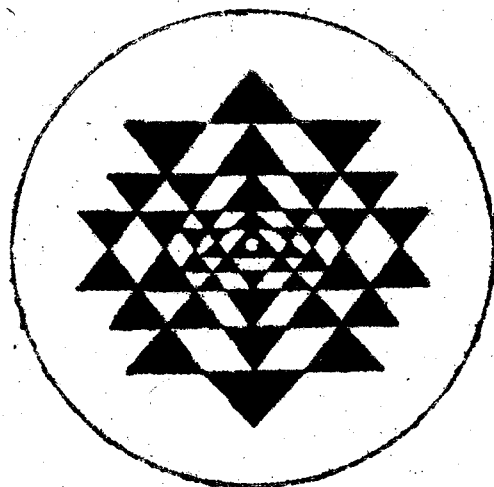


# KAILASH

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# THE ROLE OF THE PRIEST IN SUNUWAR SOCIETY

A. Fournier

*Paris*

“L’homme en présence de la nature y sent confusément une multitude infinie de forces prêtes à s’exercer aux dépens de sa faiblesse; son panthéon, toujours ouvert, a toujours place pour de nouveaux hôtes. Le prêtre n’est pas un médecin d’âmes, c’est un spécialiste de rites; comme le dieu qu’il sert, il a son ressort de compétence où il excelle, et laisse volontiers le champ libre aux voisins” (Lévi, 1905, “Le Népal” vol. I: 317).

On reading works on Himalayan ethnic groups, especially passages pertaining to the religious aspects of their society, one is struck by the dichotomy often existing in the roles of the religious officiants: on the one hand he is a medium, a magician or a shaman; on the other: a diviner, a priest or a sacrificer. Among the Sunuwar, a small Bodic ethnic group living in eastern Nepal, located mainly between the banks of the rivers Khimti khola and Maulung khola, one comes across both these types of officiants: the *Puimbo* (a male shaman) or the *Ngiami* (a female shaman) and the *Naso* (a priest). In this paper, I should like to discuss in particular the role of the latter.<sup>1</sup>

In Sunuwar society, particularly on the Likhu khola, a *Naso* is a man of importance as a man of knowledge and a conductor of rituals who knows the propitiatory

---

1. The field work on which this paper is based was carried out between August 1969 and February 1970 with the support of the R. C. P. (Recherches Coopératives sur Programme) 65 (C. N. R. S.) for which Mr C. Jest whom I would like to thank here, was then responsible.

Sabra is a Sunuwar village on the western bank of the Likhu khola, where most of my research took place. I would like to profit from this occasion to thank all the inhabitants of this village for their patience and kindness.

The Sunuwar who are a Sino-Tibetan tribe, belonging to the Bodic group (Shafer, 1953), number about 15.000-20.000 inhabitants in Nepal, and around 3.500 in India, Sikkim or Bhutan. The bibliography in English on the Sunuwar is rather scanty; they are occasionally mentioned in administrative reports or in hand-books for the Indian army (see Bista 1972: 200-203). In Nepali however, there is a little booklet written by a Sunuwar (cf. Sunuwār, 1956).

The nepali terms are based on Turner’s method of transcription whereas the sunuwari transcriptions are my own. For further information about Sunuwar language, see Bieri & Schulze, 1971.

formulae (*pidar*) used for invoking the deities of the Sunuwar pantheon and who sacrifices buffaloes, pigs, goats or chickens during public or semi-public ceremonies.<sup>2</sup> Although possessing the power and the strength (*tung*) of summoning up various divinities, he cannot incarnate them himself without the aid of a medium: a *Puimbo* or a *Ngiami*. A *Naso* never falls into trance.

The position of *Naso* is always hereditary, contrary to that of *Puimbo* or *Ngiami*. A *Naso* must choose his successor from among his male offspring; his choice usually falls on the son or grandson whom he considers to be the most intelligent and most able to perform religious functions. During the period of initiation the pupil *Naso* is trained to memorise a great variety of propitiatory formulae or chants by mnemotechnique repetitions. When he is about six or seven years old, the future *Naso* accompanies his father to different rituals in order to familiarise himself with the different sequences which he must re-enact later in private under the guidance of his *guru*. He must also learn by heart all the myths and traditions of his own culture which he gleans from village elders who might know them. If his father dies before he has completed his training, the young pupil finds himself obliged to ask the village community to contribute to the expenses of completing his instruction as the future conductor of village rituals. The *Naso* inherits the sacrificial bow and arrows on the death of his father in return for which he must carry out certain funerary rites.<sup>3</sup>

The paraphernalia of the *Naso* is very simple. When he is officiating, he wears his ordinary everyday dress in clean, white material ornamented with one or two necklaces of blue and red stones, interspersed with a few seeds of *kolol* (*Sapindus mukerossi* Gaertn.) and *bhirkaulo* (*Coix lacryma Jobi* Linn.). On his head he sports a large white cotton turban (*pheta*) which he has received from the person asking for the ritual. At his right side, he carries a small bag (*dun-tahilo*) decorated with yellow tassels and cowries. When he is officiating at a ceremony, he is seated on a musk-deer skin or on a blanket if there is one available or otherwise on a paddy mat (*gundri*). In front of him is placed a red copper vessel (*tamar*) containing a branch of *hope* (*Thysa nalaena agrestis*) which is used as a holy-water sprinkler, and an earthen censer (*dhupauro*) containing burning ashes and juniper resin. To his right arm placed two knives: a small one (*lalukarda*) for sacrificing pigs, and a *khukuri* (*lalutsub*) for goats and chickens.

---

2. When I employ the term *Naso* in this article I invariably refer to the *Duma Naso*. There are however, three other types of *Naso*, whose functions differ from those of the former and whose period of initiation is much shorter: the *Sher-pa Naso* is always a brother of the *Duma Naso*, and can officiate in his stead during certain curative or preventive sacrifices, e.g. the *Kālīka pujā* or *Bhimsen Pujā*; the *Dhupe Naso* is usually a son of the *Sher-pa*, and as his name indicates, his duty is to recite *pidar* accompanied by the burning of juniper; the *Shipe Naso* is often an assistant and this office is frequently assigned to the youngest brother of the *Sher-pa* or the *Dhupe*. A *Shipe Naso* can subsequently become a *Sher-pa* or *Dhupe Naso* if he wishes.

3. This was the case, for example, of Guru *Naso* at Sabra who, orphaned at an early age, was brought up by his grandfather who was himself a *Duma Naso*. When he was 9 years old, his grandfather died and it was his duty to recite the mortuary invocations on his grave. Then Guru *Naso* inherited the bow and arrows of his grandfather, certain of which had been the property of his *Naso* ancestors.

During the *Caṇḍi* festival which takes place every year in *Baisāk-purne* (the night of the full moon in mid-April to mid-May) the *Naso* holds a large drum (*ḍhol*) which he only beats prior to the sacrifice and then, using his bow and arrow, he shoots through the heart of the buffalo or the pig.

The *Naso* must know how to conduct a variety of rituals which can be subdivided into four categories:

- (1) public rituals: *Caṇḍi*; *Ghil*; *Naesa*; *Khas* . .
- (2) seasonal rituals: sowing (*jojor washi*); harvest (*nogi*) . .
- (3) private and domestic rituals: births; name giving; weddings; funerals; ancestor worship . .
- (4) curative and preventive rituals for human beings and domestic animals: *Kalika pūjā*; *Messalmi pūjā*; *Saguni*; *Bhimsen*; *Antim*; *Aitābāre*; etc.

During *Caṇḍi*, a Sunuwar village festival which occurs every year on both banks of the *Likhu khola*, the *Naso* dances in front of the buffalo and pigs before sacrificing them. In general buffaloes are sacrificed on the west side of the river and pigs to the east. (It is interesting that the river seems to be a sacrificial borderline in eastern Nepal between the buffaloes and pigs). *Ghil*, *Naesa* and *Khas* are lineage rituals which are celebrated every 20 to 25 years, one by each generation, in the lineage house. On this occasion, pigs, goats and chickens are offered to the ancestral spirits. The seasonal rituals are also performed in the lineage house. Domestic and private rituals as well as curative and preventive ceremonies take place in rich, orthodox, Sunuwar houses during the day-time. Nowadays, however, Sunuwars ask the services of a brahmin.

After this brief description of the role of the *Naso*, we must now examine that of the *Puimbo* or the *Ngiami* in order to highlight the essential difference between them.

#### THE PUIMBO AND THE NGIAMI

As already mentioned, the position of the *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* is never hereditary, although the cases of shamans who do not belong to a specific lineage are rare. The vocation of the *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* becomes evident at a very early age. A girl or a boy while herding cattle in the jungle will suddenly become possessed by a dwarf jungle spirit (*banjhākri*).<sup>4</sup> In their home, generally a grotto, these "wild spirits" impart to the future *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* the rudiments of their religious training: *mantra* (formulae), and how to make a shamanist drum (*dhyāñro*).

4 For a more detailed description of the initiation and role of the *Puimbo* or the *Ngiami* see my article: "Note préliminaire sur le *Puimbo* et la *Ngiami*, les chamanes Sunuwar de Sabra". *Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulinien* IV (1): 147-167.

Whereas in general the *Naso* operates and sacrifices during the day-time, the *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* prefer to perform their rites by night. When exercising his religious duties, the *Puimbo* wears a kind of long female garment (*jāmā*) and a turban in which he has inserted porcupine needles. The *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* must banish the wandering souls of those who have died a violent death (such as suicide; child-birth; accidents and diseases) or exorcise ghost and evil spirits from the living. When he is operating indoors, the *Naso* is seated in the private quarters of the house near the main pillar, the *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* is seated and operates in that part of the house open to friends or visitors. When both operate together, the *Naso* sits on the right carrying his sacrificial *lalutsub*, and the *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* on the left, carrying his wooden magical knife (*phur-bu*). During public or semi-public rituals, the *Naso* needs the help of the *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* whose only role is to bring down to the sanctuary the gods or spirits for whom the sacrifice is carried out, and then, when the religious ceremony is over, to order them to return to the supernatural world. Whereas the *Naso* can only operate within the Sunuwar community, a *Puimbo* or a *Ngiami*, however, can act as intercessor between evil spirits and people belonging to different ethnic groups or castes. After death, the *Naso* is buried standing up, his *ḍhol* being placed on his grave; while the *Puimbo* or the *Ngiami* is inhumed in a sitting position with his *dhyāñro* on the grave, although Sunuwars are now cremated in accordance with Hindu custom.<sup>5</sup>

If one summarises the respective roles of the *Naso* and *Puimbo* in a dual system of symbolic classification (Table. 1), one can see the opposition between both in pairs of opposite but complementary terms:

TABLE 1.

<i>N A S O</i>	<i>P U I M B O / N G I A M I</i>
male	male or female
hereditary	non-hereditary
right	left
sacrifice	trance
day-time	night-time
ordinary male dress	specific female dress
life-cycle	death-cycle
living	spirits
normal death	abnormal death

5. It is only since 1947-48, that the Sunuwars have cremated their dead. The erstwhile cemetery is still to be found south of Khaping (a settlement), in a rocky escarpment. People are fearful of passing by there, and when obliged to do so, they hurry their pace, the women hiding their faces with a scarf and the men bowing their heads.



gods, ancestral spirits	ghosts, evil spirits
auspicious	inauspicious
private part of the house	public part of the house
public or semi-public rituals	private rituals
training inside the village	training inside the jungle
Sunuwars	multi-ethnic
sacred	profane
<i>ḍhol; lahutsub</i>	<i>ḍyhāṅro; phur-bu</i>
buried standing up	buried sitting up

Having established the dual nature of religious functions among the Sunuwar, interesting comparisons can be made with those of other Himalayan ethnic groups.

#### HIMALAYAN PARALLELS

Among the Pahari-speaking people who claim to be Hindus, the priest or sacrificer and the psychopomp play more or less parallel roles to those of the *Naso* and *Puimbo*. In eastern and central Nepal among castes a *Pujāri* and a *Jhākri* accomplish these functions. A *Pujāri* is "someone who is regularly paid for performing a rite in a temple and for looking after the temple" (Śarma 2011: 660); and a *Jhākri* is "a healer who cures the sick by making known (the will of) the divinities (*devata*) or the ghosts (*pret*) whom he causes to enter his own body by means of prayers-incantations (*mantra-tantra*)" (ibid.: 401). In western Nepal among the castes, a particular kind of *Jhākri* is to be found, known as the *Dhāmi*. A *Dhāmi* is "a person who expels such obstructions as evil spirits (*bhut*); ghosts (*Pret*); witches (*boksi*) etc. by making them enter his own body by means of prayers-incantations (*mantra-tantra*)" (ibid.: 541). The *Dhāmi* however, contrary to the *Jhākri* never uses a magic drum (*ḍhyāṅro*) but demands the services of a musician-tailor (*Damāi*) (Gaborieau 1969: 30-34). The same dichotomy can be observed outside of Nepal, in Garhwal, for example where one finds the *Pujāri* and the shaman (*Bāki*). In this area, however, the *pujāri* is the caretaker of the temple who, when performing rites, speaks to the deity by chanting prayers and incantations and on rare occasions beheads a goat which is then offered to the *devata*; and the *Bāki* is "primarily a diagnostician who is able to call upon his personal god at will, become possessed by him, and then diagnose the difficulties of his client through the wisdom of the god" (Berreman 1963: 90 and elsewhere) <sup>6</sup>.

6. For more details concerning the *Jhākri* of Nepal see the articles of Macdonald (1962, 1966, 1968), particularly Macdonald 1962: 108 where a definition of a *jhākri* is given. For an account of the *Dhāmi* as oracles see Pignède 1966; Gaborieau 1969 or Bista 1971: 158. In the same work, Bista gives an extremely enlightening account of the *Pujāri* (ibid. 139-152). In this paper the Tibetan-speaking oracles are not mentioned: for further information see: Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956.

Among the Bodic-speaking people, a similar duality of functions is to be noted among religious officiants. In West and Central Nepal one finds among Magars the *Pujāri*, a “young unmarried boy” and the shaman (*Jhākri*) (Hitchcock 1966: 27-31; 1967: 157) or among Gurungs, the *Klihbri* and the *Pucu* (Pignède 1966: 293-298); and among Western Tamangs, the *Lambu* and the *Bombo* (Höfer 1969: 26-27). In Eastern Nepal also the Rais have the *Nokchhoe*, “the religious leader” and the *Ngopa* who “is possessed by spirits and announces the verdict of gods” (Bista 1972: 40-42); and the Limbus have the *Phedañma* and the *Yābā* or *Yumā* (Sagant 1969: 115). In a recent article Sagant discusses the opposite yet complementary roles of the *Phedañma* and of the *Bijuwā* (a kind of shaman, synonymous with *Yābā* and *Yumā*)<sup>7</sup>. The *Phedañma* is always a male officiant who wears everyday dress. He performs all the auspicious rituals in his village. The *Bijuwā* on the contrary, can be male or female and is dressed in a long female garment. He is hired to carry out all the rites performed for inauspicious events, especially death by violence. Like the Sunuwar *Naso*, the *Phedañma* can operate indoors in the private quarters reserved for the household only; on the other hand the *Bijuwā*, like the *puimbo*, sits in the public part of the house used for entertaining friends or visitors (Sagant 1973: 70-74). Among the Lepchas one finds the *Padem*, “a hereditary masculine priest” and the *Mun* who is a male or female shaman (Siiger 1956: 83). The *Padem* is “the first step to becoming *Mun*” and therefore has less importance in Lepcha society (Gorer 1967: 215). The *Padem* as well as the *Mun* have the right to offer sacrifice. If one takes a quick glimpse outside of Nepal, one again comes across this dichotomy in the various roles of religious specialists. In Kulu, in the Western Himalayas, among the Kanashis of Malana, for instance, two types of officiant can be distinguished: the *Pujara* “the priest” and the *Gur*, “mouth-piece of god” who “at certain ceremonies goes into a state of possession in which he becomes the vehicle of communication between the god and the villager” (Rosser 1960: 81). With regard to the Bodic-speaking groups in the eastern part

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7. There seems to be some confusion concerning the exact role exercised by the Limbu *Phedañma*. According to Caplan (Caplan 1970: 110), a “*Phedañma* discovers his power through dreams or as is more often the case, by becoming possessed”. This opinion was confirmed in private by R. L. Jones. Fr. Hermanns however, like Sagant, notes that “the *phedañma* of the Limbus differs from the others who perform the sacrifice in that he does not tremble;—by this is meant the trembling that comes over them when they are possessed by a spirit” (Hermanns 1954: 12). Maybe there are two types of *Phedañma* whose roles vary from region to region: in Ilam as in Panchthar, the *Phedañma* is possessed; but in Taplejung as in Darjeeling it would appear that he is only a sacrificer who, though capable of going on “ritual journeys”, does not fall into trance.

of the Himalayas, particularly in Arunachal Pradesh, the roles of various officiants are less easily definable due to a lack of precise information. Among the Subansiri Daflas there are three types of religious performers: the *Nijik Nube* who "treats only ordinary diseases and observes omen in the eggs"; the *But Nube* who cures sickness and performs sacrifices; and the *Nyoki Nube* who is a shaman (Shukla 1965: 89-90). Among the Padam Miniong Adis, however, one meets again with the male diviner (*Nyibo*) and the medium (*Miri*) who wears a woman's skirt and who can be of either sex; but "a *Nyibo* performs by day whereas a *Miri* functions only at night" (Roy 1960: 248-251). For Furer-Haimendorf however, a *Mirü* (*Miri*) is able to go into trance and an *Ipak Mirü* is at the same time an exorciser who propitiates and offers sacrifice (Furer-Haimendorf 1954: 592). Similar differences can be observed among the Gallong Adis, except that a *Nyibo* can also be a medium (Dunbar 1913 -17 : 73 ; Srivastava 1962: 101-102.) But it is among the far away Tangsa confederacy that one again comes across a distinct opposition in the role of the priest (*Tingwa*) and that of the male or female diviner (*Taiteling* or *Talwa*), though their office is not hereditary (Dutta 1959: 66).

Having made this brief survey, one can conclude that the dual roles of religious specialists in many Himalayan ethnic groups, though of an opposing yet complementary nature, vary widely from tribe to tribe, and that it is virtually impossible to place them into clear-cut categories for convenience sake. There exist the medium, the shaman, the psychopomp who can become priest, the sacrificer or the diviner.

If one refers back to the Sunuwar, one can observe significant changes taking place in their religious practices. The Sunuwar claim that when they emigrated to their present habitat, the country was uninhabited; but with the heavy migration and settlement of Indo-Nepalese castes in this area during the last two hundred years after the conquest of Prithivi Narayan Shah, and more recently with the infiltration of other ethnic groups due to the opening of new mines, the Sunuwar population lost part of their *Kipat* lands which were transformed into *Birta* lands<sup>8</sup> or were taken under mortgage. Their economic impoverishment probably explains why the Sunuwar have forsaken expensive rituals utilising blood sacrifice, cereals, and large quantities of fermented beer or distilled liquor. Thus among the Surels, the oldest sub-group of Sunuwar, who live on the banks of the Suri khola, the *Nakso* (*Naso*) has practically become "unemployed" as a conductor of rituals and

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8. Regmi describes the *Kipat* system: "land is held on a tribal, village, kindred or family basis, and individuals have definite rights in this land by virtue of their membership in the relevant social unit. Hence title to land has a communal character and it is usufructuary, rather than absolute" (Regmi 1965: 82). He also notes that "*Birta* meant an assignment of income by the State in favor of individuals in order to provide them with a livelihood" (Regmi 1964: 2).

his last village sacrifice was performed 20 years ago<sup>9</sup>. The Brahmins, Chetris and Newars plan to collect a little money together in the future to hold one large buffalo sacrifice, because they believe that this will increase the fertility of their land (bought or stolen from the illiterate Surels) even though this sacrificial ritual is a purely Surel one and observed only by them. Furthermore contact with various other castes or ethnic groups in the bazaars (*bajar*), periodic markets (*hāt*) or annual fairs (*melā*)<sup>10</sup> tends to encourage people to abandon their own religious traditions. On both banks of the Khimti khola, the Sunuwars are thus in permanent relation with other ethnic groups as several important routes pass close by their villages<sup>11</sup> which are used by many different peoples. The opening of the Jiri market, every Saturday<sup>12</sup>, has rendered them more open to outside influence, in particular to Sanskritization<sup>13</sup>. Nowadays they rarely utilize the services of their *Naso* for the performance of life-cycle and seasonal rituals, preferring instead the services of a Brahmin which are less expensive, and considered more up-to-date. They have abandoned their costly village rituals, except in the village of Pharpu where they still celebrate the *Naesa*, a semi-public ritual held every twelve years in a lineage house. If on the Likhu khola, the Sunuwars who are more isolated from outsiders, still require their *Naso* to perform public or semi-public sacrifices, they also are beginning to employ a Brahmin pundit for certain rites such as name-giving, funerals or thanks-giving (*Sat Narayan puja*). In the face of this slow but irresistible Sanskritization

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9. The Surels, who number about 140 inhabitants, live in Suri, a village on the Suri khola in the Suri-Tinekhu Haleshwar *panchayat*. The Surels speak an archaic Sunuwar dialect. I hope to publish in the near future, notes collected among Surels.

10. The *bajār*, *hāt* or *melā* are similar to those described by Sagant in Taplejung and Terhathum (Sgant 1968: 90-118.)

11. There are several roads traversing the Sunuwar *kipat*; the two most important wind along the tops of mountain ridges running parallel on either side of the Khimti khola; the road west of the river goes from Jiri to Ramechhap or to Chisopani where people go to buy salt: the road on the eastern side goes from the bazar of those to Ramechhap, the chief town of the district. The Sunuwars control 3 important bridges crossing the Khimti khola: in Digi, in Betali and in Rasnal, the latter is just newly built and is rapidly coming more into use. (cf. Schneider 1969: 1-8).

12. Since 1964, the market at Jiri (*hāt*) has become an important trading place. Jiri is on the route between Kathmandu and the eastern part of Nepal, particularly Namche Bajar, at the foot of Everest (Schmid 1969).

13. I am using the definition of Srinivas (1967), cited by Caplan: "Sanskritization is the process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the customs, rituals, belief, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a 'twice-born' caste" (Caplan 1970: 189 n. 2).

among the *Kirat* people<sup>14</sup>. the development of nativist movements<sup>15</sup>. can be observed, contrary to the views held by Caplan (Caplan 1970: 202). In Khiji, an eastern Likhu khola village, for example, a Sunuwar *Naso* who served in the British army as a Gurkha soldier, is now leader of such a movement. This movement is based on indigenous religious concepts and has a strict moral code, advocating the prohibition of beer, liquor, meat, smoking, gambling, female abduction and fighting. It would seem that these Sunuwar reformists wish to become more orthodox than the orthodox Brahmins. I have heard of similar nativist movements among certain Thulung or Bahing Rai villages: and my friend Rex L. Jones has mentioned in private that he has observed the same type of phenomena springing up among the Limbus. Unlike the *Naso*, the *Puimbo* or *Ngiami* is still very popular and much in demand in the multi-ethnic village of Suri as well as in the Sunuwar area. If one takes a glance at the Jirels, a mixed sub-group of Sunuwars, who live between the rivers Tamba kosi and Khimti khola, a little further North-West than the Sunuwars proper<sup>16</sup>, and who are Buddhist, one can see *Lama* used as priests, and *Buimbo* who are at the same time shamans and sacrificers. (It is unthinkable for a Sunuwar *Puimbo* or a *Ngiami* to offer blood sacrifice, as the shedding of blood is considered incompatible with their office as vehicles of communication between men and the spirit world. Parallel cases occur among Himalayan tribes such as the *Bharara*

<sup>14</sup>. The *Kirāt* are mentioned in Indian Epic, such as the Mahabharata. According to Nepalese traditions, they occupied the Kathmandu valley (Nepal) before the Licchavi dynasty just prior to and during the early years of the Christian era (Regmi 1969: 54-64). Nowadays, the ethnic groups going by this name live in the eastern part of Nepal: they are the Rais, Limbus and Yakhas. The Sunuwars also claim to be *Kirāt*. Shafer has shown that linguistically speaking, the Sunuwar dialect closely resembles certain Rai dialects (Shafer 1953: 356-376). A large number of Sunuwars when living in the capital or in India, abandon their Sunuwar name for that of *Kirāt*, as many people believe that they belong to the polluted "occupational caste" of the goldsmiths (*Sunār*) (see: Macdonald 1970: 146 n. 23)

<sup>15</sup>. According to Linton, "a nativist movement is any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members, to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (Linton 1943: 230). Although this definition has been convincingly criticized by Worsley (Worsley 1957:216) and by La Barre (La Barre 1972:42), it nevertheless remains the most adequate one to date.

<sup>16</sup>. Roughly 3,000 Jirels are found in 4 *panchayats*: Chhetarpa, Ibvankhu-Paldung, Jiri and Jungu-Yebo; and their highest concentration is in the Jiri and Sikri valleys. The Surels are reckoned to be a mixed sub-group arising from a cross between Sunuwar hunters and Sherpani. They speak a language closely related to Tibetan (see: Strahm & Maibaum 1971). I intend to publish shortly notes collected among Jirels.

Tharus (Srivastava 1958: 86-87); the *Jiji* Sherdukpens (Sharma 1961: 75-76); the *Mugou* Hrussos (Sinha 1962: 126-128); or the *Igu* Idu Mishmis (Baruah, 1960).

The *Naso* like the *Puimbo* embodied the old Sunuwar traditions: the one conducting *pidar* and offering sacrifice during rituals; the other calling on the deities to come down to the sanctuary and replenish themselves with the scent of the blood of victims to be sacrificed, before banishing them once again to the supernatural world as well as exorcising the sick possessed by evil spirits and practising divination. However this perfect balance between the two functions is gradually disappearing, and in the next few years the office of the *Naso* will have ceased to exist, and no doubt anyone will be able to perform sacrifice, if he so wishes. The *Puimbo* on the other hand, has a fine future ahead of him as long as there is penury of doctors, teachers and chemists in the region.

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## ENQUETE SUR LES KUMĀRI

Niloufar Moaven

Teheran

सारांशः

कुमारी कुनै अवतारमा आधारित देवी हैनन्, यिनी एक सजीव देवी हुन् । हिन्दू सम्प्रदायीहरूका लागि यिनी दुर्गा हुन् । यिनी दुर्गा हुन् भन्ने मुख्य आधार वसन्तपुर कुमारीघरको तोरणको दुर्गाको मूर्ति र नयाँ कुमारीको चयन दुर्गापूजा (दशैं) को अवसरमा हुने चलनबाट देखिन्छ । बौद्धमार्गीहरूका लागि यिनी ज्ञान र शक्तिकी प्रतीक प्रज्ञा हुन् । लामो कालदेखि कुमारी मल्ल राजाहरूकी इष्टदेवी थिइन् र काठमाडौं उपत्यकाकी रक्षिका थिइन्; त्यस रूपमा उनलाई तुलजा भवानी भनेर भनिन्छ ।

कुमारी पूजा तथा एक जीवित कन्यालाई कुमारीको रूपमा खडा गर्ने चलनलाई लिएर धेरै कथाहरू भनिन्छन् जुन सबै अठारौं शताब्दीतिरका छन् र एउटा कथालाई छोडी सबका सब जयप्रकाशमल्लको शासनसंग सम्बन्धित छन् । यहाँ सातओटा कथा उद्धृत छन् । सबैजसो कथामा के भनिएको छ भने कुमारी कुनै एउटा बाँडाकी सानी छोरीको जिऊमा प्रकट भइन्, घटनाचक्रमा तिनलाई काठमाडौं उपत्यकाबाट लखेटियो, तर कुमारीले भनेको कुरा सत्य सावित भएपछि उनलाई राजाले (जय प्रकाशमल्ल) ठूलो उत्सव गरी भिट्याए र उनलाई देवीको रूपमा स्थापना गरे । यी माथिका कथामा कुमारीलाई तलेजूकै रूपमा मानिएको छ र राजासँग तलेजू रिसाउनाको मुख्य कारणमा उनको रूपबाट मोहित भएर जयप्रकाशले देवीलाई आलिंगन गर्न खोज्नु हो भनिएको छ । यी सबै कथाले बसन्तपुरकी कुमारीलाई मात्र वर्णन गर्दछन् र कुमारीको वर्णन गर्ने सबै किताबले तिनै एउटी कुमारीको उल्लेख गर्दछन् । तर वास्तवमा काठमाडौंमा मात्र चार ओटी कुमारीहरू छन् । तिनीहरू वसन्तपुर, मूबहाल र क्वाबहालमा छन् र अर्की ज्यापूहरूकी कुमारीचाहिँ किलागलमा छन् । त्यसैगरी पाटनमा हुकु बहालमा र भादगाउँमा चतुवर्ण महाविहारमा एक-एकौटी कुमारी छन् । यस लेखमा कुमारी छान्ने आधार त्यसको विधि, कुमारीको वस्त्र, आभूषण, खानपिन, कुमारीले उत्सवमा आफ्ना भक्तहरूप्रति अपनाउने व्यवहार, कुमारीको शिक्षा इत्यादि वर्णित छन् । त्यस बाहेक कुमारीको अवधि बिताइसकेकी केटीको बारेमा पनि चाखलाग्दा जानकारीहरू दिइएका छन् ।

बसन्तपुरकी कुमारीलाई अन्य कुमारीसँग छुट्ट्याउन राजकीय कुमारी भनिएको छ । यिनी नःघलटोलकी शाक्यकी छोरी हुनैपर्दछ र कुनै विहारमा बस्ने नभई बहालमा बस्ने परिवारकी हुनुपर्दछ । यस्ती कन्याले आमाको दूध खान छोडिसकेको हुनुपर्दछ । सामान्यतया यी कन्याहरू ४ वर्षदेखि ७ वर्षभित्रमा छानिन्छन् । शरीरबाट रगत जानाले (जस्तै दाँत झर्नु, घाउ लाग्नु अथवा रजस्वला हुनु) कुमारीको अधिकारबाट वञ्चित हुनुपर्दछ । भइरहेकी कुमारीमा यो खोट देखापन्यो भने गुठीयार र गुभाजूहरू निर्दिष्ट स्थान र परिवारमा गएर नयाँ कुमारीको छनोट गर्दछन् । तर चयनको वैधानिक विधि भाद्रमा शुरू गरी आश्विन अष्टमी (महाष्टमी) मा मात्र पूर्ण गरिन्छ । त्यस बेलासम्म भइरहेकी कुमारीले नै काम चलाउँछिन् । तर यो कुरा बिलकुलै गोप्य राखिएको हुन्छ । नयाँ छानिने कन्या बत्तीस लक्षणले युक्त हुनुपर्दछ । लेखको अन्त्यमा शास्त्रीय मतमा आधारित बत्तीस लक्षणको गणना गरिएको छ । भाद्र शुक्ल चौथीको दिन छानिएकी कन्याको चिना राजाको चिनासँग

भिडाइन्छ र यदि ग्रह जुरेनन् भने अर्कै कन्यालाई छान्नुपर्दछ । तर मिलेको खण्डमा यी कन्या र भइरहेकी कुमारीलाई महाष्टमीका दिन सँगै हनुमान्ढोकाभिन्न लगिन्छ । भनाइअनुसार कुमारीका निमित्त छानिएकी कन्यालाई एउटा अर्ध्यारो कोठामा भरखरै काटिएका राँगाका टाउकाहरूको माझमा छोडिइन्छ र डरलाग्दा आवाजहरू गरिन्छ । यसबेलामा यदि कन्याले रुनु-कराउनु केही नगरीकन बसिन् भने कुमारीको पद उनलाई प्राप्त हुन्छ । अन्य विधिका अतिरिक्त अन्तमा पुजारीले पुरानी कुमारीको घांटीबाट नागमा नाम गरेको चाँदीको माला झिकेर नयाँ कुमारीलाई पहिराइदिन्छन् जसपछि नयाँ कुमारीको स्थापनाको विधि पूर्ण हुन्छ । उनलाई शक्तिको एउटा खड्ग दिइन्छ र त्यसपछि उनलाई उनका बासस्थानमा लगिन्छ । यसरी स्थापित कुमारीलाई सर्वसाधारण सम्बोधनमा कुमारी हैन छः माजू भनिन्छ ।

कुमारीको वस्त्र रातो हुन्छ । उनको निदारमा तेस्रो आंखा बनाएको हुन्छ । उनको कपाल कोरेर शिरमाथि उष्णीश बनाएको हुन्छ । उनका अनेकन आभूषण हुन्छन् । उनको एउटा सिंहासन हुन्छ । उनलाई नित्य पूजा यही सिंहासनमा बसालेर गरिन्छ । उनका भक्तले उनीसंग आंखा जुधाउनुहुँदैन । कुमारीको प्रत्येक भावसित एक विश्वास जोडिएको हुन्छ । कसैलाई देखेर कुमारी हांसिन्, रोइन् भने त्यसको शुभाशुभ लक्षण बताइन्छ । कुमारीलाई हम्काउन हुँदैन । उनको प्रत्येक आज्ञा मानिनुपर्दछ, उनी मन लागेको कुरा गर्न सक्छिन् । तर कुमारीलाई धेरै निषेधहरू पनि राखिएका छन् । जस्तै उनले बजारमा पाकेको कुनै पनि कुरा खानुहुँदैन, जुठो खानुहुँदैन, मद्य, लसुन, प्याज खानुहुँदैन, जुत्ता लगाउनुहुँदैन, काम गर्नुहुँदैन ।

प्रत्येक वर्ष इन्द्रजात्राको दिन श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज सरकारबाट वसन्तपुरमा असर्फी राखेर कुमारीको दर्शन हुन्छ । कुमारीले पनि आशीर्वादस्वरूप सरकारलाई टीका र फूलको माला लगाइदिन्छिन् । तर टीका भने देब्रे हातको पाँचै आँगुलमा मात्र लगाइदिन्छिन् । कुमारीको रथयात्रामा पनि अगाडि अगाडि राजाको तरवार हल्लाउँदै एक जना मानिस हिंड्दछ र भनिन्छ पहिले त राजा स्वयं यसरी तरवार लिएर हिंड्दथे रे । सम्पूर्ण राज्यनै कुमारीको हो भन्ने धारणा नेपालमा प्रचलित छ । उनको झण्डा आज नेपालको राष्ट्रिय झण्डा भएको छ र कुमारीको मनपर्ने सिम्रिक रङ्ग राष्ट्रिय रङ्ग भएको छ ।

राजकीय कुमारीलाई सम्पूर्ण देशको मान्यता प्राप्त छ । तर अन्य कुमारीहरू भने बहालविशेष र समुदाय-विशेषमा मात्र सीमित छन् । यिनीहरूमा कुमारी छान्ने विधि पनि गोला हालेर गरिन्छ । किलागलकी ज्यापूकी कुमारीलाई छाडेर अन्य सबै कुमारीहरू बज्राचार्य समुदायका छन् । यिनीहरूलाई गरिने पूजाआजा उनकै समुदायभिन्न मात्र सीमित छ । यस्ती कुमारी आफ्नै परिवारसित आफ्नै घरमा बसेकी हुन्छिन् । रक्तस्राव अथवा वान्ता आउने रोगमा कुमारीसित सल्लाह लिई उपचार गरिन्छ ।

कुमारी भैसकेकी कन्याको बारेमा काठमाडौंमा केही अन्ध विश्वास प्रचलित थिए । वसन्तपुरकी कुमारीको बारेमा यस्ती कन्यासंग पहिले मानिस बिहे गर्न तयार हुँदैनथे रे, किनभने यस्ताको लोग्ने तुरून्तै मर्छ भन्ने विश्वास थियो । एकाधचोटी यस्ता कन्याले भारतमा वेश्यावृत्ति पनि अपनाउनुपरेको थियो रे । तर हिजो आज यस्तो विश्वास हराइसकेको छ र यस्ती कन्याले सामान्य विवाहित जीवन बिताउन सक्छन् । पाटन र भादगाउँकी कुमारीहरूका बारेमा यस्तो विश्वास छँदै छैन । तर यस्ती कुमारी भएकी कन्याले आफ्नो अध्ययन चालू गर्न खोज्दा आफ्ना समवयस्क साथीभन्दा आफू धेरै वर्ष पछि पर्नुपरेको अनुभव गरेका छन् ।

## A—INTRODUCTION\*

Il faut tout d'abord préciser que la Kumāri n'est pas une réincarnation mais la représentation vivante d'une divinité.

Quelle divinité représente-t-elle ?

Pour les hindouistes elle est Durgā, une des huit déesses-mères—Aṣṭa Mātrikā<sup>2</sup>. Pour renforcer le fait qu'elle représente Durgā on cite :

—les Torāṇas<sup>3</sup> de son palais à Basantapur<sup>4</sup> où l'on voit des représentations de cette déesse

—le fait que le choix d'une Kumāri a lieu en général au moment du Durgā Pujā<sup>5</sup>

On dit aussi, et c'est une des raisons pour lesquelles au moment de l'Indra Jātrā (septembre-octobre) on la voit avec Ganeś et Bhairava, qu'elle est la fille de ce dernier; à cette occasion elle représente le Pouvoir, Ganeś le Peuple et Bhairava le Roi. Pour les bouddhistes elle représente le principe féminin de la Connaissance et du Pouvoir la Śakti du tantrisme.

De plus la Kumāri était la déesse tutélaire de la dynastie Malla et elle est encore la protectrice de la vallée de Kāthmāndu: en tant que telle elle se nomme Baleju Bhawāni.

Sur l'origine du culte (et sur l'instauration de cet enfant en tant que divinité) on connaît beaucoup de légendes, toutes datant à peu près du 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle à une exception près concernant le règne de Jaya Prakāsh Malla, dernier roi Malla de Kāthmāndu.<sup>6</sup> L'origine du culte ne serait donc pas antérieure au 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle.

Toutes ces légendes ont en commun le fait qu'une déesse s'est manifestée dans le corps d'une petite fille Bānra,<sup>7</sup> que cette dernière a été chassée de la ville et ensuite ramenée en grande cérémonie pour être instaurée déesse, le dirigeant du royaume ayant eu, d'une manière ou d'une autre, la preuve de la véracité de ses dires. Mais reprenons ces légendes telles qu'elles m'ont été racontées.

LEGENDE I: Jaya Prakāsh Malla insulta une fille Śākya qui se disait possédée par l'esprit de Baleju Bhawāni; on exila la petite fille et sa famille après leur avoir confisqué leurs

1 Jeune fille vierge

2 Les huit déesses-mères sont: Brāhmanī, Rudrānī (ou Mahēsvari), Kumāri, Vaisnavī, Vārāhī, Indrānī, Cāmundā et Mahālaksmī.  
Tympan.

3 Quartier de Kathmāndu, près de l'ancien palais royal

4 Autre nom du Dhasarā, fête ayant lieu en octobre.

5 Jaya Prakāsh Malla 1736-1768.

6 Nom ancien des Śākya, ayant actuellement un sens péjoratif.

\* Je tiens à remercier les personnes suivantes: Mm. Pūrṇa Harsha Bajracārya, Mana Bajra Bajracārya, Āsārām Śākya, Hem Ray Śākya et Bishu Prasad Srestha qui ont bien voulu m'accorder des entrevues.

biens. Plus tard, J. P. Malla fut obligé de s'excuser et déclara la fille déesse vivante. Cette légende ne donne guère de détails sauf les indications de J. P. Malla, Śākya et Baleju Bhawānī.

LEGENDE II: Les dirigeants (rois) du Népal avaient l'habitude de converser avec leur déesse tutélaire. Un jour le roi Trailokya Malla<sup>8</sup> et la déesse Taleju jouaient aux dés. Le roi avait un talisman en or (Jantra) qu'aucune femme ne devait voir. Un jour la fille du roi vit ce talisman et il en résulta que le roi fut privé de la présence divine. Un soir la déesse lui apparut en rêve et lui promit de se manifester à lui dans le corps d'une fille śākya; c'est à partir de ce moment-là que l'on se mit à choisir parmi les Śākya. Cette légende intéressante à cause du talisman et de Trailokya Malla, est incomplète car on se demande pourquoi on choisissait des petites filles Śākya.

LEGENDE III: Cette légende parle du désir charnel qu'eut un jour J. P. Malla pour la déesse alors qu'elle jouait comme d'habitude aux dés avec lui. Elle devina ce qui se passait en lui, disparut après avoir prédit au roi que la fin de son règne était proche. Le roi se repentit et la supplia de lui pardonner son grand crime. Elle lui demanda d'instaurer la fête du "rath"<sup>9</sup> et lui dit qu'à cause de ses bienfaits son règne serait prolongé de quelques années.

C'est ainsi que commence, d'après cette légende, la fête du Char. Il n'est fait état ici ni de petite fille ni d'en quoi consiste cette fête.

LEGENDE IV: Pendant le règne de J. P. Malla une petite fille se dit être devenue la déesse Kumārī et prédit des calamités dans le royaume et au roi lui-même; ce dernier, furieux, la fit chasser du pays. Or ses prédictions se révélèrent exactes; il la fit rappeler et instaura son culte. Ici on a beaucoup plus d'éléments qui se tiennent: il fait mention de la Kumārī, de prédictions, de vérifications, etc.

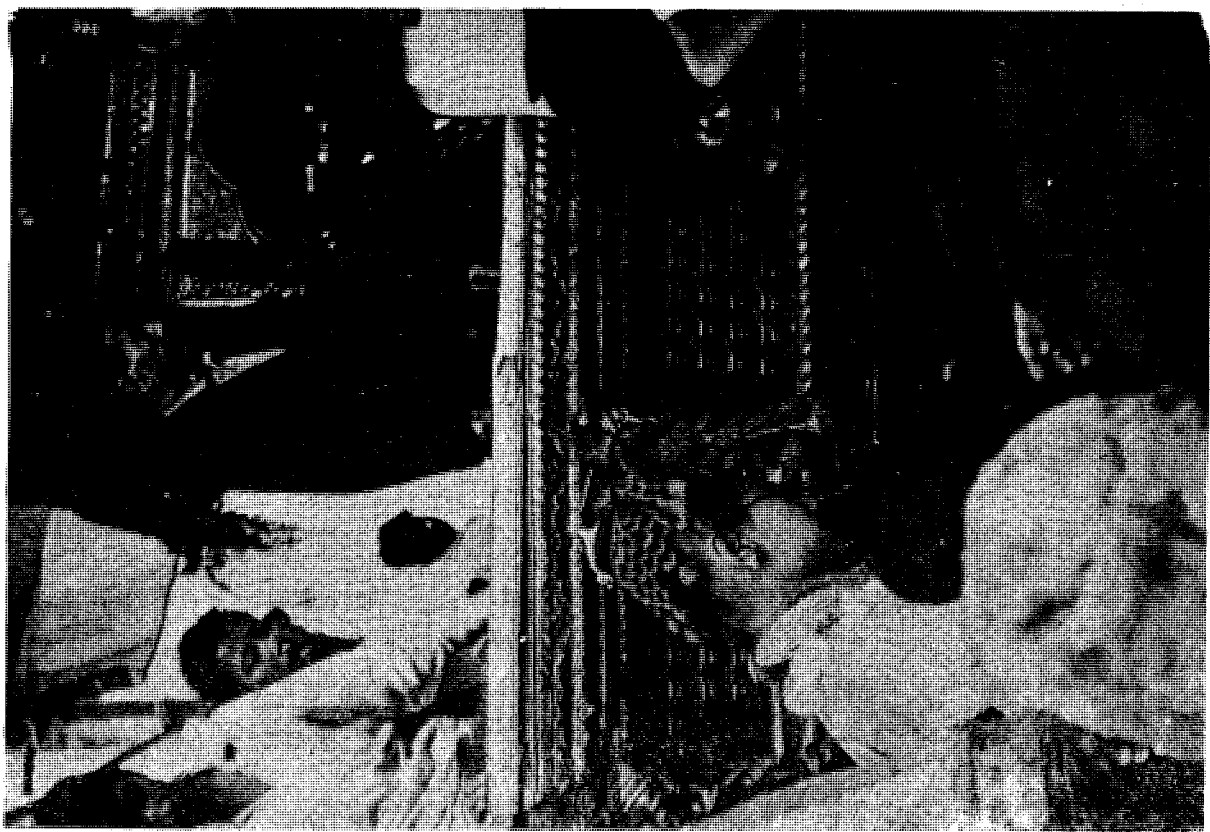
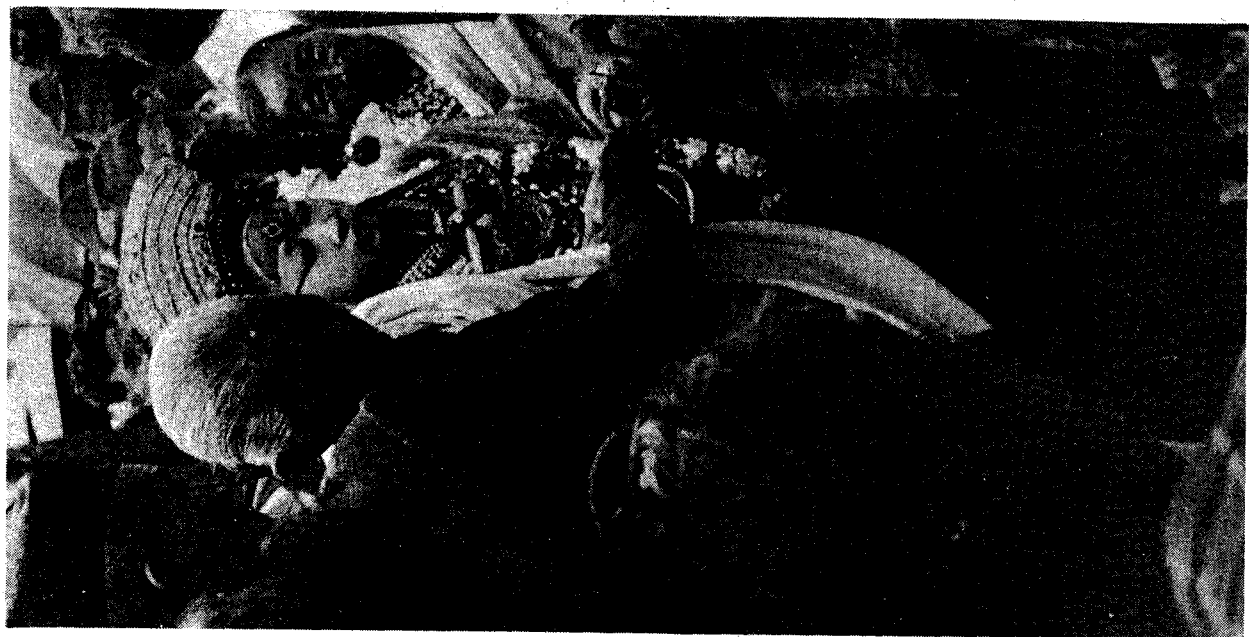
LEGENDE V: La légende suivante est identique mais on y trouve en plus le fait que la reine elle-même se dit à son tour être possédée par l'esprit, cette fois non pas de la Kumārī mais de Taleju et c'est une des raisons pour lesquelles le roi rappela la petite fille.

LEGENDE VI: Cette sixième légende parle non seulement du jeu de dés et du désir soulevé dans le cœur du roi par la beauté de la déesse, mais ajoute que le roi voulut prendre la déesse dans ses bras; cette dernière disparut et se cacha. Elle ne réapparut jamais mais prévint le roi qu'un prince Gorkhā le détrônerait et demanda au roi d'instaurer une Jātrā<sup>10</sup> en son honneur et en réparation de sa faute.

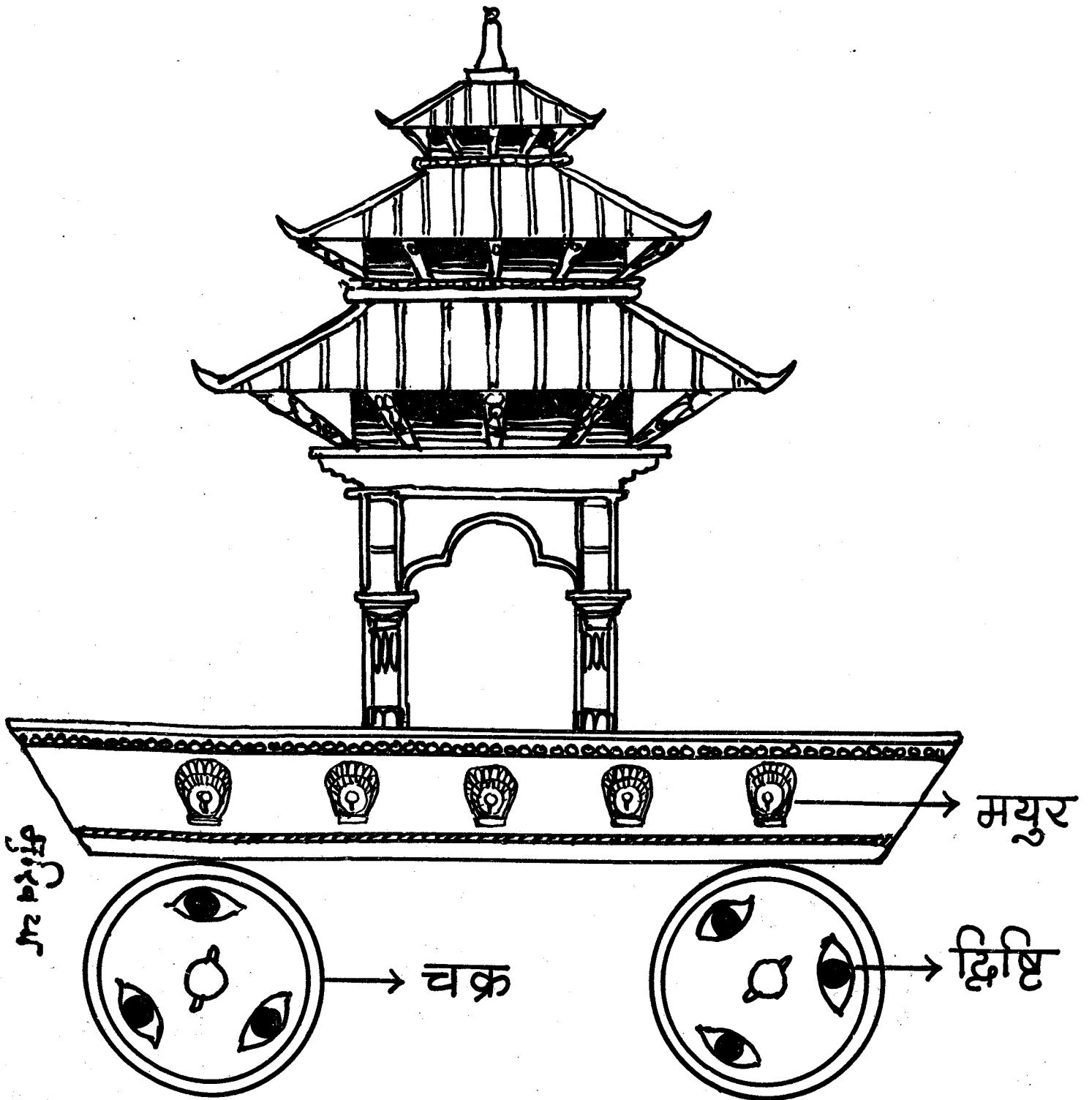
8 Trailokya Malla 1585-1606

9 *Ratha* veut dire char, il s'agit de la fête de l'Indra Jātrā pendant laquelle la Kumārī est promené dans la ville dans un grand char, cf.

10 Fête.



1. Kumari Royale.



2. Chariot de la Kumari Royale.



On peut se demander si cette légende n'a pas été dictée par les princes Gorkhā eux mêmes, désireux de donner un caractère "divin" à leur pouvoir.

LEGENDE VII: La dernière légende qu'on ma racontée est identique à celle citée dans "The Forgotten Valley"<sup>11</sup>. Il y a longtemps, les dieux étaient plus proches des hommes que maintenant. En ces temps-là, ils descendaient des cieux et rendaient visite aux humains, vivant avec eux. La plus belle des déesses était la Kumārī. Un jour elle rendit visite au roi de la vallée pour lui donner un peu de sa sagesse divine. Le roi s'assit à ses pieds et, subjugué par sa beauté, essaya de l'embrasser. La déesse disparut et il crut entendre une voix lui dire que celui qui devait servir d'exemple au pays ne pouvait même pas contrôler son désir, la déesse ne se montrerait plus jamais à ses yeux, mais comme preuve de sa grande bonté elle parlerait parfois par la bouche d'une petite fille pure et innocente qui ne devrait même pas avoir vu du sang.

Dans cette légende nous voyons apparaître pour la première fois un des critères du choix, mais nous en parlerons plus loin.

\* \* \*

Nous pouvons citer aussi que J. P. Malla fit fondre une pièce de monnaie après s'être repenti d'avoir banni la petite fille et que cette pièce porte la date de 873 NE, c'est-à-dire 1753 A. D. Le nom de la Kumārī y est aussi gravé. La même source ajoute que J. P. Malla fut un fervent adorateur de la Kumārī mais qu'elle ne le protégea pas et qu'il perdit son royaume le jour même de l'Indra Jātrā quand on promène la déesse dans la ville, coutume qu'il avait établie lui-même et qu'il observait avec grande dévotion afin de se concilier les grâces de la déesse.

S. Lévi ajoute que J. P. Malla eut à peine le temps de s'enfuir et de se réfugier à Bhādgāon, que Prithivi s'installa sur le trône dressé à la porte du Durbar, salua la Kumārī, reçut le Prasād de sa main et donna l'ordre de continuer la fête<sup>12</sup>.

M. Purna Harsha Bajrācārya dans "Newār marriage customs and festivals"<sup>13</sup> nous dit que le premier "festival" de la Kumārī eut lieu en 1756 A. D.

Lors de mes deux premiers séjours au Népal (1969 et 1971) j'ai essayé à maintes reprises de savoir s'il existait des textes concernant la Kumārī. L'on me nomma le Kumārī Tantra et l'Ārādhanā; or il ne m'a pas été possible de voir ces textes, à plus forte raison de les étudier. Malgré la bienveillante autorisation du directeur des archives nationales, me permettant de faire des photocopies, je ne suis arrivée à aucun résultat.

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Eskelund, K., *The Forgotten Valley*, London, 1960.

<sup>12</sup> S. Lévi, *Le Népal, Etude historique d'un royaume hindou*. Paris, E. Leroux. 1905-1908. p. 53,

<sup>13</sup> Purna Harsha Bajrācārya, *Newar marriage customs and festivals*, *Southwest Journal of Anthropology*, XV-4-1959.

Ces livres, d'après les personnes qui semblaient les avoir vus, sont écrits en sanscrit. J'ai pu voir un fragment de manuscrit mais il était inutilisable car incomplet. J'aurais aussi voulu obtenir une liste ou du moins le nombre de Kumārī ayant rempli leur "mandat", mais aucun Bahāl (temple) ayant une Kumārī ne semble tenir de tel registre et ma question a toujours beaucoup surpris mes interlocuteurs.

Avant de continuer plus loin cette enquête, je tiens à préciser que toutes ces légendes ne se rapportent qu'à la Kumārī que nous appellerons "Royale", celle qui réside dans le palais de Basantapur.

\* \* \*

Combien de Kumārī y a-t-il ?

Dans tous les livres où l'on parle de la Kumārī on ne fait mention que d'une seule; or il existe quatre Kumārī à Kāthmāndu, une à Bhādgaon et une ou peut-être même deux à Pātan (l'existence de Kumārī à Nalā et à Banepā semble peu probable).

Comment se fait-il qu'il en existe tant ?

Le Népal et la vallée de Kāthmāndu elle-même étant divisés en plusieurs petits royaumes jusqu'à la réunification Gorkhā, il semble que chacun des roitelets avait sa Kumārī. Nous parlons bien sûr des rois newār. La Kumārī en tant que déesse vivante est une institution essentiellement et uniquement newār.

Où résident-elles ?

A la partie sud de l'actuelle Kāthmāndu, quartier de Kāsthamandya, correspond celle que nous avons appelée la "Royale." cf. photo. A la partie médiane, Kāntipur, correspond celle de Mubahāl. (cf. photo.) Au nord de la ville, au Suvarna Mahābihār, se trouve la Kumārī de Kvā Bahāl.

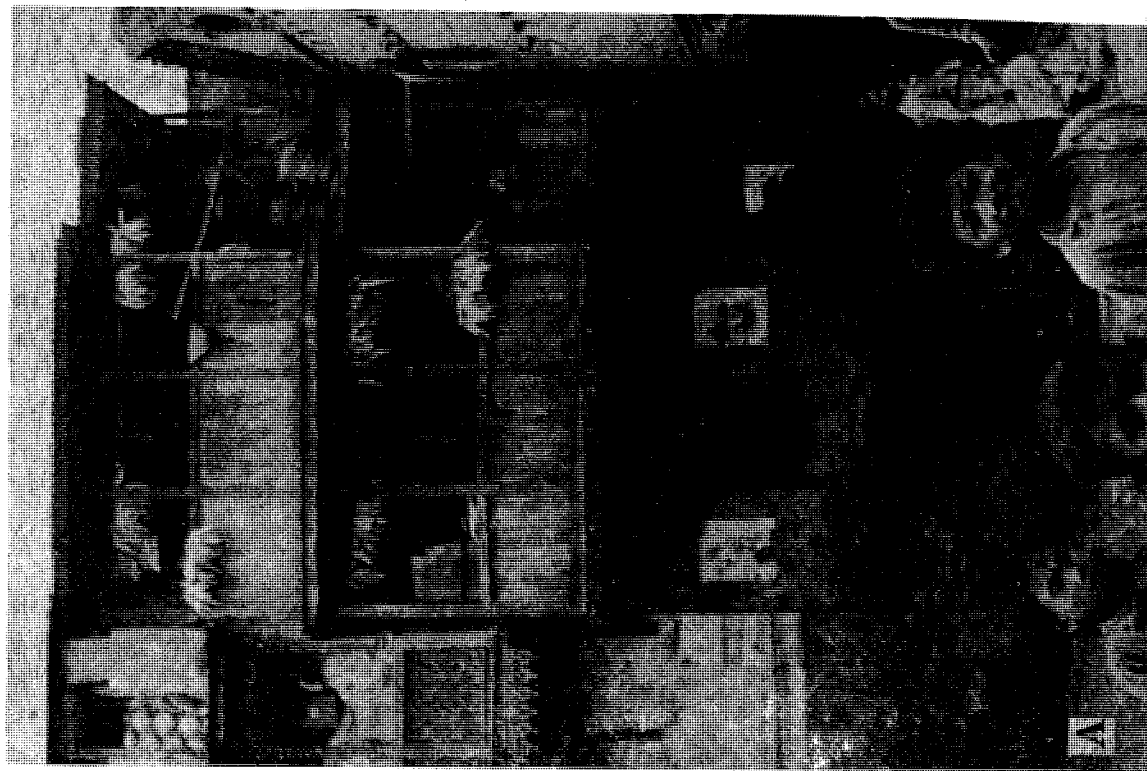
On trouve également une Kumārī appartenant à la caste des Jyāpu (paysans newārs). Elle n'a pas de temple, Rana Bahādur Śāh le lui ayant confisqué<sup>14</sup>. A Pātan son temple est le Huku Bahāl. Il ne m'a pas été possible de vérifier s'il existait effectivement une Kumārī pour les Jyāpu à Pātan. Enfin, à Bhādgaon, elle est au Caturvarna Mahābihāri. Pour la suite de notre enquête concernant le choix, la vie, la famille, etc. de la Kumārī, nous prendrons chaque cas particulièrement et nous essayerons en conclusion d'en tirer les traits généraux.

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Je vais essayer de remplir le schéma suivant pour chacune des Kumārī, suivant les réponses que j'ai pu obtenir:

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<sup>14</sup> *Rana Bahadur Śāh, 1777-1805.*



3. A: Maison de la Kumari de Jyapu. B: Kumari de Mubahal.



4.

Kumari de Kavabahal en 1969. B: La même en 1971.

- (1) *Choix*: caste, critères, divination et prémonition s'il y a lieu, disqualification, intronisation, durée du mandat, intérim entre deux Kumāris.
- (2) *Vie*: tabous, vêtements, bijoux, habitat, nourriture, éducation, distractions, relations avec les autres.
- (3) *Obligations*: comportement vis-à-vis des gens, réception des gens, cérémonies.
- (4) *Kumāris après la destitution*: superstitions, mariage, profession.
- (5) *Mort d'une Kumāri*: rites spéciaux, réincarnation.
- (6) *Parents*: pendant et après.
- (7) *Les autres*: terminologie d'adresse, rapports avec le roi, les autorités, cadeaux, subventions.

### B—KUMĀRI ROYALE

- (1) Elle doit être de la caste des Sākya, c'est-à-dire de la caste des bouddhistes newar, en général orfèvres; elle doit appartenir à un Bāhā et non à un Bāhi<sup>15</sup>, sa famille doit habiter Nagha Tol et ses parents doivent être de Kāthmāndu depuis trois générations. Elle peut être choisie dès après le sevrage: celle qui était Kumāri en 1969 avait été choisie à l'âge de 7 ans et la précédente à 4 ans. Elle doit posséder les 32 signes, Battislaksana que nous verrons plus tard, ces signes étant communs à toutes les Kumāris. Il semble qu'il n'y ait eu aucune cérémonie de divination et que les parents des deux Kumāris interrogées n'avaient eu aucun pressentiment quant au choix de leur fille en tant que Kumāri. La cérémonie du choix est très difficile à décrire car personne n'y assiste en dehors de la petite fille elle-même et des prêtres; la première étant très jeune ne s'en souvient pas et les derniers pour des raisons religieuses ne veulent pas en parler. Voilà ce que l'on raconte en général. Dès que le moment est venu pour choisir une Kumāri, on envoie les membres du Guthi<sup>16</sup> à la recherche des petites filles susceptibles de devenir Kumāri, dans le quartier de Nagha Tol. Après examen, celle remplissant le mieux les conditions est sélectionnée. Le 4<sup>ème</sup> jour de la quinzaine brillante de Bhādra (août-septembre) l'horoscope de la fille est examiné par le prêtre et l'astrologue du palais. On dit que si son horoscope va à l'encontre de celui du roi, même si elle remplit toutes les conditions, elle ne sera pas choisie. Puis, le 8<sup>ème</sup> jour de la 15<sup>ne</sup> brillante d'Āsvin (septembre-octobre), les deux filles, l'ancienne et la nouvelle, sont emmenées dans une des cours du palais de Hanumān Dokhā et ce qui s'y passe est tenu secret. On dit cependant que la petite fille choisie est mise dans une chambre obscure avec des têtes de buffles sanguinolantes, qu'on lui fait entendre des bruits horribles et qu'elle ne doit pas être effrayée. Si elle a peur, si elle crie ou pleure, elle

<sup>15</sup> Bāhāl = vihāra principal en ville; bāhīr = vihāra en campagne.

<sup>16</sup> Organisation qui peut avoir un caractère religieux économique ou social: c'est une institution typiquement newar.

n'est pas choisie. Après ce test final, on adore une dernière fois la Kumārī partante; le prêtre prend - du cou de l'ancienne un collier en argent, en forme de serpent et le met au cou de la nouvelle. Si cette dernière pleure en le recevant elle est disqualifiée. Si elle est choisie, elle doit observer un jeûne de 24 heures et faire des pujas; si elle est trop jeune pour savoir les faire, un prêtre lui montre; puis on lui donne l'épée du pouvoir, celle de Taleju Bhawānī et elle est emmenée dans son palais.

La perte de sang est un motif de disqualification, qu'elle soit provoquée par la puberté, la perte d'une dent ou par une blessure; les maladies infectieuses ou cutanées peuvent provoquer aussi la disqualification. Les petites filles restent donc Kumārī jusqu'à ce moment-là, laps de temps qui varie selon la constitution de l'enfant, six et cinq ans pour celles interrogées.

Dès qu'une Kumārī en fonction perd du sang, la nouvelle est rapportée aux prêtres et aux membres du Guthi qui se mettent en quête d'une autre dans le quartier spécifique. La nouvelle est tenue secrète jusqu'au moment où l'autre a été choisie et mise en place; pendant ce temps, la disqualifiée continue à remplir son rôle.

- (2) Elle ne doit rien prendre du marché, ne doit toucher quelque chose de "jutho"<sup>17</sup> ne doit manger de nourriture épicée ni boire de l'alcool. Elle ne porte pas de chaussures et une personne qui en porte ne doit la toucher.

Ses vêtements sont toujours rouges, en brocard rouge pour les grandes cérémonies, ses cheveux sont ramenés au sommet de la tête et sa coiffure symbolise ainsi le sommet d'un temple. Elle a toujours le troisième oeil dessiné sur le front, c'est l'oeil de la connaissance (prajñācakṣu.) Elle a énormément de bijoux, couronnes et colliers dont je donnerai la liste plus loin; elle a un bracelet en or qu'elle ne doit jamais quitter. Tous ses bijoux sont en or. Elle habite dans ce palais de Basantapur où elle a une chambre particulière. Elle mange, hormis les nourritures interdites, ce que mangent normalement les enfants népalais.

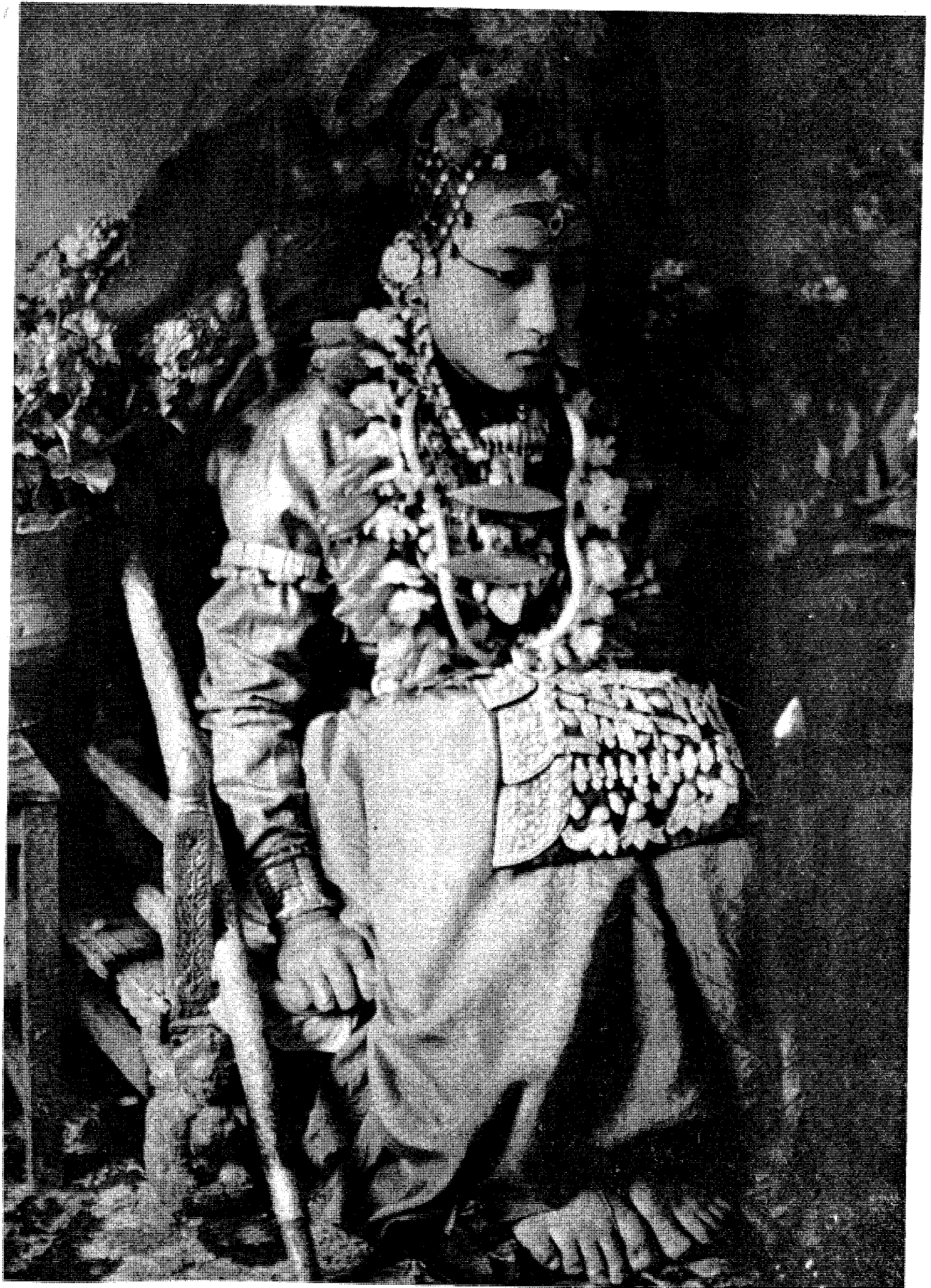
Quant à l'éducation, une déesse étant omnisciente n'a pas besoin de professeur m'a-t-on dit... Mais on m'a aussi dit qu'elle avait un professeur d'anglais et un de népali; cependant ces derniers ne doivent en aucune manière la forcer à travailler ni la gronder. Elle joue avec les enfants des personnes qui s'occupent d'elle; ces enfants sont à son entière disposition et sont punis s'ils lui désobéissent.

- (3) Tous les matins elle doit prendre un bain donné par la personne qui la sert, puis le prêtre, un Karmācārya lui fait le Nitya Pujā<sup>18</sup>; l'office est fait par ces prêtres, ils sont 7 ou 8 à tour de rôle pendant un mois. A cette occasion, elle doit être

<sup>17</sup> *Quelque chose qui a été touché par la bouche d'une personne.*

<sup>18</sup> *Puja ordinaire comme il en est fait tous les matins dans les familles népalaises.*





5. Kumari de Patan.

assise sur son trône ou Singhāsan mais le port du diadème et des autres bijoux n'est pas obligatoire. Elle peut faire ce qu'elle veut quand elle le veut.

On peut la prier de venir chez soi, mais il faut d'abord lui faire des offrandes et le jour doit être fixé par un astrologue. Si le cas se produit, elle doit être portée dans les bras d'un membre de sa famille ou sur une sorte de palanquin (khat).

Quant elle reçoit des gens, elle est dans une salle d'audience. Tout le monde peut, dit-on, aller la voir sauf les musulmans; cela semble inexact car il ne m'a jamais été permis de monter dans cette chambre. Elle doit assister aux fêtes de Matsyendranāth, du Dasāin et de l'Indra Jātrā.

Les Kumārīs ne doivent jamais se rencontrer car, si leur troisième œil se croisait, cela pourrait être très néfaste pour tout le monde. Quand elle parle aux gens, les moindres expressions de son visage sont interprétées; si elle parle, rit ou pleure on peut s'attendre à des catastrophes, alors on lui fait des pujās. Si à ce moment-là aussi quelque chose se passe sur son visage, la catastrophe est inévitable. Il est aussi de très mauvaise augure que la partie haute de son "char" tombe pendant l'Indra Jātrā (cf. croquis et photo). Harsa Laksmī (Kumāri de 2012 à 2018 B. S. ) m'a dit ne pas s'être rendu compte de la signification de ses attitudes, car par exemple quand elle était en colère, ce n'était pas elle mais la déesse. Elle ne se rend dans aucun sanctuaire car étant déesse elle n'a pas à le faire.

- (4) Après la disqualification et la nomination d'une nouvelle petite fille, quand le collier a changé de cou, l'ancienne part chez elle sans avoir à faire d'offrandes à la nouvelle. Elle reste quatre jours chez elle sans sortir; on lui fait des pujas, elle garde sa coiffure et ne doit pas la refaire. Le 4<sup>ème</sup> jour, 2 Jyāpunīs de Taleju viennent, défont le chignon et lui font un dernier puja. Elle change ses habits, peut garder quelques vêtements mais doit rendre ceux en brocart, ainsi que les bijoux. Après cette dernière cérémonie elle devient un membre ordinaire de sa famille. Elle peut aller à l'école et y apprendre ce qu'elle veut. Harsa Laksmī est, dit-on, la première Kumāri à être allée en classe. Elle voulait devenir médecin mais elle était très en retard sur les autres filles de son âge.

Il existait des superstitions quant à leur mariage mais depuis la démocratie cela a changé, m'a-t-on dit. On disait que le mari mourrait peu de temps après. De toutes façons les gens n'aiment pas avoir comme belle-fille ou femme une personne qui a eu tant de pouvoir étant enfant.

Certaines sont devenues des prostituées en Inde, dit-on, mais en général rien ne les distingue des autres femmes népalaises.

Au moment de l'Indra Jātrā, elles sont toutes conviées au palais et un festin leur est préparé. Pour des raisons affectives elles retournent d'elles-mêmes parfois voir les personnes qui se sont occupées d'elles pendant si longtemps.



- (5) Il n'y a pas encore eu de cas où la Kumāri soit morte pendant son règne. Si cela arrivait, on garderait le secret pendant 24 heures et on en choisirait une autre. On lui ferait des funérailles nationales, le prêtre du roi et les membres du gouvernement officiant pendant la cérémonie.

Quand elle n'est plus Kumāri, cela se passe comme pour n'importe qui. Si elle devient sérieusement malade, c'est le médecin du roi qui la soigne.

- (6) Ils ne vivent pas avec elle, une déesse n'a pas de parents. Comme c'est une position enviable que d'être parent de Kumāri, au moment du choix les personnes ayant des filles susceptibles de devenir Kumāri font jouer leurs relations parmi les gens influents, dit-on. Si, au moment du choix, la petite fille est très jeune, sa mère peut rester avec elle.

Tant que sa fille est Kumāri, le père est membre du Guthi privé, ensuite il en est exclu.

Les parents appellent aussi leur fille déesse. Quand leur fille est disqualifiée, on leur offre un festin et au moment de l'Indra Jātrā ils sont invités en même temps que leur fille. Ils ne jouissent pas d'un prestige particulier auprès des autres membres de la société.

- (7) On l'appelle Deo Māju (petite déesse en newāri) ou Devī (déesse) et jamais par son prénom: une déesse n'a pas de prénom. Les personnes à son service doivent faire tout ce qu'elle veut. Chaque fois qu'elle a mangé, on doit enduire à nouveau le sol d'un emplâtre de boue, bouse de vache et argile, sauf quand elle est assise sur son trône. On ne doit jamais la regarder dans les yeux, ni regarder par la fenêtre qui lui est réservée: si on fait ainsi on peut s'attendre à des vomissements ou à des hémorragies. Les femmes souffrant d'hémorragies ou ayant fait de nombreuses fausses couches sont dites avoir subi le mauvais oeil de la Kumāri et doivent lui faire des offrandes.

Au moment de l'Indra Jātrā, le deuxième jour, le roi, pour montrer qu'il détient son pouvoir de la déesse, va dans son palais pour y recevoir sa bénédiction. Il lui offre une pièce d'or et s'incline à ses pieds. Elle le reçoit assise sur son trône, lui passe une guirlande de fleurs au cou et lui met un tikā au front; elle lui met le tikā avec tous les doigts de la main gauche et non pas avec le majeur de la main droite comme cela se fait habituellement; ils ne se parlent pas. Si un nouveau roi accède au trône, il doit aller lui rendre hommage. Pendant que son char est promené dans la ville, quelqu'un ouvre le chemin en brandissant l'épée du roi. A l'origine le roi lui-même brandissait l'épée.

La pièce d'or ainsi que les cadeaux en argent qui lui sont faits par les gens sont gardés par les attendants. Le royaume entier lui appartient; son drapeau est celui de la nation et sa couleur favorite (le rouge) est la couleur nationale. A chaque moisson, une part de chaque récolte lui est offerte.



6 Kumari de Patan

Pendant qu'elle est Kumāri, un Guthi, formé par des prêtres et des gens du palais royal, personnes assises dans le char avec elle au moment de l' Indra Jātrā, pourvoit à son entretien pour ce qui est de la nourriture, de l'habillement et de l'ornementation. Il y a aussi un Guthi privé formé par les attendants, les membres du Bahāl qui s'occupe des offrandes. Après sa disqualification, elle reçoit 50 roupies par mois jusqu'à ce qu'elle se marie. A ce moment —là elle reçoit 1000 roupies et plus rien après.

Il existe des chants populaires sur elle dans les Bhajan et les charya.<sup>19</sup> Au moment des fêtes, la procession doit s'arrêter un temps sous sa fenêtre. On ne fait pas de sacrifice devant elle, mais en son nom et pour elle.

- (8) Ils sont aussi Sākya: c'est une charge qui se transmet de frère aîné en frère aîné par les femmes. Leur grand mère était Kumāri au temps de Jang Bahādur Rānā et le reste de la famille la servait.

Kumāri Rath:

Une grande plate-forme, un siège surmonté de trois étages sur 4 roues. Sur les rebords de la plate-forme qui est en bois sont sculptés des paons (5) et, sur les piliers supportant le toit, des divinités. Le dossier du siège est formé par un Naga qui fait tout le tour du siège. Les roues sont ornées de 3 yeux. Il a été construit sous Jaya Prakāś Malla et est rénové tous les ans.

Trajet du char pendant l' Indra Jātrā:

14ème jour de la quinzaine claire : partie sud de Kāthmāndu. Départ du palais de la Kumāri, Pheysidewal, Lagan, Brahma Tol, derrière Jeysidewal, Bhimsenthān, Maru Tole et retour au temple de la Kumāri de 15ème jour de la quinzaine partie nord de la ville. Départ du palais de la Kumāri, Pyāphal Tol, Naradevi, Nhyekhā Tol, Nhyāyankan Tol, Asan, Bālkumāri, Indracowk, Makhan, Darbār square et retour. Le jour d'après: palais de la Kumāri, Pyāphal, Naradevi, Kilāgal, Bhedā singh, Indrachowk, Durbār square.

### C—KUMĀRI JYĀPU

- (1) Elle doit être Jyapuni du quartier de Kilāgal Kāthmāndu. Elle est choisie vers 2, ou 3 ans et reste en fonction jusqu'à ce qu'elle perde du sang. Les critères de choix sont les mêmes que pour la Royale—32 signes— mais elle ne doit pas avoir eu de trace de vaccin. De plus elle doit être du signe de la vierge—Konia rasi. Quand elle est disqualifiée, la nouvelle est rapportée aux Pradhān de Kilāgal<sup>20</sup>. A ce moment-là ils rassemblent les petites filles, un prêtre, un Thakāli (le plus âgé)

<sup>19</sup> Bhajan: chants dévotionnels, charyā : chants classiques newār chantés par les prêtres bouddhistes newar: Bajrācārya, pendant les fonctions religieuses.

<sup>20</sup> Sous-caste des Chetri Newār

et une femme, en l'occurrence la femme de mon informateur, M. Ratna Prasad Pradhan. Ils sacrifient des boucs et organisent une sorte de loterie avec des boules sur lesquelles sont écrits les mots "possible" ou "impossible". Cela a toujours lieu le dixième jour du Dasāin, le jour de tikā la petite fille ayant tiré la boule "possible" est choisie. Pour confirmer le choix on brandit devant elle des Kukris. Après cela le choix n'est plus remis en question.

(2) Les restrictions ont été simplifiées depuis 10 ans, ce qui la rend beaucoup plus libre maintenant. Elle doit cependant être portée si elle sort officiellement, ne doit pas toucher du cuir, ne doit pas manger des oignons. Elle doit porter des vêtements rouges; ceux qu'elle avait étaient presque des guenilles. Elle n'a pas besoin d'avoir son troisième oeil tout le temps ni les bijoux qu'elle doit avoir seulement pour les pujas; par contre la coiffure est obligatoire. Elle va à l'école et peut aller aux champs mais on ne doit pas en exiger du travail. Elle joue le reste du temps avec les enfants du voisinage dans la rue.

(3) On doit lui faire des pujas tous les matins. Ils sont faits par les membres de la famille et d'une manière très simple—riz et fleurs. Jadis les Pradhān à tour de rôle venaient le lui faire, maintenant ils se contentent de lui envoyer le Prasād.

Une fois par an elle est emmenée dans la chambre secrète du Bahāl des Pradhān. Elle peut voir les autres Kumāris mais cela ne s'est jamais produit.

(4) Pas de superstitions quant au mariage. Elles deviennent des Jyāpunis à part entière.

(5) Si elle meurt pendant qu'elle est Kumāri, chose qui n'est jamais arrivée, elle doit être portée sur des draps rouges.

(6) Les parents semblent ne jouer aucun rôle.

(7) On l'appelle Deo Cā (petite déesse); elle est traitée comme une déesse et non comme une Jyāpuni.

Le roi lui offre une série de vêtements.

Le Guthi, formé par les Pradhān de Kilāgal, subvient à ses besoins et lui offre aussi une série de vêtements.

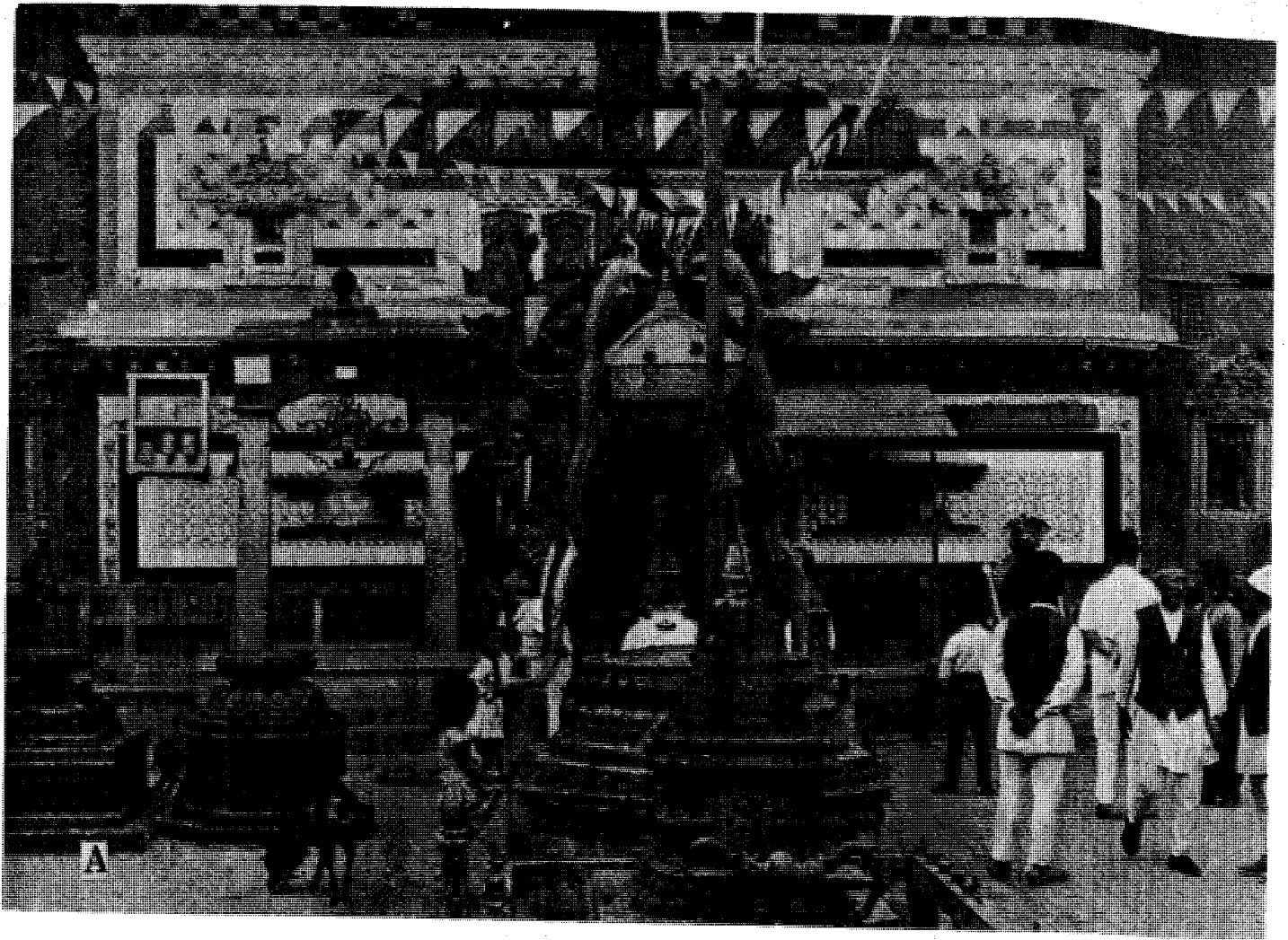
Peu de gens viennent lui faire des offrandes, s'il y en a, c'est pendant le Dasāin.

Elle est adorée par les bouddhistes et les hindouistes.

#### D—KUMĀRI DE MUBAHĀL

(1) Elle doit être Bajrācārya et appartenir à un de ces 5 Bahāl : Tadā Bahāl, Cidā Bahāl, Taché Bahāl, Asā Bahāl et Mubahāl.

Dès après le sevrage elle peut devenir Kumāri; l'une d'elles fut sélectionnée 10 jours après. Les 32 signes réglementaires doivent être évidents. La mère d'une



7. A: Hokabahal, Patan. B: Bijoux de la Kumari de Patan: Tāyo—collier.

ancienne Kumāri m'a dit avoir eu des rêves extraordinaires avant le choix de sa fille, rêves de bon augure tels que Fleurs, Dieux et Lampes.

Si pour un des motifs vus précédemment la Kumāri est disqualifiée, la nouvelle est rapportée aux prêtres de Tache Bahāl. La Kumāri que j'ai pu voir louchait et avait déjà perdu une dent mais comme personne ne veut que sa fille devienne Kumāri, elle continue à tenir le rôle en attendant une remplaçante.

Le système de choix est similaire à celui observé chez les Jyāpu; si plusieurs fillettes conviennent, on fait une loterie et celle qui tire le bout de papier portant l'inscription "ja" ou "ya"<sup>21</sup> est élue. On dit aussi que la petite qui va être choisie le sait d'avance et que les parents cachent ce genre d'enfant.

Quand le choix a eu lieu, les 2 petites filles sont mises sur le trône qui est à Mubahāl; les Bajrācārya de Tache Bahāl enlèvent un par un les bijoux de l'ancienne et les mettent sur la nouvelle. Ensuite ils lui font des offrandes puis on leur offre un festin. La disqualifiée se lève du trône et on fait de nouvelles offrandes à la nouvelle suivant des rites spéciaux.

Jusqu'à ce qu'une remplaçante soit installée l'ancienne continue à être considérée comme Kumāri. Le jour le plus favorable pour le choix d'une Kumāri est le 10ème jour du mois lunaire.

- (2) Elle ne doit pas sortir de la cour de son Bahāl, sauf si elle est appelée chez des gens pour des offrandes. Il ne faut pas qu'elle devienne impure (ail, oignon, quelque chose touché par la bouche d'autrui). Elle ne doit jamais toucher du cuir, par conséquent elle porte des chaussures en toile. Si elle est malade elle n'a pas le droit de prendre des médicaments mais elle est aspergée avec de l'eau lustrale qui provient de la chambre secrète du Bahāl où se trouve une statue de la Kumāri.

Elle porte des vêtements rouges et en brocart pour les cérémonies; elle n'a pas le droit de porter le surwāl (pantalon), mais doit toujours avoir le maquillage représentant le troisième oeil ainsi que la coiffure. Le port d'une paire de boucles d'oreille en or est obligatoire. Elle possède beaucoup d'autres bijoux, tous en très-mauvais état et sans grande valeur, offerts par des gens.

Elle habite chez elle. Si par hasard la Kumāri a été choisie dans un des 4 Bahāl dépendants, elle continue à habiter chez elle mais elle doit venir à certaines occasions à Mubahāl où se trouve le trône. Elle mange ce qu'elle veut sauf de l'ail et de l'oignon.

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<sup>21</sup> Ces mots sont en newari et veulent dire: "j'aime".

Elle n'a pas de professeur, elle joue avec les enfants de sa cour. Si l'un d'eux lui manque de respect il doit s'incliner devant elle et lui demander pardon. N'ayant pas le droit de sortir, elle ne voit pas beaucoup de gens.

- (3) On doit lui faire un puḷā tous les matins—nitya puḷā. Pour ce puḷā elle est assise sur son trône; le bain n'est pas obligatoire avant. Ce puḷā consiste en offrande du Samey c'est-à-dire vermillon, viande, fleurs, riz, graines de soja, gingembre, pomme de terre cuite, alcool ou simplement des fleurs. C'est un membre de la famille qui fait le puḷā; les femmes peuvent le faire si les membres mâles de la famille sont impurs. Elle doit sortir deux fois par an, une fois pour aller dans le Bahāl des Josi<sup>22</sup> et une autre fois à Tache Bahāl pendant le mois de Śravan (mi-juillet mi-août). Deux fois par an le Thakālī de leur Bahāl doit lui offrir des pujas pour la pleine lune de Baisak et pour le Chale du Dasain selon un rituel établi. Elle n'a aucun rôle pendant l'Indra Jātrā. Les gens de Mubahāl disent que si la Royale est malade, elle doit faire des offrandes à celle-ci. Quand elle va chez des gens elle doit être portée sur le trône, qui est peu utilisé (celui-ci est très délabré) ou sur une sorte de chaise à porteurs, le Bāmdaān.
- (4) Aucune restriction ne touche la vie d'une ancienne Kumāri.
- (5) Il n'existe aucune règle au cas où la mort surviendrait pendant le temps où elle est Kumāri. Si la famille est en deuil, elle seule n'est pas affectée par le deuil et ne devient pas Jutho; un autre membre de la famille doit aussi rester pur afin de pouvoir continuer les puḷās quotidiens.
- (6) Ils jouissent, pendant la période de temps où leur fille est Kumāri, d'un peu plus d'estime de la part de leurs voisins. Ils ne jouent aucun rôle dans le choix, au contraire. Ils ne doivent pas la gronder et doivent la traiter comme une déesse. Cet état ne change pas beaucoup leur vie.
- (7) Elle aussi n'a plus de prénom et devient Deo Māju pour tout le monde. Quand elle est invitée chez des gens, ces derniers ou leurs prêtres font eux-mêmes les puḷās. Les gens ayant des hémorragies sont les plus nombreux à venir la voir. Il y a entre 50 et 60 offrandes par an, ce qui est beaucoup. Elle ne reçoit rien de la part du roi et n'a pas de Guthi qui subvienne à ses besoins; les seules choses qu'elle reçoit sont les cadeaux des gens. Le reste est à la charge des parents et c'est pourquoi ils ne s'empressent pas de donner leur fille.

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<sup>22</sup> Nom d'une caste, une des plus élevées dans la hiérarchie néwar et qui vénère la Kumari depuis longtemps.

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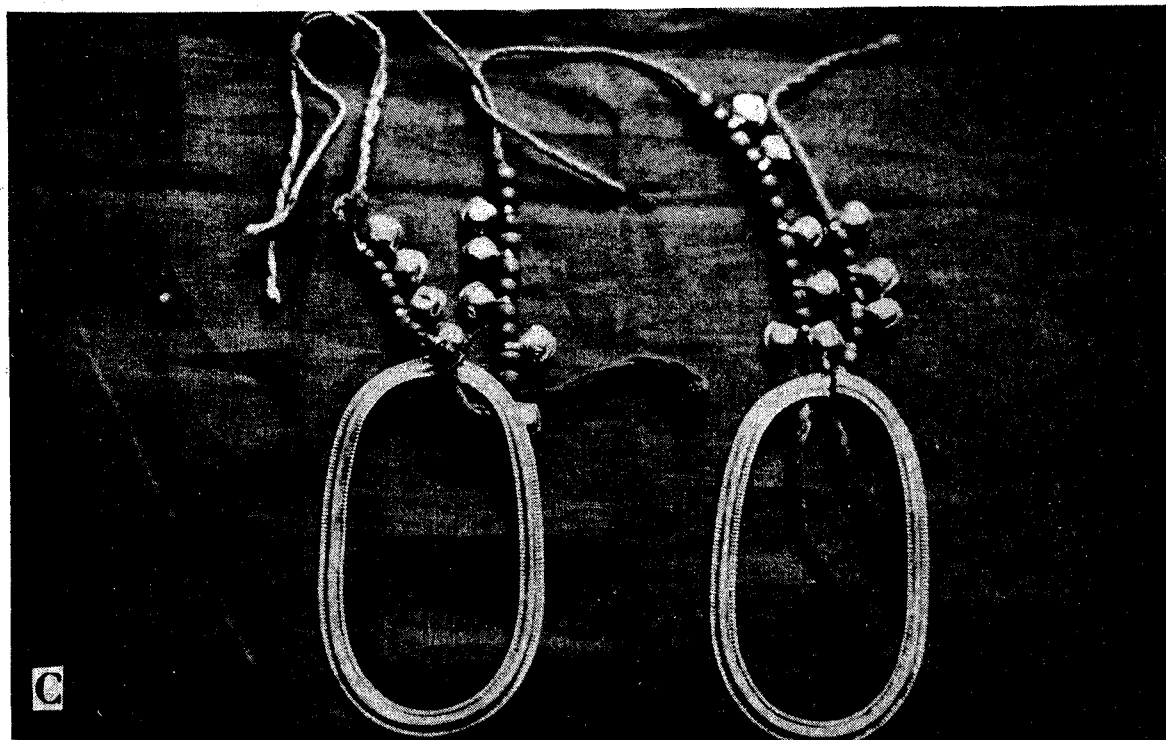
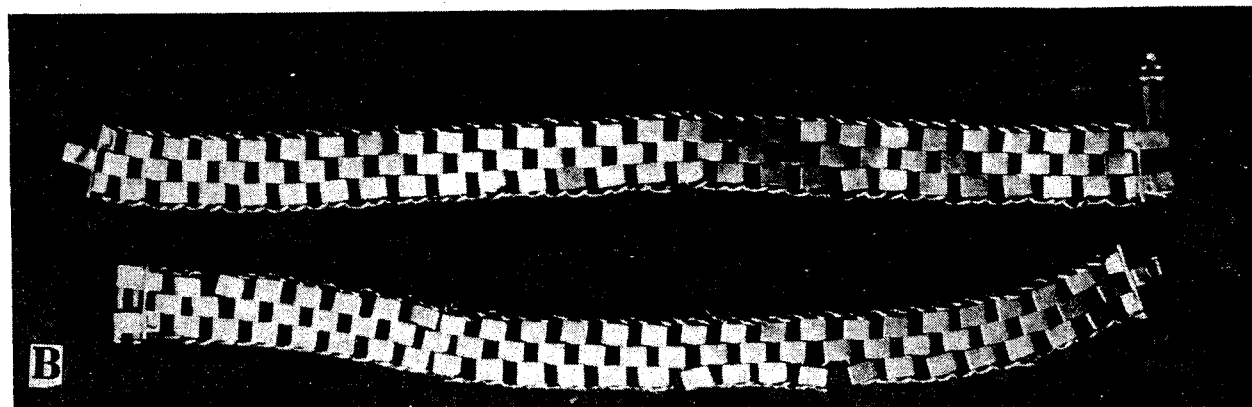
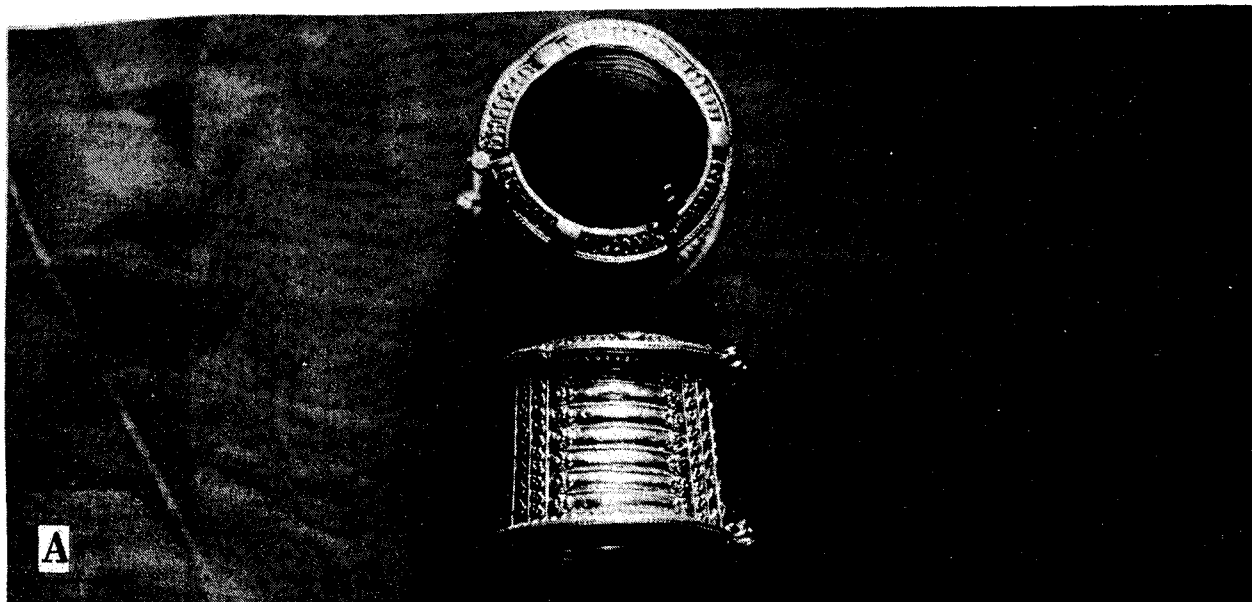


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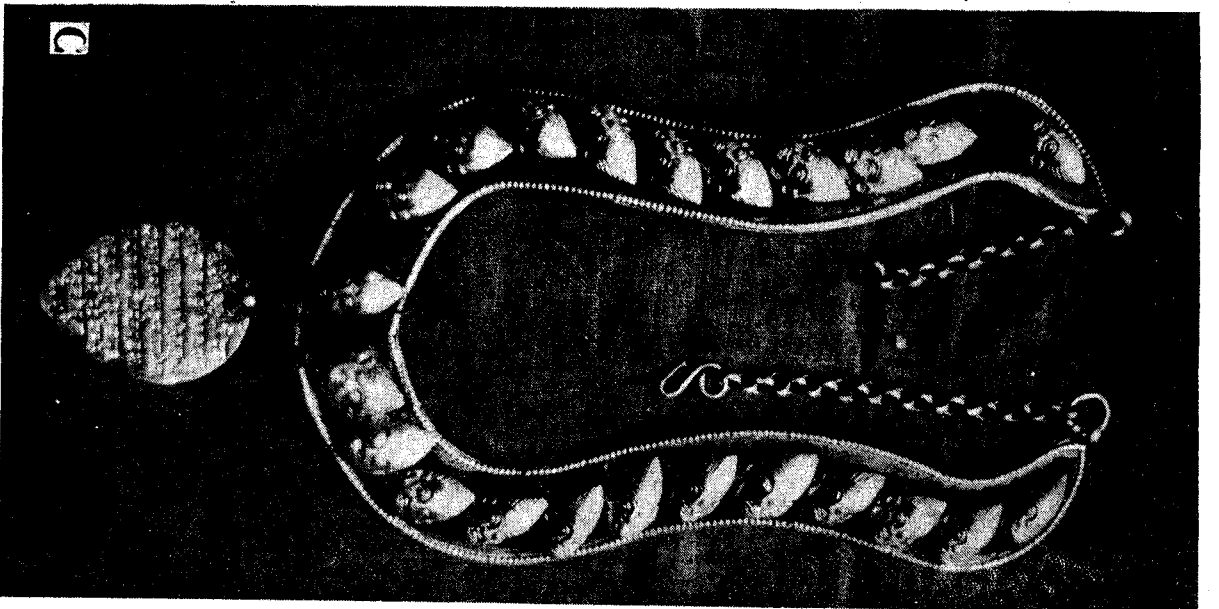
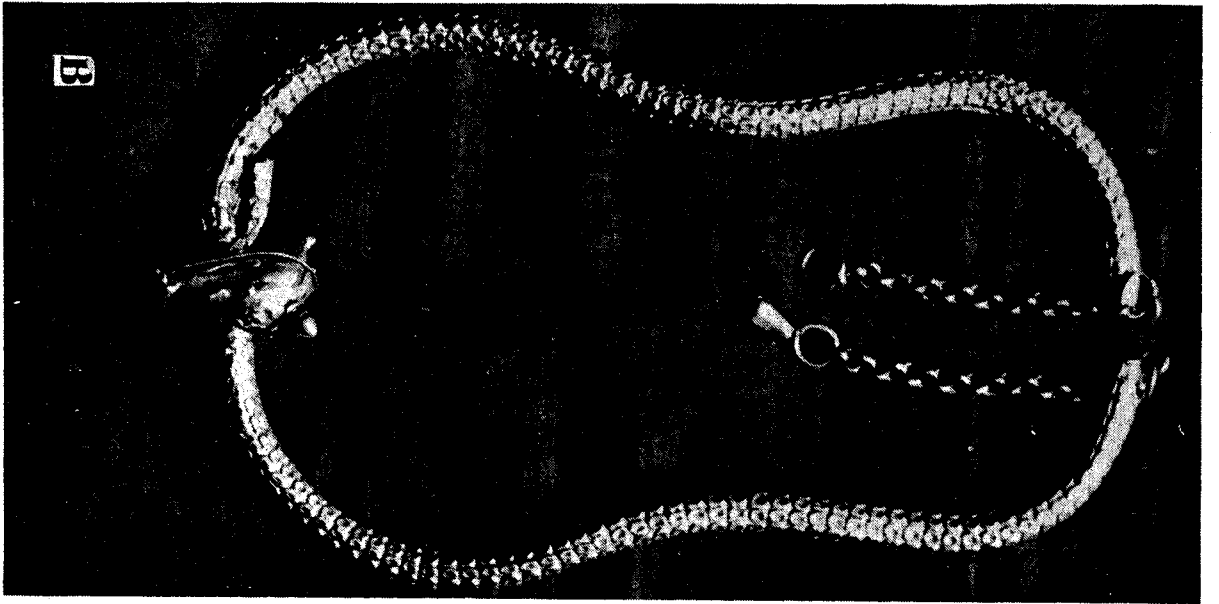
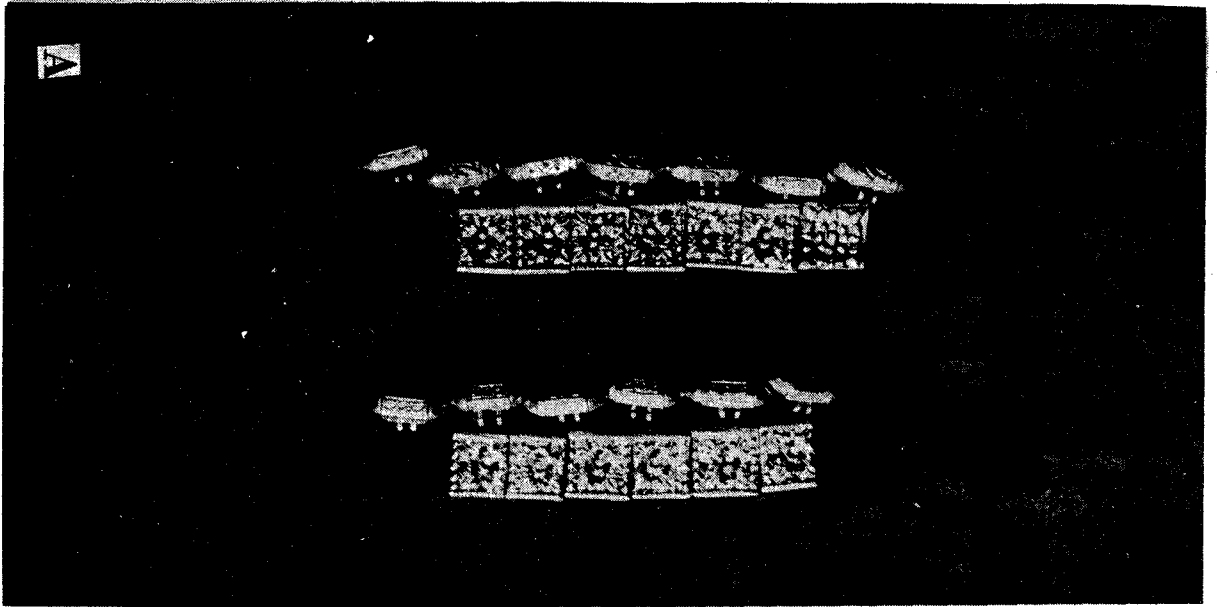
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- (5) Il n'existe aucune règle au cas où la mort surviendrait pendant le temps où elle est Kumāri. Si la famille est en deuil, elle seule n'est pas affectée par le deuil et ne devient pas Jutho; un autre membre de la famille doit aussi rester pur afin de pouvoir continuer les puḷās quotidiens.
- (6) Ils jouissent, pendant la période de temps où leur fille est Kumāri, d'un peu plus d'estime de la part de leurs voisins. Ils ne jouent aucun rôle dans le choix, au contraire. Ils ne doivent pas la gronder et doivent la traiter comme une déesse. Cet état ne change pas beaucoup leur vie.
- (7) Elle aussi n'a plus de prénom et devient Deo Māju pour tout le monde. Quand elle est invitée chez des gens, ces derniers ou leurs prêtres font eux-mêmes les puḷās. Les gens ayant des hémorragies sont les plus nombreux à venir la voir. Il y a entre 50 et 60 offrandes par an, ce qui est beaucoup. Elle ne reçoit rien de la part du roi et n'a pas de Guthi qui subviennent à ses besoins; les seules choses qu'elle reçoit sont les cadeaux des gens. Le reste est à la charge des parents et c'est pourquoi ils ne s'empressent pas de donner leur fille.

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<sup>22</sup> Nom d'une caste, une des plus élevées dans la hiérarchie néwar et qui vénère la Kumari depuis longtemps.



8. Bijoux de la Kumari de Patan: A: *Mow* — bracelet. B: *pāujeka*.  
C. *Tuti baggi*. (B et C sont portés autour des chevilles.)



9. Bijoux de la Kumari de Patan: A: *Chausyā pu* — se porte autour des chevilles. B: *Nāgmala* — collier. C: *Narasīlamala* — collier.

## E—KUMĀRI DE KVĀBAHĀL

- (1) Elles sont toutes de famille Bajrācārya; celles interrogées étaient de Bhagwati Bahāl.

L'âge, les critères de choix et de disqualification, le système de loterie sont identiques à ceux que nous avons vu pour Mubahāl. Le frère de l'une d'elles avait rêvé, avant que sa soeur ne soit choisie, que la déesse était dans leur maison.

Si elle est disqualifiée, on prévient les Pradhān dont elle est la déesse tutélaire et qui ont formé un Guthi s'occupant de la Kumāri; ces derniers procèdent au choix. La disqualifiée reste en place jusqu'à l'installation de la nouvelle. La cérémonie se passe de la manière suivante: l'ancienne, portée par un des Pradhān, et la nouvelle par un des membres de sa famille ou marchand, si elle le peut, vont dans le Bahāl. L'ancienne porte tous les bijoux; on la met sur le trône et la nouvelle en face sur une natte en paille recouverte d'un bout de tissu. Le Bajrācārya récite des mantras, met une guirlande de fleurs d'abord au cou de l'ancienne, puis à celui de la nouvelle; et il transfère les pouvoirs surnaturels de l'une à l'autre. L'ancienne s'enlève les bijoux que le prêtre met à la nouvelle, puis elle se lève du trône et le père de la nouvelle y met sa fille. L'ancienne se met de nouveaux habits et la nouvelle des habits rouges donnés par les Pradhān; on défait la coiffure de l'ancienne et on fait celle de la nouvelle. L'ancienne s'en va après avoir reçu un petit dédommagement et après avoir festoyé, ainsi que ses parents. A la nouvelle, revêtue de tous les ornements, les prêtres font des pujās.

- (2) Elle ne doit jamais traverser de rivière ni monter dans une automobile. Elle ne doit pas rencontrer d'autres Kumāri car, si leur 3ème oeil se rencontraient, elle mourrait ou deviendrait malade; cela c'est passé une fois lorsqu'elle avait rencontré par hasard la Kumāri de Mubahāl. Elle habite chez ses parents, s'amuse avec les enfants du voisinage et ne va pas à l'école; elle n'a pas le droit d'y aller.
- (3) Elle doit aller 4 fois par an dans le Bahāl des Pradhān, pendant le Dasāin, pour deux Desi pujā (pujā se rapportant aux divinités familiales), l'un en hiver et l'autre en été et pour le Gāi Jātrā— fin août; à ces occasions elle est portée par un des Pradhān en procession. Un Nitya Pujā lui est fait tous les matins par un membre de sa famille, homme ou femme. N'importe qui peut aller la voir.
- (4) La Kumāri, après sa destitution, devient comme les autres petites filles.
- (5) Je n'ai trouvé rien de particulier se rapportant à la mort de la Kumāri.
- (6) Les parents sont plus respectés à ce moment-là et chaque fois que leur fille va quelque part, le père doit l'accompagner. A ces occasions, il est fêté.

- (7) Ils peuvent aller la voir et l'inviter chez eux quand ils le veulent. A cette occasion on doit étaler un tissu blanc sur tout le chemin et l'arroser d'eau lustrale. On l'appelle Deo Māju. N'étant pas nécessaire à l'Etat, elle ne reçoit aucune subvention. C'est le Guthi des Pradhān qui s'en occupe et aide un peu financièrement la famille : un muri de riz par an (74,545 kgs.) . Elle garde le peu de cadeaux qu'on lui fait.

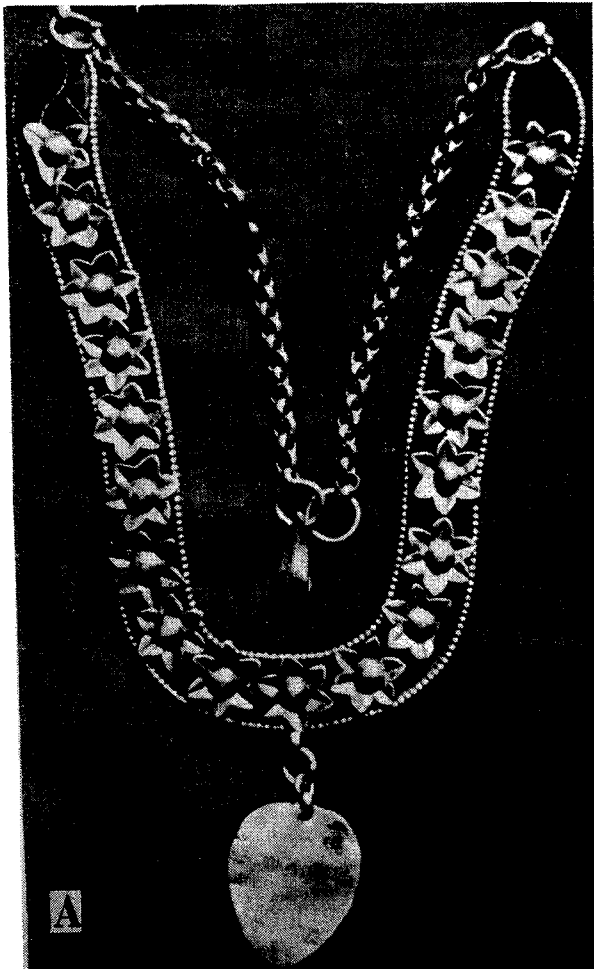
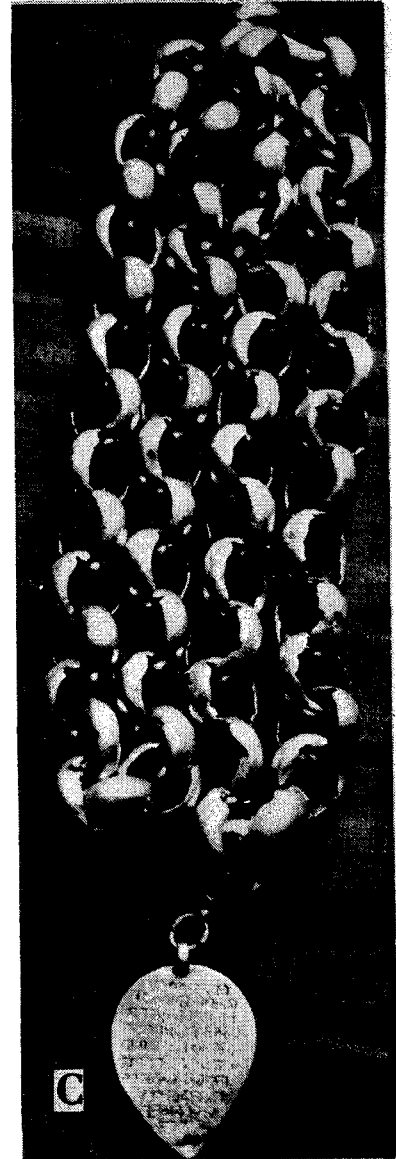
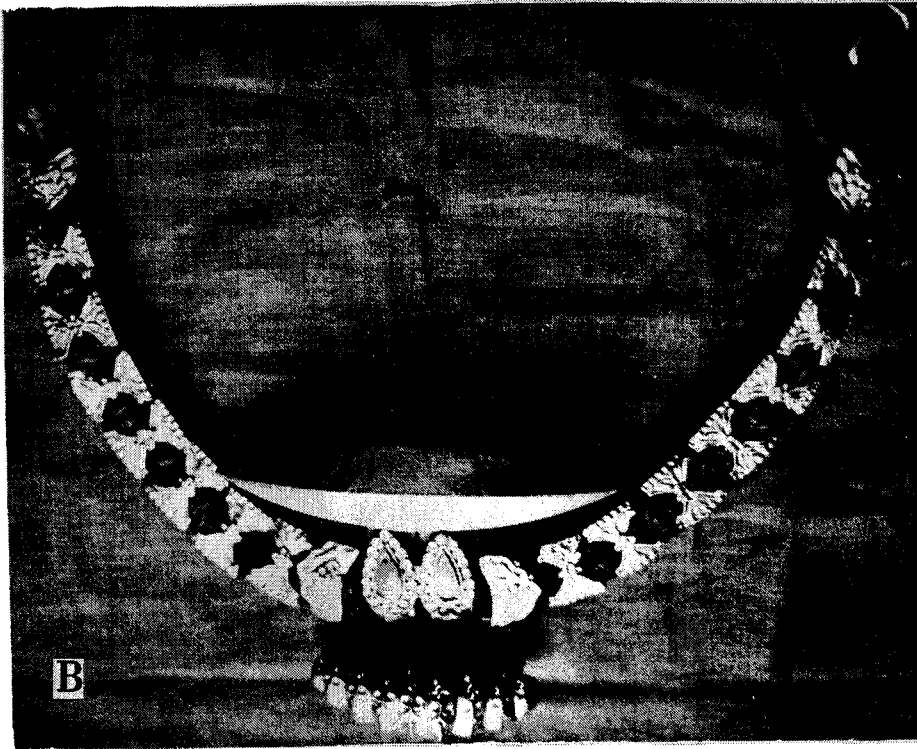
#### F—KUMĀRI DE BHĀDGĀON

- (1) Elle doit être Bajrācārya de Caturvarna Mahābihār. L'âge, les critères de qualification et de disqualification sont identiques à ceux vus précédemment.

Quand un facteur de disqualification apparaît, les parents préviennent les membres du Guthi, mais ce sont des Brāhmines et des Karmācārya qui effectuent le choix. Toutes les filles du Bihār sont examinées; signes âge, critères, etc. après cette première sélection, les Brāhmines de Mulcok (Mucuk en newari) revêtus d'habits vieux et déchirés, portant une coiffure avec des cornes, l'air aussi terrifiant que possible, demandent aux petites filles de venir s'asseoir sur leurs genoux. Celle qui le fait naturellement est choisie, mais le test ne se borne pas à cela; on la met ensuite sur un trône dont le haut du dossier représente les têtes de neuf Nāgas (serpents); si elle n'a pas peur, ses chances de devenir Kumāri augmentent encore; ensuite elle est emmenée à Taleju. Ce qui se passe à ce moment-là est tenu secret; n'y assistent que la petite fille et deux prêtres. Si elle en ressort victorieuse, le test continue. Deux hommes, les plus respectés du Guthi, l'encadrent et on tue vingt-et-un buffles devant eux; les deux hommes sont aspergés avec du sang d'une des bêtes et on dispose les têtes devant elle. Elle ne doit pas avoir peur. Si elle rit, il y aura une augmentation du nombre des ennemis du pays; si elle regarde vers le bas, il grèlera; si elle regarde vers le haut, il y aura un tremblement de terre. Les sacrifices ont lieu le 9ème jour du Dasāin et, le 10ème jour, le choix étant définitif, il y a une procession et elle est montrée au public pendant un certain temps. Elle est testée tous les ans à la même époque et la fonction est révoquable si l'enfant a peur.

- (2) Elle ne doit pas devenir "jutho", ne pas manger d'ail ou d'oignon. Elle doit toujours garder son tikā-troisième oeil; la coiffure et les habits rouges ne sont pas nécessaires.

Celle que j'ai pu voir habitait à Kāthmāndu et non à Bhādgāon; son père est orfèvre à Kāthmāndu; elle n'avait pas de chambre spéciale. Elle allait à l'école. On doit la laver entièrement deux fois par semaine; on ne lui fait pas le Nitya Pujā car il est fait en son nom par les Bajrācārya dans son temple de Bhādgāon. Elle a des bijoux en or très lourds (7 kgs.) qui sont gardés par le guthi et qu'elle ne met qu'une de rares occasions.



10. Bijoux de la Kumari de Patan.

A: *Bonmāla* — collier. B: *Tāyo* — collier.

C: *Sikrisila mālā* — collier.

- (3) Elle doit aller à Bhādgāon quand on lui fait un puḥā pour une occasion ou une autre et obligatoirement pendant le Dasāin.

Elle arrive vêtue de ses propres habits jusqu' à la porte du Bihār, se dēvêt entièrement et revêt des habits que lui tendent les Bajrācāryas. A partir de ce moment et pour toute la durée de son séjourn à Bhādgāon, elle ne devra pas mettre de chaussures. Elle reste pendant 15 jours là-bas, entourée par les membres du Guthi ; on lui fait directement le Nitya Puḥā. Elle doit être portée tous les jours au temple de Taleju où les Brāhmins et les Karmācārya lui font des puḥās. Puis intervient la cérémonie du test annuel, les 9 et 10 èmes jours du Dasāin.

Outre ces obligations, elle reçoit 2 ou 3 offrandes par an de la part de particuliers.

- (4) Après sa disqualification, il y a des rumeurs quant à la mort de son futur mari etc. ,mais en fait elle reprend une vie tout à fait normale.
- (5) La possibilité d'une mort survenant pendant qu'elle est Kumāri ne semble pas avoir été envisagée.

- (6) Les parents, bien que ce soit une charge financière, sont très contents que leur fille soit Kumāri.

Le père ne joue aucun rôle dans le Guthi. Pendant le Dasāin, quand elle est dans son palais à Bhādgāon, ils ne la voient que quand elle sort en grande procession.

- (7) Les gens l'appellent Deo Māju.

Le roi va la voir, paraît-il, pendant le Dasāin (cas survenu en 1969) mais même s'il n'est pas là, l'épée le représentant est montrée. Il lui donne une monnaie d'or et s'incline à ses pieds. La Kumāri lui impose le tikā.

Elle ne reçoit aucune subvention et si les gens lui font des dons, très souvent l'argent est gardé par les attendants.

Il existe une danse—Mahākālī—qui a lieu tous les 12 ans, où la Kumāri est représentée comme la protectrice, la salvatrice, celle qui se bat contre les mauvais esprits. Ranjit Malla<sup>23</sup> dernier roi de Bhādgāon, pour calmer la querelle entre Sākya et Bajrācārya, décréta que toutes les filles qui voulaient se faire percer les oreilles devaient demander la permission à la Kumāri, celles qui ne le faisaient pas devaient payer une amende de 100 Roupies.

#### G—KUMĀRI DE PĀTAN

- (1) Elle doit être de famille Bajrācārya et attachée à Hokabahāl. Celle interrogée était du quartier de Gābahāl. Les critères et l'âge sont les mêmes que pour les autres Kumāri.

Sa mère, avant le choix de sa fille, avait vu en rêve un serpent rentrer par la porte centrale de leur maison, monter l'escalier et se lover dans la pièce qui est maintenant la chambre de la Kumāri. La petite fille, pendant la même période, pleurait souvent sans raison. De plus la mère, a plusieurs occasions alors qu'elle regardait par la fenêtre, avait vu les Asta Mātrika; elles lui disaient de préparer la chambre pour la déesse car autrement elles lui jetteraient un mauvais sort. Elle avait raconté cela à son mari et ils avaient préparé une chambre et s'attendaient un peu à ce que leur fille devienne Kumāri. D'après cette famille, il se passe toujours quelque chose dans les familles où la Kumāri va être choisie, aussi bien avant le choix qu'avant la disqualification.

Quand elle ne peut plus rester Kumāri, on prévient le Guthi attaché au Bahāl, puis les membres du Guthi: un représentant du prêtre royal et quelques officiels procèdent au choix. Ce choix est uniquement basé sur les 32 signes. Le choix effectué, on emmène l'élue chez le prêtre royal—Badā Guru—puis au palais royal où le roi lui rend hommage et elle revient en grande procession—Sindu Jatra—à Patan au temple de Taleju où les Brāhmins et les Karmācārya la vénèrent pendant 24 heures. Pendant tout ce temps elle peut manger mais doit rester debout. Après cela on envoie un message chez elle pour que l'on vienne la coiffer et pour que la maison soit prête. Arrivée chez elle on lui fait un pujā, elle met le tikā à tous ceux qui sont là et à partir de ce moment-là elle est considérée Kumāri.

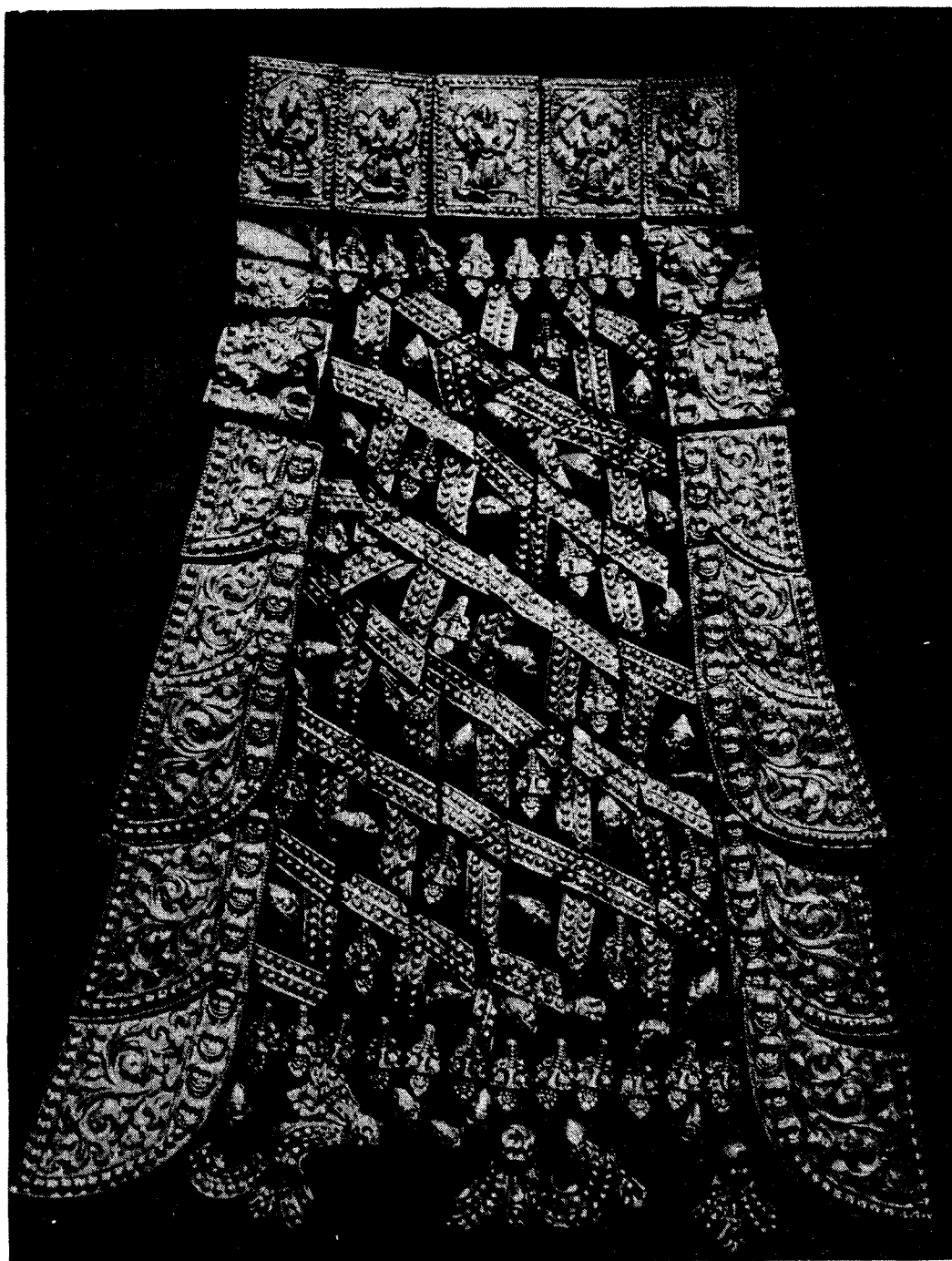
Il semble que la Kumāri partant est tout fait négligée à Pātan et que le Guthi ne se montre pas très sévère quant aux critères de disqualification car l'actuelle Kumāri a plus de 19 ans et il est peu probable qu'elle n'ait jamais saigné de sa vie.

- (2) Elle n'a pas le droit de prendre de médicaments, ne doit manger ni oignon ni volailles. Quand elle descend un escalier tous doivent attendre son arrivée en bas avant de descendre de peur que leurs pieds ne se trouvent au-dessus de sa tête. On ne doit pas la toucher avec les pieds et si cela se produit on doit lui offrir du riz, du bétel et de l'argent. Elle ne doit toucher ni chien ni cuir. Si des mains impures la touchent, elle doit prendre un bain et se purifier.

Elle porte des habits rouges, en brocart pour les fêtes. Ils consistent en une jupe—Jama—et un corsage népalais—Bhoto. La coiffure et le troisième oeil doivent toujours être faits. Elle a beaucoup de bijoux, tous en argent (cf. la liste à la fin) mais elle n'a pas besoin de les porter tous tout le temps. Par contre, elle doit toujours avoir sur elle une conque marine, tournée vers la droite, objet très rare—Dāhinsank—car avec certaines invocations, cette conque a de très grands pouvoirs.

Elle habite chez elle mais a une chambre séparée; elle doit dormir seule. Elle mange tout ce qu'elle veut; les plats doivent être lavés et l'endroit où elle mange recouvert d'enduit après chaque repas. Elle a un plat spécial, dans lequel personne n'a le droit de manger. utilisé pendant le Dasāin et certaines autres fêtes, le Thāyabhu.





11. Bijoux de la Kumari de Patan: *Jabhin* — tablier.

Quand on lui fait le pujā quotidien elle a les pieds dans une sorte de plateau, le Babhu. Elle doit se laver tous les jours entièrement. Elle fait ce qu'elle veut mais ne doit pas sortir de chez elle. Si elle veut prendre part aux travaux domestiques, elle le peut mais ne doit pas être sollicitée.

- (3) On peut venir la voir quand elle le veut et si l'astrologue le conseille; mais en général elle ne parle pas aux gens. Elle peut aller chez les gens du Bahāl; le 4<sup>ème</sup> jour du Dasāin elle doit aller dans 3 endroits différents, Gābahāl, Sota et sous la statue devant le palais de Sidi Narsimha. Dans son Bahāl elle a une chambre particulière avec un trône mais elle n'y va que très rarement. Chez elle, elle a aussi un trône sur lequel elle s'assied pour les pujās; autrement on lui donne toujours un coussin rouge pour s'asseoir.
- (4) Contrairement à Kāthmāndu, cela est très bien considéré d'épouser une ancienne Kumāri.
- (5) Cela est arrivé une fois à l'époque de Candra Samser et c'est l'Etat qui a payé pour les funérailles. Celles-ci doivent se passer à Nakhu Vaisnava et non sur les bords de la Bāgmati.

A la mort de son père elle a dû partir de la maison et aller chez son grand-père maternel—Pajuchen—elle ne prend pas le deuil mais les autres membres de la famille étant en deuil et ne pouvant pas lui faire de pujā, c'est donc le prêtre de la famille qui allait le lui faire. Elle est restée 7 jours chez son grand-père.

Il n'y a pas de réincarnation car étant déesse elle ne meurt pas.

- (6) Les parents sont considérés comme très dévots puisque la déesse a été choisie dans leur famille. Ils n'ont aucun rôle nulle part.
- (7) Elle est Deo Māju pour tout le monde. On vient la voir pour les vomissements, les femmes pour les menstruations. Plus de femmes que d'hommes. Ils viennent en général pour recevoir le Tikā, on vient même de kāthmāndu pour la vénérer. Il y a 3 à 400 pujās pendant le Dasāin et entre 150 et 200 par an en dehors du Dasain. C'est le frère qui est pujari, le père étant mort; mais le 9<sup>ème</sup> jour du Dasāin c'est le Karmācārya de Taleju qui doit lui faire un pujā.

Le roi ne vient pas la voir. Elle recoit 20, 82 roupies par mois pour rembourser les frais occasionnés par les pujās quotidiens. Pendant le Dasāin elle reçoit aussi une robe en satin rouge. Les gens peuvent lui faire de cadeaux. Pendant le mois de Kārtik<sup>24</sup> il y a une danse où la Kumāri, masquée de rouge, l'air féroce et faisant des gestes brutaux, est représentée.

Durant le Machendranath la fête ne peut commencer avant que la Kumāri, en tant que déesse officielle, ne soit représentée.

LES 32 SIGNES OU BATTISLAKSANA

(Il m'a été très difficile de dénombrer ces signes, n'ayant pu voir le *Kumāri Tantra*, et toutes les personnes interrogées ayant leur propre idée de la question.)

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|---|--|
| 1. सुप्रतिष्ठितौ पादौ                   | Supraṭiṣṭhitau pādau: pieds proportionnés,   |
| 2. अधस्तात पादतलयी<br>श्रकांकित पादतलता | Adhastāta pādatalayī śvakānkita pādatalatā: ligne sous la plante des pieds en cercle, cakra, |
| 3. आयतपाद पार्ष्णी संगतपद्मता           | Āyatapāda pārsāṇī saṅgatapadātā: talon proportionné,   |
| 4. दीर्घांगुलिता                        | Dirghāngulitā: longs doigts de pieds,  |
| 5. जालांगुलिहस्त पादता                  | Jāṅlāngulihasta pādātā: les pieds et les mains comme un canard,                              |
| 6. मृदुतरुण हस्तपादता                   | Mṛidutarūṇa hastapādātā: pieds et mains doux et délicats                                     |
| 7. सप्तच्छदो च्छितशरीरता                | Saptacchado cchitaśarīratā: le corps en forme de feuille de saptacchata,                     |
| 8. ऐण्यजंघता                            | Aiṇyajanghatā: cuisse comme celle d'un daim,   |
| 9. कोशोपगत वस्तिगुह्यता                 | Kośopagata bastiguhyatā: organes sexuels enfoncés dans le bassin,                            |
| 10. सुसंवृत स्कन्धता                    | Susamvṛita skandhatā: les épaules rondes,  |
| 11. सिंहपूर्वाधिकायता                   | Siṃhapūrvādhakāyatā: la poitrine comme celle d'un lion,                                      |
| 12. प्रलंब बाहुता                       | Pralamba bāhutā: longs bras,   |
| 13. विशुद्धे गात्रता                    | Viśuddha gātratā: corps pur,   |
| 14. कम्बुग्रीवता                        | Kambugrīvātā: le cou comme une conque,   |
| 15. सिंह हनुता                          | Siṃha hanutā: les joues comme un lion,   |
| 16. समचत्वारिंशद दन्तता                 | Samchatvāriṅśada dantatā: 40 dents,  |
| 17. समाविरल दन्तता                      | Samāviralā dantatā: dents proportionnées,  |
| 18. शुक्ल दन्तता                        | Śukla dantatā: dents blanches,   |
| 19. प्रभूततनु जिहुता                    | Prabhūtatanu jihutā: langue petite et proportionnée,   |
| 20. रसरसायनता                           | Rasarasāyanatā: langue humide,   |
| 21. ब्रह्मस्वर कलिभिड्करुत स्वरता       | Brahmasvara kaliviḍkaruta svarata: voix grave comme celle d'un moineau                       |
| 22. अभिनिल नेत्रता                      | Abhinila netratā: yeux bleus (noirs)   |
| 23. गोपद्म नेत्रता                      | Gopadma netratā: cils comme ceux d'une vache,  |
| 24. शुक्ल छविता                         | Śuklachavitā: une belle ombre,   |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 25. सुवर्ण छविता                        | Suvarṇa chavitā: ombre dorée,   |
| 26. एकैकरोमकुपता                        | Ekaikaromakupatā: les pores de la peau bien délimités,  |
| 27. उत्तुङ्ग प्रदक्षिणावर्त्तरोमता      | Uttuṅga pradakṣiṇāvarttaromatā: les cheveux raides<br>et tournés vers la droite,                |
| 28. इन्द्रनील केशता                     | Indranila keśatā: cheveux bleus (noirs)   |
| 29. सुशुकल भ्रुमुखान्तरोर्ण ललाटता      | Suśukala bhrumukhāntaroṇa-lalāṭatā: le front large et<br>proportionné,                          |
| 30. उष्णीष शिरष्कता                     | Uṣṇiṣaśiraṣkatā: tête ronde,  |
| 31. न्यग्रोध परिमण्डल<br>समत्प्रसादिकता | Nyagrodha parimaṇḍala samattaprāsādikatā: le corps<br>proportionné comme un arbre de nyagrodha, |
| 32. महानारायण बलसमन्त<br>प्रासादिकता    | Mahānārāyaṇa balasamanta prāsādikatā: corps<br>robuste.   |

(Ces signes m'ont été dictés et traduits par Monsieur Manabajra Bajrācārya.)

## BALKRISHNA SAMA

Ishwar Baral

*New Delhi*

Balkrishna Sama was a typical prodigy of Nepali renaissance. Born in 1902 in Kathmandu to nobility of a privileged Rana family; he was brought up in an atmosphere of comfortable security, opulence and learning, as well as good taste in the arts. His father was an expert stage director and an accomplished photographer as well as a painter. Family influence under such a father's care during his formative years, as also under his elder brother, Pushkar Shamsher, a pioneer of modern, impeccable Nepali prose, had their effect on the precocious Balkrishna who started writing verse at the age of eight and simultaneously went to try his hand later at painting, photography, histrionics and dramaturgy, as also at music.

Sama's formal education did not take him beyond the high school level. After passing his high school examination from Kathmandu's Darbar School, then the only school for Western-style education in Nepal, he joined a college in Calcutta to study science. But science subjects did not harmonize with his artistic temper; and domestic circumstances forced him to give up college education. It does not appear if he ever regretted it; and whatever he acquired for his equipment was by his self-study at home.

During Rana rule, Sama, a Major Captain of the Nepal Army, was for many years head of the Government Bureau of Publications (Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti) set up for the publication of Nepali books, generally text books. At the same time he taught Nepali language and literature in Darbar School and Trichandra College in Kathmandu, both educational institutions run by the Government. Political activities directed at the overthrow of the Ranas led to his imprisonment in 1950. After his release in 1951, in consequence of the overthrow of Rana rule, he renounced his family name Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana and took Sama instead to signify his commitment to social equality. He was for some time the Director of Publicity and later for a spell Chief Editor of the *Gorkhapatra*, a Government-owned Nepali daily.

In 1957, Sama was nominated to the Nepal Academy (later Nepal Rajkiya Prajña Pratisthan) in recognition of his service for the cause of Nepali letters. Towards the middle of 1971 he retired as its Vice-Chancellor. He has been for some time a member of the Standing Committee of the Council of State, a constitutional body. At present he is busy writing his autobiography, the first two parts of which have been published so far. He is seventy, and yet inexhaustible. He has remained the greatest literary craftsman since he began to publish.

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From the very start of his literary career Balkrishna Sama could be recognized as a force in Nepali literature giving an impetus to new trends. His first book, a play named *Mutuko Vyatha* (Heartache, 1929), was a social tragedy, bold enough in theme and technique to startle the votaries of conventional standards.

Of course there had been pioneers before him: Shambhu Prasad Dhungyal, Lekh Nath Paudyal and Dharanidhar Koirala had already introduced various changes in the field of poetry. Dhungyal's poetry had already begun to give expression to the sombre and melancholic sentiments of a people treated like subjects rather than citizens and overburdened by autocratic Rana ruler's orthodoxies, ruthlessness and exorbitantly exploitative privileges accumulated over the generations. His poems varied from the elegiac to the lyrical overtones, from the playfully erotic to the fervently national themes. Gnostic quibbles alternated with lush descriptions of Nature. Paudyal's verse was philosophical and aphoristic, having first found expression in eroticism and impressionism his language well chiselled and down-to-earth idiomatic. Koirala again was startlingly a nationalist as well as an inspiring social reformer, putting a premium on moral and ethical values and glorifying the country in laudatory terms. Thus when Balkrishna Sama appeared on the literary scene, the language had already begun to admit new influences and the degree of the poet's contact with the common people was rapidly increasing. But, in spite of all this, the writers' consciousness of a social function to be in accord with the people's aspirations and expectations of improvement in their lot as a whole was not sufficiently formed to give them confidence; their writings tended to be either halting or hesitating, or excessively elaborate, abstracted from realities. Sama was the first fully conscious mature artist writing in a contemporary idiom and themes, with lucid and luminous nuances. His sensibility was an entirely new element in the world of Nepali letters.

With his very first play *Mutuko Vyatha* as with the mythological play *Dhruva* (also published the same year, -1929), Sama came forward as an innovator and iconoclast of a dead body of conventional writing. Nepali drama till then had been confined to translations of crude adaptations generally of Sanskrit and Hindu plays, or bizarre versions of the Parsi theatre of Bombay. Nepali audience, who loved drama, were used to theatrical comedies and stage rhetoric, to grotesque buffoonery and grandiloquent poses. They were naturally startled by a play which presented a facsimile of Nepali life and society, characters being drawn from ordinary people speaking naturally and with ease; by a play which on top of this, was a tragedy. It was disconcerting to be presented with a play in which the characters were neither divine nor super-human, neither in buffoonery nor in miracles, speaking a language which was neither declamatory nor full of loud asides, endeavouring to create an effect neither macabre nor burlesque. By today's standards one may not consider Sama's peculiar blend of Sanskrit *anustup* verse and ordinary prose of Shakespearian and Ibsenian cadence as particularly

modern; but in the context of what was then accepted as good drama in Nepal, there is no doubt whatever that the publication of the *Mutuko Vyatha* is a landmark in the development of modern Nepali literature.

From this first epoch-making venture, Sama went on to other plays; domestic tragedies and comedies as well as mythological and historical dramas; plays written in simple and lyrical prose as well as in verse, all essentially emphasizing the virtues of love, earthly and ethereal. Although he went on to write poetry and fiction also, play-writing has always been his forte and first love; his genius is best expressed in drama. His use of the verse play had been by deliberate choice. In a country accustomed to the traditional play, it was much easier to touch and hold an audience through a verse form, more so because a verse play took less time to produce, its mnemonic quality much higher than that of the prose. And Sama has never been merely the literary dramatist; he has not written plays only to be read but always for presentation on the stage. Indeed, with two exceptions, all his plays have, in effect, been presented on the stage. The exceptions are *Ma*, (I, 1945), a social comedy in lyrical prose (which could not be staged for some unavoidable reasons despite all preparations in 1959); *Preminda* (Love obsequies, 1954), a long tragedy in prose, depicting the life of a Rana's harem of the period 1848-1908, having its hero alleged to be the author's own grand father, and designed on the Chinese pattern (or Hindu *Puranas*, cf. *Dasavatara*) to be staged consecutively on several nights; and *Tansenko Jhari* (Rain in Tansen), 1970, a social tragedy, equally grim like the predecessor *Mutuko Vyatha* but with much less intensity.

It may be useful at this point, even at the cost of a slight digression, to make a quick survey of Nepal's theatre tradition at the time when Sama appeared on the stage. The Malla kings of the Kathmandu Valley had been great patrons of the stage and encouraged the presentation of plays at all social ceremonies, rituals and religious festivals. Some of the kings were themselves writers of plays. There was thus in Kathmandu a tradition of artistic productivity of several centuries. Decay undoubtedly set in during Rana rule, presentation being restricted mainly to harems of the Ranas; the audiences being limited to the family circle and its periphery of maids and concubines, oligarchs and aristocracies, attendants and servants. The literary merit of the plays staged was irrelevant; choice was governed by the opportunities they provided to fulfill the baser instincts of the feudal patrons and to parade the beauties of the seraglio in varying degrees of provocative indiscretion. Naturally the commoner could hardly ever get a peep at these plays. The public was permitted at best to stage plays only during the brief period of the *gaijatra* (a religious festival originally observed to express devotion to the departed near and dear one), falling between August and September. Even at this time, plays were generally staged mostly by amateurs and sometimes mere school students, far removed from dramaturgy. The Ranas did not relish large

gatherings of common people lest unrest should take a collective form of some anomie, or some conspiracy be hatched for their outster.

Some plays by Sama which were staged against such a background were refreshingly satisfying both to the potentate and the plebeian. *Prem* and *Mukund Indira* were the first to be staged for the first time in 1937 exclusively for the private audience of the Rana Prime Minister of the day who permitted *Mukund Indira* to be shown to the public on ticket. This play, a domestic comedy which highlighted social idealism and nationalism, was a great success in print, as also on the stage, and brought to the author instant honour and success and recognition, besides promotion in military rank !

The same year *Mukund Indira* was presented by the students of the Darbar School for a prize-giving ceremony of the School. The year 1939 saw the presentation of the mythological plays *Prahlad* and *Dhruva*. *Prahlad*, however, disturbed the Rana oligarchy as a whole and made the top polearchs particularly deeply suspicious of the author's intentions. Emphasizing as it did the principle of non-violent struggle against the oppression of the tyrant demon, the play appeared to the Ranas to be charged with dangerous political overtones, with nutrients for subversive activities and possibilities. *Dhruva* was also presumably purported to be a social satire, if under the camouflage of an innocuous mythological play, and hence on the face of it nothing to do with the real present-day world, but the depiction of the henpecked king under the influence of his feline junior queen, who was virtually a tyrant, reflected the evils of the social life of the Ranas themselves, if only implied. And so the next play of Sama, the dark domestic tragedy *Andhaveg* (Wild Passion, 1939) was prohibited even though it had already been scheduled for show, presumably due more to its violation of traditional mores, value and norms of conduct, as well as to wild fires of passion of an adulterous wife who fell in love with a cousin of her husband that led to conjugal estrangement and finally to her morbid state of mind leading to suicide. Traditionalists out and out, the Ranas might have found the letting loose of the grim elements in the play likely to cause social discontinuities and thereby an invitation to social disquiet and cataclasm. Such an apprehension was not a guarantee to their continued rule and if any social disquiet was allowed to burst, it had all the potentialities of emancipating the common people as a whole from their traditional thoughtpattern and unquestioning loyalty to the authority. Indeed, no other Nepali play has so far exposed the violence and vulgarity, decay and degeneration, of social life as has been done by the *Andhaveg*.

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This period coincided with the birth of the Praja Parishad, a secretive political organization set up in Kathmandu by some local youths. In 1940 all the few who had clubbed themselves together were arrested and tried; some were sentenced to the



gallows, some shot dead; those who were Brahmins, and therefore not liable to the death penalty under the existing Laws of the Realm, were awarded life sentences and condemned to solitary cells in heavy fetters. Those who had been awarded such sentences were all allegedly anxious to overthrow the obscurantist regime and military dictatorship of the Ranas, in order, as was claimed by the survivors, to restore the powers and privileges to the King which had been usurped by the Ranas since 1846, in addition to creating a condition for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in the long run. The year of the trial of the Praja Parishad associates had seen the staging of the *Prahlad*, to be followed by *Dhuva*. Some of the persons alleged to be active sympathisers of the Parishad had also been taking part in the plays; it appeared to the Ranas natural to suspect that the inspiration for subversion had come from the plays which were therefore immediately proscribed. Other religious plays, including a few social ones, by other playwrights were permitted to be staged after heavy scrutiny; but as none of those was of the same stature, the Ranas felt they could relax a little.

After lying low for about four years, Sama again sought permission to stage a play; this time *Bhakta Bhanubhakta* (1944), an historical play presenting the life of the great Nepali poet, Bhanubhakta. It was pleaded that the play was devotional and not concerned whatsoever with any theme that could be considered treasonable even in imagination. This play was followed by a romantic melodrama, *U Mareki Chhaina* (She Is Still Alive), which has not been published so far; but after that contemporary events again led to a total ban on all plays for the next two years.

Another play, *Chinta*, was written and rehearsed for staging in 1948 but was not allowed to be put up, nor has it been published thus far. In 1950 came the great Revolution started by the Nepali Congress; as a result, the century-old obscurantist Rana rule was overthrown and apprenticeship in democracy started in the country in February 1951. The fundamental rights for which the people had undergone suffering and sacrifices were now available for the first time in country's history and writers were free to express themselves freely and frankly, without fear or favour of the rulers. Sama at last got the opportunity not only to produce his plays but also to act in them; an ambition long and deeply cherished but impossible of fulfilment under the Ranas. For could a Rana himself behave like a commoner on the stage or move in the company of such persons who were *duniyadars* (subjects) taking part in the play with their paramount roles? He made his debut on the stage as the hero in 1953 in his own play and later with some of the members of his family as well. Since then he has produced and appeared in the *Andhaveg* and four other plays depicting grand characters of Nepal's history, taking in all these the leading role himself, always entertaining the audience, presumably following Aristotle that the pleasure of his audience is the poet's only aim and contending like Racine that the first rule of the drama is to

please. With these stage appearances Sama may be said to have fulfilled himself at last. As a hereditary Rana himself, he had to live a double life till the long-awaited emancipation in February 1951, singing as often as was required the encomium of the ruling clan and remaining aloof from the common people. And yet his sympathies were always with the oppressed and suppressed and downtrodden; and he remained true to his calling as an artist. It was due to his merits as a literateur that he continued to be held in great personal esteem by the people, besides being respected as a great artist, even during the illiberal Rana rule. If he connived at any wrong to his people and incurred some of the odium attaching to his behaviour of aligning himself with despotism, it was forgiven and forgotten without any rancour.

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Sama's poetry is held in equal esteem; and in poetry he has also revealed the same superb techniques which distinguishes his plays, though it would seem that he himself had never the same love that he has had for the form of the plays he has produced. He began to contribute poetry to the *Sharada*, a literary magazine which started publication early in 1935 and may be said to have been the pioneer of modern Nepali literature. Sama began with regular metrical verse from the age of ten years; but when fifteen, he broke away to forge his own technique of blank verse. In the early period his poetry had the romantic flavour characteristic of the work of Lakshmi Prasad Devkota and Siddhi Charan Shrestha, followed by Bhikshu. But, in spite of his romantic allegiance, he wrote highly experimental works and also gave expression to his rebellious *elan* in several disguised forms, in the use of startling imagery—which derived its strength from a remarkable fusion of thought and feeling—and an expressive but unfamiliar vocabulary and diction. He perfected a purity of style—a purity which was his and own which no Nepali writers to date have achieved. His subjects were also unconventional and sometimes apparently common-place, but self-consciously innovative: "The Broken Flower Vase", "To the Crow", "Monologue of a Madman", etc. Unlike his contemporary romantics, particularly the triumvirate referred to above, he did not regard Nature as divinity (for he was an atheist), nor melancholy as the pervading mood for poetic utterances. But his poetry did reflect the attraction of the strange and the wonderful, the sublime and the mysterious, the exotic and the grotesque, the stern and the magnificent. His great imaginative sensibility and fine aesthetic perception were supported by a vast capacity of acute observation and understanding and insight into the beautiful and the ecstatic.

Sama's romanticism, however, was of a very short duration. About 1938 he suddenly stopped writing verse and for a period corresponding roughly to the duration of the Second World War, he did not publish any poem at all. Thereafter, he published verses indicating a variety of experimentation and widely divergent direction of

searching of self and fundamental truths. Poems of this period suggest, variously, an interest in symbolism, occasional essays into metaphysical verse, profound intellectual exercises, emotional seriousness, some didactic efforts and short aphoristic utterances, and frequent patriotic sallies manifestedly directed to accuse the Ranas of their pestilential policies of sucking in advantages for themselves. It was really since the political change-over in February 1951 that Sama really found an atmosphere congenial to his poetic genius, and by his literary output during the period ending 1960 became the most outstanding figure in the literary scene in the country. The years following have been strikingly unproductive compared to the earlier blossoming.

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Sama is a meticulous and impeccable craftsman, always anxious to evolve some new forms, introspective and disciplined at the same time. He never hurries to publish unless self-satisfied by his own self-imposed rigorous standards. His writings see the light after months of composition and sometimes after years of industry has been spent on their perfection. And no small wonder, many of his complete works are still unpublished. A creative artist, he has his own evaluative orientation and set standards for appreciating a literary genre. His long and scholarly introduction to his plays *Prahlad* (in its second printing) and *Dhruba*, and the *enclaireissement* of a character in one of his works (*Madhuparka*, October-November 1973, pp. 7-12), show him to be a literary critic of fine perception.

Sama's verse has a profusion of imagery imbued with deep feeling, and yet rich with surprise. Though his technique reflects the precision of a seasoned craftsman, his use of various devices for supreme accomplishment and mastery of technique sometime tends excessively to an affected formal style with bloated rhetoric, elaborate concrete detail to this side verbal jugglery and fiddle-faddle. This is perhaps his chief pitfall. Because of this his long philosophical poem *Ago Ra Pani* (Fire and Water, 1956), and the social epic *Chiso Chulho* (The Cold Oven, 1985), though both scintillating with deep feeling and having as their purposes of expressing sympathy and compassion for the weak and the mute supinely submitting to the *status quo* and the powerless living in a cruel world, have failed to achieve the quality of true works of art.

This tendency appears to be on the increase in more writings, especially of the period following 1960. Long descriptions, interspersed with a didactic flavour here and there, seem not only to impair artistic sensibilities but sometimes even lead to obscurity and absurdity. He is always serious and the element of humour is conspicuous by its absence in his writings. On the other hand, his language is smooth, elegant, powerful, elevating, charged with meaning, and having rich qualities of cadence.

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Sama has written some effective short fiction, one-act plays and a few remarkable personal essays. His philosophical prose writings are contained in an aetiological work *Niyamit Akasmikta* (Regular Casulness, 1947). Sama took up painting quite early and as a parallel activity to writing. His earlier efforts were imitative of foreign masters; but this factitious presentation helped him develop his own eclectic style and he may now be recognized as an accomplished and highly sensitive artist.

Sama's personality as well as his artistic creations have a complexity which has not encouraged followers. While his distinguished contemporaries have all been mostly imitated and followed, Sama stands in a splendid isolation, hard to be emulated, almost alone among living writers and in an unassailable position, maybe partly due to his antecedents of nobility and alignment with despotism. It is in his highly cultured and distinguished family that his tradition is growing and flourishing: his son and his daughters have all shown artistic proneness with a flair for poetry, drama, acting, music and painting. Such a gifted family is as rare amongst the Ranas of Nepal as Balkrishna Sama himself; as one who is at once poet, playwright, painter, photographer, philosopher, actor, musician and sculptor, and simultaneously a standard-bearer of renaissance. Sama thus is a unique figure in Nepal's world of letters which in a generation has produced no such artist of stature to rival him. If at times his genius has been all open to question, his consummate artistry and technical mastery of his profession, and fastidiousness as a perfectionist and formalist, in whatever field, are all indisputable.

Unfortunately for the present, however, signs of decadence are visible in contemporary Nepali literature. Voices of writers, appearing dragging on at a low level of ennui and anaemia, are ineluctably echoing jejune alienness in content and spirit, all abstracted from the real situation in society. It has been as such hard to hope that Sama would revive his verve to maintain the touch he had during the 1950's. He seems to have tended to be less and less forthright, embogged by the *zeitgeist*. Sama, from his occasional writings, however, gives the unmistakable impression that he is not at all spent up and resigned to the existing state of affairs. He twits them, if veiledly, but very discreetly. Indeed, gone are the days when he used to react to similar situation, indefatigably support the causes he so loved, inspire iconoclasts, and profoundly challenge social injustices. Even to a casual observer it would be immediately obvious that there has been a sharp and real decline in Sama's poetic conscience and he has hardly ever recaptured the brilliance and majesty of his passionate and provoking writings which brought him unprecedented achievement during the apprenticeship in democracy in the 1950's. Nevertheless, he has learnt to live with ups and downs of life, as also with his varying functions and fortunes; and if his past life is any guide, it is just as reasonable to hope that he would be loyal to his own self, should opportunity arise. Whatever opinion posterity may form of his style of behaviour and whatever the modernists

may have to say about his recent writings, he has consistently been successful for more than forty-five years. Whatever men may say of him today or in future years, he has the faculty of putting into his works deep-felt anguish, torture and misery. He has a deep and warm humanity, an unflinching courage in recording truth. He has the psychological sense of unravelling secret thoughts and deeds and terrible depths and fires of passion, and above all he has sympathy with and understanding of human frailty.

*pha. rjebsun. dam. pa, sangs. kyi. zhal. gdams. ding. ri. brgya. rtsa. ,ma.*

THE 100 VERSES OF ADVICE OF THE JETSUN PADAMPA SANGYES  
TO THE PEOPLE OF TINGRI.

(Translation of the original text written down in eight folios by dP.al hbyor. rDorje.)

June Campbell  
Edinburgh

ON SWASTI !

Once Dampa Charchen came into the presence of the Dampa (Sangyes) when the latter was in old age. As the Dampa had achieved the greatest joy and bliss of Buddhahood, the people of Tingri had great faith in him. Dampa Charchen asked :  
—How can we best practice (the Dharma) ?

Then the Dampa gave his last farewell advice to the people of Tingri :

- (1) Towards the sacred Dharma you should strive with body, speech and mind,  
Your actions<sup>1</sup> will later bear fruit, O people of Tingri.
- (2) With mind, heart and sincerity, you should take refuge in the Triple Gem,<sup>2</sup>  
Then blessings will be bestowed, O people of Tingri.
- (3) Seeing this life, you should make provision for the next,  
And not treat life like a game, O people of Tingri.
- (4) Just like a visitor to the market place, food and sustenance do not last forever,  
Do not quarrel over right and wrong, O people of Tingri.
- (5) The illusion of wealth is like something borrowed,  
Do not tie yourselves in a knot of meanness, O people of Tingri.
- (6) The body<sup>3</sup> is like impurities wrapped in a bag,  
Do not harbour thoughts of self-complacency, O people of Tingri.
- (7) Relatives and friends are like a seductive illusion which the mind desires,  
Cut off attachment and entanglement, O people of Tingri.
- (8) Your homeland is like the ground of a nomad's tent,  
Do not have attachment and desire, O people of Tingri.

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1 Text: las; Sanskrit: Karma. This is the basic Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect.

2 Text: dkon.mchog.gsum. The Three Refuges: The Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

3 Text: phung. po. This implies all the different aggregates which combine to form the human body.

- (9) All sentient beings in the six Realms<sup>4</sup> are in harmony,  
Do not cling to 'I' and 'self', O people of Tingri.
- (10) Within all who are born the signs of death (eventually) arise,  
Do not waste time, O people of Tingri.
- (11) Apply yourselves to the Dharma with a steady mind,  
At death it will be your guide, O people of Tingri.
- (12) Because of the law of Karma, all actions have results,  
Abstain then from unvirtuous deeds, O people of Tingri.
- (13) All forms of Dharma practise are like a dream,  
It is the practise of non-practise<sup>5</sup> which fulfills, O people of Tingri.
- (14) The mind attaches itself to whatever pleasure it sees,  
Do not desire what attracts you, O people of Tingri.
- (15) This worldly life is always moving on,  
So now is the time to act, O people of Tingri.
- (16) In the heart of the forest the rhinoceros feels safe,  
But the edge of the forest is on fire, O people of Tingri.
- (17) Birth, age and death are like a river without a bridge,  
Make yourselves a boat, O people of Tingri.
- (18) In the narrow passage of the Bardo,<sup>6</sup> the Five Poisons<sup>7</sup> like thieves attack you,  
Look for a Lama<sup>8</sup> to escort you, O people of Tingri.

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4 Text: rigs.drug.sems.chan. The Six Realms are: humans, animals, gods, titans, ghosts and hell beings. All the beings in these realms are subject to suffering and rebirth, but it is only from the human realm that beings have the rare opportunity to achieve Enlightenment and thus be freed from the Wheel of Life and Rebirth, called Samsara.

5 Text: byar.med. This is a name of a kind of Mahamudra meditation practise. Mahamudra (Tib .: phyagor gya.chen.po.). 'The Great Symbol' is a system of meditation, practised by those followers of the Kagyu tradition in particular. The teaching originated with the great Indian Pandits Tilo, Naro, Saraha etc.

6 Text: bar.do. This is the intermediate state between death and rebirth. It is during this time that the illusion of self experiences the results of former actions (karma). According to this, one either takes rebirth in one of the Six Realms or escapes from the Wheel, realising Enlightenment. (See: Evans Wentz, 'The Tibetan Book of the Dead'.)

7 Text: dug.lnga. The Five Poisons are: desire, jealousy, hatred, ignorance, pride

8 Text: bla. ma. Sanskrit: Guru. One's spiritual teacher; the name given to those who are accomplished in meditation practise

- (19) Holding on to the Lama, you have no fear of falling,  
For you are not separate from the burden (you carry), O people of Tingri.
- (20) With the Lama as your boatsman, the other shore<sup>9</sup> will be reached,  
Have faith and devotion then, O people of Tingri.
- (21) Wherever there is wealth, meanness arises,  
Never refrain from generosity, O people of Tingri.
- (22) Wherever there is power, there is also defilement,  
Give up your desires for superiority, O people of Tingri.
- (23) The one who has power and wealth may have no happiness,  
So lay down the foundations for a new life, O people of Tingri.
- (24) In your future life friends and relatives will be few,  
So give your minds completely to the Dharma, O people of Tingri.
- (25) If at first your path has no distractions, confusion will later not arise,  
Take care and be certain now, O people of Tingri.
- (26) You can never guess when the Lord of Death<sup>10</sup> will come,  
Always be cautious and on guard, O people of Tingri.
- (27) On the morning of your death it will be too late,  
So benefit from your body now, O people of Tingri.
- (28) When death is close at hand it is useless,  
Have awareness in your mind, O people of Tingri.
- (29) Just as the sun without fail sets in the West, the Lord of Death always comes,  
There is no chance to flee his cry, O people of Tingri.
- (30) At first a flower has beauty, but later it withers,  
Rely now on your matchless human body, O people of Tingri.
- (31) When alive your body is like a God, when dead as fearful as a demon's army,  
This illusory body deceives you, O people of Tingri.
- (32) Those who meet in the market place part company when the selling is over,  
You also will be parted from your dear ones, O people of Tingri.
- (33) The illusory cairn is an arrangement of stones,  
Put your illusory lives in order now, O people of Tingri.

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<sup>9</sup> This refers to the crossing of the 'Ocean' of Samsara, i.e. suffering. The name of the Sutra which the Buddha taught at Rajgir, the Prajnaparamita, is also known as 'The wisdom going beyond, to the other shore'. This is reached through the realisation of Sunyata, the Void.

<sup>10</sup> Text: hchi. bdag. gshin. rje. Yamantaka.



- (34) The mind like a vulture, flies around,  
Settle the culture now, O people of Tingri.
- (35) All beings in the Six Realms are like your parents,  
Have kindness and compassion for all, O people of Tingri.
- (36) Having anger and hatred produce the illusion of Samsara,  
Give up poisonous anger, O people of Tingri.
- (37) By doing prostrations, the body's defilements are purified,<sup>11</sup>  
Give up your worldly life, O people of Tingri.
- (38) By saying <sup>12</sup> prayers and taking refuge, the defilements of speech are purified,  
Do not chatter and gossip, O people of Tingri.
- (39) By having<sup>13</sup> devotion, the defilements of mind are purified,  
Always visualise your Lama on the crown of your head, O people of Tingri.
- (40) Though born together, flesh and bones are separate,  
Examine life, but do not cling to it, O people of Tingri.
- (41) The most sacred 'country' can be found within,  
Do not search elsewhere for it, O people of Tingri.
- (42) The greatest source of 'Wealth' is mind itself,  
Do not ruin it, O people of Tingri.
- (43) The most delicious 'food' is the practise of meditation,  
Do not suffer from hunger, O people of Tingri.
- (44) The most satisfying 'drink' is the nectar of awareness,  
Never be separate from it, O people of Tingri.
- (45) The best 'friend' to look for is self-arising wisdom,  
Always be together, O people of Tingri.
- (46) The best 'son' to have is the heir of knowledge,  
Not subject to birth and death, O people of Tingri.
- (47) Using the spear of knowledge in the essence of the Void.  
There is no obstruction, O people of Tingri.

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11 Vajrayana meditation practise begins usually with the acolyte performing prostrations to the Triple Gem. By doing these with faith, devotion and concentration, past defilements of the body are cleansed. Usually 100,000 are done.

12 To purify defilements of speech, one repeats the mantra of Vajrasattva 100,000 times. Tibetan: yig. rgya.

13 Defilements of the mind are cleansed through the meditation known as the Guru Yoga. Tibetan: bla. ma. rnal.byor.

- (48) Without awareness, you only see disturbance,  
Do not let your meditation grow weak, O people of Tingri.
- (49) From the practise of non-obstruction, the essence arises,  
Do not give up this practise, O people of Tingri.
- (50) The Four<sup>14</sup> Bodies of Buddha are identical with self-awareness of mind,  
Do not have hopes and fears (for results), O people of Tingri.
- (51) When you have the knowledge of the root of Samsara<sup>15</sup> and Nirvana,  
Do not hold on to reality of mind, O people of Tingri.
- (52) Desire and attachment vanish without a trace, like the flight of a bird in the sky,  
Do not be attached to your thoughts, O people of Tingri.
- (53) The unborn Dharmakaya is like the heart of the sun,  
Do not obstruct its brightness, O people of Tingri.
- (54) Disturbing thoughts are like a thief in an empty house,  
Do not try to find what is not there, O people of Tingri.
- (55) Perception is like a ripple on the water, going without a trace,  
Do not look for accomplishment, O people of Tingri.
- (56) Habitual thoughts and actions are like a rainbow in the sky,  
Do not cling to your desires, O people of Tingri.
- (57) The emergence of clarity is like the sun coming out of the clouds,  
Do not rely on your own mind, O people of Tingri.
- (58) Self-liberation through not clinging is like the wind,  
Do not be attached to anything, O people of Tingri.
- (59) Knowledge of the unreal is like a rainbow in the sky,  
Do not wish for experience and realization, O people of Tingri.
- (60) To see the meaning of Dharma itself is like the dream of a dumb person,  
The meaning can never be explained in words, O people of Tingri.
- (61) The perception of arising thoughts is like a young man's joy,  
It is indescribable happiness, O people of Tingri.

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<sup>14</sup> Text: sku.bshi. The first, chos.kyi.sku, Dharmakaya, is the Ultimate Truth which is formless. The second, longs. spyod. rdzogs. pai.sku., Sambhogakaya, is the Body of Divinity. The third, sprul. pai. sku., Nirmanakaya, is the Body of Manifestation. The fourth, Svabhavikakaya, is the unity of these three.

<sup>15</sup> Text: hkhor. hdas. Sanskrit: Samsara and Nirvana. As long as one is in a state of ignorance, these two states always exist as extremes: suffering and ignorance as opposed to Enlightenment.

- (62) The Clear Void<sup>16</sup> is like the moon's reflection in water,  
Whatever arises, have no attachment, O people of Tingri.
- (63) The illuminating Void<sup>17</sup> is like the emptiness of the sky,  
Do not look for the limits of the mind, O people of Tingri.
- (64) Disturbing thoughts are like a beautiful girl gazing in a mirror,  
They do not lead to accomplishment, O people of Tingri.
- (65) The Awareness Void<sup>18</sup> is like a reflected image.  
It arises unobstructed, O people of Tingri.
- (66) The Bliss Void<sup>19</sup> of non-clinging is like as sunrise over snow,  
There is no partiality to either side, O people of Tingri.
- (67) Deluded speech is like the echo of a goddess from a rock,  
There is no sound to hold on to, O people of Tingri.
- (68) The joys and sorrows of life are like the inside of a guitar,  
Cause and effect cannot be separated, O people of Tingri.
- (69) To be liberated from duality is like a child at play,  
Not obstructing whatever arises in the mind, O people of Tingri.
- (70) All outer and inner manifestations are contained in the mind,  
Just like ice which melts to water, O people of Tingri.
- (71) Ignorance and delusion are like water in a marsh,  
They can never be prevented from arising, O people of Tingri.
- (72) The duality of error and clarity is like the hearer and the sound,  
Your best companion is the Lama, O people of Tingri.
- (73) To experience self illumination of the 20 Five Bodies, is like seeing a golden land,  
Hopes and fears are abandoned, O people of Tingri.

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16 Text: gsal.stong. For detailed explanation of the four aspects of Void, see:  
"The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa" by Garma C. C. Chang, 2 vols.,  
New York, 1962.

17 Text: snang. stong.

18 Text: rig.stong.

19 Text: bde.stong.

20 Text: sku.lnga. The Five Dhyani Buddhas who embody the Five Wisdoms are:  
Vairocana, Akshobhya, Amitabha, Rathasambhava, and Amoghasiddhi.  
Self-illumination is achieved when the Five Poisons can be experienced as the Five  
Wisdoms.

- (74) The Eighteen<sup>21</sup> blessings of a precious human body are like gold,  
Do not waste your life in meaningless ways, O people of Tingri.
- (75) The way of the Mahayana<sup>22</sup> is like the Wish-Fulfilling Gem.  
Seeking and finding it are difficult, O people of Tingri.
- (76) In this life you have enough food and clothes,  
Longing for the Dharma sets you free, O people of Tingri.
- (77) Practise hardships and learning from the scriptures when you are young,  
For in old age it is difficult to change your ways, O people of Tingri.
- (78) When difficulties come there is always suffering,  
But these manifestations vanish of themselves, O people of Tingri.
- (79) When you are aware of the suffering of Samsara,  
Pray with sincerity, O people of Tingri.
- (81) At times you have diligence, at others maintain your old ways,  
Don't risk rebirth after death, O people of Tingri.
- (81) Your time in life is like the dew on the grass.  
Give up laziness and indolence, O people of Tingri.
- (82) The Buddha's Teaching is like the sun in the clouds,  
Today it will shine, O people of Tingri.
- (83) You blame others for your happiness and sorrow,  
But the root of your fortunes is within yourselves, O people of Tingri.
- (84) At first you are over confident on the Path.  
But remember Samsara's punishments, O people of Tingri.
- (85) Associating with sinful people defiles your practise,  
Give up sinful friends, O people of Tingri.
- (86) Associating with good people causes accomplishment to be born,  
Stay with wise and virtuous friends, O people of Tingri.
- (87) Falsehood and lies deceive yourself and others,  
keep an honest mind as your witness, O people of Tingri.

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21 Text: dal.hbyor.mi.lus rin chhen. These 18 conditions are: not to be born as: hell-being, animal, ghost, primitive, long-life god, or having wrong view, born in a dark age when a Buddha has not appeared, or defective in one or many of the senses; having been born as: a human, in a central country, having all five senses intact, able to reverse the tide of karma, and having faith in the Triple Gem. Having lived in an age when a Buddha has appeared, and there is Dharma, the favourable circumstances for religious practise.

22 Text: teg.chhen. "The Great Vehicle."

(88) The root of degeneration and evil is in ignorance,  
Hold on to knowledge and awareness, O people of Tingri.

(89) Having subdued the Five Poisons, and Three Sufferings,<sup>23</sup> accomplishment  
is near.

Keep the antidotes in your mind, O people of Tingri

(90) Having acted out<sup>24</sup> of habit for so long, cravings will later arise,  
But in future do not follow them O people of Tingri.

(92) In order to understand the mind a little, you must pray hard,  
Then understanding will arise, O people of Tingri.

(93) If you want happiness in your next life, you must have diligence,  
Buddhahood is close by you, O people of Tingri.

(94) When it is early morning, dawn always arises,  
Get rid of unity and separation in the mind, O people of Tingri.

(95) Friends you once knew later pass you by,  
So like tsampa for a journey, have just enough, O people of Tingri.

(96) All suffering arises from bad karma,  
Abandon even the smallest sin. O people of Tingri.

(97) All happiness arises from good karma.  
Aspire to even the smallest good action, O people of Tingri.

(98) In the law of Karma, the fruits of virtue and sin are joy and sorrow,  
Give up sins and practise virtue, O people of Tingri.

(99) You people of Tingri in India assembled here, now go,  
Cut off all your doubts now, O people of Tingri.

(100) I have achieved great accomplishment in equanimity,  
And you must follow me O people of Tingri.

Thus spoke the Jetsun Dampa Sangyes in his farewell advice to the people of Tingri.



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23 Text: dug.gsum. The Three Sufferings are: the suffering of conditioned existence, the suffering of change, and the suffering of suffering.

24 Text : bag.chags. Habitual propensities or inclinations.

## SHORT REVIEWS

### TIBET. THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

By F. Grenard. *iv* + 373 *pp.*

Reprinted by Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, Price: I. Rs. 75/

The dust-jacket of this very nicely printed and bound book declares that "This is the fullest up to date description obtainable of the country, and its inhabitants, its resources, religions, administration and political organisations & contains the most instructive information for anyone interested in the many aspects of political, social and religious life of Tibetans and Tibet". This is a somewhat ambitious statement—the book was originally published in London in 1904, and is a popular and not uninteresting summary of "A scientific Mission to Upper Asia," published in 3 volumes in Paris in 1897-1898. The map of the original 1904 edition is not included in this reprint.

It is objectionable that reprint publishers do not print the original publication date (or the original title page) and it is misleading to claim this book to be "up-to-date". If Kailash readers wish to refer to up-to-date books on Tibet, this reviewer will suggest Hugh Richardson: TIBET AND ITS HISTORY, published by Oxford University Press in 1962 (I. Rs. 60/—) or R. A. Stein: TIBETAN CIVILIZATION, published by Faber and Faber Ltd., London in 1972 (£ 4), both handsomely illustrated.,

The cover also states that the death of Mr. Dutreuil de Rhins, Mr. Grenard's companion in Tibet, was due to a "treacherous attack". However, there are two sides to every coin, and the arrogant behaviour of the expedition members must indeed have upset the local people. There also exist Tibetan accounts of the tragedy to the effect that the Tibetans did not "steal" the party's horses, but that these horses were *ula* horses which were not to be used beyond the village where Mr. Grenard claimed they were "stolen". If this was so, surely Mr. de Rhins' forcibly taking two other horses as "hostages" from the villagers must have enraged them, and while this do not justify murdering Mr. de Rhins, it explains more of the background than Mr. Grenard gives.

The publisher would be well advised to have properly researched and up-to-date introductions included in works of this nature.

### THE EXPLORATION OF TIBET.

By Graham Sandberg. *vi* + 323 *pp.*, 1 *map.*

Reprinted by Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1973. Price: I. Rs. 60/—

The present reprint of this book, which was first published in Calcutta in 1904, is another example of the lack of knowledge on the part of publishers nowadays regarding what is valuable and worth reprinting, and what is not. Graham Sandberg's book

covers the exploration of Tibet up to the Younghusband Expedition in 1904, and does so fairly loosely and not very accurately. Exactly the same period is covered much more adequately, in a beautifully illustrated book by John MacGregor (pseud.), *TIBET: A CHRONICLE OF EXPLORATION*, published in 1970 by Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. The price of MacGregor's book is £ 4, which is very reasonable compared to the I. Rs. 60/—charged for Sandberg's which has no illustrations and is reprinted without one of the original maps. The original year of publication is not given in the reprint edition. The printing and binding of the book is very good but it is a waste of good paper and resources to reprint such a book.

### INDIAN EXPLORERS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

By Indra Singh Rawat. *vix*+228 pp., 8 plates, 1 map.

Published by The Publication Division, Govt. of India,  
New Delhi, 1973. Price: I Rs. 15/—

It is a pleasure to see at last a book on the "Pundits" or "Native Surveyors" who in the 1860—80's travelled throughout Tibet and the Himalayas in disguise in order to map the area. A book about these remarkable men is long overdue, and while Mr. Rawat, who is himself a retired practical surveyor of the Survey of India, answers some questions, he raises new ones as well. Mr. Rawat happens to be a nephew of the famous "pundit explorer" Kishen Singh (1850-1921), better known by his pseudonyms "AK" or "Krishna", and hence the most interesting part of the book deals with the life and explorations of the Singh cousins, Nain Singh ("No. 1", the "Chief Pundit"), Kailan Singh ("GK") and Kishen Singh.

The book is divided into three sections, an appendix on Kailas/ Manasarovar, and a glossary. It is most unfortunate that there is no bibliography, and this reviewer feels that the Survey of India could have assisted Mr. Rawat in this respect, as it would have increased the value of the book considerably.

Section one (pp. 1-62) narrates some of the explorations by Nain Singh. Section Two (pp. 63-144) is on Kishen Singh and Section Three (pp.145-210) on Kailan Singh, Hari Ram, Lala, Nem Singh, Kinthup, Rinzin Namgyal, Ugyen Gyathso, and three Muslim explorers.

The book suffers somewhat from lack of structure and in the organization of the material. The publishers have also not worried much about layout and editing. We are not given a full list of all the explorers, and all their various pseudonyms. This is still a bit confusing. For example, was Nain Singh also "A" ? While some of the narratives are very explicit as to dates, others are completely lacking reference to the periods covered, see pp. 72-74, pp. 148-152, etc. It would have been most useful if a detailed listing of the various journeys done by each surveyor could have been made, giving the places, months and years. For example, there

is no mention of the most important journey done from early 1867 by Nain, Mani and Kailan Singh to north-west and south-west Tibet. Was "AK"'s journey in 1871 /72 to Lhasa the same as the one referred to in contemporary journals as that of "D" and party? Is this journey, which Mr. Rawat describes from July 1871 to 9 March 1872 when the party reached Lhasa, different from the journey described by Mr. MacGregor ("Tibet: A Chronicle of Exploration." London 1970, pp. 261-262) as lasting from the autumn 1872 to 9 March 1873? Who has got the year wrong here?

Mr. Rawat also states (p. xix) that a full account of Sarat Chandra Das's work is not available. This is not so—S. C. Das wrote two huge confidential reports to the Government: "Narrative of a Journey to Lhasa in 1880-1882" (157+33pp) published in 100 copies in Calcutta on 27.3.1884; and "Narrative of a journey round lake Yamdo (Palti) and in Lokha, Yarlung, and Sakyas in 1882," published in 100 copies in Calcutta on 16.5.1887. These were summarised in his book "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet", published in 1902.

As will be seen, despite Mr. Rawat's admirable effort, more work needs to be done in order to do full justice to the scientific work done by these Sikkimese and Indian explorers. The Survey of India should publish, or help the publication of, their complete reports, properly supported by sketch maps, an exhaustive bibliography, and an appendix on all the explorers' complete itineraries.

H.K.K.

*ART LAMAIQUE, ART DES DIEUX.* By Jacques van Goidsenhoven.  
285 pp., including 139 plates. Published by Editions Laconti, Brussels 1970.

In recent years, interest in Tibetan art has been greatly stimulated by a number of books which, like the present volume, are intended for the general public, but which frequently contain pictorial material for which the specialist, too, is grateful. There is therefore every reason to congratulate Mr. van Goidsenhoven as well as the publishers for having produced a book which is well laid-out, technically of high quality, and above all, which presents a large number of objects, the majority of which belong to private collections (including that of the author) and consequently have hitherto not been accessible.

The book is intended to be a manual for private collectors, initiating them in the basic elements of Tibetan Buddhist iconography. The author illustrates the following iconographic categories: Ādi-buddha (p. 19-27), Dhyāni-buddhas (p. 29-34), Śākyamuni (p. 35-41), bodhisattvas (p. 42-81), goddesses (including dākinis) (p. 82-117), tutelary deities (*yi-dam*) (p. 118-39), id. (dharmapālas) (p. 140-79), lamas (p. 180-95), minor deities (p. 196-203), followed by a section on thankas (p. 204-27),



and ritual objects (p. 229-73). Except for the thankas depicted on p. 204-27, all the objects are of metal.

The material is systematically arranged and much space is used to describe iconographic details, e.g. the various attributes characteristic of each deity. For the amateur collector, the book will be of considerable help. For more comprehensive treatment of Tibetan iconography, the author refers the reader to the works of W.E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, (Oxford 1928), and A. Gordon, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, (New York 1939), to which might have been added the monumental works of G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, (Rome 1949), and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon* (New Delhi, 1961-72). In the present volume it is highly commendable that several objects are depicted from different angles, and further, that a number of deities are represented by several different objects, illustrating the extent to which different schools and changing periods may variously interpret the same iconographic material. Thus Avalokiteśvara-Padmapâṇi is shown thrice (p. 59-62), and A° -ṣaḍakṣarin and Mañjuśrī four times each (p. 63.-67, p. 74-81). Hevajra is like-wise shown thrice (p. 124-29), as is Yama (p. 148-52). Mahākāla is represented by six pieces (p.158-66) and Yamantaka by five (p. 170-79). From a maṇḍala (reproduced on p. 207), eighteen sections are reproduced in detail (p. 209-20).

The book, then, is intended for the amateur collector, and the author stresses (p. 18) that "il faut apprendre à comparer les objets entre eux, les manipuler, les observer avec patience et tendresse, apprendre à distinguer les différences de style, les aimer avec discernement". Unfortunately (with the exception of a series of objects from Gyantse in Central Tibet), the author gives hardly any indications of the geographical provenance of the various objects illustrated, so that the reader will look in vain for descriptions of stylistic elements.

However, no matter whether the book is intended for amateurs or not, it is to be regretted that the author has not devoted a minimum of care to consistency in rendering Tibetan and Sanskrit terms. Scientific transcription is neither necessary nor indeed desirable in a work of this kind. However, if a phonetic transcription is aimed at, one must use this throughout, and not veer - as the author does, and frequently within one and the same word - between phonetic and orthographic transcription. Thus we find RIMPOCHE (p. 184), RIN POTCHHE (p. 188). and RIMPO-TCHHE (p. 192); BSAMYAS (p. 199; orthographic transcription) and SAMYE (p. 200, phonetic); RDO-RJE ou DOR-JE (p. 26) and DOR'-GE p.( 217); SRON-BTSAN SGAM-PO (p. 27, orthographic, except for SRON which should have been °N or °NG); but two lines below a hybrid form (including, presumably, one or two

printing errors) NAMRISRONGRSTAN (sic !) for gNam-ri sroñ bcan. There is no point in multiplying examples of this kind. However, a few obvious printing errors may be pointed out : BJI for BZHIN in MGON PO YID B° NOR BU (p. 166); GELUP PA for °LUG PA (p. 186); SKU LINGA for °LNGA (p. 199); NACH'UNG for NE° (p. 199). The transcription of Sanscrit is, unfortunately, quite arbitrary : thus for Śakyamuni we find SAKIAMUNI (p. 6 and passim), SAKIAMOUNI (p. 11.), SAKYAMUNI (p. 41), and CAKYA-MUNI (p. 29) ! We find KSHITIGHARDA (p. 42) for Kṣitigarbha, and on the following page KSITIGARBHA. There are a number of errors (for which perhaps the printers are to blame) : AKSAGHARBA for Ākāśagarbha (p. 42), DHAYANA for dhyāna (p. 211), DHYASANA for dhyānāsana (p. 222), VAJRAVAHARI for Vajravaharī (p. 224), SVAYAMBU for °BHU (p. 19)- but SWOYAMBU° on p. 224, YKSAS for yakṣa (p. 153), and CHANTAR AKCHITA for Śāntarakṣita (p. 180).

In a few instances, erroneous or misleading information is given :

p. 7 - the etymology of the word *bon* is far from certain, (see D.L. SNELL-GROVE, *The Nine Ways of Bon*, London 1967, p. 1), but it is at any rate certain that the origin of the word "BON-TCHOC" (sic !) is not "doctrine". Perhaps the author is confused by the secondary identification of *bon* and *chos* ("TCHOC" ?), although the original meaning of *chos* certainly is not "doctrine".

p. 8 - the author is mistaken in his belief that Tsong-khapa's "reform" was directed against contemporary Bonpos, who by that time (14/15th cent.) were hardly distinguishable from followers of the "old schools" (rñiñ-ma-pa.)

p. 11 - here we find a most curious list of "DHYANI-BOUDDHAS" (a term which it seems impossible to extirpate) : RATNASAMBHAVA, AKSHOBHYA, VAIROCHANA, SAKIAMUNI (!), MAITREYA (!),. Cf. p. 29 where a correct list is given.

p. 22 - here the term SAKTI is employed for the female partners of Buddhist tantric deities. It must therefore be repeated (how many times it has been done before I do not know) that Śakti is a term which belongs not to Buddhism, but to Śivaism and to Hindu tantrism generally. In no case is the female deity of Buddhism "matière (énergie)"; she represents *prajñā*, "Wisdom" (and is frequently thus styled) or *Śūnyatā*, "the Void". On p. 29 the author however correctly states that "le (sic !) YUM c'est la connaissance".

p. 26 - "RDO-RJE-TCH'OS (celui qui tient le RDO-RJE)"-presumably TCHOS' is erroneous for 'chañ.

p. 46 - Maitreya is described as "le seul BODHISATTVA reconnu par le MAHAYANA". Presumably the author means "par le HINAYANA".

p. 140 — the dharmapālas are a composite and complex group of deities, but whatever their origin, they are certainly not to be explained as "créés par les prêtres dans le but de maintenir dans la crainte les populations ignorantes". On the contrary, many of the dharmapālas belong to the pre-Buddhist popular religion of Tibet.

p. 140— "DHARMANISME sibérien" should, of course, be corrected to "SHAMANISME sib°".

p. 188 — I doubt whether the author could substantiate his claim that *gčod* ("TCHEUD") is a rite which is reserved "aux moines débutants". I also doubt whether the "rites affreux" of a cannibalistic type to which the author refers (p. 181) have any basis in actual reality.

p. 224 — one can hardly agree that Mi-la ras-pa ("MILA-RESPA") is "rarement représenté dans le panthéon lamaïque". For instances of readily available reproductions of thankas and bronzes of Mi-la ras-pa, see *inter alia* : G. TUCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, vol. 3, pl. N; T. SCHMID, *Cotton-clad Mila*, Stockholm 1952; *Tibetische Kunst* (exhibition catalogue), Zürich 1969, ill. no XXX-VIII/178 (bronze) = LAUF ill. no. 80 (see below), and H/84 (thanka) = LAUF ill. nos. 82 and 83 (details); B.C. OLSCHAK, *Mystik und Kunst Alttibets*, Bern 1972, p. 83 (tsa-tsa), p. 85 (bronze); D.J. LAUF, *Das Erbe Tibets*, Zürich 1972, see above, and pl. 81 (thanka); G.C. Chang, *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*, New York, 1962, vol. I, frontispiece (thanka).

In spite of these textual shortcomings, Mr. van Goidsenhoven has produced a book which will retain its usefulness for the amateur collector. The choice of material is balanced and well-ordered, and the publishers (Laconti) deserve thanks for having spared no effort in producing a volume which will be treasured not only by those interested in Tibetan art, but also by all lovers of beautiful books.

Per Kværne

PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE  
OF THE KARNALI BASIN—WEST NEPAL (In English and French),  
by Prayag Raj Sharma. 96 pp text, 16 plates, 3 maps and 1 line drawing.  
Centre National de la Recherche. Paris 1972.

This thesis purports to be a study of the art and architecture of the Karnali Basin of West Nepal in its geographical and historical setting. This is one of the most comprehensive and well-documented studies of the art-heritage, history and ethnography of the western region of Nepal for which the author deserves to be congratulated. Pioneering works in these areas were initiated by Tucci and Yogi Naraharinath and recently Ram Niwas Pandey (*Ancient Nepal*, Nos. 10 and 11) has thrown light on the literary and historic background of the emergence of the Malla power in western Nepal, utilising also the Tibetan source-materials. The present thesis is welcome for having carried research further and for studying some of the problems in greater depth.

The author has surveyed the surviving architectural monuments including temples, *stupas* and *chaityas*, fountains and reservoirs and stray buildings such as a 'hypostyle hall' and discussed their architectural features, religious and stylistic affiliation and date. The temples, which are largely disposed in groups, comprise of just a cella with a *rekhā* (curvilinear) *śikhara* and have almost a plain facade relieved by mouldings at the basement and the *janghā* and a *śukanāsa* projection over the *śikhara*. The temples are Śaiva *ñukanāsa* though a few are dedicated also to Vaishnava and Śakta worship. The earliest available date is on a group of temples at Vinayak-I in district Accham, dated Saka 1202 (A.D. 1280) and the later ones are represented by the Temple of Ukhadi in district Jimla, dated Saka 1408 (A.D. 1486). The remaining temples, which show hardly any stylistic variation, are largely assignable between these date-brackets. The author has indicated their stylistic affiliation to the late medieval temples of Kumaon and Garhwal, which ultimately derive from the Pratihāra school of architecture.

A group of twelve votive *stupas* in Michigaon near Jumla Khalānga bears two sets of dates, one of Śaka 1404 (A.D. 1482) and the other of Śaka 1423 (A.D. 1501). These, like the *chaityas* and *stupas*, dotting many parts of western Nepal, largely resemble the Tibetan *Chortens*, reflecting the cultural intercourse of Nepal and Tibet in this frontier region. Notice has also been taken of a water receptacle in Dullu, dated Śaka 1276 (A.D. 1354) in the reign of Prithvīmalla and of a similar construction of Kuchi, Accham of an identical date.

The author has drawn special attention to the significant monuments and sculptural and architectural fragments from Surkhet. While the temple of Latlikoili

is a unique though late structure, precisely dated by an inscription in Śaka 1504 (A.D. 1582), the ruins of Kankrevihar comprising elegant friezes of Buddha and fragments of ornate mouldings and of a minor Nàgar śikharika attest the existence of richly carved medieval temple(s) of around 12th century date at this site, full of immense archaeological potentialities.

The remaining art-creations discussed in the book comprise sculptures and bronzes, Buddhist votive pillars and clay-tablets, and late hero-stone and a portrait-sculpture. Notable among the sculptures are the Brahmanical images from Baijnath, near Doti, representing a sensitively modelled frieze of Bhairava and Ganeśa of *circa* 10th—11th centuries, besides the lower part of an inscribed Mahishamardini sculpture and a group of three divinities standing in elegant *tribhanga*, both attributable to *circa* 12th century. I am inclined to give a similar date to the images of Chàmudā and Vishnu Śeshāsayin and am in agreement with the author when he indicates stylistic affinities of these sculptures with the Central Indian rather than the Eastern Indian schools.

While discussing the ethnology of the Pahādī castes, the author has plausibly shown that the Chhetris have a hard Khaśa core in their ethnic composition but he has not succeeded in convincingly proving his point about the unmixed Gurjara-Pratīhāra ancestry of the Thakuris. The fact is that, like the Chhetris, the Thakuris were neither a static nor a monolithic group. While the ruling Mallas and Pālas, who dominated the Karnali Basin from *circa* 12th century onwards, constituted the prime nucleus of the Thakuri class, there are reasons to believe that later immigrants from various parts of India, with centres/regions as widely dispersed as Kanauj, Ujjain, Gujarat and Rajasthan, came in successive waves and swelled the numbers of the Thakuris. It is quite plausible that these immigrants included splinter Rajput groups from Rajasthan, as attested by strong and persistent traditions, and it was these groups that brought with them mythical legends of their lunar or solar descent and were responsible for 'the affinity existing between Nepali and the Mewari-Mewati dialect of Rajasthan.' The so-called movement of the Gurjaras between the 6th and 10th centuries is indeed a far cry and cannot satisfactorily explain these linguistic affinities which are evidently a much later development, for which a more proximal and direct cause has to be identified. The author, however, has cogently argued his case and his view-point deserves serious consideration even if we may not agree with all his conclusions.

The presentation of the topics dealt with in the book is critical and incisive and stimulates thinking and further research. The set-up and production of the book are also of a high standard. The choice of illustrations is thoughtful and the foot-notes

and index are quite useful. The plates are excellently reproduced and so are the line-drawing and the maps, except map - I showing the extent of the Baisi and the Chaubise states of which the legends have smudged and are hardly legible.

To conclude, this book is a mine of information and will remain a standard work of reference for the history and the art and architecture of Western Nepal for years to come.

Krishna Deva

*LA VIE DE PEMA-OBAR*. Drame tibétain traduit par Anne-Marie Blondeau. 136 pages. Publication Orientalistes de France; Paris 1973. Price not indicated.

Madam A-M Blondeau is already known to Tibetologists by her translations of certain texts from Touen-houang (*Materiaux pour l'étude de l'Hippologie et de l'Hippiatrie tibétaines*, 1972) and her work on the *Lha' dre bka' than* which was published in *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, p. 29-126. In the volume under review she has given us a French translation (p. 19-118) of one of the popular *rnam-thar* which are played by Tibetan theatrical groups. The Tibetan text on which her work is based was printed at Kalimpong at the Tibetan Mirror press in 1959. Translation is clear and easy to read and an attempt has been made to keep the style close to that of the original which, in this case, is spoken Tibetan, full of repetitions. The rendering and the presentation of the volume should be attractive to the general reader. Notes are added to help in understanding the text, and a glossary of names and technical terms and a small bibliography is appended. It is a pity that the Introduction (p. 5-16) is so short, but doubtless Madame B. was not given the space by the publishers to go more deeply into the fascinating problems of cultural history and folklore which confront the researcher interested in this literary *genre*.

A. W. M.

# CENTRAL KHAM TIBETAN: A PHONEMIC SURVEY

Robert F. Olson  
University of Hawaii

1.1 The following is a brief descriptive survey of salient taxonomic phonological features of one variety of Tibetan from the /ṭayap/"Trayap" (OT brag-g'yab) area of central Khams. Trayap speech, hereafter referred to as Central Khams Tibetan (CKT), provides an example of what can be called, following Róna-Tas, a transitional dialect of Hsi-k'ang; i.e. one preserving the nasal but not the oral preradicals of archaic Tibetan.<sup>1</sup> Among the distinctive phonological features of the present variety of CKT are: (1) nasal onsets to both voiceless and voiced initials; (2) a set of nasal initials with voiceless onset; (3) a set of medio-palatal stops and sibilants in contrast with a set of front-palatal affricates and sibilants (/c . . . Nj, x Y/ and /tš . . . Ndž, š ž/); (4) contrast between lower and higher front vowels (/i e ü ö/ and /i. e. ü. ö./); (5) two phonemic pitch-levels and falling pitch-contour<sup>2</sup> accompanying all single syllables in isolation.

1.2 My primary informant for the present study is Nyima Dorje Ranup (ND), 37, from the village of Ranup (OT ra-gnubs), a day or two by horse SW of the monastery town of /šāNdün/ (OT byams-mdun), which is eight days or more SE of Chamdo. At about age 16 ND went to Lhasa and entered the Nag-re section (OT khañ-tshan), reserved for monks from Trayap, of the Ra-stod branch of Drepung monastery, some miles outside of Lhasa, where he remained until 1959. ND is well-educated in Tibetan, literate in Hindi, and is fairly fluent in English. Secondary informants from the Trayap area are Losang Tshulthim, 36, from the village of /Ndākthu/ (OT 'dag-thu), north of /žēndo/ (OT sgye-mdo), which is about four days' ride NW of Byams-mdun; Ngawang Namgyal, 49, from the village of Le in the vicinity of Byams-mdun; and Aten (OT a-brten), 48, from the village of /ñīnka/ (OT rñiñ-kha), a day's ride SW of Sgye-mdo. ND's ordinary speech, like that of the other informants, none of whom remained in Trayap beyond their

<sup>1</sup>A. Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966) pp. 21-31. Oral preradicals are partially maintained, however: /hm hn hñ hn/ and to some extent /hl/ show partial retention of preradical s- (sm- sn- sñ- sñ- sl-).

The following abbreviations are used in this description: CKT Central Khams Tibetan as represented primarily in the speech of Nyima Dorje; CT Central Tibetan (/t̪.keq/ OT dbus-skad); LT Lhasa Tibetan; OT Orthographic Tibetan; ND Nyima Dorje; Hon Honorific. It is noteworthy that my Trayap informants consistently refer to the language of central Tibet, primarily the area in and about Lhasa, as /t̪.keq/ and often as /p̪keq/ (OT bod-skad), in contrast to both /khañkeq/, the varieties of Khams speech, and /tsāñkeq/, the speech of Gtsang.

<sup>2</sup>In contrast to information available to me on other (non-archaic) Khams dialects. Punya Sloka Ray describes a falling and a rising syllabic contour in his study of Batang speech: "Kham Phonology" *JAOS* 85.336-42 (1965); while André Migot ("Recherches sur les dialectes tibétains du Si-K'ang [Province de Khams]" *BEFEO* 48.417-562 [1956]) finds three contours: "haut montant, moyen égal, et bas descendant. . ." (pp. 471f.). Neither of these studies, however, discusses the dialects of Trayap.

early 20's, is an amalgam of CT and CKT, with CT morphology and vocabulary and CKT phonological patterns predominating.

2. Segmental Phonemes. As here analyzed<sup>3</sup> CKT shows 7 basic vowels and 57 consonant phonemes.<sup>4</sup>

2.1. Syllabic Nuclei. CKT has a set of seven vowels, six of which may be followed by /·/, a cowowel indicating raising, to produce a set of modified vowels:

i	ü	u		i·	ü·	u·
e	ö	o		e·	ö·	o·
a						

2.1.1. /i/ varies widely as a final, depending upon environment and stress, between centralized lower-high front [ $\text{ɪ}^\text{ʔ}$ ], lower-high central [ $\text{ɪ}$ ] (the norm), higher-mid central [ $\text{e}^\text{ʔ}$ ], and mid central [ $\text{ə}^\text{ʔ}$ ]; it is fronted to [ $\text{ɪ}^\text{ʔ}$ ] before /-l/; fronted and raised to [ $\text{ɪ}^\text{ʔ}$ ] before /-p -b -q/; raised to [ $\text{i}^\text{ʔ}$ ] before /-k -g/. /i·/ is a high front [i]. Contrast: /t̥i/ "knife" /t̥i·/ "writes"; /ri/ "mountain" /ri·/ "furrow."

2.1.2. /e/: raised lower mid [ $\text{e}^\text{ʔ}$ ].<sup>5</sup> /e·/: higher mid [e]. Contrast /Ndè/ "spirit" /Ndè·/ "rice"; /lèba/ "person from Le" /lè.ba/ "worker"; /nèq/ "disease" /nè·/ "barley."

2.1.3. /a/: low central [ $\text{a}$ ]; raised to [ $\text{a}^\text{ʔ}$ ] before /-p/ if this is fully realized; backed to [ $\text{a}^\text{ʔ}$ ] before /-q/ when this is realized as [ʔ], otherwise

<sup>3</sup>The phonological word, consisting of from one to three morphemes, is the basis of analysis, although the basic syllabic pattern (C)V(C) is essential to the analysis of words. In general, the description is of a rather low level of abstraction from phonetic data. A systematic treatment would entail, among other things, (a) the grouping of /·/ preceded by /o u/, /q/ preceded by /a o u/, and all syllable-final /g/ under the /k/ phoneme, while many cases of /a/ followed by a consonant initial would become /ak/; (b) the inclusion of final /b/ under the /p/ phoneme, with many cases of /V/ followed by consonant initials becoming /Vp/.

<sup>4</sup>The use here of the word "phoneme" is quite broad; at least 20 of these 57 would ordinarily be treated as clusters. See footnote 9 below.

<sup>5</sup>After the first citation symbols in subsequent phonetic renderings will be simplified; i.e., in all following sections [ $\text{ɛ}$ ], [ $\text{ɔ}$ ], [ $\text{o}$ ], [ $\text{ö}$ ], and [ $\text{ɔ}^\text{ʔ}$ ] represent [ $\text{e}^\text{ʔ}$ ], [ $\text{ɔ}^\text{ʔ}$ ], [ $\text{o}^\text{ʔ}$ ], [ $\text{ö}^\text{ʔ}$ ], and [ $\text{ɔ}^\text{ʔ}$ ], respectively. In general, phonetic and phonemic renderings are based on the conventions of K. L. Pike, Phonemics (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1947). Additional or modified symbols include [ $\text{e}^\text{ʔ}$ ] a centralized variety of [e]; [ $\text{ɔ}^\text{ʔ}$ ] a centralized variety of [ $\text{ɔ}$ ]; [c] a fronted (post-alveolar) palatal voiceless stop; [j] the voiced equivalent of [c]; and [ʎ] a voiced retroflexed alveolar fricative. /N/ represents a nasal archiphoneme homorganic to a following consonant, with nasalization of a preceding vowel (see 2.3.7.). Phonetic tones are represented by superscript numerals 1-4; phonemic high and low tones by / $\text{V}^\text{H}$ / and / $\text{V}^\text{L}$ /; tense and lax consonants by [ $\text{C}^\text{H}$ ] and [ $\text{C}^\text{L}$ ], respectively; voiceless continuants by [ $\text{C}^\text{H}$ ].



as [a]. Contrast: /t̄a/[t̄a]"cuts" /t̄aq/[t̄aʔ]"calls" but /t̄ále r̄èq/"did cut; called." Similarly /t̄s̄á/"rides (horse)" /t̄s̄áq/"lifts" but /t̄s̄ále r̄èq/"rode; lifted."

2.1.4. /o/: raised lower-mid back rounded [ɔ̞<sup>^</sup>]. /o./: slightly lowered higher-mid back rounded [o<sup>v</sup>]. /oq/ is also realized as [o<sup>v</sup>] when the /q/ is realized as zero (see 2.3.10.) Contrast: /oma/"milk" /o.ma/"subordinate"; /soma/"new" /só.ma/"straw."

2.1.5. /u/: a somewhat centralized and lowered variety of lower-high back rounded [ʊ]; raised to high back rounded [u] before /-k -g -q/ /u./: high back rounded [u]. Contrast: /Ndù/"comes together" /Ndùq/"stays, is there"; /lù/"clears one's throat" /lùk/"sheep; manner" /lù.nen/"bad-mannered."

2.1.6. /ü/: centralized lower-high front rounded [ʊ̞<sup>></sup>], approaching lower-high central rounded [ɥ]. /ü./: high front rounded [ü]. Contrast: /t̄üle r̄èq/"was dragged" /t̄ü.le r̄èq/"was dug"; /l̄üq r̄èq/[l̄ü̞<sup>></sup>r̄ɛʔ]"it's manure" /l̄ü. r̄èq/"it's a body"; /ph̄üq the./[p̄<sup>u</sup>̞<sup>></sup>t̄e]"was laid-off (from work)" /ph̄ü. thé./[p̄<sup>u</sup>̞<sup>></sup>t̄e]"presented, Hon."

2.1.7. /ø/: centralized lower-mid front rounded [ɔ̞<sup>></sup>], approaching lower-mid central rounded [ɔ̞]. /ø./: higher-mid front rounded [ø]. Contrast: /t̄sh̄óq te/[t̄s̄<sup>ö</sup>̄t̄ɛ]"the measure" /t̄sh̄ón te/[t̄s̄<sup>ö</sup>̄t̄ɛ]"the paint" /t̄sh̄ó. te/[t̄s̄<sup>ö</sup>̄t̄ɛ]"the coloring"; /ȳb. ȳbq sēle r̄èq/[ȳöȳ<sup>ö</sup> sēl̄r̄ɛʔ]"I have some parched grain," he said."

2.1.8. Vowels in high-toned syllables show tenser articulation and closer quality as well as shorter quantity. Conversely, in lowest-tone syllables (those with phonetic Pitch Level 4: see 3.1.1.) vowels are not only slightly more open, lax, and longer, but tend to have a breathy or murmured<sup>7</sup> quality: /p̄ú/[p̄u<sup>4</sup>]"fur, body-hair" /p̄ù/[p̄u<sup>4</sup>]"son."

2.1.9. Initial palatals (the /c . . . Y/ and /t̄š . . . ž/ series below) exert a raising and fronting influence upon following vowels: /dz̄àp/[dž̄æp<sup>8</sup>]"auxiliary verb" /m̄ix̄e./[m̄ɛ̄x̄e<sup>4</sup>]"don't know."

2.1.10. Syllable-final /i/ and /u/ when preceded by voiceless initials are usually voiceless if either word-final or followed in the same word by a voiceless consonant: /x̄àp̄ši/"servant" /t̄sh̄íkaq/"errand-boy" /m̄òt̄sh̄i/"bitch" /k̄úxu/"apple" /š̄ónkhu/"wolf."

<sup>6</sup>ND and Aten have /uk/ rather consistently where the other informants often have /uq/.

<sup>7</sup>See Peter Ladefoged, Preliminaries to Linguistic Phonetics (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971) pp. 12-14.

<sup>8</sup>This fronting effect is perhaps responsible for the morphological alternation between /dž̄àp/ and /dž̄èq/, the latter predominating in syntactic non-final positions: /h̄n̄áq ídž̄èq m̄ìdž̄ap./"Will he cast a spell or not?"



2.2.4. The simple voiced obstruents /b . . . dž/ are fully voiced.

2.2.5. The voiced nasal-onset series /Nb . . . Ndž/ represents a series [mb . . . ndž], voiced obstruents with a homorganic nasal onset. Contrast: /dò/"stone" /Ndò/"sutra"; /jàq/"tongue, Hon" /Njà/"rainbow"; /dà/"enemy; sound" /Ndà/"similar"; /gò/"door" /Ngo/"head"; /dà/"grinds" /Ndà/"shivers."

2.2.6. The nasals /hm hn hñ hŋ/ normally have homorganic voiceless nasal onsets but voiced release: [hm . . . hñ]; an occasional variant realization is as simple voiceless nasals: [m . . . ŋ]. Contrast: /náp/"dresses, Hon" /hnáp/ [pna<sup>ap</sup>] [pna<sup>ap</sup>] "snot"; /má/"wound" /hnmá/"says (literary)"; /ní/"two" /hñí/"snare"; /ñíma/"a Buddhist sect" /hñíma/ /hñíma/"sediment. Note also /hŋáq/"spell" /hŋŋn/"previously" /hñíŋ/"heart" /hñén/"ear, Hon" /hñúgma/"reed, cane" /hnmángo/"tip of nose" /hnmánbu/"woolen cloth" /hnmú/"oil, fat." /r/ is a voiced alveolar trill usually with accompanying friction, or a flap. /hr/ is a voiceless alveolar trill or flap with voiceless laryngeal onset [hr]: /dòhruk/"pebbles" /hrúk-hrúk/"in small pieces" /hré/"tears." /hl/ varies between voiceless [l̥] and a lateral with voiceless laryngeal onset [hl̥]. Contrast: /lú/"song" /hlú/"deceives"; /láma/"religious professional" /hláma/"left-over." Note also /hlé/"reaches (OT bslebs); corral (OT hlas)" /hlómo/"alms" /hláp/"teaches."

2.2.7. The series /c . . . Nj/ represents a series of post-alveolar stops with mid-blade articulation. /ch/ and /Nch/ may have slightly affricated release.

2.2.8. The affricates /tš . . . Ndž/ are lamino-alveolar with front-blade friction. Contrast: /cáq/"breaks" /tšáq/"lifts"; /chí/"what?" /tšhí/"dog"; /Nchám/"religious dance" /Ntšám/"wanders about"; /jè/"changes" /džè/"increases"; /jòŋ/"province" /džòŋ/"is thrown"; /chóga/"rite" /tšhóga/"man, husband."

2.2.9. The series /ṭ . . . Nd/ represents a series of retroflexed apico-alveolar stops with slight r-colored off-glide.

2.2.10. The velars /k . . . ŋ/ are not markedly backed before back and low vowels as they are in LT.

2.2.11. The sibilants /š ž/ are lamino-alveolar with front-blade friction, while /x Y/ are mid-blade fricatives at varying post-alveolar and alveolar positions [x̣~ṣ̌] and [q̣~ẓ̌]. /Y/ may show very little friction, especially when lacking sentence-stress, but it is clearly in contrast with /y/: /yadži rèq/"will be good" /Yadži rèq/"will put; will shave." Contrast: /soŋ/"copper utensil" /zòŋ/"good"; /šóq/"ladle" /xóq/"come!"; /žòq/"catapult" /Yòq/"side of the body"; /yùk/"moment; bolt of cloth" /Yùk/"stay, Hon"; /šíwa/"rat" /xíwa/"peace"; /šámo/"hen" /xámo/"hat." Word-initial /x s š/ are tense in high-pitched syllables and lax in low ones. Intervocally within a word only the tense variant occurs: /xù/"melts" /íYu/"will melt?" /sè/"says" /mìze/"won't say"; /šùk/"rubs" /màžuk/"don't rub!"; but /xú/"peels; copies" /íxu/"will peel?; will copy?"; /séq/"kills" /mìseq/"won't kill"; /šùk/"vomits" /màšuk/"don't vomit!"

2.2.12. /y/ lacks the friction of /Y/ and, in low-pitched syllables (PL 4), is lax while /Y/ is half-tense and appears in PL 3 syllables. /w/ is a lax bilabial fricative without lip-rounding. The slight friction which appears at word-initial position is lost in intervocalic position within a word: /wà/ "fox; gutter" /wàYa/ "fox-fur hat" /wéne./ "hermitage"; /Ndàwa/ "moon" /rìNwa/ "longer" /sílwa ~ sí.wa/ "charcoal."

2.2.13. An apparently non-contrastive /hy/ occurs as a variant of high-pitched initial /y/: /Ngòyoq/ "deception" /Ngò hyóq-hyóq/ "bewildering"; /tàyap/ "rock-shelter, Trayap" /hyáp-hyáp/ "overhanging, sheltering"; /sém hyán-hyán/ "carefree, enjoying oneself."

2.2.14. /h/ is a voiceless laryngeal vocoid, here structurally a consonant. /q/ is a glottal stop, the predictable onset of initial vowels in high-pitched (PL 1) syllables, and as such it is not represented in phonemic transcription. [ʔ] does not appear as an onset to vocalic initials in low-pitched syllables. Contrast: /ón/[ʔʔ] "power" /ón/[ʔʔ] "comes"; also /úk/[ʔukʔ] "breath" /uda/[ʔda] "noise"; /ina/ "here" /ʔNtsan/ "by all means!"

2.3. Syllabic Finals. /p b k g m n ŋ l r q/ and zero are the possible syllabic finals, while /./ is here considered structurally equivalent to a final: it is not followed by any other possible final, and syllables with vowel plus /./ are heavy (see 3.3.1.) in regard to stress. Final /l r/ are not heard in normal, unaffected speech (see 4.11.).

2.3.1. /-p/ is realized as unreleased [p̚] in isolated monosyllables. Within a word and within phrase-groups it is realized as a weakly articulated bilabial fricative [ɸ]. In compounds and in verbal forms roots with /-p/ often lose the final altogether: /dèp/ "printed book" /hlóbde/ "textbook"; /kháp/ "needle" /khámik/ "needle's eye"; /páp/ "descends" /pàxi Ngì/ "(rain) is coming down"; /káp/ "covers up" /kása sɔŋ thé./ "went to cover it up."

2.3.2. /-b/ occurs<sup>10</sup> only before voiced initials and is realized as [ɓ] or as a weakly articulated version [ɓ̚]: /t̚ɪbna/[t̚ɪɓna] "if it is concealed" /hlóbde/[lɔɓde] "textbook."

2.3.3. /-k/ is realized as unreleased [k̚] in isolated syllables, before pause, and within words or phrase-groups before voiceless initials. In normal speech /-k/ is found after /a/ and /o/ only when followed by light syllables having voiceless initials, within a word: /lákpa/ "hand, arm" /laxup/ "glove"; /t̚àktse/ "rocky pinnacle" /t̚àkcha/ "echo" /t̚ari/ "rocky mountain" /t̚àyap/ "rock-shelter, Trayap."

2.3.4. /-g/ occurs<sup>10</sup> only before voiced initials, in normal speech perhaps only following /i e u/; it is realized as [g] or [g̚], in free variation: /lúgra/ "sheepfold" /lúgna/ "if (he) pours" /thégmen/ "Hinayana" /rìgle rèq/ "(he) saw it." Before nasal initials it often has a nasal release [g̃̚] or may alternate with /-ŋ/: /zà migma ~ zà miŋma/ "Tuesday" /hñígma ~ hñiŋma/ "sediment."

<sup>10</sup>In systematic phonological terms final [ɓ̚] and final [g̚] would belong to the /p/ and /k/ phonemes, respectively.

2.3.5. /-m/ like /-p/ is fully realized normally only in isolated monosyllables: /khám/"Kham province" /sém/"mind" but /khám nòn/[kʰám nɔ̃]"in Kham" /sém gi·/[sɛ́ŋgi]"by the mind." /-n/ is realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel: /hmén/[mɛ́ñ]"medicine" /màn/"butter" /mìn/"am not."

2.3.6. /-ŋ/ usually lacks complete closure after back vowels and hence tends to fall together with /-n/: /chón/"beer" /hán/"boot." After front vowels it is clearly contrastive: /mín/[mɪ́ŋ]"name" /mìn/[mɪ́ñ]"am not"; /rín/[rɪ́ŋ]"length of time" /rìn/[rɪ́ñ]"cost."

2.3.7. Within a word /-m -n -ŋ/ are neutralized in favor of the archiphoneme /N/ which is realized as nasalization of a preceding vowel plus, if followed by an obstruent initial, a nasal onset homorganic to it.

2.3.8. /-l/ is articulated only in careful speech: /yǎlpawyl.pa/"farmer" /džálpowdžápo/"king" /sílwa·sí.wa/"charcoal."

2.3.9. /-r/ is realized as a short voiced alveolar trill or flap. It is articulated only in careful speech.

2.3.10. /-q/ is realized before a pause and finally in isolated words as a glottal stop. Within a phrase-group it is realized as zero. Contrast: /thík/"(clouds) gather" /thíq/"leads" /thí/"throne; ten thousand"; /xík/"louse" /xíq/"loosens" /xí/"dies" /táxi·/"(personal name)"; /téq/"lifts" /téq/"hands over" /té·/"looked; omen."

3. Suprasegmental Phonemes. In this section tone, quantity, and stress will be selectively treated.

3.1.1. CKT has two phonemes of tone, high /V/ and low /V̄/, although phonetically there are four syllabic pitch-levels,<sup>11</sup> designated here as Pitch Levels (PL) 1-4. PL 1 (highest, most tense) is found with all word-initial or isolated syllables having the tense /p . . . tš/ series initials, some syllables having initial /m n ñ ŋ y x s š/, some syllables having initial zero (those with initial phonetic [ʔ]), and all syllables having initial /hm hn hñ hŋ hr hl h/. PL 2 (lower pitch than PL 1, laxer than PL 3) accompanies the simple and the nasal-onset voiceless aspirates. PL 3 (lower than PL 2, half-tense) accompanies syllables having initials from the /b . . . dž/ and /Nb . . . Ndž/ series and the initial sibilants /Y z ž/. PL 4 (lowest, lax, often with murmured vowel) accompanies syllables having lax /p . . . tš/ series initials, some syllables having initial /m n ñ ŋ y x s š/, some having initial zero (those without initial phonetic [ʔ]), and most syllables with initial /w/. PL 1 and 2 are grouped together under phonemic high tone, since words of more than one syllable beginning with PL 1 or 2 initials follow high-tone pitch-contours. Those with PL 3 or 4 initials follow the low-tone contours. All isolated syllables have falling pitch-contour.

<sup>11</sup>"Pitch-level" should be construed here as a combination of pitch plus the degree of tension associated with the syllabic initial and carrying through the nucleus and syllabic final. Distinctiveness of both pitch and tension, it should be noted, is more or less attenuated under the influence of sentence-stress and intonation patterns.

3.1.2. Words of more than one syllable with phonemic high tone have a high-level or high-falling contour depending, apparently, primarily upon stress and secondarily upon the phonetic tone of the second syllable. Words with light second syllables (see 3.3.1.) tend to follow an optional falling contour (in accord with the falling contour of both isolated syllables and normal sentence intonation) while this tendency is reduced if the second syllable is associated with PL 1 or 2 initials. If the second syllable is heavy the contour remains level, with a final fall if in isolation. Thus /kháNbu/"peach" /kódu/"skin boat" /mámi/"soldier" have an optional fall in contour from the first to the second syllable, while /khápe/"saying" /tépho/"dwarf, midget" /phákxa/"pork" do not. Further examples of the /kháNbu/-pattern are /háNba/"voraciousness" /hñínje/"pity" /áu/"grandmother" /áne/"grandfather" /láma/"religious professional" /síNgi/"lion."<sup>12</sup> Examples of the /khápe/-pattern are /khápu/"facial hair" /chúkha/"river's edge" /lúnta/"prayer-flag" and all high-toned disyllabic words with heavy second syllables, with the exception of words of the type /íson/"did (he) go?"

3.1.3. Phonemic low tone in disyllabic words has a low-level or low-rising contour, depending on the same type of factors conditioning phonemic high tone. The rising contour is heard most clearly when the first syllable has a PL 4 or 3 initial and the following syllable has a tense, voiceless PL 1 initial (/p . . . tš x s š/): /mètaq/"spark" /làNson/"immediately" /tšpa/"stomach"; /gèpo/"old man" /Nqù.keq/"thunder" /dòhruk/"pebbles." The same clear rise is found with PL 4 followed by PL 2: /kòkha/"kitchen" /pàchòq/"obstacle" /sàkhon/"inn." The contour tends to be flatter with PL 4 initials followed by PL 3 or 4, and PL 3 followed by PL 2: /yige/"writing, book" /rìNdo/"rite" /nàNza/"dress, Hon"; /lòma/"leaf" /tšma/"odor" /pò.ma/"lease" /kùyon/"holiday"; /dàNkha/"choice" /gùNkha/"winter." A flat (level) contour is normally heard with PL 3 followed by PL 3 or 4: /dòje/"dorje" /dàdo/"whetstone" /Ndzugda/"pointing" /gègen/"teacher" /džaga/"India" /dzàYon/"clay basin"; /gèmo/"old woman" /Ndàwa/"moon" /zònen/"moral character ('good-bad')." A heavy syllable followed by a light one tends to flatten a rising contour; thus /làkpa/"hand", although PL 4-1, has a flatter contour than /làxup/"glove." Verbal forms also follow the above patterns: /tàle (rèq)/[4-4]"did cut" /žòNle (rèq)/[3-4]"studied" /NthúNle (rèq)/[2-4]"drank" /tòNle (rèq)/[1-4]"sent"--have slight rising, level, higher level, and slight falling contours, respectively.

3.1.4. Trisyllables follow the contour patterns of disyllabic words, with a falling contour in final syllables. Four syllable words are analyzed as compound disyllabic words. Examples: /šéNre.ziq/"Avalokiteshvara" /kháNdoma/"dakini" /náNdžopa/"yogi"; /žùmaNkhen/"magician" /òpameq/"Amitabha" /mìtaba/"impermanent"; /ága-gèmo/ and /ága-thótho/"seesaw" /káre-kóre/"dawdling" (and similarly with many anukaran words).

<sup>12</sup>Comparative adjectives of one type fall into this group: /chéwa/"larger" /chúNwa/"smaller" /šúwa/"more sour" /šíwa/"happier" etc. have regularly a falling contour, probably owing to the dominant falling sentence intonation-pattern: this type of comparative is sentence-final, unless negative or interrogative in form, while if another word follows (/chéwa mìnGi/"it's not larger") the strong falling contour is lost. Interrogatives of the form /íson/"did (he) go?" follow the same pattern.

3.2. Quantity is predictable and hence not per se phonemically represented. Vowels in closed syllables (i.e., before fully realized consonant finals) are short. Vowels in open syllables (including those with final /./ and /-n/) in isolation are long: /t̪ip/[t̪iːp̪] "pollution" /t̪i/[t̪iː] "knife" /t̪i./[t̪iː] "writes." In words of more than one syllable, syllables tend to have equal quantity whether open or closed. Syllables with minimal sentence-stress, i.e., enclitic particles and auxiliary verbs, have reduced quantity.

3.3.1. Stress within words is apparently not phonemically significant. Words of more than one syllable normally have stress on the first syllable, though a rising tone-contour makes it difficult to hear this. Stress is attracted by the heavier of two syllables. A "heavy" syllable is one with a final segment (including /./ and /-n/). Disyllabic words with two heavy or two light syllables have acoustically about equal stress. The final syllable of trisyllabic words is invariably low in tone-contour, but it is not unstressed. Enclitics are without stress; in transcription they are separated by a space from the word to which they are phonologically bound.

3.3.2. Sentence-stress should be treated in conjunction with an analysis of intonation. I have not sufficient data for such an analysis in this study, beyond support for the following general remarks. Both declarative and interrogative sentences have a generally falling contour. The intonation-level of stressed words is higher vis-à-vis the rest of the sentence, and their tone-contours are more differentiated; it is often difficult to hear syllable pitch-level or word tone-contour in the words either preceding or following stressed words within a phrase-group or sentence. Interrogative morphemes in particular normally have such strong stress and raised intonation-level as to virtually obliterate inherent pitch-levels of succeeding words: in /chí wèq ne· phá sóNle rèq./ "Why did he go away?"--the rest of the sentence after /chí/ follows a steadily declining intonation, with only the syllables /phá/ and /sóN-/ on the same pitch-level relative to each other. Similarly in /íson/ "did (he) go?" and /ízò./ "did (he) eat?"--the inherent pitch-level distinction between /son/ and /zò./ (PL 1 and 4) is almost entirely lost in favor of the strong sentence-stress of the interrogative morpheme /í-/.

4. Comparison with orthographic forms. The following notes are to be supplemented by the preceding analysis.

4.1. OT palatal affricates (?) are rendered by CKT lamino-postalveolar stops. OT bcag chen-po 'cham jag-pa brjed ljoñs 'jam-po: CKT /cáq chéNbo Nchám cākpa jèq jòŋ NjàNbo/.

4.2. OT obstruents with subfixed -y- are rendered by CKT palatal affricates, except that spy- phy-<sup>13</sup>, by-, and sky- become /š-/; sby- and sgy- become /ž-/; while 'phy- and 'by- become respectively /Ntšh-/ and /Ndž-/. OT bkyag khyi-bkag 'khyags-pa brgyab brgyañs mgyogs-po: CKT /tšáq tšhíkaq Ntšhákpa džáp džòŋ Ndžòkpo/; OT spyañ-khu phyi-ba byi-ba byugs skyid-mo skyugs yogs 'byor 'phyugs: CKT /šóNkhu šíwa šíwa šúk

<sup>13</sup>ND pronounces OT phy- in isolated syllables as a separate phoneme /šh/[š̥c], the syllables having PL 2, but this does not seem to carry over into free speech.

šupo žoŋ žoq Ndžò Ntšúk/.

4.3. OT *ś-*, with or without prefixes, and unprefixes *ś-* are rendered by CKT /x-/. OT prefixed *-ś-* is rendered by CKT /Y-/. OT *śi su źi-ba zu bžag bži gžogs*: CKT /xí xú xiwa xù Yàq Yì Yòq/.

4.4. OT voiced initials devoice unless prefixed. OT *da brda byaň sbyaň zaň bzaň-po*: CKT /tà dà šoŋ žoŋ sòŋ zòNbo/.

4.5. OT prefixes *m-* and *'-* are rendered by CKT obstruents with nasal onset. OT *kho mkho sgo mgo bdar 'dar*: CKT /khó Nkhó gò Ngò dà Ndà/.

4.6. OT prefixed *s-* is usually rendered by voiceless nasal onsets to radical nasals and *-l-*. OT *sman snabs sñiň sňags sloň-mo*: CKT /hmén hnáp hñiŋ hñáq hlónmo/.

4.7. OT final *-d* is rendered /-q/ with modification of preceding vowels: OT *khrid ded nad chod drud* are rendered by CKT /thíq tèq nèq chòq tùq/.

4.8. OT final *-s* is rendered /-./ with vowel modification: OT *bris rjes nas chos brus* are rendered by CKT /tì. jè. nè. chò. tù./.

4.9. OT final *-n* is rendered as nasalization of the preceding vowel with modification of *-a-* *-o-* *-u-* to CKT /-e- -ø- -ü-/.

4.10. OT final *-l* is lost in normal speech; if pronounced, it modifies a preceding *-u-* to CKT /-ü-/. Alternatively, OT final *-l* is rendered by CKT /-./ with vowel modification as in 4.8.

4.11. CKT shows /-oŋ/ for most OT syllables in *-aň(s)*, and /-iŋ/ for most of those in *-eň(s)*. OT *chaň khaň-pa steň 'phreň seň-ge*: CKT /chóŋ khónba tíŋ Nthiŋ síŋgi/.

5. Sample Text. The following series of questions and answers is based on the "Kham's Dialect" transcription found in Roerich and Phuntsok's Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan (Calcutta, 1957) pp. 170-172, in order to provide some basis for comparison. The dialect recorded there is not specified, but is fairly close to the present CKT.

1. tšéq kàne. šòŋ òNle yin. nà là phánon ne. òNle yin. 2. tà kúraq šòNge. yin. nà hlása le yà Ndòdži yin. 3. phí nán phé.dži yin. tódza mion; nà džaga le Ndò kóo sáNxi Ngì. 4. tšéq le chí lódžu íyòq. chí wo lódžu meq. 5. chí yòq rèq. tè yàmo chí yòq mídaq. 6. sáon te gi tsá le tšhòq íson. nà sóNle yin; kámò. mòNbo phánon tshunon Nda Ndžèq thé. 7. chásiq dži kónDa chí súp íthe. pé NdàNda súp thé. 8. pòŋ te íne. sòŋ íthe. sòŋ thé. te, tá i. džòŋ Yàq Ngì. 9. yà, tšhéq ká íthe. chíchi kamo màžun. 10. tšhéq demò íyin. nà demò Ntshamo yin. 11. pháyu. chíNde. Ngì. yàmo Ngì. 12. lò yàmo íŋgi. óŋ hon, yàmo chí mìŋgi. 13. hlása ne. mà tshóNpòŋ sú ína òŋ íthe. sú wo òŋ màthe. 14. mídaq te thúk íphòq. pòNbo te thúk mìphòq.



15. tšhéq tùwa íYe. nà tùwa mìnthin; nà yù ne. Nthínle mìn. 16. tà  
 pèñi. xakpo íweq. yà, wèq. 17. yà, tà yàmo šòn. yà ya, tšhéq yàmo Yùk.  
 18. tšhéq le chí lódžu mèq le. yòq to yòq te, tàda mìlo; jè.ma Ndžòkpo  
 Njè. òŋ.

1. Where have you come from? I have come from beyond the pass. (/šòn/"come, go, Hon" /le/"perfective suffix") 2. Now where are you going? I'm going to Lhasa. (/ne/"agentive suffix" /dži/"imperfective suffix") 3. When are you coming back? I won't come for a while; I think I may have to go to India. (/kó-kóo/"particle of probable necessity" /xi/"progressive suffix" /Ngi/"existential copula") 4. Do you have something to say? I haven't anything at all to say. 5. Why is that? It isn't too good. (/tàq/"is in excess") 6. Did you go to the governor? I went; he conversed at great length. (/phánon tshúnon/"hither and yon" /Ndžèq/"does, makes, Hon" /thé./"perfective auxiliary verb") 7. Did he speak about politics? He spoke on various topics. 8. Has the official gone away from here? He has gone, but he got thrown from his horse. (/íne/"from here" /džòŋ/"is extended, is thrown") 9. Well, did you have any difficulty? Nothing difficult came up. 10. Are you well? I'm quite well. 11. How is your home area? It's fine. 12. Is it a good harvest? No, it's not good at all. 13. Did any big merchants come here from Lhasa? None came. (/ína/"here" /wo/"also") 14. Can one meet with the official? You won't be able to meet with the official. 15. Will you have a smoke? I won't smoke; I've never smoked. (/yù ne/"at all, ever") 16. Now, shall we be friends? Well then, let's be. (/wèq/"does, makes") 17. Well, goodbye now. Yes, goodbye to you. 18. I guess you don't have anything else to say? (/le/"interrogative particle") I do indeed, but I won't talk now; we'll meet again soon.