear in mind who caused the conflict!"

With their actions the villagers did not question the order which had been broken or revolt against it. They did not act against the institution of the mayor as such, but again the actions of an individual, who had exploited his position for his own personal interests. In doing so, they used a form of expression of this order to return it to its original balance. The system itself defined the form of its own deviance.

The altercations between the mayor and the villagers almost always took place on an informal basis, with a few exceptions where a direct verbal confrontation occurred. Before the escalation of the conflict a direct discourse was usually avoided. In the last phase it was completely denied. Information was transmitted on the level of gossip (*rgyab bshad*). Literally the expression which is rendered here as "gossip" means "speech from behind". Such speech alone could already be regarded as the cause for illness. The mayor was informed about the process of public volition. He was aware that the villagers knew about the government funds he had embezzled and that they would not give him another sheep, as long as he did not hand over the money for the benefit of the village. Thus the villagers were offering him a last opportunity to settle the conflict. But he did not use it, quite to the contrary. He even went one step

further in the altercation. In doing so, he chose the same level the village had entered upon. On the roof of his house he performed one of the quarterly adoration ceremonies (*yul lha gsol*) for the mountain god. Apart from myself, an ethnologist, who at that time did not know anything about the conflict, there were also some itinerant craftsmen present, who were manufacturing boots for him. In the interview about the ritual the mayor emphasised its importance for the prosperity of his own line. He referred to the god, to whom the ritual was directed, as the protector (*pho lha*) of his own line. The presence of the itinerant craftsmen provided a guarantee for the propagation of the proceedings.

When I returned to Phijor a year later I believed at first that an epidemic of tuberculosis or a similar disease had struck the village. But soon the atmosphere in the village made me realise that things were different --the conflicts had started to enter into the bodies of the people. The *yul lha* had become the judge in this conflict. In this he followed the existing codes, the village was stricken by disease and death. The inhabitants of Phijor ascribed the many cases of illness to the mountain god. It was only in their village that so many people had fallen ill, not so in the neighbouring villages. Thus it had to be the wrath of the mountain. The mayor's family was the worst affected. He himself was seriously ill for a long time. He hoped to be healed in a hospital in Kathmandu. But getting there meant a six-day journey on foot. Weakened by his illness he had to give up and return on the second day. A few days later he died. Soon after his elder son also died, the younger one fell seriously ill. A daughter of the village Lama

died too. He is the mayor's mother's brother and in the "speeches from behind" he was often mentioned as being an accomplice to his nephew's misdemeanours. Thus it is not surprising that he stands alone in blaming the village as the only guilty party in the present state of affairs. Everyone else in the village says the diseases are caused by the mountain god due to the mayor's deeds and the quarrels in the village.

How did the story continue?

The consensus of the village was that the *yul lha* had to be placated. And he had to receive his sheep. One of the village spokesmen asked the Lama of the village monastery to perform a great ceremony for the mountain god. At least one family member from each house in the village attended this adoration ritual. Everyone contributed to the proceedings with their obligatory donations. In the monastery kitchen a meal was prepared from the contributions of flour and butter for all the participants. The question of the sheep proved to be somewhat more difficult. The village had provided an animal and wanted it to be set free as soon as possible. But there simply was not anyone left alive, who could have performed the ritual according to the ideal order. The only surviving son of the mayor was too young to carry out the ceremony. The problem was solved by the brother of the deceased, who performed the ritual proceedings. Their effectiveness and their acceptance by the *yul lha* was guaranteed through the presence of the mayor's young son. As soon as he is old enough, he will take up the duties which his father had so irresponsibly neglected. The villagers say that there

is no need to lose another word about the story of the sheep --the mayor is dead and the mountain has its sheep.

There are two aspects of the play which I wish to emphasize: When I saw all the sick people in Phijor I had met a year before in good health, I asked myself, who is responsible for this --the mayor, community, or both? Who caused the problems? Is the common notion of, what we may call "morality" threatened, so that the survival of society is in danger? The villagers have chosen an overt form of moral deviance to answer the mayor's covert form of amoral activities. They all had known what might be the outcome of the story. In the state of general disruption this is what eventually really happened. The events confirmed the "conception of life" or *Weltbild*. I shall not attempt to answer the question of whether morals really need deviances and infringements for their existence. Certainly in Phijor the play of the sheep had provided a new vital impulse for the morals. Even if it is too late for so many.

The second reason to think about the whole issue lies more in the scholarly domain. Here, too, I do not want to give any solutions but open a question for discussion. Can such models derived out of local expertise at the peripheries of a central state provide insights about the centre's inner genesis? The sources tell us very little about the social system of ancient Tibet before the first kingdom. The blurred picture which we have of this time shows small, independent clan principalities, settling in clearly defined areas. The ideal centre of their world was a mountain as the abode of the ancestor and the "soul-mountain" (*bla ri*) of the lineage and the clan. The special access to the veneration of the mountain legitimised a position of

power in the society (Tucci, 1949; Stein, 1981). In the last scene of the play we have seen the *yul lha* venerated in the Buddhist monastery of the village and not in the private chapel of the mayor. Will the son of the deceased still be in power then? Or will the monastery finally take over this religious service and claim the social positions intrinsically linked to it? Or will the democratically elected representative of the Nepalese state take over the political influence in the village? At the close of the *yul lha* ceremony in the monastery the elected representative of the Democratic Party interrupted the ritual performance to announce to the assembled village community that from now on all the monetary aid from the government would be used for the intended purposes and not disappear in the pockets of notorious persons.

For the answers to all these questions we have to wait for a few more years. The structures of today's political system and ideological concepts would allow the run of Phijor's history in different directions.

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TRANSPORT GEOGRAPHY OF NEPAL

Michael Griesbaum¹

Migration patterns and the transport infrastructure provide the necessary basis for understanding Nepal's situation on the macro level. Out of the transport infrastructure, the road traffic claims far-reaching impacts on the regional organisation that is studied in detail for the area east of Kathmandu up to Jiri.



Figure 1: Traffic volumes on Nepal's road network in 1986. Even on the busiest route (Kathmandu - Raxaul), the average daily traffic of 800 vehicles per day looks modest compared to European standards. Road branches such as the one to Jiri, Ilam or Tulsipur are used by less than 50 vehicles per day, often criticised as inadequate usage in comparison to the investments made.

¹ This article is a short summary of my doctoral dissertation submitted to the Departments of Geography, University of Zürich and Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

In 1986 the road network provided the best access to the Central Region around Kathmandu, and the East-West Highway in the south stretches over the whole length of Nepal. In contrast, until 1975 only Kodari (border with China), Kathmandu, Pokhara, Butwal and Raxaul (border with India) were interconnected, whereas other important centres such as Biratnagar and Dharan in the south-east were cut off and consequently grew more isolated from the Central Region than after 1986. At present new motor roads preferably into the Mid hills of Nepal, and the case study around Jiri exemplifies the road impacts typical for rural areas in Nepal.

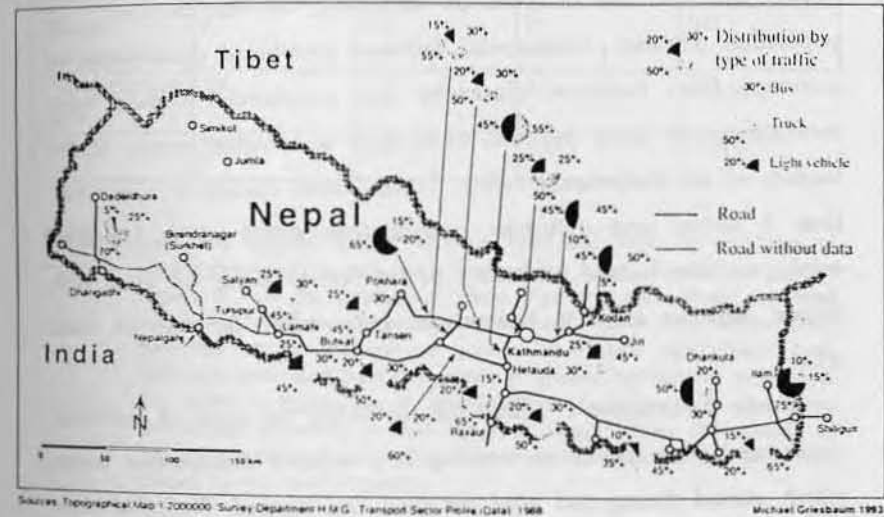


Figure 2: Traffic modes on Nepal's road network in 1986. In most cases heavy traffic (trucks, buses) greatly exceeds the share of light vehicles. On some main sections, trucks and buses make up 85 % of total traffic, reflecting a sharp contrast to European standards of generally 10 to 15 %. This has consequences in the difference of axle loads, maintenance tasks and the degree of road uses (one bus in Nepal, e.g., corresponds to a minimum of 30 light vehicles in Europe, with regard to the number of passengers transported).

Major road impacts:

All the impacts were studied by comparing the situation before and after road construction with the help of aerial photographs, and particularly for rural infrastructure and diversion of main trails the whole hinterland from Kathmandu to Kodari (Arniko Highway) and along the road to Jiri were assessed. The Jiri road was opened about 20 years after the Arniko Highway. The distribution also reflects the growth and industrial development potential.

Rural infrastructure : Basic infrastructures such as education and health facilities are distributed according to the demand, i.e. population densities. Commercial facilities (combined occurrences of communication facilities, electricity and commercial banks) were concentrated all along the road while there is a higher density in the vicinity of the Kathmandu valley. Trade centres (locations with more than 5 shops) and industrial centres (enterprises of at least 10 employees) are located preferably in sub-centres along the road with higher densities close to Kathmandu and modest densities in rural areas

House construction : Within the Jiri valley the dates of buildings constructed were monitored resulting in a massive construction boom which started during and after the road was opened. Preferred sites were not all along the road but at certain spots such as the end of the road, the crossing of a main trail with the road (a complete new bazaar), a road junction or a bridge.

Land use changes : The total catchment area of Sikri and Jiri Khola (3897 hectares) was investigated for the present situation and

28 years ago. The results are :

Land use categories	Area in 1994		Area in 1967	
	hectares	%	hectares	%
Closed forest	876	22.5	65	1.7
Open forest	1120	28.7	1110	28.5
Pasture	939	24.1	1695	43.5
Agricultural land	826	21.2	997	25.6
Open settlement	88	2.2	18	0.5
Dense settlement	9	0.2	0	0.0
Unproductive land	39	1.0	12	0.3
Total	3897	100.0	3897	100.0

Table 1: Land use changes in Jiri between 1967 and 1994 on the basis of photo-interpretation and field verification. Most unusual as a road impact is here the increase of forest. Formerly open forest converted into closed forest and pasture into open forest. Thus afforestation prevailed at the expense of pasture and some agricultural land. Although cultivated land decreased, at present agricultural produce in Jiri valley is higher due to intensification measures. Open and dense settlements increased as was observed already from the number of houses constructed. The slight increase of unproductive land was caused by the road alignment.

The land use changes in Jiri cannot be judged as pure road impacts but must be regarded in connection with the forestry sector and other activities of the Integrated Hill Development Project (IHDP). Contrary to the Jiri case, many other areas in Nepal without accompanying measures, such as a forestry component, experience

deforestation as soon as there is better access to the forest (e.g. in the Terai along the East-West Highway or the left bank of Trisuli between Mugling and Narayangadh).

Economic changes have taken place from a traditional subsistence farming system to a system mixed with a monetary economy based on project cash inflows, tourism being below any expectations nowadays because of air services directly to the Mt. Everest region, cash crops and strengthening of local markets (INFRAS 1993). Awareness building, an accelerated diffusion of innovations, faster behavioural changes and a transformed economy have developed hand in hand with and due to a strong impetus from the road. Caused by a scarcity of fire wood, kerosene as an alternative resource from outside reached a more competitive position with road transportation and became a strong substitute. Likewise, the use of Chinese thermos cans and Indian pressure cookers in recent years gained wide popularity that helped to reduce energy consumption drastically.

Diversion of main trails: A comparison of the one inch to one mile maps from 1955 with the Main Trail Maps from 1989 gives evidence that the former general pattern was preferably a north-south direction with traditional trade routes between Tibet and the southern hills of Nepal (the Terai belt was a barrier because of malaria). The road often has replaced sections of former main trail alignments. With the primary orientation of the road network towards Kathmandu the capital became more important, subsequently its area of influence grew. Also the importance of regional centres increased, finally resulting in a new main trail network which interconnects road heads, district headquarters and other important regional centres or

clusters of various medium-sized centres (Griesbaum 1985).

Conclusions for road planners:

Road planning in an ecologically vulnerable region such as Nepal asks for special attention to integrative transportation concepts by considering predictable impacts on regional organisation, land use changes, bioengineering methods, sociology and economy.

Improvements within the whole transportation management cycle are needed, i.e. planning, implementation and review. The proper tool box for road planners consists of network master plans, inventory studies, maps, aerial photographs, satellite images, a data bank, feasibility studies, the impact matrix method, a choice of project alternatives and their ranking, geographic means for enhancement of map bases and statistical data, models and construction principles, implementation and maintenance plans, evaluations.

Planners have to be aware of typical impacts experienced in the past and must react with countermeasures. Trends, as much as they can be forecast, are important elements to predict the regional development under the influence of a new project. In the case of the Jiri road, initially, it was a serious planning mistake not to connect the traditional centre and the headquarters of the Dolakha District, Dolokha with the road. It resulted in a massive movement of the market and administration to Charikot, the next roadhead. Even after an access road to Dolakha was constructed with local initiative, and even though the economic exodus somehow could be reversed again in favour of Dolakha, the previously induced damage was irreparable.

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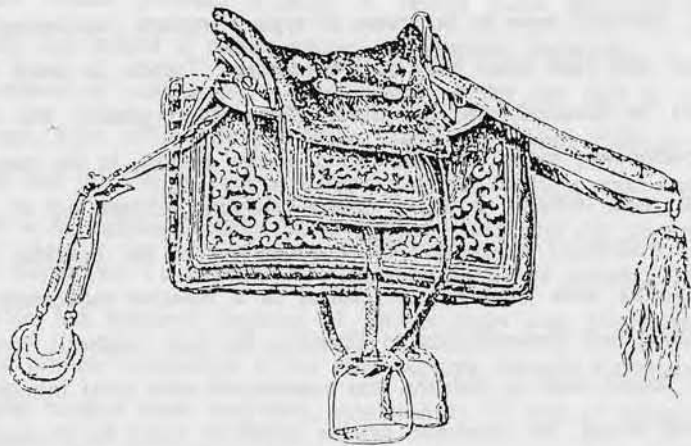
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Article review by Brigitte Steinmann.

A. Höfer gives us the second sorting tray of his shamanic recitals, recorded in the seventies, among the Tamang of Dhading district. This is an important and expensive volume of 379 pages, presented in three parts: the concepts, ritual techniques and language of the bompo; the text of the recitation; and the analysis of "symbol-construction". I shall deal here mainly with the second part of the book, i. e. the transcription and translation of the Tamang songs, although we shall see that all the book is concerned with this second part.¹

Last November, while I was walking in the (Eastern) hills of the Tamang Temal area with one of my Tamang companions, Thubten Gyalcen Lama, a Tamang rnying-ma-pa monk living in Sailung, Thubten aroused my curiosity while immersing himself, at each halting-place, in a number of photocopied pages of an English book. Glancing over his shoulder, I realised that he was patiently trying to read and to understand a chapter of the last book of A. Höfer, which was not yet available in the bookshops. I knew that Thubten had a vast international net of information about westerners deeds and words, and I proposed to help him as I could in this

¹ I keep A. Höfer's Pelliot transcription for the Tibetan terms quoted, and in my own notes I adopt the Wylie transcription. Nepali is transcribed according to Turner's Dictionary. TG refers to Thubten Gyalcen.

reading which soon became an exegesis of the translation of these western Tamang recitations, and an interesting debate with Thubten about the many different ways of transcribing the oral Tamang language into written Tibetan. We continued this work in Temal, in the company of Wangyal Lama (rnying-ma-pa), Bahadur Singh Tamba and Shyangdan and Maila bompos. I must add that all of them understand the western Tamang language; several Eastern Tamang people from Temal are married with western Tamang.

A. Höfer's method, since the publication of the first volume, *Tamang Ritual Texts*, has not changed. His translation still consists in the reconstruction of the meaning of unknown Tamang words by a philological derivation from supposed Tibetan roots or words found in the dictionaries. When the author does not understand a word or a verse, he proposes a Tibetan root, sometimes quite far from the pronunciation and the transcription of the corresponding Tamang word. Then he inserts commas and parentheses in the translated verse to express uncertainties, although he is able each time to propose a translation and a mythological explanation. We know that such recorded "texts" of oral languages are very difficult to understand and that the transcription itself is full of uncertainty. The lack of a recorded disk in the book does not allow the eventual Tamang speaker to check how the words have been heard by the ethnographer. Therefore, the reader must have confidence in the transcription. I am taking here firstly three examples, to illustrate how the same verse can be understood and translated in two completely different ways, both of them based on a Tibetan derivation. After, I shall give a (non-exhaustive) list of all that

appeared to me and to my informants as mistranslations and misunderstandings of the whole recital. Let us start with the first Tamang song: **"The state of affairs and the tasks ahead"**, 8-14, p.108, § 19, v. 172. In this part, says the author, it is question of incensing the ritual dagger, the porcupine quill and other shamanic ritual implements. A. Höfer translates thus :

sala syururu d̄j̄nba, ñ̄alna kuibam wágan nañri ñ̄alba,

"It soars {sic} scurrying on the earth, as to sleeping, it sleeps in a hole",

śala kuibam dónbo chyemboi kara śala kuiba,

"as to eating, it eats the syrup of the (flowers of the) great tree",
śyai ama(i) bişiri gyálboi syorai śyaldo saññi le !

"let us go and incense the bristliness of the wild animals(?) prickly king !

ò: nàm̄la phiriri d̄j̄nba, sala syururu d̄j̄nba,

"ò: it soars fluttering in the sky, soars scurrying on the earth",

śala kuibam pe:ma ġesere br̄bu śala kuiba,

"as to eating, it eats the fruit of the *pe:ma ġesere* tree",

màp̄cyi amai meḷon̄ karboi syorai śyaldo saññi le Phamo !

Let us go and incense the bristliness of the white (bright ?) *meḷon̄* (made of the feathers) of the mother peacock O Phamo !

One can translate instead :

"(The spirits) run on the earth, soaring "syururu", born from the womb, in the matrix,

"born from the earth, born from the virile semen ("the syrup of the great tree"),

"mother of the flesh, king of the noble (*shri*) semen, the colour of his (her) face has gone away !

"the gods fly in the sky, *phiriri*, the spirits run on the earth, *syururu*",

"born from the earth, the fruit of the cotton tree,

"the bright mirror of the mother peacock, O Phamo, the colour of his (her) face has gone away".

Notes :

The onomatopoeia "*syururu*" can be applied to any spirit coming, and there is no word here meaning "porcupine". In the note, the author says that his informant simply told him that "*syururu*" could evoke the movement of the porcupine.

n̄alna kuibam , Tib. *mngal-nas skyes-bam*, "born from the womb" (and not "to sleep", with *kuiba* as "an intensive form for *n̄alba*", therefore, *kuiba* is not translated by Höfer).

wágañ n̄añri n̄alba , Tib. *'og-khang nang-ri mngal-ba*, "in the house of the matrix" (not "the porcupine sleeping in a hole"! According to note 26, p. 60, Macdonald would also have noticed this function of the porcupine ?)

s̄ala kuibam , Tib. *sa-las skyes-bam*, "born from the earth" (and not Tib. *za-ba*, "to eat", like verse 109, p. 90, *s̄abai khari pho:ji wa:*, where "to eat" is justified. One would have here *s̄aba*, or at least a form different from *s̄ala*, above, meaning "from the earth". The author solves the problem by transcribing *sala* and *s̄ala*).

dónbo chyemboi kara , Tib. *sdong-po chen-po'i ka-ra*, "born from the virile semen" (the syrup of the great tree is a metaphor: *kara*

means *sa-bon* or *khu-ba*), *b̄isiri* means *shri* {*bij*} or the Nepali word for semen.

syai ama, "mother of the flesh", can be understood literally. It is not necessary to find here a metaphor for "the game". One does not understand exactly the adding of a mark of genitive to *ama* by the author.

syorai syaldo saññi le , Tib. *shor-ba'i zhal-mdog gsal-ni le*, "the colour of the face has gone away", which means that someone died or is no more happy !

phiriri is always linked to the gods flying in the sky; *syururu* to the *bhut* running on the earth. The alternance with *phiriri* here makes clear the translation.

This is one example, among many, which shows the ambiguity of what A. Höfer calls "an interpretative study translation" (p. 49), of "an unusual, manneristic and sometimes even nonsensical" Tamang language (*ibid.*). The nonsense could well come from the ethnographer. Let us take an other example, in the same song, p. 91, v. 107 :

da:mo ñinda n̄awai bardo jyũba - salñi, chàwai bardo jyũba - salñi!

"The dear mistress is befallen by a state of illness (...) by a state of pain - let us go and heal (her)!

yara bl̄onbai khari pho:ji wa:, maṛa bl̄onbai khari pho:ji wa: ?

"Has (she) been affected by something which arises above, has (she) been affected by something which arises below ?

tasya, wasya, laṅsya, ṅengi ru:ri pho:ji wa: ?,

“has (she) been affected by the impurity of the horse-meat, the pork, the ox-meat, (the impurity of) mating ?,

karda ru:ri pho:ji wa:, marda ru:ri pho:ji wa: ?,

“has (she) been affected by the *karda* -impurity ? “has (she) been affected by the *marda*-impurity ?,

sawai khari pho:ji wa:, ṅalwai khari pho:ji wa: ?,

“has (she) been affected while eating, has (she) been affected while sleeping ?,(...)

yara syelne jyūṅji wa: ?,

“has (she) been befallen by a “rinsing up” ?,

maṛa oine jyūṅji wa: ?,

“has (she) been befallen by a “flowing-down” ?,

da:mo ṅinda thōmdom-ri:ri, ri:riṅ-phetphet jyūṅji wa: ?

“has (she) been befallen by *thomdom-ri:ri*,

by (all sorts of) illnesses and ailments (?) ?

One can translate instead :

“Mistress (of the Earth), we have crossed the *baṛdo* of sickness, let us heal !

“Is the pain due to a hot sickness, is it due to a cold sickness ?

“Did (he or she) reincarnate in the clan of the horses, of the foxes, of the oxen,

“Did he reincarnate as one who wears a white weapon (a god) or a red weapon (a *btsan*) ?

“Did he reincarnate as one who eats (a man), as one in the Hell (Narak), (a demon) ? (...)

“Did he reincarnate up (as a god), or did he reincarnate down (like a man or an animal) ?

“Mistress, our consciousness has darkened, we have lost external perception”.

Notes :

Western Tamang write *ṅinda*, for *yinda* (Nep. *hāmilaī*); so, it is not “our mistress”, but “to us, mistress ! (Tib. *gnam-sa gnyis-kyi bdag-mo*), “we are sick”! Does it mean, in Höfer’s conception, that the bombo would address to “the master of the house” if it was a man who was cured ?

yara-blōṅba (like *nawa-chawa*) is the alternance between “a hot illness” (like bubbles rising up) and a cold illness (going down);

pho:ji , Tib. *pho-ba*, “to die, to transfer”;

ru:ri , Tib. *rus* (and not “ritual impurity”; why, in this case, do we have a locative ?); *ṅengi, nangi*, “inside”, (and not *gnyen*, “kinsmen” from which “mating”!)

karda, marda , Tib. *dkar-mda*’ , “weapon of the *lha* (white)”; *dmar-mda*’ , “weapon of the *btsan* (red)”;

khari , or *thog-la, nang-la*, “on, upon”, and not “while”;

ṅalwai , Tib. *dmyal-ba*, or “Narak”, “Hell”, and not “to sleep”.

yara syelne, Tib. *shel-nas* or *’od-nas ’khrung-pa* , “to be born from light (up); *maṛa oine* , Tib. *’og nas* (Tib. *mi dud-’gro skyes-ba*), “to be born like men and animal;

thom-thom (*song-ba*), “having become darkened” (*nang dran-shes yal-nas*);

rim-rim (*song-ba*), “having lost external perception” (*phyi*

snang-ba nub-nas); in fact, it is Holmberg (see note 117) who is right by translating "fear and dark haze".

Höfer translates by "a little-known illness" and "all kind of ailments".

I take a third example of equivocal translations, verse 161, p. 106. A. Höfer explains us that "*chene*" would be "the metal vessel, the central piece of the altar" (from Tib. *mchod-gnas*, "the place of sacrifice"). But *chene* (also *chyene*, see A. H. p. 59), may be simply "You", "about you" in Tamang, or Tib. *khyed-ni*, or Nep. *timi ta*, the personal pronoun given here as an address:

A. H. : *Chene Nolgi Da:mo, Chene Sergi Da:mo,*

"O Chene Silver Mistress, Chene Golden Mistress"

One can understand : "O You, Nolgi Damo, O You, Sergi Damo"!

Everybody understood this last sense in Temal, which leaves the reader utterly perplexed about a good part of A. Höfer's theoretical interpretations about the *chene* as a "group of paraphernalia (p. 166)". In Tibetan, anyhow, *mchod-gnas* refers much more to the chaplain, a person, than to "the place of sacrifice".

I give hereafter a list of other examples of A. Höfer's Tamang transcription and translation and my critiques, with Tibetan etymologies when they are obvious.

"The state of affairs and the tasks ahead", 8-14, p. 88:

V. 94: A. H. : *syerap salyu, sorap baryu*, (from Tib. *ses-rab*, wisdom, and *sro-rab*, heat, ardour):

"make clear the alertness, make the voice of the bon expand"!

B.S.: *syerap* seems related here to *gçen-rabs*, "history of the origin of the *gçen*"; *sorap* is a contraction of Tib. *lha gsol (rabs)* : rituals of propitiation for the gods;

"make clear the origins of the *gçen*, let us accomplish the propitiation rituals for the gods"!

V. 95: A.H. : *yongi bamdi kalbi chyudañ baryu !*

"come down and make the sea-water (in the jug) put on (his) left shoulder expand !

B.S. : In this verse, *kalbi* is not translated; it could come from Tib. *bskal-pa'i chu-dang 'bar-gyu*, "the water expanding at the end of times".

V. 96: A. H. : *yongi (recte: kekki) bamdi kalbi meluñ baryu*, "...the flame put on (his) right shoulder expand"!

B.S. : *ibid.* "the fire expanding at the end of times".

By giving an "idiom", *phamo kalba*, and adding a free correction of *yongi* by *kekki*, A. Höfer reconstructs here a particularly obscure meaning (*melung* for "burning lamp" touching the body).

V. 97: A. H. : *bongi puñma gūlgul jedyu !*

"come down and make the bon's shoulders (?) quake"; *puñma* is given here as meaning "shoulder" (why two different words, *bamdi* and *puñma* ?)

B.S. : Tib. *dpung-dmag (gūlgul) byed-rgyu*,

"let us operate the army of the bompo".

V. 98: A. H. : *bongi geppu khyurna syambu cu:ji,*

“as the bon’s senior departed, another one has taken up (his work)”.

B.S. : *geppu* is not Tib. *rgad-po*, old man, but *rgyud pa*, “the master of the lineage”; *syembu* is not Tib. *gzan-pa*, but *sems (bu) pa*, “to think”, *tshugs-pa*, or *sems dga’ ba*, “to be cheerful”, and *khyurna* is ‘*khyug na*; then :

“the master of the bomo’s lineage came, the mind is in peace”.

V. 101: A.H. : *càwa bappai bonjye, kàwa bappai bonjye, ma.kuina kuibi bonjye, ma.cuna cu:bi bonjye,*

“of a bon who is descended from a *càwa*, of a bon who is descended from a *kàwa*, of a bon who could not help becoming a bon, of a bon who could not help performing (the rites)”.

B.S. : Tib. *rtsa -ba (lha) ‘bab, bka’ ba (lha) ‘bab,*

“of a bon in whom the gods come, of a bon to whom the gods talk”

(*bka’ bab* is synonym of *lung*, “instructions”, and *rtsa-ba*, “root, base”).

Tib. *ma mgu-(wa)*, “if there is no joyfulness” (“if the gods are not happy”)

Tib. *ma ‘gug-na*, “if there is no enduring” (“if the patient is not enduring”), *kuibi bonjye*, “then, what the bomo can do !” (Nep. *kohi pārne bomo* !). (Höfer’s note 101 is less than explicit).

V. 102. A.H. : *jiṇḍa ḍḍaṇ cu:na bḍḍa gyábna kha taṅbai noccyen syoṅla,*

“when performing the ceremony (for) the client, the bon may be hurt at the back by an harmful agent which presents (its) mouth”.

B.S. : Tib. *sbyin-bdag mdos dang tshugs-na* (Nep. *prārambha*) *bon mda’ (bon zor) rgyab-na kha gdang- ba’i gnod-sbyin bshung-la* ,

“if the bomo makes a *mdos* for the client, he attacks the harmful agent opening his mouth, at the back”

A. H. : *nōṅna chi: taṅbai noccyen syoṅla, ..*“may be hurt at the front by a harmful agent which presents (its) backbone

B. S. : Tib. *sngon-na lce* (and not “*chigs*”) *gdang-pa’i gnod-sbyin bshung-la*, “he attacks the harmful agent pulling out his tongue, in front”,

A. H. : *gyábna taṅmen syoṅla, nōṅna júkmen yóṅla*, “may be hurt at the back by a defamation, may be hurt at the front by an accusation”,

B. S. : Tib. *rgyab-na bstang-smān (chu dug) “syoṅla”, sngon-na byug-smān (mc dug) “yóṅla”* (Nep. *halinu*), “at the back, he attacks (the harmful agent) with some poisoned water (from a *bumpa*), at the front, he pours out some poisoned fire”, (*syoṅla* and *yóṅla* are not synonyms),

In the next verse, A. H. translates *jo:ri nákpōi* by “ferocious enemy”, *kuldap, skul-ba* by “to exhort”, *ṅṅdap, ṅṅs-pa* by “wrong” + ‘*dcbs-pa*, “to hit”.

B.S. : There are three kinds of *zor*: *Jori Nakpo’i mnan thabs (bcos-thabs or bcos-pa)*, “to oppress the evilness”, *Jori Nakpo’i brngan-thabs (mchod-pa)*, “to spoil someone with gifts”, and *Jori Nakpo’i ngan-thabs (bskul-ba)*, “to urge someone to work”; so, there is no “magic arrow” or “harming charm” here; these are methods of subduing.

A. H. translates *saṅduṅ-praṅduṅ* by “a (non initiated) specialist”+ *praṅduṅ*, “an echo”!

B.S. : Tib. *zangs-gdung, sprangs-mdung* is not “a specialist” but “a magical spear made of red copper and white iron”.

V. 103. : A. H. : *de:wa maḥyugo, damba maḥyugo thu: dāmbi Gúru Phamo,*

“Do not perturb the action (?), do not perturb the distinction (in the mind), O Guru Phamo with the distinctive mind,

B.S. : *de:wa*, Tib. *bde-ba'i lus*, “the human body” (and not “the action”); *damba*, or *dam-ngag* or Nep. *gyān* (and not ‘*dam-pa*, “to select”); *thu :*, *thugs-dam*, “vow, oath” (and not *thu: dāmbi phamo*, “an epithet”, see note 103) : “Do not perturb the body, do not perturb the knowledge, O Venerable Guru”.

V. 104. : A. H. : *baḥkap tiñle phamoi lāgañ pheñi, nañbai tiñle phamoi lāgañ pheñi !*

“Let us go and get at the *phamo*’s divine abode in the middle of the atmosphere”...

B.S. : According to T. G., *pheñi* means “to offer to the mouth” (and not ‘*phyed-ba*, “to discern”); *nañbai tiñle* would be Tib. *nam-mkha'i khyim*, “the heavenly mansion”: “let us offer (incense) to the *phamo*’s of the divine abode, of the heavenly mansion”.

V. 105. : A. H. : *saṅsam sañbai temrul pheñi, ñcnsam ñcmbai temrul pheñi !*

“If it is a good one, let us go and get at the good omen, if it is a bad one...”

B. S. : *saṅsam* has been confounded with Tib. *bzang-po*, “good”; according to T. G., we have instead : *sangs-sam sangs-pa'i* “if gods are happy or not, let us offer the incense” (? *temrul*)

§ 10, p. 93. : A. H. : *da:moda kha ñammu*, “the mistress’s mouth”...

B. S. : the same mistranslation goes on, *da:moda* is a contraction of *damo ñinda*;

“O Mistress (of the Earth), our mouth”...

V. 118. A. H. : *pūila meḥluṅ (...)*, “the flame in (her) knee”,

B. S. : *pūila meḥluṅ* means simply “the rotule”!

V. 122. A. H. : *da:mo ñinda karbo tha:ri ba:jyi wa: marbo tha:ri ba:jyi wa: ?*

“Has (the harmful agent) affected the white blood, has it affected the red blood of the dear mistress ?

B. S. : “Has the harmful agent affected our white moon, above, our red sun” ?

karbo tha:ri = Nep. *seito jun māthi* (Tib. *dkar-po thog-ru*), “the white moon, above”; *marbo tha:ri* = Nep. *rāto gam māthi* (Tib. *dmar-po thog-ru*), “the red sun, above” !

V. 123. A. H. : *khañsari ba:jyi wa: syiñsari ba:jyi wa: ?* “has it affected the homestead, has it affected the fields ?

B. S. : *khañsari*, Tib. *gangs-sa* “the snowy mountain” (and not *khang-sa*, “the homestead”); it is put in opposition, here, with *zhing-sa*, the fields.

p. 95, V. 125. A. H. : *sadañ.sò:i kuldap, sadañ.sò:i ñeṅdap*, “let us go and find the magic arrow (made) of the *sadañ.sò:*”

B. S. : *sa-dang-svo*, Tib. *lha dang klu*, for the bompo, or “gods of the earth and heaven” (Tib. *gnam-kyi lha = svo; klu sa-bdag btsan = sa*); A. H. does not translate precisely *kuldap (...)* *ñendap*; it is Tib. *bksul-thabs* and *brngan-thabs*, see above. According to Höfer, all these are “magic projectiles”, and the *sadañ.sò*, “the birch-tree”:

“Let us call to work the gods of earth and heaven, let us honour them with gifts”;

A. H. : *yařlamdai*, *mařlamdai*, “crossroads”, “the place where evil spirits and ghosts are expelled to”;

B. S. : *yařlamdai* evokes more precisely the Tib. *yar lam-mdo* or *gnam rim-pa dgu*, “the crossroad at the upper part of the nine stages of heaven, where the demons reside” and *mar lam-mdo*, “the lower part”;

P. 97, V. 127. A. H. : *řam gyaram gu:ri*, “near the crossroad”;

B. S. : *dgu*, “nine”, and not *gu*: “corner”: “at the crossroad of nine ways”; (the *bla-ma* say that there are eight *dursa*, and the bompo say that there are nine ways and nine *dursa*).

V. 130. A. H. : *cengi řaser (...)* *mengi řaser*, “the *řaser* of a *ccn*, the *řaser* or a *men*”!

B. S. : *men*, for the bompo of Temal, is effectively Tib. *sman*, “a *sman-mo*”, very known among the Tamang; why not to translate here? *da* is Tib. *mda'*, but *ser* would suggest *mda'-zor*, and not *gzer*, “nail”;

“the sharp arrow of a *btsan*, the sharp arrow of a *sman-mo*”.

V. 131. A. H. : *chalam řambi noccyen salñi*, *břlam řambi noccyen salñi*

“let us go and find the harmful agent which injures the great-grandchildren (?)”!

B.S. : *chalam*, Tib. *sha lam (bsnoms pa)*; *břlam*, Tib. *dbugs lam*, “the breath”, “which injures the flesh, which injures the breath” (and not “the progeny”, with an “artificial disjunction”, according to A.H., va p. 165 !);

P. 101, § 15, V. 137. A. H. : *ři:ba řaru řajye ři:ba, ři:ba menđu řajye ři:ba*,

“(In order) to perfume, perfume with the pure *řaru*, to purify, purify with the pure *menđu*,

B. S. : *di:pa* may be equivalent with *sbor-ba*, “to set fire to”; *řaru řajye*, Tib. *lha yi dag-byed*, “the sacrificial grass” (*kusha*); *ři:ba menđu řajye* means probably *me-tog mda'can* or *dga' rab dbang phyug*, “the son of Vishnu, the god of love (Kamādev).

A. H. : *mřawai řuñjye řańba*, “to incense from the lowland”

B. S. : *mřawai* is most probably *smra-ba'i*, an epithet of *rma-bya*, the peacock (*smra-ba'i*, “the one who speaks”, qualificative of the Tamba in the East).

P. 103, § 16, V. 139, A. H. : *Řasyiń Lamo, Sańdul-Nańdul*, not translated,

B. S. : *Snańg-srid Lha-mo*, or “Lhamo of visible appearances”; *sa'ńdul-ba*, *gnam 'ńdul-ba (sa'ńdul gnań'dul gyi dgon-pa)*, “the *dgon-pa* established by the Guru Rinpoche”.

A. H. : *pe:ma cya:ri syi' řańba*, “incense the *pe:ma cya:ri syi*: “the four zones of carved patterns of endless knots”

B. S. : in fact, it is “Padma Spyan-ras-gzigs”!

V. 140, A. H. : *Sinsin Dólmo*, “the name of a tree”

B. S. : “*Shing-srin sGrol-mo*”

A. H. : *khardai gla:ri thunbai krèggi jara-nara sanba*,

“incense the roots of the cane which originates in the kharda’s place”,

B. S. : *jara-nara* is the inversion of Nep. *rāja-rāna*, “king and queen of the obstacles” (*bgegs-kyi rgyal-po*), and certainly not “the roots of the cane”!

A. H. : *cya:gi gošum kù sanba, saṅgi gošum kù sanba*, “incense the nine iron *gosums*”... (“amulets on the bomo’s back”)

B. S. : *Lcags-kyi sgo srung dgu, Zangs-kyi sgo-srung dgu*, “the Nine Iron Guardians, the Nine Copper Guardians”.

P. 105, § 17, V. 146. A. H. : *hoṭṭa*, is *hoser* (‘*od-spro*, “light”);

B. S. : it seems much more to be ‘*od + da* (Nep. *lāi*).

V. 150, A. H. : *naṅbai tinle Tabu Norbu khurñi*, “let us go and carry Tabu Norbu”...

B. S. : The *bomo* does not carry but rides on the *rlung-rta*, the wind-horse on the *rlung-rta*.

V. 154, A. H. : *phraṅḍi phraṅgu sya:ñi, lamdi laṅgu sya:ñi* ! “let us go and remove the *phraṅ*-obstacle on the path”,

B. S. : ‘*phrang-dgu*, “the nine ways”, *sya:ñi*, “to dance”, according to the *bomo* :

“let us go and dance on the nine ways” (*lam-dgu* and not *lam gugs-pa*, “to draw back”).

V. 155, A. H. : *noocyen damla ta:ñi, noocyen chyibda brañi le Phamo*,

“let us go and magically fix the harmful agent, let us go and break open the union (of) the harmful agents O Phamo” !

B. S. : *damla ta:ñi*, Tib. *dam-la btags*, “to link by oath”; *brañi* is not *bralba* “to force open”, but *bsgral-ba*, “to kill” (by liberating); *chyibda* is not *chyippa*, “to join”, but *gnod-sbyin* (or *gnod-can* or *chen*) ‘*chi-bdag*, “the masters of death”!

“let us link by oath the great harmful ones, let us liberate the masters of death O Phamo”!

§ 18, v. 159, A. H. : *bōnda misal, gaṅsal thoñju, hiṣye, nòsye thoñyu* !

“come down and have clear-sightedness, clear sensedness (...) mystical wisdom”...

B. S. : According to T. G. : “if words are not clear, everything will become clear”...

V. 163, A. H. : *Brigaṅsyi, ‘bru gan-kyi bdag-mo*, “the mistress of the sacrificial vessel filled with seeds”.

B. S. : ‘*Bri sgang bzhi, Bod-yul* (‘*Bri-yul-gyi sgang bzhi-yi bdag-mo*).

A. H. : *Chene Chegara Saṅmo*, “obscure” for A. H.

B. S. : *lcags-ra bzang-mo* ? which would be the only proof of *chene* meaning “metal vessel”.

V. 165, A. H. : *Phola Karbo, Phola Marbo*, (*phola*, “the stones placed in the *chene*”), *Syelgar Jyomo*, “a female in whitish rocks”,

B. S. : *Phola*, “*rus-kyi pho-lha*”; *Syelgar, Shel-dkar Jo-mo*, “Mistress, White crystal”, or a place in sTod, in Tibet.

V. 176, A. H. : *Lemba Gara Dúba Ṭha:duñ*, “the divinity of the ritual dagger”,

B. S. : *Lemba Gāra* , or *rDo-rje Leg-pa*; *Gāra* alludes also to the Kami (*mgar-ba*). *Ḍúba Ṭha:duñ* or *sGrub-pa khrag 'thung*, (*khro-bo*, fearful aspect). The note 176 is very confusing. *Ḍúba Thu:nyen Chyembo* is *Thugs rje chen-po*, or *sPyan ras gzigs*, (*zhi-ba*, peaceful aspect). Further, *Khyuñ Raḡu Chyembo* is *Khyung rva dgu Chen po* or *Mahā Gaṛuḍa* with nine horns (and not "the epithet of all kinds of *khyung*", see note 178).

P. 111, § 20, v. 184, A. H. : *cadañ.ju, pradañpri reṭpa gyurñem*, "all insects, dung-beetles perished",

B. S. : *rtsa dang chu*, "all the roots and water"; *spra dang sprchu*, "the great and small monkeys";

P. 113, v. 195, A. H. : *luwa-buwa*, "the bushiness of the *dubo* grass",

B. S. : *rbu-ba*, "foam", *khu-ba rbu-ba*, "from the water and the foam"; it is a metaphor of the creation starting from the foam, which is omni-present in the songs of Eastern Tamang.

I leave aside many other examples of what could be a tedious list of mistranslations and misunderstandings, to give a brief commentary of certain arguments of the book. In the introductory chapter (p. 17), A. Höfer writes that the description he gives of the *bombo* "is not to mystify him"; but is it not a kind of mystification that to create new specialists (the *sañduñ-prañduñ*), new kind of impurities (eating of horse-meat), new places of worship (the *chene* - p. 60, A. Höfer admits that the shamans did not help him a lot in this interpretation -), new sickness, the *thomdom riri*; fantasies about the porcupine; and to ignore many basic expressions and allusions

like the *sadañ svo*, the nine ways of the bon, the role of the *mdos* in the rituals, (denoting there a strong influence of the *nying-ma-pa* doctrine and of written texts among the bompos), the exact names of divinities of the Tibetan Pantheon; to confound the "sphere of the homestead" with the snowy mountains, the grand-child with the flesh, gods with trees, Padma *sPyan-ras-gzigs* with four knots, "our" with "us", and so on ?

P. 32, note 5, there is a note about "the recent origin of Tibetan documents in Tamang hands" which Macdonald found at Bodnath. Höfer adds that "these documents tibetanize the Tamang, i. e. treat the Tamang tradition in an essentially Tibetan and Buddhist terms". The paradox here is that it is A. Höfer himself who started a long time ago to recreate a more logical Tamang language from Tibetan etymologies, which was a patient and useful work as long as it was based on a real ethnographic work, which does not seem anymore to be the case here (the recordings transcribed here go back to the seventies - 12th October 1971). Further, one cannot help being baffled by the affirmation of the recent origin of the Tibetan sources in the hands of the Tamang: the rituals alluded to by the western bompos are obviously borrowed from lamaist recitations of *nying-ma-pa* apotropaic rituals, described in old ritual texts in the hands of Eastern Tamang: for example, the celebration of certain clan deities with *mdos* (*srid-pa spyi mdos*, *Ma-mo'i khrag-mdos*, *zor-mdos*, *mkha'-gro sgrib-mdos*). A glance at these texts would have helped A. Höfer better to understanding the exact role of the different magic weapons, and to avoid attributing the "syururu" to the porcupine only; *dakini* do that also ! Why, in this case write (p. 56)

that "certain terms (*sgrol-ma*, *mkha' 'gro-ma* and *rnal-'byor-ma*) reveal the influence that Tantric Buddhism, especially the Old Sect, must have had on the Tamang *bompo's* tradition ?

In another surprising note (ch. II, note 7), we read that "in our days at least, not even the most respected Tamang Lamas are able to understand their Tibetan ritual texts". I think that many lamas would be delighted to learn this from A. Höfer, these lamas who try patiently to make understandable to the poor illiterate ethnographers difficult allusions, rhetorical figures and metaphors. If the ethnographer refers to one or two informants only, he has little chance of understanding, or he will soon persuade his informant to tell him what he wants to understand (see the remark p. 48 : "SB who had soon developed into a genuine folk-philologist, did the bulk of this work"). A. Höfer seems to doubt himself about his philological method (p. 47) : "now, it is one thing to denounce the inadequateness of our own tradition of exegetic illusion developed on written materials": why is there no recorded disk at the end of the book, to allow the reader to check the transcription of the words ?

Finally, despite many affirmations about "the challenge to raise the quest for meaning", more than often, A. Höfer cuts short the debate by putting in brackets, with question-marks, the difficulties, for which he always proposes a translation and a transcription. Is it not a way of throwing the responsibility on the informants, and to let it be understood that these songs, after all, can be only a matter of western philology, being produced by illiterate Tamang ?

Note from the editors : Any review may be responded to by the author. In this case, because the author of the book reviewed above is one of the editors of the Bulletin, the response appears in the same issue.

A Brief Reply to Brigitte Steinmann's Review of *A Recitation of the Tamang Shaman in Nepal*

András Höfer

This review is the outcome of a superficial reading and conspicuously partial interpretation of my book. Steinmann is mistaken in her approach, arbitrary in her verdicts and tendentious in her selective use of quotations and references.

(1) She falsely accuses me --and that's a bit much, indeed-- of inventing objects, creating phantom words, and adding suffixes (*sc.* in order to make the text more comfortable for interpretation). (2) It is absurd to pretend that I want "to recreate a more logic Tamang language from Tibetan etymologies" (what an idea!). (3) It is simply not true that my "*translation* still consists in the reconstruction of the meaning of unknown Tamang words (...) from supposed Tibetan roots or words found in the dictionaries" (my emphasis). (4) Steinmann's quite apodictic recifications of my translation are pure fancies. (5) It is hardly legitimate to denounce as erroneous what I find in my fieldwork area simply on the grounds that it does not

tally with what she, Steinmann, finds in hers many miles farther to the east.

For reasons of space, I shall concentrate on the main points:

I did not invent and did not add anything. The word *saridun* is part of modern colloquial (Western) Tamang; and it remains a fact that *tasya* means 'horse-meat', and that *ru:* denotes a certain kind of defilement. The vessel called *chene* (or *chyene*) does exist and is displayed, visible to everybody, on the shaman's altar at any major ritual. Nor is the porcupine a product of my imagination; the passage in question refers to its quills, likewise placed on the altar and likewise visible to everybody. (Here a whole chapter and two illustrations in the book must have escaped Steinmann's attention). What I insert in square brackets are emendations, rather than "free corrections". My emendations, very few and always marked as such, either follow the informants' own suggestions or result from intratextual or intertextual comparison; in either case, they are based on the context.

In criticizing my translation, Steinmann confuses, quite oddly, two different levels of analysis, that of translation, on the one hand, and that of comparison in the comments and annotations, on the other. She does not (want to?) notice that --contrary to what her Eastern Tamang lama informant allegedly aims at, namely "transcribing the oral Tamang language into written Tibetan" (whatever this may mean)-- I saw my task in transcribing and translating the text in question as a Tamang text. My translation

does not render etymological meanings single elements might have had in another language in the past or may still have for the learned among Tibetans. Rather, my translation is based on what the text as a whole means "here and now" to those people for whom and by whom it is recited. To know what it means to them is all the more important since its performance is meant to heal those whom it addresses. The text is *not* in Tibetan, but in Tamang, a language having a grammar, a phonology, etc. of its own. That Tamang is akin to Tibetan, and that the language of the ritual texts contains a number of borrowings from Tibetan provides no justification for treating Tamang as Tibetan--all the less so since such borrowings have often assumed, among the Tamang, a meaning that differs from the meaning Tibetan speakers would give them.--At a separate, comparative level of analysis, I tried to establish some etymologies. I did this *not* to complete and/or correct the translation (which in some cases would have been tantamount to correcting the minds of my informants as members of a speech community and cultural group), but to trace the original meaning and provenance of certain elements, and thus to throw some light on the history of Western Tamang oral tradition. (This was explained in a sub-chapter of my book, which the reviewer does not seem to have found worth reading attentively).

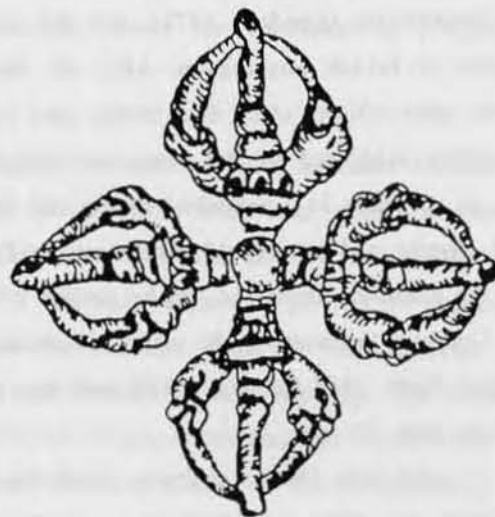
Steinmann's rectifications of my translation are pure fancies, not only because they turn an established context with evident references to the ritual into a mess of phrases devoid of conceptual coherence, but also because her haphazard "transcriptions" into Tibetan brush

aside phonetics and grammar. For example, why on earth should one ignore the difference between retroflex and dental in identifying Tamang *ḍodaṅ* as Tibetan *mdos dan*? Besides, what the Tibetans call *mdos* ('thread-cross', 'demon-trap') is not used by the Tamang shaman at all. For what reason should one confound Tamang *sāla* (deep-level pitch; 'to eat') with Tamang *sala* (high-level pitch; 'on the earth'), and with what justification can one derive the former from Tibetan *sa-las*? If this were pertinent, we would have **sale* (high-level pitch), but certainly not *sāla* in Tamang. Why should one derive Tamang *geppu* from Tibetan *rgyud-pa* if the reflex of the latter is already attested as *gyúppa* in Tamang? There is not the slightest evidence in support of Steinmann's assertion that what I spell *khaṅsa* and translate by 'homestead' is in reality Tibetan *gaṅs-sa* and is to be rendered by 'snowy mountain'. If this were correct we would have **gaṅsa* or **gaṅ.sa* (deep-level pitch, lax vowel in the first syllable) in Tamang, rather than *khaṅsa* (high-level pitch, tense vowel). After all, the pairing 'homestead' versus 'fields' also occurs in a number of other Tamang texts.

Steinmann proves to be unacquainted with the Western Tamang language. If she concedes that neither she nor her Eastern Tamang informants can "check" my transcription (it was explained in my book), how can she insist that it misspells and results in mistranslations? Does she think I produced the orthography and the translation just like that --with the same lightheartedness with which she tries to reject them? Does she really believe that my informants

are ignorant fellows who have not the slightest idea of what they recite and hear? In any case, she should re-read the book.

All I can acknowledge as useful in this strange review are three suggestions concerning word etymology. They are probably correct, but have no bearing on my formulation in the translation.



Lionel Caplan, *Warrior Gentlemen: "Gurkhas" in the Western Imagination*. Berghahn Books: Providence, Oxford, 1995, 181 p.

Review by Harka Gurung*

Gurkha rhetoric and reality

This book is not merely an addition to the voluminous literature on the Gurkhas of Nepal (see 'The Gurkha Guide' *Himal*, IV, 3). It presents an entirely new perspective that will provoke those attuned to the stereotyped genre. The term 'Western Imagination' as the subtitle of the book may evoke reaction to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (London, 1978), but the reference is entirely to English or British imagination. After all, the Gurkhas have never served under officers other than British (and Indian after 1948). This is further evidenced by the extensive bibliography the author provides. It includes 311 published entries of which only three (two by P. Sagant and one by M. Gaborieau in French) are non-English. Of the published items, 64 are by British officers who served with the Gurkhas. Incidentally, the author overlooked Sir Ian Hamilton's *Gallipoli Diary, 1915* (London, 1930) and thus missed the following nugget on page 33:

"... each little Gurkha might be worth his full weight in gold at Gallipoli."

* Harka Gurung attended King George's Military School, Jullunder. His father, a Subedar of 1/3 G.R., fought in Gallipoli during World War I and was mentioned in dispatches during the Waziristan campaign (1919). This review is also to appear in *Himal*

The theme is well-researched and the case presented in five coherent chapters. The introduction ('discovering Gurkhas') is a review of Gurkha texts and Gurkha involvement in British service. The second chapter ('ecology of military service') relates Gurkhas to their homeland in economic, social and political contexts. The third chapter ('culture of command') is an interesting description of a particular species of British officers who lead Gurkhas. The next two chapters, under the subheadings 'rhetoric of martiality' and 'making of warrior gentlemen', are essays into the image construction of stereotyped Gurkhas. The concluding chapter ('Gurkha fictions and political realities') attempts a synthesis on how the strategies of the text and colonial power are interlinked to produce the imagined Gurkhas.

To begin, the author relates available literature to the social and cultural settings from which the officers themselves come. The close identification with the persons they study emerges as the 'mysteries of courtship' between persons of unequal class. In this discourse on the Gurkhas, there are only romantic approvers since the same 'tatterdemalion bands' (Pemble, *The Invasion of Nepal*, 1971, p. 28) as Nepalese soldiers are transformed into *beau-ideal* soldiers under the British. One of the distinguishing features of this literature is its strong sense of continuity. Thus, the series of Gurkha handbooks continue with the brick and mortar of Buchanan Hamilton (1819), Hodgson (1833) and Vansittart (1894), versions on ethnic qualities while early Gurkha heroic tales and their loyalty to the British are recounted as sacral *mantra* that become embedded as

elemental Gurkha. Thus, in attempting to dissolve the polarities between rigidly text-centred approaches and those which, in a privileged context, downplay or dismiss the character of the texts, the author discovers that the Gurkha is a creation of military ambience.

The anthropologist-author explains that Nepal itself has no category of people calling themselves 'Gurkhas', only certain ethnic groups preferred in military service. These Mongoloid tribals constitute an overwhelming majority in foreign armies but in Nepal itself, Caucasoid Chetris predominate. He also clarifies Anglophile Jang Bahadur's ambivalent role in restricting Gurkha recruitment by the British. Formal agreement (1886) was reached only with the accession of Bir Shamsher who sought British support in his power struggle against Jang Bahadur's son.

The chapter on 'Gurkhas at Home' is of much interest from the Nepalese perspective although the regional terms, 'middle hills' and 'mid-montane' Caplan uses interchangeably could just simply be 'the hills'. The hills from where the Gurkhas come happen to be in the middle of the mountain and the Tarai regions. He cites anthropological studies and official data on the economic benefits from Gurkha service. Of the latter, the officially quoted are some £22 million as annual pay and approximately £5.6 million as pension. It would be much higher in the case of pay and pension from the Indian army, as Gulmi district alone receives an annual pension of Rs. 1.5 crore in Indian currency. Caplan raises the issue of annual British subsidy for allowing the recruitment of Gurkhas, a subject on which the Nepal Government has remained silent.

According to available information, this amounted to Rs. 10 lakh (Indian currency) annually since 1919, and Viceroy Wavell raised it to Rs. 20 lakh per year in 1945. The last time this amount was transferred from the State Bank of India to Nepal Rastra Bank was fiscal year 1976-77 (B. Lal, *Himal*, 2047, Nepali edition, p. 15). However, some information on the British grant made in recognition for the 'service rendered by her people and her rulers during World War I' (vide Pahari, *Himal*, 1991) may be useful here. Part of this grant was used for the construction of Bir Military Hospital. This was followed by a grant of Rs. 76 lakh (Indian currency) after World War II and known as Post-War Reconstruction Fund initially handled by a joint Nepal-India Committee Central Coordination Board. It is now operated by India, of which the Sainik Nivas building at Thamel and the various District Soldiers' Boards (referred to by Caplan, p.54, footnote 17) are the legacy.

Gurkha remittance has much economic significance, particularly to certain hill communities. Indeed, the increasing pressure for army service is indicative of the deteriorating economy of the hills. Caplan cites Macfarlane (*Resources and Population*, 1976) and Des Chene (*In Service of Colonialism*, 1988) who discuss past negative attitudes to enlistment among the Gurungs. In early days, the headman used to assign youths from poor and indebted households as recruits to the *gallowala* (recruiting agent). Nowadays, the recruiters are bribed by the wealthy to send their sons to foreign armies. Another important change is in the direction of flow of army income. Once the only means of cash flow in rural areas, it is now being diverted to urban areas for investment in real estate and new enterprises. As

cited by Caplan (pp.50-52), there has been considerable migration of ex-Gurkhas not only to Kathmandu, they have also spawned new colonies in Pokhara, Butwal, Chitwan, Dharan and other towns.

Another aspect touched on by Caplan is the social effect of Gurkha service in rural Nepal. Although there is no clear evidence of demographic disequilibrium on the fertility level, large-scale male emigration has meant increasing autonomy as well as a burden on the women of soldiering communities. The role of ex-servicemen in spreading education has been noted by a number of observers. Less highlighted is their Nepalization role in language and religion. Once illiterate tribal youths, the soldiers exposed to Roman Nepali and regimental Brahmin chaplains, return home as role models of Nepali speakers and neo-Hindus along with economic resources. What has remained problematic is the political implication of Gurkha service. The ex-servicemen have coexisted with the traditional elite as well as taken over leadership roles according to local circumstances. In a majority of cases, they have emerged as community leaders. At the national level, they are handicapped by the power structure of high caste dominance, both in politics and administration. The very fact that military service abroad drains the best talent from their community, makes them unable to compete for positions of power. This long tradition of external alternatives has certainly marginalized them within Nepal.

The three chapters dealing with sociology of officers who command Gurkhas, imaging of Gurkha martiality and as 'little' gentlemen fall more within the British perspective. While Gurkha chroniclers continue to emphasise peculiarities of Gurkha ethnicities,

Gurkha soldiers need not be concerned with the pedigree of their officers. Caplan discusses their public school heredity and their empirical model in education. The accounts of hierarchy between Royal and Indian officers, the elitism of Gurkha regiments, their corporate identity, and 'muscular Christianity' epitomised in sports make interesting reading.

In formulating martiality as a dogma, some Nepalese ethnics were categorised as 'martial races' based on the doctrine of biological determinism. Their ethnic classification was based on hearsay as only a few military authors were permitted to visit Nepal. Despite the close ties of the Rana regime with British India, Nepal had only 153 European (mostly British) visitors during the period 1881-1925 (P. Landon, Nepal, vol. II, 1928, pp. 298-305). Incidentally, the Ragsdale estimate to which Caplan refers (p. 96) on the ethnic composition of recruits during 1894-1913 actually appears as a detailed appendix table in the 1933 Gurkha handbook edited by C. J. Morris.

The second point Gurkha literature emphasizes is the utter loyalty of Gurkhas to their British officers and the bonds of trust between them. The handbooks' emphasis on simple youths from remote areas as ideal recruits fitted well with the pervasive anti-intellectualism of the army and ease in moulding the recruits. The Gurkha authors contrasted colonial subjugation of India with Nepal's spirit of independence to gain the Gurkhas' unquestioning allegiance for use in politically sensitive situations. The mystic bond was based on paternal patronage in which the British led and the Nepalese followed. A lead article in *The Economist* (London) last year, thus suggested raising a UN peacekeeping force of Gurkhas with British

officers. The myth of unique loyalty was explored by the 'comparatively dour and quicker anger' of an eastern regiment at Honolulu in 1986.

Another burden of the theme happens to be the blind bravery of Gurkhas that Sir Ralph Turner memorialised as 'bravest of the brave'. Indeed, since the Victoria Cross was instituted in 1856, Gurkha regiments have claimed 26 and half of these were awarded to Gurkhas. The recipients include six Magars, four Gurungs, and one each among the Limbu, Rai and Tamang. However, Caplan recounts the fearful memories of ex-servicemen he met in Ilam who equate *bahaduri* (bravery) with medals and not of the Baynes variety (No Reward but Honour?). Gurkha courage seems to be related to absolute obedience, and that Gurkhas also experienced fear is clearly evidenced by P. Onta (*Himal VIII*, 6) from their letters from the French front during World War I.

The 'miniaturisation' process of the Gurkhas that evolved from their long association with the British is being replicated in the Indian army. In essence, whatever one may call it -Gurkha project or Gurkha syndrome- is an expression of Nepal's dependence. Caplan makes reference to Nepalese intellectuals who decry Gurkha service as a vestige of colonialism. They need to consider the exploitation at home that compel these hill men to fight and die for others. The Nepalese elite should have realised that foreign is not familiar, as when abroad, they had to resort to Mount Everest, Sherpas or Gurkhas to locate their Nepalese identity!

This book is about marginalization of a people at home and abroad. Gurkhas do not have the choice of mercenaries epitomised in

Sir Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward*. Their juvenility and exoticism are ideological constructions harking back to an imagined time. As analysed by Caplan, Gurkha literature is basically a colonial discourse. The book is recommended to those interested in perception and interpretation of an alien culture.



CONSERVATION OF THE NEPALESE HERITAGE : STATE OF THE ART

by Ridhi Pradhan

Nepal has a very rich cultural heritage and in the recent years has joined the World Heritage Convention.

The valley of Kathmandu as a whole is now a heritage site and several projects have been initiated with the support of UNESCO and national organisations and foundations. We would like to present here the latest state of the art on Conservation activities in Nepal.

Name of the Project	Location	Duration	Objectives	Institution involved
1. ADB Project	Gorkha	4yrs.,1992-93-1995-96	Development activities	Asian Development Bank
2. Norwegian Project	Dang-Deokhuri in Rapti Zone	2yrs.12.1.1995-11.1.1997	Prehistoric Research	The University of Bergen, Norway
3. KVPT Project	Kathmandu Valley, Especially involved in Patan	Working since 1991/92	Restoration of Monuments	Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust, established in USA
4. Italian Project	Different areas (Kath. Valley and Tarai)	Since 1983-1995 Nov.	Archaeological Excavations and Explorations	ISMEO, Italy
5. UNESCO/Japan Trust Fund Project	Patan Durbar Area	1993-95 Dec.	Documentation and conservation of Monuments	Japan Government through UNESCO

6. Patan Durbar Conservation Project	Patan Durbar Keshev Narayan Chowk	1983 Dec.31st 1997	Conservation of Keshev Narayan Chowk and establishment of Patan Museum over there	Austrian Govt.
7. Swayambhu area conservation project (Programmes implemented as per the Master Plan)	Swayambhu Hill	continued 3 yrs till 1995/96 till 1994/95	1)Conservation of monuments 2)Emergency Afforestation 3)Water supply and sanitation	HMG (Nepal) German Govt German Govt.(UDLE)
8. Patan Conservation and development Programme	Patan Nagarpalika area	1992 Aug. 1995 Aug. extended fo 3 yrs up to June 1998	Conservation and Development of Patan city	German Govt (UDLE)
9. High Mountain Archaeology Project	Mustang Valley	1991-1995	Archaeological Excavations and Explorations	The Caulfied Meiszah Inst. for High Asian Studies, Bonn Germany
10. Microfilm Project	National Archives and other part of the country	Since 1970 to Feb, 12, 1996	Microfilming the Manuscripts of the National Archives	German Governmt
11. Monument Conservation and Durbar Maintenance Office, Bhaktapur	Bhaktapur City	since 1985-86-1995/96	Repair and restoration of monuments in Bhaktapur	50% HMG (Nepal) 50% German Govt
12. Panauti Integrated Project	Panauti	1991/92-1995 Sept.extension process for one year, up to 1996 is under way.	1.Conservation of monuments 2.Development of school buildings 3. Sewerage management 4. Road improvement	French Govt

13. Iba bahi Restoration Project	Patan Mangal Bazar		Restoration of Iba bahi	Nippon Institution of Technology, Japan
14. UNESCO/Danida Project	National Library	1989/90-1995/96 20 Dec. 1994, 19 Dec. 1999	Development of Libraries with special reference to National Library	Danida (Danish aid)
15. Gorkha Durbar Conservation Project (as per Master Plan)	Gorkha	1987/88-1998/99	Restoration of monuments, sites and preservation of natural and historical environments	HMG (Nepal)
16. Archaeological Conservation and Development Project	Whole Nepal	on-going programme	Restoration, excavation, exploration of monuments and display of documents	HMG (Nepal)
17. 55 Windowed Restoration Project	Bhaktapur 55 Window Palace	1995-97	Restoration of 55 windows palace.	HMG Nepal - 10% German Govt -30% SolteeGroup -60%

THE JHIKHU KHOLA WATERSHED PROJECT

P.B. Shah and H. Schreier

Overview of the watershed study

Given the lack of long-term information on land use, resource degradation, sediment transport and soil fertility in Nepal, it was decided in 1989 to use the Jhikhu Khola watershed as the key research area for a long-term monitoring programme. With the support of the International Development Research Development Centre (IDRC), Canada, we focused our research on documenting climatic conditions, soil erosion, sediment transport and redistribution, stream flow, irrigation, deforestation, agricultural intensification, soil fertility, socio-economic conditions and population growth in the watershed. After the first three years, we then initiated a number of smaller projects which attempted to translate our gained knowledge into development efforts. These activities included the construction of a suspension bridge, upgrading of rural water supply systems, reclamation of degraded areas, electrification of three houses with solar-powered photovoltaic cells, and introduction of a water-conserving trickle irrigation system. Computer technology was used in monitoring as well as in data organisation, and a PC-based Geographic Information System (GIS) was used as the main tool for data integration and modelling.

Background

The Jhikhu Khola watershed, which is one of the most intensively used Middle Mountain areas of Nepal, was chosen for the project because all of the problems commonly associated with population growth, agricultural intensification and deforestation in a marginal environment are present in this watershed. The watershed has all of the infrastructure and make-up of a typical Middle Mountain valley. What sets it apart is that the watershed can be reached by a motorable road and the Arnica highway which connects Kathmandu with Tibet passes through the centre of the watershed. This road can be reached from the most remote village by a five-hour walk, and the distance to Kathmandu is about 40 km. This watershed provided a number of advantages since it allows us to examine how traditional subsistence agriculture can be modified to a more market-oriented economy. In some ways this makes the Jhikhu Khola a futuristic Middle Mountain watershed and should allow us to document possible development opportunities that can be applied to other watersheds within the Middle Mountain region.

The watershed is located in the Kabhre Palanchok district some 40 km east of Kathmandu and covers 11,000 ha. The elevation ranges from 750-2,100 m, and the watershed is subject to a monsoonal climate with an extensive dry season from October to May. A 1:20,000 scale topographic base map and was produced as part of the project and served as a basis for all resource inventories

and GIS analysis. Historic 1972 aerial photos were available, and new aerial photos were obtained in 1990. These photographs served as a basis for the historic analysis of land use, and the 1990 cover was also used for the soil survey study. Both sets of photographs were enlarged to 1:5,000 scale and became the basic planning tools for the socio-economic survey and determination of population trends since each individual house could be identified on the enlargements.

Justification of the project

The reasons for the selection of the Jhikhu Khola watershed as the study site is manifold but the most important ones are:

. Hydrological processes in the Himalayas are substantially different from those in more temperate regions, yet little good scientific data is available to document the differences. This is particularly critical in view of the fact that the Middle Mountains represent one of the most modified human landscapes in the mountains of the world. The hydrological processes also need to be better understood in view of the extensive hydro-power potential that is constantly advertised by Nepal and aid agencies. The philosophy of building large hydro-dams is still prominent in spite of recent concern about environmental stability and economic viability.

. Agricultural intensification is putting into question the long-term sustainability of the productive capacity of the mountains, and in this context soil erosion, soil fertility maintenance, and irrigation are the key issues.

. In order to progress from a subsistence economy towards a market system, transport is a basic necessity. Having a road infrastructure which is currently being upgraded, and having a potentially growing market access in the capital city which is within 40 km of the watershed, provide the essential footing for introducing more cash crops into the agricultural system.

. Historic aerial photographs (1972 and 1979) and land use change evaluations are available to provide historic land-use dynamics which are required to document rates of degradation and levels of sustainability.

. The watershed has a very active afforestation programme called the Nepal-Australia Community Forestry Project (NACFP), and their staff expressed interest in obtaining better resource information in exchange for supplying vital historic information about forest management practices and afforestation efforts.

. Successful tree planting programmes have been introduced at the community level by NACFP, but until now, little attention has been paid to soil fertility issues. The forests are losing nutrients by fodder and litter removal, and the long-term sustainability of forest productivity is being questioned. The existing community forestry infrastructure will facilitate the introduction of new fodder trees and new approaches for forest soil fertility management.

. Relationships with local farmers established in Phase I will facilitate on-farm experiments such as fodder tree establishments and vegetable introduction. As a result, we are optimistic that many of the research

findings can be translated into development that has a better scientific basis and points the way towards sustainability.

Project aims

The main aims were to:

1. produce a detailed inventory of current climatic, soil, hydrological, land use, and socio-economical conditions in the watershed;
2. determine rates of change in land use over the past 40 years;
3. identify major degradation processes such as soil erosion, sediment transport and soil fertility declines, and determine the rates of change in these processes under different land use practices;
4. quantify stream flow and sediment dynamics, and differentiate between naturally and human-induced processes and their effects on productivity and management in the watershed;
5. identify successful land use practices (traditional and introduced) that can be used as a model to improve land use, productivity and management in other parts of the Middle Mountains;
6. develop GIS techniques that facilitate the integration of resource information, assist in quantitative modelling of processes and serve as effective communication tools in educating farmers and managers about carrying capacity and sustainability;
7. provide suggestions on how the scientific information can be used

for development and translated into actions leading towards more sustainable resource management in the watershed.

Research programme and team composition

Research Components. During the first three years, a basic resource inventory was conducted which included the generation of a general geological map, detailed soils map, current and historic land use map, topographic map and detailed drainage system map. All of these maps were digitised into a PC-based GIS system and have formed the basis for our integrated analysis. Part of this inventory also included a number of socio-economic surveys, and all of the houses used in the interviews were geo-referenced and incorporated into the GIS system.

The second component included setting up a detailed monitoring network and an intensive monitoring programme. A large effort was made to set up a climate monitoring programme which consisted of five automated tipping bucket rain gauges, about fifty manual 24-hr rain gauges, and five stations equipped with manual and automated air temperature monitors. Erosion monitoring was conducted at five erosion plots located in upland bari fields. Seven hydrometric stations were selected, staff gauges were installed in all of them, and four were equipped with automated pressure transducers to measure stage height on a continuous basis. A flow and sediment monitoring programme was carried out from 1990 to 1995. During the pre-monsoon and monsoon season the monitoring effort was

particularly intensive, allowing us to monitor most of the important storms each year. In addition to these networks, twelve forest plots were selected for a very detailed analysis of soil and biomass conditions in 1989, and these sites were resurveyed in 1994 to determine biomass and soil fertility changes. Similarly, ten agricultural fields were selected in 1989 and resurveyed in 1994 to determine soil fertility changes. A socio-economic survey conducted in 1989 was partially repeated in 1993/94 to document changes. Finally, 200 agricultural fields and grazing land sites examined in 1993/94 were used for monitoring changes in biomass, soil fertility and management practices. All of these monitoring networks were set up to determine rates of changes in the key processes affecting biomass production and land use management.

The third component involved actual community development projects where we tried to assist local communities and farmers in upgrading the infrastructure in the watershed. These activities included constructing bridges, upgrading water supplies, introducing solar energy for electricity and irrigation, reclaiming degraded lands, and training in fodder tree nursery operations. Training and technology transfer are important activities and included computer use, data base management, automated logging and data transfer and use of Geographic Information Systems.

Research Team. Multidisciplinary, integration, and enthusiasm were the key themes that characterised the team which consisted of three

groups: local farmers, the ICIMOD/MRM & UBC teams and a number of graduate students. Farmers became an integral part of the field monitoring programme. Typically up to 40 farmers are employed on a part-time basis to carry out a number of tasks such as measuring daily rainfall, collecting daily sediment samples, making discharge measurements, monitoring erosion plots and assisting in reclamation work. Many of them allowed us to use their fields as a research laboratory, and all participated in the socio-economic surveys.

The MRM team was made up of a core group consisting of a soil scientist, geologist, geographer, and hydrologist. Additional members, participating on a contract basis, included an agronomist, land use specialist, engineer and several assistants with various backgrounds. The UBC team provided expertise in GIS training, hydrology, soil, land use and socio-economic analysis. Finally, many graduate students participated in the project and they came from many different areas and had experience in forestry, agronomy, soil, hydrology, economics and geography.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL HINDUKUSH CULTURAL CONFERENCE, CHITRAL (PAKISTAN), 26-30 AUGUST 1995

Conference report by Hermann Kreutzmann

The 3rd International Hindukush Conference was held at the centennial of the Chitral Siege of 1895 in the heart of the eastern Hindukush. This auspicious date commemorates the event which led to British colonial domination of this mountainous district. About two decades after the decolonization took place, Chitral was fully integrated into Pakistan in 1969. Nevertheless, this former principality remains a remote valley society since communication is interrupted in winter and a project to link it with down country Pakistan through a tunnel road still awaits implementation.

Chitral, the administrative centre of Pakistan's northernmost district in the North-West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P) for the second time hosted an international conference. Due to the activities of the local cultural association, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khwar, it had become feasible to repeat the organisation of a conference with more than 100 scholars in attendance.

Following the First Hindukush Conference¹ held in Moesgård (Denmark) in 1970, it took twenty years to organise the follow-up meeting. One of the most encouraging experiences of this meeting was that more than half of the 54 presentations were made by

¹ The proceedings of this meeting were published by Karl Jettmar in collaboration with Lennart Edelberg (1974): *Cultures of the Hindukush*. Selected papers from the Hindukush Cultural Conference held at Moesgard 1970 (*Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung 1*). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

scholars of the N.W.F.P. A majority were Chitral-based researchers. Topics included environmental issues, economic and cultural geography, cultural anthropology, development and socio-economic issues, languages and literature and economic and political history. The majority of the presentations were made in English, while Urdu and Khowar were introduced in the paper sessions as well as during the *mushaira*, the poets' evening.

The broad range of topics addressed reflected the wish articulated by Peter Parkes at the previous conference to more extensively cover all areas --spatial and topical-- of Hindukush research in Pakistan.³ While previous meetings were dominated by foreign-based anthropological and folkloristic Kalasha research, the spectrum had been widened and recent problems of Chitral environment, health and nutrition situation, history, economy and society were addressed. Delegates from North American, European, Japanese and Pakistani research and academic institutions attended the meeting. Practitioners in the fields of health and rural development and activists from environmental groups and development agencies were represented as well as missionaries from the Summer School of Linguistics. The exploitation of natural resources such as timber, and attempts for control and preservation were discussed within the perspective of local versus external interests and development versus self-determination or incorporating it. Saifullah Jan advocated more

³ See Peter Parkes (1990): Hindu Kush Cultural Conference. In: *BASAS Bulletin. The Newsletter of the British Association for South Asian Studies*. N° 13, November 1990, pp. 6-8.

active participation of local residents in decision-making processes concerning their immediate environment and basic needs. The detrimental effects of outsiders as self-appointed local representatives were highlighted and triggered a controversial discussion. Special emphasis was put on socio-economic problems such as agricultural potential, utilisation of high pastures and future possibilities of land use in high mountain regions as perceived by development agents. Gender relations and the position of women in the rural economy were discussed as indicators for change. Broad attention was given to local history. Evidence from personal records, archival sources and oral tradition was introduced in order to enhance the scattered knowledge of Chitral history. Different viewpoints and subjective selections from source materials stimulated a discussion on former social hierarchies, the role of hereditary rulers and of important personalities for the regional development of Chitral and its external relations. Because the host association derives its name and its major field of activities from a concern for the oral and written preservation of the Khowar language, a number of contributions was devoted to the study of linguistics and folk traditions. The range covered varied topics of toponymic relevance, modern poetry, language and culture including neighbouring languages such as Kalasha, Dameli, Palulo, Shina, Kohistani, Balti and Burushaski. In addition to papers concerned with Chitral, results from comparative mountain research were presented covering topics of the neighbouring regions of the Afghan Hindukush in the west and the Karakoram-Himalaya in the east.

The final resolutions of the meeting addressed the pressing problems of research and institutional backing which are needed for the establishment of a Hindukush Research Institute. The idea was born five years ago during the previous meeting. The text is presented here in order to draw the attention of a wider audience towards the discussion of concerned scholars in the Hindukush.

Resolutions of the Third International Hindukush Cultural Conference

The resolutions of this conference are in continuation and amplification or modification of the resolutions of the Second International Hindukush Conference held five years ago.

The current conference deliberated on many facets of two interrelated issues of crucial concern to the people of the area: (1) environment in the larger sense, which includes both the natural/physical environment, and the cultural environment; and (2) development, again in a broad sense. The conference also retains and reaffirms decisions of the previous conference related to improving the educational, intellectual, and research-related resources of the area.

The natural and cultural environment are intimately related, every culture develops in a specific natural environment. Just as when the natural habitat of an animal or plant species is damaged or destroyed, the species itself is endangered, when the physical environment which has nurtured a particular culture is degraded, the culture itself is endangered. Thus, anyone concerned with the preservation of a culture or cultures, **must** address oneself to both types of issues simultaneously.

Physical/Natural Environment

Several issues of immediate concern to the people of the area have been discussed. They include the growing problem of pollution (air, water, and urban environment), which has reached even previously relatively pristine Chitral. Air pollution from faulty vehicles and diesel generators is increasing; the Chitral Gol and River are increasingly polluted, since there is no means for solid waste disposal other than dumping in the river. Deforestation continues to increase, with the result that the forests of Chitral are in danger of vanishing completely.

Given this situation, the conference urges the Government at all levels, as well as private individuals and concerned groups, to take steps to:

- * work toward a co-ordinated program of environmental education in the schools of the area.
- * increase efforts to develop environmental awareness in the adult population, through radio presentations in the Khowar-language program, public meetings, and in the creative work of local poets and writers.
- * give urgent priority to developing environment-friendly, renewable energy sources, particularly:

a. both small and large-scale hydroelectric power plants. Chitral has enough potential hydroelectric power to produce power far in excess of its own needs and to supply power to the rest of the country.

b. low-cost, simple solar technology (e. g. water heaters or cookers), which can save the country's fossil fuel and forest resources, as well as improve the standard of living of the people.

* identify on an emergency basis, species of plants, trees, animals, and birds that are in immediate danger of depletion or extinction. The juniper tree is one such species. Not only birds that are hunted for food, but many species of smaller birds have had their numbers severely diminished within the last fifteen years. Work toward specific legislative measures is needed to protect these species.

Toward these ends, it is suggested:

* that a locally-based "Environment Protection Council", consisting of concerned citizens of Chitral, be established, with the role of initiating, facilitating, and co-ordinating efforts of both Government and private initiatives for environmental protection.

Cultural Environment

The cultural heritage of Chitral and the larger Hindukush/Karakoram region is immensely rich. The conference recommends:

* that the intrinsic value of regional and minority cultures be respected. This implies taking steps to ensure that indigenous expressions of cultural values not be degraded, distorted, or commercialised in the interest of tourism or sensationalism. In particular:

The present conference reaffirms the convictions expressed in the previous conference that:

* historically, valuable artefacts and archival resources existing in Chitral must be preserved, maintained, and catalogued. Such work

could be one of the initial tasks undertaken by the Hindukush Research Centre being proposed in these Resolutions.

* historical buildings and sites (including forts, palaces, mosques, and ancient house styles) should be preserved. Selected sites should be designated as protected "National Heritage Sites", or "National Historical Buildings", under the protection of the appropriate agency.

* archaeological sites in Chitral should be protected in the same way as archaeological sites in other parts of the country. Such sites should be identified, and responsibility assigned for their protection until such time as carefully planned research programmes for their study can be planned and implemented.

Development

Development projects must be sensitive to their impact on the physical, natural and cultural environment. The conference urges initiators of development efforts, both governmental and non-governmental, to incorporate an environmental and cultural sensitivity component into their planning. Local participation in the planning stages of development projects is essential.

Hindukush Research Institute. The previous conference urged that a multi-disciplinary research institute be established in Chitral, having the following objectives

(1) to provide an interdisciplinary base for scholars, both from Pakistan and abroad.

(2) to provide a centre of attraction for young Chitrali researchers, thus enabling them to develop their interest in research and acquire research experience and skills.

(3) to identify promising young Chitrali scholars, whose educational career could be furthered with advanced training in the appropriate disciplines, both in Pakistan and abroad.

(4) to house a research library, which will house research publications and local archival materials relevant to the region.

(5) to establish a depository and preservation facilities for artefacts of material culture, eventually developing this into a museum with both preservation and educational components.

The present conference reaffirms this goal and resolves that to take the initial steps in bringing such an institute into being the following will be undertaken:

* An **International Association for Hindukush Studies** will be established. Membership of this association will be drawn from Pakistan and abroad. Overseas members will pay a yearly membership fee of \$50 U.S., Pakistani members outside Chitral will pay Rs. 500 per year, and members from Chitral will pay Rs. 200 per year. A bank account will be established in the name of the Hindukush Research Association and part of the subscription money used for recurring overhead expenditures of the Hindukush Research Centre being proposed in this document. Members will, in turn, be entitled to receive an annual newsletter. Conference participants interested in joining the association are requested to indicate their interest to the Chairperson of the Resolutions Committee.

* A **Hindukush Research Centre** will be established in Chitral. The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar, Chitral will appoint a Strategic Planning Committee of five members under the chairmanship of Professor Israr-ud-Din, Chair, Dept. of Geography, Peshawar

University, to develop a constitution including by-laws for the Hindukush Research Centre. The committee will also formulate a Strategic Action Plan, specifying the long-term objectives of the centre, as well as year-by-year steps through which these goals will be achieved. The Strategic Planning Committee will appoint a Consultative Committee of international scholars to collaborate with the local committee and provide requested assistance. The first task of the Strategic Planning Committee will be to develop a PC-I for the centre.

* Resolved that scholars participating in the present conference be requested to send copies, preferably offprints, of their relevant publications to the library of the Hindukush Research Centre.

* Resolved that scholars making research applications indicate the Hindukush research Centre as the local institute with which they will be affiliated. Further, that they budget an amount equal to 2% of the gross amount of their grant for local logistical support from the research centre (e. g., secretarial assistance, local telephone, and local orientation). This financial support will be used to supplement the operating budget of the centre.

* Resolved that the proceedings of the present conference be published as quickly as possible.

* Resolved that the 4th International Hindukush Cultural Conference be held in the year 2000 in Chitral. The theme of this conference will be "Culture, Environment and Development in the Greater Hindukush Region".

*THE SEVENTH COLLOQUIUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR LADAKH STUDIES*

Conference Report by Isabelle Riaboff

The International Association for Ladakh Studies (IALS) was formed in 1987, during the meeting of the Third International Colloquium on Ladakh. Since then it has organised further colloquia. Thus, last June (12th to 15th 1995), the Seventh meeting, convened by T. Dodin, was held at Bonn, Germany, gathering Western and Indian scholars (among the latter, a number of Ladakhpa). About thirty papers were given.

A wide range of papers underlined the increase in the number of anthropological works regarding Ladakh, an increase which was already noticeable in 1993 (when the IALS's Sixth Colloquium occurred at Leh, Ladakh).

Contemporary Ladakh appears to be an important issue, concerned this time less with ecology (a main topic in previous colloquia) than with politics. History remains mainly focused on the nineteenth century, while several other historical papers dealt with the relations between Ladakh and Central Asia. One session treated Baltistan, showing a will to enrich Ladakh Studies through comparisons with Western Himalayan data.

*THE SEVENTH COLLOQUIUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR TIBETAN STUDIES*

Conference Report by Isabelle Riaboff

The Seventh Conference of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (IATS) was convened by Professor Ernst Steinkellner at Graz, Austria, June 18th to 24th 1995.

This international meeting gathered as usual scholars from many countries (including Tibet itself) belonging to various disciplines, reflecting the growing scope of contemporary Tibetan studies.

Considering the over 200 papers which were given, one can get an idea of the main current issues raised by tibetological research. Almost half of the presentations treated philological topics: history, philosophy, linguistics and mainly religion (a full panel was concerned with the "Transmission of the Tibetan canon").

A number of anthropological works were mostly concerned with secular festivals (feasts and rituals; a full day workshop focused on "Mountain deities and their cults"), while others dealt with the meeting of two traditions, either within ancient Tibet or on the present-day borderlands. Furthermore, the sessions in anthropology showed a deep interest in socio-cultural and economic changes today, both within the Tibet and the diaspora (cf. "Development, society and environment" and "Tibetan culture in the Diaspora" panels). Epigraphic, artistic and archaeological issues have drawn interest,

besides Tibet itself, towards the Western Himalayas and towards Middle Asia (cf. "Middle Asian (?) international style 11th-14th century" referenced as a panel).

Last, "The computer and its relevance to Tibetan studies"'s panel gave a range of presentations of various enterprises mainly consisting in the cataloguing inputting and editing of Tibetan texts. R. Prats and P. Kvaerne proposed to compile a bibliography which would be sent to IATS members, whom they request to send their own publications' full references to Ramon Prats (Av. Icaria 150, 3-2 08 005 Barcelona, SPAIN). As a beginning, one should send a list of his/her works he/she has published from January to December 1995.

ART EXHIBITION AND SYMPOSIUM (BONN, GERMANY)

Exhibition :

**Wisdom and Compassion
The Sacred Art of Tibet,
10 May to 25 August 1996**

Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Museumsmeile Bonn, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 4, 53113 Bonn, tel. 0228/9171. Opening hours : Tues. through Sund. 10a.m.-7 p.m.

Due to its geographical isolation and its strongly Buddhist-influenced culture, Tibet has always been quintessentially exotic and mysterious. Tibetan Buddhist art, especially the pictorial language of sexual symbolism, exerts a powerful fascination. This symbolism represents the union of the two main spiritual factors: wisdom and compassion. According to Buddhist teachings, the interaction of these two forces brings enlightenment, bliss and benediction to all sentient beings.

The exhibition divides the rich imagery of Tibetan Buddhism into three subject areas. It first familiarises us with the basic ideas

which originated in India, then presents the schools which developed in Tibet itself and finally leads us into the Buddhist visions of paradise.

In its historical breadth, the exhibition covers the entire development of the sacred art of Tibet from the 9th to the 19th century. On display are 190 objects of sacral art, mainly precious scroll-paintings (tangka) and ornate metal sculptures, but also splendid application work and tapestries as well as wooden, ivory and stone sculptures with a strong religious expression.

The exhibition was created by Tibet House New York and organised in co-operation with the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle.

International symposium

"Mythos Tibet"

Provisional Programme

Friday, May 10, 1996 : **The Historical Development of the Tibet Image**

11:00 a.m. Greetings by Wenzel Jacob (Director of the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland) and by Max G. Huber (Rector of the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn)
Introduction to the symposium by Michael Weirs (Head of the Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens, Universität Bonn)

11:30 a.m. Rudolf Kaschewski (Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens, Universität Bonn): *Das Tibetbild im Westen vor dem 20. Jahrhundert (The Image of Tibet in the West up to the 20th Century)*

00:15 p.m. Donald Lopez (Dept. of Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor): *The Tibet Images of the "Great Mystifiers"*

02:00 p.m. Peter Bishop (School of Communication and Information Studies, University of South Australia, Magill): *Images of Tibet in Western Literature*

2:45 p.m. Per Kvaerne (Dept. of Anthropology, Oslo University): *Tibet Images among Researchers on Tibet*

03:45 p.m. Heather Stoddard (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris) : *The Development of the Perceptions of Tibetan Art in the West*

"Weisheit und Liebe. 1000 Jahre Kunst des Buddhismus"

4:30 p.m. Robert A.F. Thurman (Center for Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, New York): Getting beyond "Orientalism" in approaching Buddhism and Tibet: A Central Concept Underlying "Weisheit und Liebe"

05:15 p.m. A tour of the exhibition

Saturday, May 11, 1996 : Function and Intentions of Idealized Images of Tibet

10:00 a.m. Poul Pedersen (Inst. for etnografi og socialantropologi, Aarhus Universitet, Højbjerg): *Tibet, Buddhism and Theosophy*

10:45 a.m. Reinhard Greve (Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Hamburg): *Das Tibetbild der Nationalsozialisten (The Tibet Image of the Nazis)*

11:45 a.m. Thomas Heberer (Institut für die Erforschung des modernen China, Universität Trier): *Tibetbild in der modernen chinesischen Kunst und Propaganda (The Tibet Image of Modern Chinese Fine Arts and Propaganda)*

00:30 p.m. Oskar Weggel (Südsee Institut, Hamburg): *Tibet und die politische Rechte und Linke (Tibet and the Political Right and Left)*

02:15 p.m. Frank Korom (Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe): *The Role of Tibet in the New Age Movement*

03:00 p.m. Michael Oppitz (Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich): *Das Tibet bild in der modernen Produktwerbung (The Image of Tibet in Modern Advertisement)* (requested)

04:00 p.m. Toni Huber (Dept. of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch): *Tibetan Exile Self-Representation and Global Liberal Discourse: The Recent Creation of Environmentalist, Pacifist and Feminist Tibet Images*

04:45 p.m. Loden Sherab Daygab (Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens, Universität Bonn): *Die Problematik der Nutzung des Tibetbildes für die buddhistische Mission im Westen (The Tibet Image as a Problem for the Teaching of Buddhism in the West)*

05:30 p.m. Dawa Norbu (School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi): *Repercussions of Western Projections on Tibetan Self-Conception*

Sunday, May 12, 1996 : Perspectives and Projections in the Western Discourse on Tibet

10:00 a.m. Samdong Rinpoche (Chairman of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, Dharamsala) (invited, *no title given yet*)

10:45 a.m. Helena Norberg-Hodge (Chairwoman of Ladakh Development Group, Leh/Bristol) (*no title given yet*)

11:15 a.m. Graham E. Clarke (Dept. of Development and Anthropology, Oxford University) (*no title given yet*)

11:45 a.m. Panel discussion with H. Norberg-Hodge, G.E. Clarke, Tony Huber (Dept. of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch), Tsewang Norbu (Chairman of Eco-Tibet Germany, Sankt Augustin), Lambert Schmithausen (Institut für Indologie und Buddhologie, Universität Hamburg)

01:45 p.m. Robert A.F. Thurman (Center for Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, New York): (*no title given yet*)

02:15 p.m. Elliot Sperling (Dept. of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington): *"Orientalism" and Aspects of Violence in the Tibetan Tradition*

02:45 p.m. Panel discussion with R.A.F. Thurman, E. Sperling, Michael Aris (Dept. of Philosophy and Religious Studies, St. Anthony's College, Oxford University), Jamyang Norbu (Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamsala), Thubten Jigme Norbu (Dept. of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington).

Pilgrimage in Tibet

An International Seminar organised by Alex McKay, International Institute for Asian Studies, September 1996 (the dates will be decided later).

International Seminar at Tabo (Spiti)

27th June-1st July 1996

Organised by Kagyur Rinpoche, Karuna Foundation, Centre for International Buddhist Studies, New-Delhi.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Philippe Ramirez : *Patrons et Clients : étude des relations politiques dans l'ancien royaume indo-népalais d'Argha (Népal central)* Paris X, Nanterre, UFR Sciences Sociales et Administration, 3 vol., 653 p.

Of Indo-European language and Hindu religion, the Indo-Nepalese constitute the majority of the population in the kingdom of Nepal. They traditionally occupy moderate altitude zones (800-2500m.), where they devote themselves to the cultivation of cereal grains.

This study aims at identifying the principal constituents of existing Indo-Nepalese political structures through a territorial approach. For that reason, Argha in central Nepal, an autonomous principality until the end of the eighteenth century, was examined.

First, an attempt was made to define the actual limits of the spheres of solidarity and identity. In a landscape of scattered settlements, and in the absence of village entities, the only group of permanent cooperation is composed of those who share the same hearth *culo*, the same house *ghar*. Each of these domestic groups is connected to a patrilineage *kul*, relatively located and endowed with a ritual and implied foundation. In the absence of internal co-operation, an interdependence with regard to the exterior world exists. The interpersonal relationships among relatives (on the mother's side, the father's side and relations by marriage) are

exclusively and explicitly founded on inequality, especially in the domains of authority and respect (*man*). The social landscape is formed from the descendants of the founders, around whom families in their service gravitate.

Certain of these "dominant lineage" benefit from administrative and religious privileges which date before the founding of modern Nepal. In the case of Argha, ancient royal priests were placed to adjudge then to occupy the positions left vacant by ousted princes. For more than a century, they were recognised as representative officials (*mukhiyā*) of the Nepalese king, within the framework of a local system of government founded on the delegation of authority.

After 1961 political duties were no longer attributed by the sovereign, but by electoral means. This major evolution in the principles of definition of legitimacy had two results: the authority of old, dominant lineages is subject to dispute, and a network of numerous clients is hereafter indispensable to winning votes. The importance of the patron-client relationship has been reinforced by the growing dependence of localities with respect to national and administrative economic structures. The patron has become an unavoidable intermediary. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of patronage is certainly not new. It is consistent with the eminently personal nature and the inequality of social relationships in the Indo-Nepalese milieu.

The bonds among lineages and the patronal networks in a particularly significant political context, that of electoral opposition, have finally been analysed, first at the local level, and then the regional level. Three aspects of current political structures were

highlighted. Conflicts involve vertical factions, including families of quite diverse status and aligned with dominant lineages. The areas of inherited influence are still visible and remain the principal axis of affiliations and rivalries. However, groups who claim their autonomy appear on the periphery. In spite of everything, ancient leaders as well as current leaders, exert their influence in clearly perceptible geographic areas: this is the concrete reflection of political structures based on interpersonal connections.

Isabelle Sacareau : *Guides, Porteurs et Agences de Trekking du Népal.*

Etude géographique du tourisme himalayen et de sa dynamique socio-spatiale, Université Paris VII-Jussieu, UFR GHSS, Département de Géographie, 1994, 2 vol., 552 p.

In less than 30 years, Nepal has become the ultimate destination for adventure tourism. The highest summits of the world attract tens of thousands of hikers and alpinists using logistic services proposed by some of the 200 specialised trekking agencies primarily concentrated in Kathmandu. (In 1991 the Immigration Office issued more than 61,000 trekking permits to the 293,000 tourists visiting Nepal. The percentage of tourists requesting such permits is increasing each year.)

The tourism business relies upon a large trail network and inexpensive farm labour in charge of "carrying" during the trekking season. This work represents a traditional activity and, in addition,

constitutes a means of commerce as well as communication among various local groups, given Nepal's poor infrastructures. For some of the Nepalese mountain population, cash is provided through multi-economic activities. They periodically migrate in search of temporary work to balance the precariousness of subsistence from agriculture. As a result, economic incentives in this activity have become increasingly attractive to a larger group of Nepalese.

More than any other seasonal activity, the trekking business is a major factor in social and spatial mobility, accelerating the process of rural exodus and the introduction of Himalayan farmers to the market economy and to urban values of the modern world. Starting as multi-active mountain guides, they tend to become mono-active with the progressive abandonment of their native villages to permanently settle in urban areas. This new opportunity, made possible through "networking", has allowed increased social and economic mobility even for those from poor educational backgrounds, but has also triggered disparities among guides, porters and farmers who are settled in villages. Consequently, the trekking economy has radically impacted traditional Nepalese society, culture and environment.



CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Michael Griesbaum was formerly engaged by HELVETAS in the Main Trail Study of the Suspension Bridge Division, Kathmandu. His Ph.D. studies were conducted from 1992 to 1995 and will be published at the end of 1995. At present Michael Griesbaum operates PLANasia, a consultancy for regional, transport and urban planning, resettlement and land use changes by applying remote sensing methods and Geographic Information Systems (GIS).

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Christian Schicklgruber is curator of the "Museum für Völkerkunde" in Vienna (section of Himalayan and Central Asian collections). He did field research among the Khumbu of Eastern Nepal -on which his Ph. D. thesis is based-, and in Dolpo, where he was involved in a film project.

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Claus Peter Zoller (contributor to vol. 9) obtained a Ph.D. in Indology with a dissertation on the grammar of a hybrid (Tibetan and Indo-Aryan) dialect spoken in the Garhwal Himalayas. From 1985-90 he was resident representative of the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg, in New Delhi. Over the past fifteen years he has conducted fieldwork on oral traditions in Garhwal and currently works on a study of an oral version of the Mahabharata.

The Editors wish to thank Susan Keyes for her kind assistance in the preparation of this issue.



announcing

Journal of Nepalese Studies

CALL FOR PAPERS

Journal of Nepalese Studies is a research journal in English to be published bi-annually (September and March)

The journal is calling for original papers in Nepalese linguistics, literature, art culture, history, anthropology and other related fields from all scholars, Nepalese and foreign.

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Chief Editor
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Kamaladi, Kathmandu, Nepal
Fax - 977-1-221175/ Phone # 220424
2. Papers can be full-length articles, reviews of published works or squibs (short reviews)
3. Contributors should send two copies of their manuscripts submitted for publication
4. Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced including (endnotes and references) on a good quality paper, leaving wide margin on all sides
5. Contributors should follow the prescribed style sheet in preparing manuscripts for submission. The prescribed style sheet can be available from the chief editor
6. The language of publication is English, but articles in Nepali may be accepted for translation into English
7. For their published papers, contributors will receive remuneration, a copy of the journal and ten copies of offprint.



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HIMALAYA: Past and Present

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Scholars working on the Himalayas (including Tibet) are invited to send original research papers in two copies, with complete citation and bibliographical references (as adopted in these volumes), to any of the following along with self addressed stamped envelope for return communication. Use standard Indian conventions for transcription of Indian and Nepali words.

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Kutztown PA 195 30,
USA.

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

All manuscripts should be written in English, not exceed 20 pages (5000 words) and must concern the Himalayan region (whether an article, conference report, announcement, or book review, etc.) Texts should be submitted in hard copy and if possible on disk (preferably on MacIntosh).

Bibliographic references must be complete (i.e., with the date and place of publication and the name of the editor), and follow this pattern :

Stein, R. A.

1981, *La civilisation tibétaine*. Paris, l'Asiathèque.

Sharma, P. R.

1981, "Nepal : Hindu-Tribal Interface", *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, VII (1), p. 1-14.

Tambiah, S. J.

1973, "Dowry and Bridewealth and the Property Rights of Women in South Asia", in J. Goody and S.J. Tambiah, *Bridewealth and Dowry*, p. 59-169, Cambridge University Press.

The deadline for submissions to our eleventh issue is May 31, 1996.

All correspondence should be sent to :

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