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ILLUSTRATIONS

ENCOUNTER WITH THE RAUTE: THE LAST HUNTING NOMADS OF NEPAL

Dor Bahadur Bista
Kathmandu

Nepal has only recently been approached by anthropologists for any systematic study of the many and varied Nepalese people of different origins and backgrounds. It will take quite sometime before students of anthropology can begin to cover the whole country adequately.

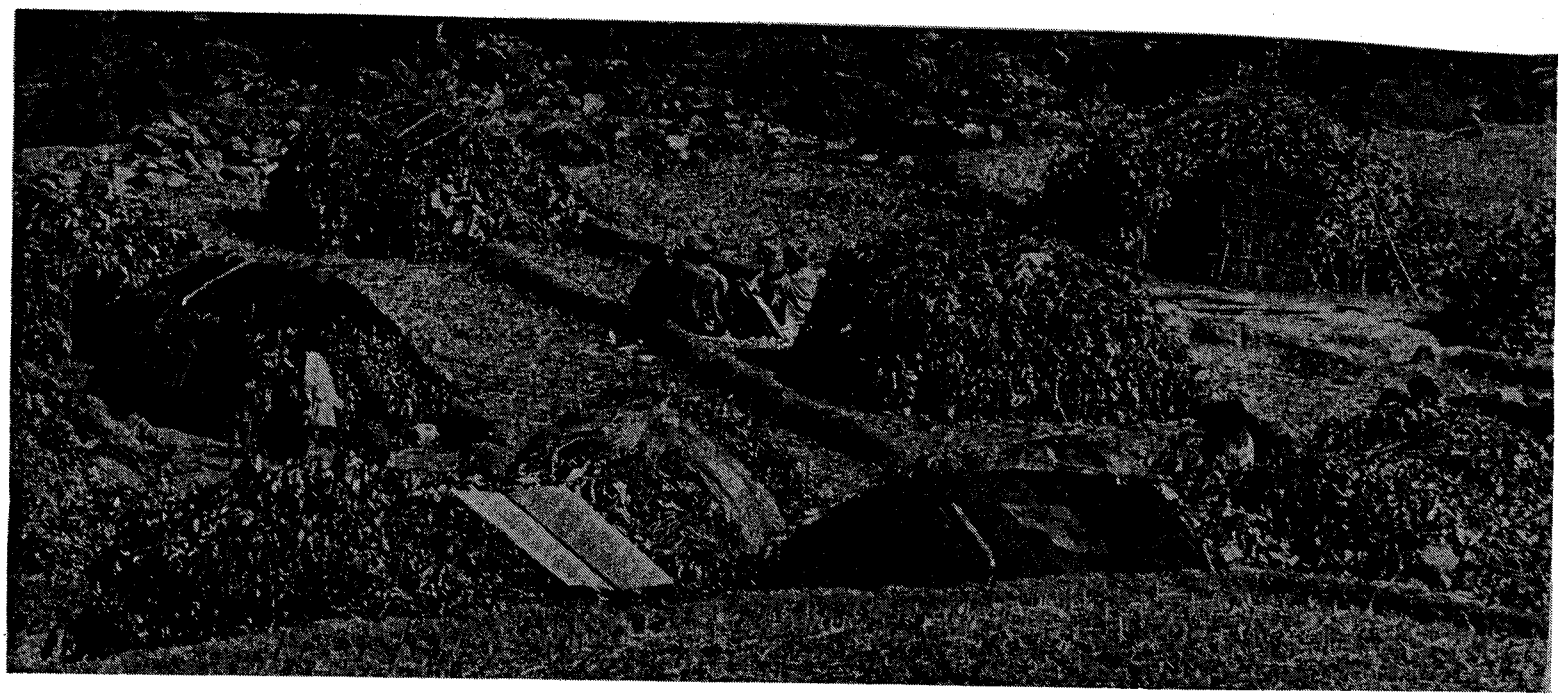
Although the size of Nepal is only a little over 54,000 sq. miles, the dramatic contrast of its landscape, altitude and climate, has attracted and retained waves of human migrations from different directions throughout the ages. Some of these groups were large and others, very small. They must have come into conflict, overlapped, and integrated over time. The stronger and more agressive groups must have dominated and pushed the weaker and more timid ones into backwaters and isolated areas. Many of the weaker and more submissive groups either must have adopted the ways of the stronger ones or must have been forced into harsher and more marginal living areas of the land. These groups could not expand and flourish. There are, even today, half a dozen or so of these very small minority groups leading a very marginal and precarious existence in different parts of the country. Two such groups were known to lead a hunting, nomadic life, while the others are sedentary. The two hunting nomads were the *Kusunda* and *Raute*. But the few surviving Kusundas are reported to have settled in agriculture within the past four or five years. The only known existing hunting nomads, therefore, are the Raute. These Raute, although mentioned by the people in the areas where they are seen, have only recently figured in literature on Nepal, and not elsewhere in any authoritative manner. Even the national census has not recorded them, as yet.

To my knowledge, the first student of anthropology who met Raute, took photographs of them, and tape-recorded their voices, was Johan Reinhard, a research student from the University of Vienna. By a strange coincidence, Terrence Bech, a Fulbright Scholar studying music and musical instruments, also saw and photographed them on the same day at the same spot. Both of these scholars mentioned this to me personally at different times when we met in Kathmandu. Only in 1974 did Johan Reinhard publish his notes with photographs and maps in *Kailash* (Vol. II, Number 4, 1974).

I had only vague intentions to visit these people "sometime in the future" until I met the American anthropologist Dr. Carleton S. Coon in Kathmandu. Dr. Coon and his wife were in 1971 visiting their son, Carleton S. Coon Jr., then Counsellor with the US Embassy in Kathmandu. Dr. Coon, with his life-long interest and knowledge of hunting peoples around the world, had heard of the Raute and was seeking more information about them. He wanted to visit them in their camp personally, and we began to make plans of trekking together to the area. Unfortunately, the doctors advised him not to travel in an unpressurized aircraft anywhere higher than 7,500 fit. above sea level. This ruled out the possibility of his visiting the area as the terrain of the country required flying higher than was considered safe for him. But his guidance and encouragement made it possible for the author to use the opportunity to visit the Raute. With official permission from "Durgam Chetra Vikas Samiti" (Remote Areas Development Committee) of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, I was able to combine a study of the Raute with the observation of the trade cycles and routines of the people from the remote Himalayan region in their winter camps of the lower hills.

Mr. Lane Smith, an American Peace Corps Volunteer, shared with me his knowledge of the area and some descriptions of the people he had seen during his treks to Dailekh from Surkhet. He had been assigned as a High School teacher in Surkhet for the previous two years.

Thus equipped with some basic information, a few rolls of film, a camera and a taperecorder, I left Kathmandu on Saturday 29th January 1972 for Surkhet, which is about 300 air miles west of Kathmandu. The following two days of trekking over two steep hills, one over 7,000 ft. high, required considerable climbing up and down. On the second day the trail converged for a while with one which the Raute had used about ten weeks earlier to move their camp up the valley. So, in a way, I was on their trail from the 31st January onwards. In order to collect more up-to-date information I left the main trail for a day and climbed uphill to the District Headquarters of Dailekh. With whatever information I could find at the Headquarters, I continued on the 1st of February to follow the trail of the Raute. I knew I was closing in, because information and gossip about them by the villagers passing my way became more and more immediate and fresh instead of the vague, indirect or casual remarks about their look and location as on the previous day. On the 2nd February, the 5th day of my journey, I decided to camp in this village for two or three days and visit the Raute every day at the site. They would not let me stay anywhere near their own camp. This I knew from what I had heard about them so far and from what Dr. Coon, with his knowledge of hunting people all over the world, had guessed and suggested.



1. Raute campsite, February 1972.

2. Raute women and children.

3. Raute woman.

4. Raute men. The headman is on the left.

The local villagers confirmed this. In fact they were actually scared of the Raute and did not consider it safe to camp too close to them. These villagers believed many rumours about the Raute. The local primary school teacher had heard and sincerely believed that only a few weeks earlier they had enchanted four girls — two Thakuri, the local aristocracy, and two Brahman, the priestly caste — from nearby villages and had taken them to their camp to live as Raute forever afterwards. Most people in the village, and almost all I met and talked to on the way, believed that the Raute had very effective magical powers and spells which they always used in catching monkeys and would use on human beings, especially women, whenever they could be found alone or in small numbers.

The local people evidently dreaded them. They made remarks like "Raute are dirty and filthy people," although in my own visits I did not find them any dirtier than those who said this.

"Raute are very curt and have absolutely no sense of humour."

"They are very anti-social and never discuss anything with anyone."

Some villagers told me that if a villager is reserved, quiet and lonely, they nicknamed him a "Raute." These villagers told me that the Raute were not only reserved towards outsiders, but also among themselves. When the Raute leader decides to leave the old camp and move to the next, he does it all by himself and suddenly. The others have to follow him.

They usually burn their sheds when they leave the old camp to move into a new one. When the leader passes a cross-road, he leaves a dried twig pointing to the trail he wants his people to follow, and presses down it with a heavy stone so that it is not brushed aside by wind or animals.

"They are very straight forward and simple in dealing with the villagers." Others said : "When they bring the wooden bowls to exchange with foodgrains they never bargain and never let anyone take advantage of them. They insist on the proper rate and force people to accept it. If they are ordered to make a wooden chest or some such thing, they always bring their object on the specified date and grow very angry if the client hesitates or tries to bargain."

They usually ask for paddy against their wooden bowls. But for bigger objects like cots and beds they accept other things such as oil, chicken, goat, vegetables and any other grain. Among the vegetables they are very fond of pumpkins.

"They never stay in a village overnight, and always rush to their camp, no matter how late or how bad the weather. They never bring their children into the village either, nor do they ever beg for anything free of cost."

Some villagers had heard different rumours. According to them the Raute captured small children, buried them under the earth in offering up to their forest gods. There were more people who believed vaguely that the Raute offered human sacrifice, although they did not know the specific manners and procedures of the actual sacrifice. Raute apparently never drank river water, but always dug a well beside a river or located a spring for their water supply, so that they could stay firm in their mind instead of being fluid like the running water, according to the rumours.

In addition to such speculative information, I picked up a more specific and recent report, namely that about ten weeks ago the Raute had quarreled among themselves and had split into two separate groups, after their last camp in the Parajul Khola. One group had headed straight west towards the Karnali river and the people in the villages had only vague ideas about their whereabouts. The other was going slightly northwest, and had reached the point in Chamgad Khola where I was pursuing them. Some people believed that the Raute respected Kusunda as their king, but others thought that the Raute were planning to go down to Surkhet Valley this year, and did not do so only because someone told them that there were Kusundas in Surkhet, which showed that Raute were afraid of Kusunda. So, I had at least this much information before actually seeing one of them.

Geethachaur, the last village before the Raute camp, was to be my base. After having made arrangements for the night, I was able to continue my pursuit the same day. Right at the end of the village there was a steep climb down about 100 yards into the river and then upstream along the river bank for about two miles before reaching the Raute camp.

I had to wade the same river back and forth five times and occasionally crawl acrobatically along big rock faces on the side of the river. After the last crossing of the river I had to climb over a small and gentle slope of a hill side. But before I was able to leave the river-bed, three Raute women were seen coming my direction. They stood still without moving, in the middle of the dry river bed, while I fumbled over my camera. Then they went off to one side and began climbing the hill very fast. I tried to take a few shots with a tele-lens. But in my haste the camera got stuck. Having lost sight of them, I continued on. No sooner had I grabbed my boots and camera and begun to move, before another group of four women emerged from over the small hill. They behaved the same way. But this time I pretended that I had not taken any notice of them, and casually lit a cigarette. Three of them continued to walk at a considerable distance from where I was, but still along the river valley. One of them, looking quite old, came closer and stopped only about 25 feet away. I then offered a cigarette which she took and smoked. While she was standing, I had a good look at her and was able to take a few photographs. Another group of three women passed as soon as

the second one was gone. They were also shy and did not come as close as the second group. The way they stopped in the middle of the trail, the movement of their heads and the way they trailed off the main track, walking fast up-hill, where there was no apparent trail, reminded me of wild game in the hill forest when they smell people. They must have the same type of built-in sensitivity and alertness, essential for their survival in the wilds.

After another few minutes, I left the river-bed and reached the top of the ridge, overlooking the cluster of their sheds. I stopped and was having a good look at their camp and the movement of the people in it, when one woman with a baby on her back began walking rapidly towards me. I waited for her. When she arrived puffing in front of me, only eight or ten feet away, I could see that she was frightened, and trembled. She looked pale, and her voice was hoarse and dry as she reported, in an unusually accented and all but unintelligible Nepali, that all the men had gone away. There were no men in the camp so would I please go away, was the first request in a feeble voice. I tried to make her relax by offering a cigarette, which she refused. By this time two other women had followed her, and others appeared ready to leave their camp. I sat down and invited her to do the same. She obeyed, still very reluctant and nervous. Within a few seconds there were more of them. But the other women did not look quite as nervous. They were also of various ages. I explained that I came to see them, their camp and their headman, if possible, but had no ulterior motives. It did not seem to have any visible effect upon them; they were as serious and reserved as before. The woman who came first with a baby on her back, said that she was the wife of their headman who had gone to hunt monkeys with the rest of the men.

Gradually, however, with more cigarettes being lit and few gifts pushed, the atmosphere relaxed a little and conversation began. I could not believe myself when they said that the women I saw on the way up had time enough to turn around and warn them of my arrival. They must have an incredibly fast system or mechanism of warning for self protection. Since they were harmless and moved almost always without any weapon, they must naturally have self-defence mechanisms similar to those of the herbivores of the forest. But their skill and habit of catching monkeys seems to have caused some suspicion among the local villagers, leading to all the gossip and rumours about their being magic spellers, human sacrificers and so on. No other people in the area kill or eat monkeys. In fact, there are some people who have religious taboos against killing monkeys.

After a few minutes the headman emerged out of the forests and rushed quietly down the hill slope. The woman told me that they had sent for the headman from the monkey hunt. I still could not work out how the woman I had run into, while walking

over the river bed, could have had time enough to return quietly, unseen and alert every one in the camp about my movements; and then how the wife of the headman could whisper to someone in her own language and send for her husband from the expedition within such a short time as they had. This is obviously how the people must live in order to survive.

The headman was with one other male companion. The headman, more than his companion, looked just as pale and shaken as his wife when he greeted me with what appeared to be a very serious look. When he spoke, his lips were dry and his voice rather hoarse. The first thing he did was to mumble something in his own language and send all the women back to the camp. I looked embarassed and felt very uneasy, having been proved by his actions that I was doing something wrong and inappropriate to talk to his wife and the other women. Eventually we sat down and relaxed a little, and smoked more cigarettes than any of us really needed or felt like. The truth was that I was no less nervous and uncertain about their reactions than they were about me. So both of us required some time before we could really feel at ease. I thought I had even more responsibilities than my Raute host, as I was handling a camera with two interchangeable lenses and a tape-recorder, which did not let me really relax and sit down in a casual conversation. But the host, being the headman of his people, was heavily burdened with the responsibility of their well-being and defense, and above all with his own reputation of being a competent headman. So he could not relax easily either. I was worried for different reasons. I had a different type of responsibility towards a different group of people, the academic community in this respect. I did not want to return empty-handed, and I was not certain as to how long they would let me stay and whether they would let me return to their camp again or not. So I did not want to take any chances with the camera and the tape-recorder, having gone as far as I had to find them.

At the end of about an hour and a half both the headman, Man Bahadur Shahi, and I were exhausted. He was not used to sitting down in any one place and talking to strangers for that length of time or discussing a lot of things which did not make any sense to him, or sometimes talking along the border of private and cherished parts of their lives. By the time I left him for the day we were ritual friends, and he promised that the next day he would come to the village with his wares for barter. I promised I would ensure a reasonable barter transaction for the supply of rice. He knew better than I that it was not easy to get rice in the village, because this was one of the food shortage areas this year. Once we said good bye to each other he turned round and walked very fast and straight into the camp. Disciplined as he was, he did not look back. I was told more than once by the local people that Raute never look back once they start moving. As the day was over, I collected my gadgets and leef.

5. Raute carrying wooden box to barter.

6. Raute with his wooden bowls for barter.

TABLE I. SWADESH 100 WORD LIST - *R A U T E L A N G U A G E*

Language family: *Tibeto-Burman*
Place: *Daileikh District*
Date: *February 1972*

Investigator: *Dor Bahadur Bista*
Source: *Man Bahadur Sahi*
Transcription: *broad phonetic*

1.	na	I
2.	nɦəŋ	thou
3.	na	we
4.		
5.	he	that
6.	nɦəm?	who
7.	haŋ	what
8.	nai	not
9.	mʷəlyæ	all
10.	buɔ̣	many
11.	da	one
12.	nɦi	two
13.	gɦaře	big
14.		
15.	lɦa?	small
16.	keṭi <N>	woman
17.	bə	man
18.	mukəla	person
19.	gap¯'	fish
20.	bua?	bird
21.	kʷuị̈	dog
22.	šürɔ̈	louse
23.	šiŋ	tree
24.	biu <N>	seed
25.	wa?	leaf
26.	džəra	root
27.	thakpa	bark
28.	kiřikyæ/kilikyæ	skin
29.	šiæᵋ?	flesh
30.	suị̈	blood
31.	ha·řəm	bone
32.	bosa	grease
33.	əṇda <N>	egg
34.	sikkəm	horn
35.	mukyæ	tail
36.	pʷɔx <N>	feather
37.	kəpal <N>/ruŋ N	heir
38.	gəřɦa	head
39.	guna	ear
40.	mikɔ̈	eye
41.	šiŋa	nose
42.	mu	mouth
43.	tšhwa	tooth
44.	mɦwɔm	tongue
45.	lɦɛ̣l	fingernail
46.	bɦa	foot
47.	gaṭho	knee
48.	akha	hand
49.	gudoŋ	belly
50.	mənthu	neck
51.	susu/susi	breasts
52.		
53.	bɦuři <N>	liver
54.	tɨ̈	drink
55.	dzakɑ	eat
56.	kəi	bite
57.	bigɦæ	see
58.	gunɑ	hear
59.		
60.	šiæ̣	sleep
61.	ši	die
62.	əthɔ̈	kill
63.	bowti	swim
64.	phařæi	fly
65.	khwa	walk
66.		
67.	siæ̣	lie
68.	dzɨ̈ye	sit
69.	phuyụ	stand
70.	na <N>	give
71.	ši	say
72.	beṛ	sun
73.	beṛ	moon
74.		
75.	ti	water
76.	səgyæ	rain
77.		
78.	buliæ	sand
79.		
80.	dewɑ?	cloud
81.	dɦuma	smoke
82.	muhɛ̣ị̈	fire
83.	duři	ash
84.		
85.	yuŋg	path
86.	kheṛə	mountain
87.	tui	red
88.	kəməiụ	green
89.	peřɦo	yellow
90.	dɦauṛia	white
91.	tokənyæ	black
92.		
93.	gɦɔnɔw	hot
94.	dzuŋ	cold
95.	bwɑb	full
96.	nəu <N>	new
97.	ləgalo	good
98.		
99.	sukəl <N>	dry
100.	nəu <N>	name

[ə generally represents ə>]

I had recorded some of the conversations in the tape and had taken a few close-up colour photographs of both men and women. I wished that the headman had not arrived so quickly, since then the women could have sat around a little longer, chatting a bit. Before the headman appeared they were gradually beginning to take me casually, and I was beginning to feel at home, as anywhere among children and women of hill villages in Nepal. The old lady, who was the mother of the headman's wife, told me that they were having a hard time getting food supplies. They could not kill as many monkeys as at other times. The hunt was spoiled if any person other than a Raute saw it. So I learned that it was not safe for a man to stay too long near the Raute camp. The women, however, became convinced that I meant no harm and had no other motives than sheer curiosity to see them and their way of life. This brought us a step closer, and we began to tell each other about our activities.

For some reason the headman's wife continued to be tense, although the other women were a little relaxed. So the burden of being a headman is heavy, not only for the man, but it must also be very heavy for his wife. The office must certainly have enough prestige and some advantage to make it worth their while.

The headman, Man Bahadur Shahi, told me the next day that he had to look after and maintain twelve people who lived in three separate huts. His own family of wife and children lived in the first hut, his wife's widowed mother and her unmarried youngest daughter in the second, and his own widowed mother, with one widowed and one unmarried sister lived in the third. The women did not make any wooden articles, and they did not go on monkey hunts. They, therefore, were an economic burden on men. All they did was to collect dried wood for fuel, husk rice in the camp, prepare meals and raise children. Women were necessarily dependent upon men for everything, including their living. The widowed women had to be supported by their sons, daughters, or in the absence of these, by the nearest male relatives.

This obviously must be a transitional phase. The women certainly at one time must have supported their living by collecting wild fruits and tubers, as in other hunting and food gathering societies. But the Raute have now become more *food bartering* than *food gathering* people. Even the hunting does not seem very important to them any more. The headman, when he came to my camp the following day, was calculating in terms of rice for every meal. He did not seem to rely too much on monkey hunt and meat supplies. This must have added to the burden of men, rendering them entirely responsible for the livelihood of men, women and children. This situation could not last for too long. The women will have to develop some kind of economic role. One should not speculate too much, but under the circumstances, and considering the conditions prevailing in the areas in which they move about, a number of things could develop with disastrous effects on their survival as an entity. Luckily,

their taboo against drinking river water and eating food cooked by the villagers, and against any kind of social intercourse with the villagers, is a good built-in preventive system against infectious diseases. But with an increasing bulk of factory-made goods being transported into the area as the road system expands, the demand for the Raute-made crude wooden ware is bound to decline. Then their dependence upon the settled economy will be even greater than now.

The Raute told me that they went as far as Deukhuri in the south, Piuthan in the east and Achham in the west. They never cross the lower Himalayan range to the north. This means that they never go higher than 5,000 ft. above sea level even during the summer, and not below 2,000 ft. during winter. Contrary to my expectations, I found them very inquisitive about a lot of things. They asked how far Kathmandu and many other places they had heard about, including America, were. By America they meant the land of the white people they had seen or run into. They could be Germans, French, British or even Chinese or Japanese.

On the next day Man Bahadur Shahi came to the village where I was staying. He brought five bowls made from redwood cedrela. I immediately despatched a man to make arrangements for paddy, roughly enough to fill those five bowls by measure. For this Man Bahadur Shahi had agreed to stay with me as long as he would have required to go round the village himself for his barter. While the rice was being bought, I had time to make some tape-recordings of his language (see table). The rice was being bought at a very high price, of course, and in addition I had also promised to leave the bowls free of cost with the suppliers of rice. I had used the Swadesh list of 100 words which were afterwards analysed with the help of Dr. Austin Hale, of Tribhuvan University. They have been compared with other languages spoken in the region.

It was very difficult to make the headman talk about anything other than what he wanted, and there were not very many topics which he was anxious to discuss himself. He would get irritated and become impatient every once in a few minutes and ask about the man whom I had sent to buy rice. The assurance of rice in return for his bowls was the only reason he agreed to let me corner him for about two hours, which was all the time I got. But he kept saying that he and I were different people, separated from the very beginning. He was a Raute (meaning forest people) and I was a "Duniya" (meaning a tame citizen under somebody's control). Finally he realized that I was not going to let him get away without giving *some* information about himself and his people.

"All right, then", he volunteered, "listen to our Shastra" (standard codes of behaviour or wise sayings). He repeated a few rhymes in Nepali. The rough translation is like this:

"Moon is beautiful in the sky
Man is beautiful when you love him
Salt is the best dressing (for food)

Buffalo came down from the hill
into the forest of Nepane
How can I preserve the wealth that I collected

Wheat is being harvested by Khaire Jethu
When can a strange trade meet again

The more of jarana rice you eat the better it tastes
It is true that we will meet in the village across the pass.

There is good rice in Dullu
But people go hungry in Dailekh
The love is not trivial,
So you should stop him.

There is cold water, but you did not drink.
Father gave birth but the fate did not allow.
The wheat was eaten by birds
I am suffering because of my fate.

The more I eat the hungrier I feel,
and I am physically soft, My mind, entangled in love."

At the end he said : "Now you can go back. I have told you everything" I agreed and closed the note book and switched off the tape recorder. He already knew the use of a tape recorder. He asked me to play it back. When he listened to it carefully he agreed that it repeated correctly. But he insisted to have a look at the tiny man who must have been encased inside, repeating what he had said. I opened it up as much as I could and showed him the dry battery cells, which did not satisfy his curiosity. I had to apoligize that I could not open it any further, and closed it. He was not happy.

He told me a few other things very reluctantly: they bury their dead; they consider it a sin to sow or cultivate anything; a sinner has to carry a very heavy stone over the back of his shoulder in the next life or be born as a horse; a meritorious, good man could be born as a king in the next life.

He also told me that the group, that was split up about 10 weeks ago and had gone to the lower valley, would join his group after the rainy season at some place near the Karnali river in the West. The reason the group split up was that one of the men

had committed adultery with the wife of another. That caused a serious row within the group and the headman had to divide the group for a few months, with the adulterer leading the splinter group.

Man Bahadur was not too interested in going beyond the Karnali river, because in the Doti area people had given him trouble. He thought the people and the government officials in Dailekh, Surkhet, Dang, Deukhuri, Sallyan, Jajarkot, Rukum ane Rolpa and were very nice. They did not trouble him when he cut trees for his modest requirement.

By this time the rice for barter was arranged, so we had to end our session. He left as soon as he got his rice.

The next morning I visited the camp once more before leaving the area. I took the occasion to do a last count of the sheds in the camp. There were twenty-two in all. They were round or oval domelike structures of freshly cut branches, twigs and green leaves. They had low entrances on one side. They were arranged in groups of six or seven around an open area in the center of the group, all facing the center. There were three circles like this adjoining each other, so that the centers of the three circles opened one to the other. The sheds were approximately six feet in diameter at the bottom and only about four feet high, so adults could not stand upright even in the middle. The central courtyards were used by the children for play, by the women for husking rice or for other similar activities, and by the men for making wooden bowls or chests.

The men used a slightly curved iron adze with a wooden handle for making the bowls, and an iron axe for cutting trees. The women used metal pots for cooking.

Men wore a loin cloth, a narrow strip of material tucked at both ends in a string tied around their waist thus covering only a minimum of their private parts and they also had a large piece of cotton material over their shoulder not only covering their back and part of their front but also hung over their legs down to the knees. Invariably they wore a head cover, either a traditional Nepali cap or a piece of cloth wrapped like a turban.

Their women wore skirts of coloured cotton material, blouses, prepared by themselves and a lot of trinkets around their necks and ears. They also wore iron, brass, copper or glass bangles. The cotton materials they wear are bartered locally from the villagers.

Both men and women looked quite healthy and handsome, with well-built muscular bodies. Their average height is over five feet, which is the average for the region in which they live and travel. Their women were quite attractive.

It looks as though the Raute stand a fairly good chance of being integrated into the settled economy as soon as some major development projects gather larger number of different people in the area. This would, of course, mean the vanishing of the Raute as an entity. It is unlikely that their existing skill of making crude wooden bowls would continue to find a local market. As soon as the various factory made, attractive, colourful substitutes penetrate into the area, the Raute will find it hard to make a living unless they look for some other kind of jobs or skills. And that would certainly push them a step closer to dependence upon the settled economy, thereby exposing them to the possibility of marrying outside their group. As has happened with so many other tribal groups in Nepal, their women will be the first to marry outside. Looking at the Raute women, they will not have any difficulty in finding husbands outside. This is sad speculation, but I do not see any other possibilities under the present circumstances.

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LE *SI KĀ BHEĀY*, 'FESTIN DE LA TETE', CHEZ LES NEWAR*

Gérard Toffin

Paris

नेवार जातिले मनाउने सी का भ्वय्

भोटे–बर्मेली भाषा परिवारमा पर्ने नेवार जातिका मानिसहरूको धर्म मिश्रित छ र यसको मूल स्रोत हिन्दू र उत्तर भारतको महायानी सम्प्रदायबाट अवतरित बौद्ध धर्ममा रहेको छ। यी दुइ धर्मको नेवारका दैनिक जीवनमा यति नजीकको हेलमेल पाइन्छ किक तिपय देउताहरू दुवै मतमा एक समान छन्। यी दुइ सम्प्रदायहरू पुरेत्याईं ले मात्र आपसमा छुट्टिन्छन् जस अनुसार एक वर्गमा ब्राह्मण र अर्का वर्गमा बौद्ध पुरेतहरू उपयुक्त भएका भेटिन्छन्। यस जातिमा प्रचलित अनेकन् चाहाड–बाहाड, पूजा–आजाका स्रोतहरू पनि के हिन्दू अथवा के बौद्ध हुन् छुट्टयाउन गाहारो पर्दछ। यिनमध्ये यस लेखमा वर्णित **सी का भ्वय्** (टाउकोको भोज) पनि पर्दछ जसमा बली चढाइएको पशुको टाउकोलाई विधिपूर्वक खाइन्छ। यो मुख्यतः नेवारहरूको भोज–विधि हो र यसलाई दुवै शिवमार्गी र बौद्धमार्गीहरूले मनाउँदछन्।

सी का भ्वय् भन्नलाई त बली गरे पिच्छे सम्पन्न गरिनुपर्दछ। तर यथार्थमा भने खालि तीन किसिमका पूजा–आजाका अवसरमा मात्र यसलाई गर्ने चलन हिजोआज छ। पहिलो यसलाई गुठी भोज, अझ खास गरी सना गुठीको भोजको अवसरमा गरिन्छ, दोस्रो दिगु द्यो अर्थात् देवाली पूजा (ज्येष्ठ महीनामा गरिने पूजा) का अवसरमा र तेस्रो महाष्टमी (दशैं) भोजको अवसरमा गरिन्छ। हरेक पटक यसको सम्पन्न गर्ने विधि एकै नासको हुन्छ। यसमा बली गरेको पशुको टाउकोलाई आठ भाग लगाइन्छ र त्यो भाग खान तोकिएका व्यक्तिहरूले मात्र पाउँदछन्। यदि बली गुठी भोजको अवसरमा गरिएको छ भने, त्यो आठ भाग आठ जना जेठा गुठियारहरूले पाउंदछन्। देवाली भोजमा यो भाग, आफ्ना दाजु–भाइमध्येका जेठाहरूले भेट्टाउँछन्। दशैं भोजमा परिवारका बाबुहरूमा जेठाको हिसाबले यो भाग बाँडिन्छ। यदि परिवार त्यति ठूलो छैन भने टाउकोलाई पाँच टुक्रा मात्र गरी काटिन्छ।

सी का भ्वय् गर्दा केही निषेधहरू पनि पालना गरिन्छन्। स्वास्नीमानिसहरू यसमा कहिल्यै पनि सम्मिलित गराइंदैनन्। त्यसैगरी कर्म नचलेका केटाहरूलाई पनि यसमा सम्मिलित गराइंदैन। कहीं कहीं गुठियार अथवा दाजु–भाइ नभएको मानिसलाई यस कार्यमा सघाउनसम्म पनि लगाइंदैन। काटेको टाउकोले पाकेको भातको थान्को लिन्छ र यसलाई आफ्नै जातको मानिसले मात्र छुन सक्दछ।

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तल लेखकले आफैले हेरेको एउटा **सी का भ्वय्**को वर्णन गरिएको छ । यसलाई लेखकले आफूले अध्ययन गरेको प्याङ गाउँमा १ दिसंम्बर १९७१ पुसको पूर्णिमाको दिन सम्पन्न गरेको देखेका हुन् । यसलाई सो गाउँका वोसिकार थरका परिवारले आफ्नो देवाली पूजाको अवसरमा गरेका थिए । बिहान १०.३० बजेतिर पूजा र खाने सामान खर्पनमा राखी दुइटा कुशले बाजेलाई अघि लगाई, तिनीपछि थकाली र थकालीपछि अरू दाजु–भाइका जमात हिंड्दै गाउँको पश्चिमतिर देवाली गर्ने ठाउँतिर लाग्दछन् । त्यहांबाट अन्दाजी ३०० मिटर जति टाढा एउटा सानो वनमा तीनवटा ढुङ्गा गाडिएको ठाउँमा यिनीहरू पुग्दछन्। यी ढुङ्गामा दुइटा दिगु द्योका र एउटा महाङ्कालका हुन्। यस ठाउँमां आएपछि थकालीले सफा सुग्घर गरी देउताको पूजा गर्दछ । थप दाजु–भाइहरू ११.३० बजेतिर खाने र पकाउने सामान लिएर यहाँ आइपुग्दछन्। यसवेला यहाँ खालि पुरुषहरू मात्र उपस्थित हुन्छन्। अनि बलीको तयारी गरिन्छ। बली काटेपछि त्यसको रगत शिलालाई चढाइन्छ। काटेको टाउको दिगु द्योका अगाडि राखिन्छ। एकातिर पूजा चल्दै गर्छ, अर्कातिर बोका पोल्ने र काटकूट गर्ने काम शुरू हुन्छ । उक्त स्थानको भोजका निम्ति बोकाको पछिल्तिर दुइ सपेटा मात्र चलन गरिन्छ । बाँकी मासु अपरान्हमा गाउँको प्रवेश-द्वारनिर आइमाईले खान्छन् । १२.३० बजेतिरे **सी का भ्वय्** शुरू हुन्छ । दाजु–भाइमध्येको कान्छो फलमान भन्नेले यसै बीच टाउकोलाई परालको आगोमा पोली सफा गरिसकेको हुन्छ। टाउको टुक्रा पार्नु अगाडि सबै बन्धुहरू मिलेर अलिकति मासु चिउरा खान्छन् । यसपछि न्हुच्छेमानले टाउकोलाई आठ टुक्रा पार्दछ । पहिले टाउकोको पछिल्लो भागलाई देब्रे र दाहिने कान पर्ने गरी दुइ भागमा टुक्राइन्छ । अनि टाउकोको बीचको भागलाई (देब्रे र दाहिने आँखा पर्ने गरी), फेरि टाउकोको मुखतिरको भाग (माथिल्लो थुतुनोको देब्रे र दाहिने भाग पर्ने गरी) र अन्तमा तल्लो बंगारालाई दुइ भाग पारी टुक्राइन्छ । यी आठ भागलाई कुलका आठ जेठाहरूमा विधिपूर्वक बाँडिन्छ । भाग यस प्रकार बाँडिन्छ : थकालीले दाहिने थुतुनो, नोकुले देब्रे थुतुनो, सोकुले दाहिने आंखा, प्येकुले देब्रे आंखा ङाकुले दाहिने कान खुकुले देब्रे कान, न्हेकुले तल्लो दाहिने बंगारोर च्याकुले तल्लो देब्रे बंगारो पाउंदछन् । बौद्ध नाम गरेको एउटा कान्छो सदस्यलाई यो आठ भाग बांड्ने काममा लगाइन्छ। बौद्धले पहिले थकालीलाई उसको भाग दिन्छ र थकालीले त्यो भाग खान्छ । बौद्धले थकालीको जांडको खोलालाई पनि भरिदिन्छ र थकाली त्यसबाट एक घुट्को लिन्छ । तीन पटक विधिपूर्वक बौद्धले खोला भरिदिन्छ र तीनै पटक थकालीले जांडको घुट्को लिन्छ । यही प्रक्रिया अरू सात जनालाई पनि पालैपालो दोहोऱ्याइन्छ । यसरी **सी का भ्वय्** एउटा अर्ध–धार्मिक वातावरणमा सम्पन्न भइरहेको हुन्छ । प्रत्येकले आफ्नो भागको मासु चूपचाप लागेर खांदै गएको हुन्छ । बेलुकी ४.०० बजेतिर घर फर्कने बेला हुन्छ। त्यसबेलामा हाड–खोर छाडा कुकुरहरूलाई खान दिइन्छ । बांकी खानेकुरा घर फर्काइन्छ । जुठो लपटे गाउं पस्ने बेलामा त्यहाँको छ्वासःमा फालिन्छ । घरमा आइपुगेपछि थकालीले अलिकति अबीर र फूल दैलाको संघारमा लगाइदिन्छ ।

बेलुकीतिर यस भोजका जमातका ठिटाहरूले गाउँको प्रवेशद्वारमा एउटा डोरी टांग्दछन् र बांकी बोकाको मासुलाई ४४ भाग लगाउंदछन् । अर्थात् जति दाजु–भाइका घर–परिवार छन् तिनीहरू सबैलाई पुग्ने गरी भाग लगाउंदछन् । थकालीले मासु बराबर तौलिनलाई एउटा तराजु

ल्याउंछ । भाग बांड्ने काम थकालीको अधीन हुन्छ । त्यसपछि त्यही ठाउंमा स्वास्नीमानिस र केटाकेटी आइपुग्दछन् र भोजमा बचेको मासु त्यहां बसेर मिलिजुली खान्छन् ।

यस लेखमा वर्णित पूजा सन् १८९९ मा मार्सेल मोसले बयान गरेको बलीसम्बन्धी सामान्य सिद्धान्त–चर्चा, जस्तै बली चढाउने कार्यमा मानिसको यस माध्यमद्वारा यो संसारबाट अर्को संसारमा आवांगमन र सम्पर्क गर्ने इच्छा प्रकट हुने, बली तयारीको वातावरण, बलीको किसिम र काट्ने बेलामा गरेको त्यसको शृंगार, सर–सामग्रीहरूको विधान, बोका पोलेको, चोखो आगोमा बलीको मासु पाकेको, बली भाग लगाएको, सामुदायिक भोज खाएको र अन्तमा अर्को संसारबाट पुनः यस संसारमा फर्कन गरिने विधिको वर्णनसंग मेल खान आउंछ । यस पद्धति अनुसार **सी का भ्वय्** एउटा सामुदायिक भोज खाने अवसर हो र यस भोजमा बलीको कार्य एउटा अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण अंग हो भन्ने देखिन आउंछ, किनभने यतिखेर यस सिद्धान्त अनुसार मानिसको र देउताको संसार नछुट्टिने गरी मिलेको हुन्छ । टाउको खाने यी आठ व्यक्ति नयां शक्ति प्राप्त गर्ने अर्थले त्यस टाउकोलाई खान्छन् र धेरै प्रकारले देउतैझैं हुन पुग्छन् र तिनलाई अरूबाट पनि त्यही व्यवहार गरिन्छ । यस पूजामा चाखलाग्दो कुरा यसको सामाजिक अर्थ हो । **सी का भ्वय्ले** मुख्यतः सगोत्री कुलको सामाजिक रचनामा काज-कर्मका निमित्त मात्र भए पनि एउटा राजनैतिक संगठन विद्यमान भएको परिचय दिन्छ । यो गठनलाई दुइ मुख्य भागमा बांडेको देखिन्छ । एकापटि क्वकाली अर्थात् कान्छा खलकदेखिन आउँछन् । पहिलो समूहसित अधिकार र शक्ति छ भने दोस्रोको आफ्नो समुदायमा केही अधिकार छैन । बलिको मुख्य अंग टाउको खाने अधिकार जेठाहरूलाई मात्र प्राप्त छ र कान्छाहरूको उक्त कार्यमा जेठाहरूलाई मद्दत गर्ने मात्र अभिभारा देखिन्छ । अनि यसमा मुख्य भूमिका थकालीले खेलेको देखिन्छ । यहांको बली र ऋग्वेदको पुरुष सूक्तमा पनि केही तुलनात्मक समानताहरू देखिन आउँछन् । जसरी ऋग्वेदको पुरुषबाट विभिन्न वर्णको उत्पत्ति भयो, त्यसैगरी राँगो अथवा बोकाको टाउको बाँडी खानाले नेवार सम्प्रदायमा आफ्ना ज्येठा र अगुवाको शक्तिलाई यस कार्यले बढाएको कुरा मानिन्छ । यस प्रकार बली गर्दा र त्यसको भाग प्राप्त गर्दा सामाजिक समुदायहरूले आफ्नो मर्यादानुकुलको स्थान पाएको **सी का भ्वय्**मा स्पष्ट देखिन्छ । अरू के पनि स्पष्ट हुन्छ भने नेवार जातिका प्रचलित सामाजिक संस्था जस्तै जाति, परिवार, गुठी, खलः संगीत वा नाटक समुदाय सबै धर्मद्वारा संचालित भइरहेका देखिन्छन् । यसरी धर्मले नेवारी समाजमा प्रमुख स्थान ओगटेको छ । कतिपय नेवारका सामाजिक र राजनैतिक संगठनको अस्तित्व वा औचित्य धार्मिक कार्यसंग सम्बन्धित भएर मात्रै रहेको हुन्छ । **सी का भ्वय्** समाज र धर्मका बीच रहेको यस सम्बन्धलाई देखाउने एउटा उदाहरण मात्र हो । यो सम्बन्धलाई राम्ररी स्पष्टयाउन र नेवारी सभ्यताको परस्पर गहिरो सम्बन्ध देखाउनका लागि सम्भव अर्को लेखमा मात्र हुनेछ ।

Les Newar, population népalaise de langue tibéto-birmane, possèdent une religion d'une très grande complexité, dont les sources se trouvent principalement dans l'hindouisme et dans le bouddhisme mahāyaniste nord-indien. Ces deux grandes religions se mêlent si étroitement dans la vie quotidienne qu'il est parfois extrêmement

difficile de distinguer ce qui appartient en propre à l'une ou à l'autre. Beaucoup de divinités sont communes aux deux panthéons, les lieux de culte sont souvent confondus. Entre *śivamārgi* hindouistes et *buddhamārgi* bouddhistes, les croyances ne sont pas toujours aussi éloignées que les textes pourraient le faire penser. Dans l'ensemble, on peut dire que pour la très grande majorité de la population, c'est un vaste syncrétisme qui domine. C'est seulement chez les hautes castes, brahmanes d'un côté, "prêtres" bouddhistes de l'autre, que les distinctions reprennent tout leaur sens, encore que les seconds, anciens moines maintenant mariés, aient complétement assimilé l'idée de caste comme base du systéme social[1].

Il existe également des rites qu'il est difficile de rattacher directement à l'une ou à l'autre de ces deux grandes religions. Parmi eux, le *sī kā bheāy,* "festin de la tête"[2], au cours duquel on consomme dans une atmosphère solennelle la tête d'un animal qui a été préalablement sacrifié à une divinité. Ce rite est très largement pratiqué par les Newar, aussi bien par les castes *śivamārgi* comme les *shrestha,* que par les castes *buddhamārgi* comme les *gubhāju, bare* ou *citrakār.* Le *sī kā bheāy* est une cérémonie spécifiquement Newar, on ne la retrouve ni dans le nord de l'Inde ni parmi les autres populations népalaises. K. B. Bista fait état de "festins de la tête" chez les *chetri* de la vallée de Kathmandou[3], mais il s'agit là d'emprunts récents aux Newar.

On peut en principe organiser un "festin de la tête" chaque fois que l'on sacrifie un animal à une divinité, que ce soit un buffle, un chevreau, un poulet ou même un canard. Mais en réalité le *sī kā bheāy* n'est célébré qu'à l'occasion de trois types de cérémonies bien particulières: les banquets des associations religieuses appelées *guthi* d'abord, et tout particulièrement ceux des confréries funéraires *sanā guthi* ou *si guthi*[4].

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1 A ce sujet, on peut se reporter à l'article récent de S. M. Greenwold, "Buddhist Brahmans", *Archiv. europe. social.,* XV (1974), pp. 101-123.

2 L'expression *Sī kā bheāy* se décompose en trois mots différents: *bheāy* désigne le banquet cérémoniel (nép. - *bhoj*), *Kā* vient de *kāygu* qui veut dire "prendre", le mot *sī* en principe signifie "mort" ou "la mort", mais on peut aussi s'en servir comme un classificateur pour dénombrer les parts de nourriture d'un ensemble.

Les mots néwari et népali sont transcrits selon le système de translittération adopté par R. L. Turner dans son dictionnaire, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language,* Londres, 1931. Les mots népali sont suivis de (*nép*) pour les distinguer des mots néwari. Les noms de lieu et de personnes ont été francisés.

3 Bista (K. B.), *Le Culte du Kuldevata au Népal, en particulier chez certains Ksatri la valldée de Kathmandu,* Paris, CNRS, 1972, p. 104. En népali, le "festin de la tête" est appelé *ṭāuke bhoj,* de *ṭāuke*: *"tête".*

4 J'ai traité du système des *guthi* dans mon article.: "Etudes sur les Newar de la vallée de Kathmandou: *guthi,* funérailles et castes", *L'Ethnographie,* 1975,2, n.70. pp. 206-225.

La fête en l'honneur de la divinité tutélaire *digu dya* ensuite qui a lieu le plus souvent au mois d'Avril ou de Mai. Au *dasaî* enfin, et plus précisement le huitième jour de la quinzaine claire du mois d'āś*vin* (Octobre-Novembre).

Le déroulement de la cérémonie est presque toujours identique. Il s'agit de découper la tête de l'animal sacrifié en huit parts et de les répartir entre huit personnes selon une étiquette bien précise. Lorsqu' on a affaire à un banquet de *guthi* ces personnes sont les huit membres les plus agés de l'association. Chacun d'entre eux reçoit un morceau particulier selon sa place dans la hiérachie du *guthi*: le *thakāli,* chef de l'association, a droit au museau droit de l'animal; le *cyāku,* la huitème personne du groupe, reçoit la machoire inférieure gauche. Les morceaux de la tête de l'animal sont distribués selon le principe de "séniorité", du plus âgé au plus jeune. Lors d'une fête en l'honneur du *digu dya,* ce sont les huit membres les plus âgés du clan ou du lignage qui ont droit à une part de la tête de l'animal. Les parties sont réparties selon l'âge comme pour les banquets de *guthi.* Pour le *dasaî*, la tête de l'animal est divisée entre les plus proches parents de la famille, toujours selon l'ordre de "séniorité". Lorsque la famille est trop restreinte et qu'elle ne possède pas de parents proches dans le voisinage, on ne coupe pas la tête en huit, mais en cinq seulement. Mentionnons enfin que chez les hautes castes, la part traditionnellement dévolue au *thakāli* est remise au prêtre *purohit* auquel on a fait appel pour célébrer le rite.

Le *sī kā bheāy* est soumis à un certain nombre d'interdits. Les femmes en sont toujours exclues; de même les jeunes garçons qui n'ont pas encore été totalement intégrés à leur caste. Chez quelques groupes hindouistes, aucune personne étrangère au *guthi* ou à la famille ne peut y assister. La tête de l'animal une fois cuite occupe en effet le même statut que le riz dans la hiérarchie des aliments. On ne peut la manger que si elle a été cuisinée par quelqu'un de sa caste ou d'une caste supérieure; un étranger risquerait de la polluer par le simple fait de la regarder.

J'ai toutefois souvent eu l'occasion d'assister à des "festins de la tête" dans une communauté Newar du sud de la vallée de Kathmandou. Cette communauté, qui a fait par ailleurs l'objet d'une étude approfondie[5], est appelée Pyangaon Je donne ici la description détaillée de l'un de ces festins, tel que j'ai pu l'observer le 2 Décembre 1971, jour de la pleine lune du mois de *pus* (Décembre-Janvier). Ce *sī kā bheāy* était célébré par l'un des cinq clans du village, celui des *wosikar,* sur l'emplacement de sa divinité tutélaire *digu dya.* Ce clan offre une particularité: il propitie trois fois par an son *digu dya,* alors que les autres groupes du village ne le font qu'une fois annuellement. Pour plus de clarté, je prendrai les événements depuis le début:

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5 *Pyangaon, une communauté Newar de la vallée de Kathmandu; la vie matérielle,* Paris, CNRS, sous-presse.

La cérémonie commence vers 10.30 h. Dans la maison de Yeleca—le chef de clan, *thakāli*[6], des *wosikar*— hommes et femmes rangent les objets de culte et les aliments du banquet dans des paniers en bambou. Deux musiciens de caste *kusle*, spécialement venus du bourg voisin pour cette occasion, sont là au rez-de-chaussée. On leur offre un peu de bière, du riz en flocons *baji* et des grains de soja. Cette collation est appelée *samay baji*. A 11 h, une petite procession se forme et sort du village vers l'ouest. En tête viennent les deux *kusle;* l'un joue du hautbois *mohali*, l'autre du tambour *ḍholak*. Yeleca, le *thakāli*, vient en troisième position, immédiatement suivi par l'un de sees petits-fils qui tire un chevreau de couleur noire derrière lui. Le *noku*, la deuxième personne dans la hiérarchie du clan, clôt la procession.

Le lieu de culte est situé à 300 mètres environ à l'ouest de Pyangaon, près d'un petit bosquet appelé *nhe maru gûcā*, "la petite forêt sans nez". Là, au pied d'un buisson, deux pierres de forme ovale sont fichées dans le sol. Une troisième est plantée à quelques mètresde là, au sud-ouest. Les deux premières représentent *digu dya*, la troisème *mahanka*. Arrivés près du buisson, les deux musiciens *kusle* s'arrêtent de jouer et s'asseoient dans un coin, légèrement à l'écart. Le *thakāli* nettoie rapidement la place, puis dépose des offrandes devant les deux pierres centrales. Le *noku* lui s'occupe de *mahanka*. Les divinités sont aspergées d'eau sacrée et décorées avec du vermillon. On leur offre des bâtons d'encens, du riz, ainsi que cinq oeufs, quatre pour *digu dya*, un pour *mahanka*.

Les autres membres du clan arrivent vers 11.30 h avec des aliments et des instruments de cuisine. Seuls les hommes sont présents, l'accès au *digu dya* est interdit aux femmes[7]. On peut maintenant commencer le sacrifice. Le chevreau est tiré devant la divinité et aspergé d'eau. Il faut que la bête s'ébroue pour qu'on puisse la sacrifier; au besoin, on lui fait couler de l'eau dans une oreille. Quand tout est prêt, deux cadets, *kwokāli*, du clan saisissent l'animal dans leur bras, tandis que Nucheman, le frére cadet de Yelyeca, lui tranche la gorge avec un coupe-coupe. Le sang du chevreau est versé sur les trois pierres; sa tête est détachée du reste du corps et déposée devant la divinité tutélaire.

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6 Le mot *thakāli* signifie littéralement "l'aîné". Dans son dictionnaire, H. Jorgensen donne "eldest"; *A Dictionary of the Classical Newāri*, Copenhague, Levin & Munksgaard, 1936, p. 83 . A Pyangaon, le *thakāli* désigne à la fois le chef de clan (*mul thakali*) et le groupe de huit aînés qui est à le tête de ce même clan. Le chef de clan peut être également appelé *nāyo*, de *nayāk*, que Turner traduit par: "leader; headman of a Newar village", *op. cit., p.* 337.

7 Ceci est une autre particularité du clan *wosikar*. Les Newar en régle générale, admettent leurs femmes sur le lieu de culte de leur *digu dya*.

Tous les frères de clans viennent par ordre de "séniorité" s'incliner devant les divinités, puis ils se mettent eux-mêmes sur le front un *tik*â[8]. Le *ṭhakâli* conclut alors ces offrandes en appliquant sur le front de tous les participants, y compris l'ethnologue, un peu de suie et en jetant aux quatre orients des flocons de riz pour écarter les mauvais esprits du lieu.

Pendant qu'on dresse le couvert, les cadets font griller le chevreau sous la paille. Quelques instants plus tard, l'animal est retiré du feu, on gratte sa peau pour enlever la suie et on le dépèce. Pour l'heure, on ne s'occupe que de ses pattes arrières; le reste de la viande sera consommé plus tard dans la journée par les femmes du clan. Les morceaux sont découpés en longues lanières que l'on fixe sur une broche en fer et que l'on fait rôtir sur un feu. Une fois cuite, la viande est assaisonnée avec du sel, du piment et du poivre noir. Elle est servie aux invités avec des flocons de riz, du poisson séché, du soja et de la bière de maïs.

Cette collation prend fin vers 12.30 h. Après un temps de pause, tout le monde se réunit à nouveau pour préparer le "festin de la tête". Nucheman commence par diviser soigneusement les abats du chevreau et par les jeter dans une marmite remplie du sang de l'animal sacrifié. Ce bouillon est assaisonné avec du piment, du poivre et du cumin. Puis, le récipient est posé sur un trépied en fer. Le feu est entretenu avec de la paille et des tiges de maïs. En guise de couvercle, on utilise une assiette en laiton dans laquelle sont déposés la peau et les poumons de l'animal, coupés en petits morceaux.

Pendant ce temps, Phalman, un cadet au sein du clan, fait griller la tête du chevreau sous un feu de paille. Une fois cuite, il la retire des cendres, la lave à grande eau et s'incline devant elle. Il la jette ensuite dans la marmite avec la peau et les poumons qui étaient déposés sur le couvercle.

Après que les convives aient mangé quelques morceaux de viande avec des flocons de riz, Nucheman retire la tête du chevreau de la marmite et la découpe en huit morceaux. La partie postérieure est d'abord coupée en deux parts correspondant à l'oreille droite et à l'oreille gauche. Il refait la même opération pour la partie médiane de la tête (oeil droit et oeil gauche), pour la partie antérieure (museau droit et museau gauche) et enfin pour la machoire inférieure. Ces huit parts sont distribuées aux huit aînés du clan selon une étiquette rigoureuse [9] :

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[8] *tik*ā: "Mark, spot; (esp.) the sect mark placed on the foreheard....", R. L. Turner, *op. cit. p.* 243.

[9] On trouve dans le livre de G. S. Nepali, une répartition légèrement différente de la tête de l'animal sacrifié; cf *The Newars*, Bombay, United Asia Publications, 1965, p. 395. Cet auteur envisage le cas où un prêtre brahmane assiste à la cérémonie; c'est à lui que la meilleure part revient.

thakāli = museau droit
noku = museau gauche
soku = oeil droit
pyeku = oeil gauche
ṅāku = oreille droite
khuku = oreille gauche
nheku = machoire inférieure droite
cyāku = machoire inférieure gauche

C'est Bauddha, un cadet, qui est chargé de servir ces huit morceaux de viande. Il offre d'abord le museau droit de l'animal à Yeleca, le *thakāli*. Ce dernier prend le morceau et en mange une bouchée. Bauddha remplit alors le bol de Yeleca de bière de maïs; le *thakāli* porte le bol à ses lèvres et boit une gorgée de bière. Trois fois Bauddha remplit symboliquement le bol, trois fois le *thakāli* y trempe ses lèvres. La même opération se répéte avec les sept autres personnes qui ont droit à une part de la tête de l'animal. Les deux musiciens jouent de la musique jusqu'à ce que tout le monde soit servi. Le "festin de la tête"" se déroule dans une atmosphère quasi religieuse : chacun mange en silence son morceau de viande. Tout étranger survenant à ce moment là peut polluer la nourriture. Les cadets se tiennent à l'écart et attendent que leurs aînés aient fini de manger.

Vers 14.30 h, le *sī kā bheāy* est terminé. Tout le monde se rassemble pour la dernière phase du banquet, au cours de laquelle on consomme les abats et la peau de l'animal. Ces morceaux de viande sont servis avec des flocons de riz et de la bière. A la fin, on mange un mélange de bouillon de sang et de flocons de riz.

Il est maintenant 16 h. On range les instruments de culte et les ustensiles de cuisine. Les os sont abandonnés aux chiens qui rodent autour du bosquet. Les restes de nourriture ainsi que les feuilles *lapte* dans lesquelles on a mangé, sont jetés à l'entrée du village, à un endroit appelé *chwasa*[10] On rentre au village dans le même ordre selon lequel on est venu. Les musiciens en tête jouent de la musique. Arrivés sur le seuil de sa maison, le *thakāli* dépose une fleur et un peu de vermillon sur le linteau de la porte.

En fin d'aprés-midi, les jeunes étendent des nattes à l'entrée du village et découpent le reste du chevreau en 44 parts, autant que le clan possède de membres. Le *thakāli* amène sa balance pour mesurer chaque part soigneusement; c'est sous son contrôle que se fait le partage. Puis, au même endroit, femmes et enfants se rassemblent et consomment les restes des aliments du banquet. La hiérarchie au sein du groupe reste

[10] Le *chwasa* est censé être la demeure des esprits malfaisants. On y jette des objets impurs, tels que vêtements souillés par les menstruations, les cordons ombilicaux, les aliments offerts aux mauvais, espritsle drap des morts, etc.

présente : c'est la *nāki*, la femme du *thakāli* ou la femme la plus âgée du clan, qui mange la première; les brus et les filles non mariées sont disposées à sa gauche, selon leur âge.

Les rites décrits dans cet article relèvent de la théorie générale du sacrifice telle que l'a exposée Marcel Mauss en 1899[11]. On y retrouve le même schéma général dans le déroulement de la cérémonie : des rites d'entrée visant à faire passer les sacrifiants du monde profane au monde sacré, la préparation de l'aire sacrificielle, le choix et la décoration de la victime, consécration des instruments, l'immolation, la cuisson des aliments sur le feu sacrificiel, la répartition des parts, le banquet communiel et enfin, pour se dégager du monde sacré dans lequel on était entré, des rites de désacralisation. Dans ce schéma le *sī kā bheāy* correspond au banquet communiel, phase extrêmement importante du sacrifice, puisque c'est à ce moment précis que le monde des hommes et celui des dieux sont confondus. Les huit personnes qui cherchent, en mangeant la tête de l'animal, à acquérir des forces nouvelles, sont à bien des égards des dieux eux-mêmes et sont traités en tant que tels.

Tout ceçi n'a rien de très nouveau, et nous n'y reviendrons pas ici. Ce qui m'a intéressé dans cette cérémonie, ce sont ses fonctions sociales. Le "festin de la tête" en effet, est une représentation rituelle des structures politiques au sein de l'organisation clanique. Cette unité est fondamentalement divisée en deux groups : les *thakāli* d'une part, c'est à dire les aînés, les *kwokāli* de l'autre, c'est à dire les cadets. Aux premiers vont l'autorité et le pouvoir; les seconds n'exercent aucun contrôle sur les décisions prises au sein du groupe, ils sont relégués dans une situation de dépendance. Durant le "festin de la tête", seuls les huit *thakāli*—les huit personnes les plus âgées du groupe—ont droit à une part de la tête de l'animal sacrifié. Les *kwokāli* sont exclus de la cérémonie, ils ne sont là en définitive que pour servir leurs aînés.. La tête du buffle a été choisir pour distinguer les *thakāli* des *kwokāli*, parce que c'est la partie la plus noble de l'animal, celle que l'on offre aux dieux dans les *pujā*.

Le *sī kā bheāy* de plus, met en lumière la véritable nature du pouvoir du chef de clan. Le *thakāli* n'est pas seulement le personnage qui arbitre les querelles ou qui décide d'exclure quelqu'un de son groupe, c'est aussi celui qui fait des offrandes et qui préside le culte des divinités tutélaires. En lui sont concentrées les fonctions de sacrifiant et de sacrificateur. Il est investi d'une fonction religieuse essentielle; il est au même titre qu'un prêtre, un intermédiaire entre les dieux et les hommes. C'est sur le monopole de la vie rituelle que les *thakāli* maintiennent leurs prérogatives sur les *kwokāli*.

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11 H. Hubert et M. Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice* (1899), réedité dans ses *Oeuvres*, t. I, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1968, pp. 193-307.

On ne peut manquer d'être frappé par les liens qui existent entre ce rite et le sacrifice de Puruṣa cité dans le Rig Veda. Le rôle cosmogonique du sacrifice dans la religion védique est connu: de Purusa, l'Homme primitif, dérivent non seulement les dieux et les hommes, le soleil et la lune, les plantes et le bétail, mais aussi les *varṇa*. De sa tête nait le Brahmane, de ses bras le Kśatriya, de ses cuisses le Vaiśya et de ses pieds le Śudra[12]. Or on retrouve dans le *sī kā bheāy* une relation semblable entre sacrifice et hiérarchic sociale. De même que les *varṇa* naissent des différents membres de Puruṣa, de même la répartition des parts du buffle ou du chevreau chez les Newar, fonde et renouvelle périodiquement le pouvoir des aînés et du chef de clan. Tout se passe comme si la position des différents goupes de la société était fondée sur leur place respective dans le sacrifice et sur la part de l'animal sacrifie qu'ils reçoivent au cours du "festin de la tête".

On a voulu montrer ici le rôle prépondérant que joue la religion dans la société Newar. Peu de populations népalaises accordent autant de place dans leur vie quotidienne aux offrandes, aux banquets cérémoniels, aux cultes des dieux. Toutes les unités sociales, que ce soit les groupes de parenté, les *guthi*, les clubs de jeunes, les troupes de musiciens et de théatre, les castes, etc., sont sanctionnées à des degres divers par la religion. Bien souvent, les structures sociales et politiques n'ont d'existence et de légitimité que parce qu'elles sont associées à un culte ou à des représentations religieuses. Le "festin de la tête" n'est qu'un exemple, l'un des plus clairs, qui met en évidence les liens entre religion et société. Il appartiendra à d'autres travaux de préciser ce rapport et de montrer l'unité profonde de la civilisation Newar.

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12 A ce sujet, on consultera l'ouvrage récent de M. Biardeau et C. Malamoud, *Le Sacrifice dans d'Inde ancienne*, Paris, PUF, 1976, pp. 14-31.

A WISHING PRAYER

His Holiness Dudjom Rimpoche

Kathmandu

Salutions to the Three Jewels !

Real Nature of the Kayas and the ocean—like Wisdom
of all Victorious Ones and their Sons, who are
all encompassing as the sky, Glorious Guru, Primordial
Saviour, we pray that you may fully accomplish our
wishing prayers.

The city of the six classes of beings ressembles
the chain of pots on a water wheel. Having seen
this place of endless succession of suffering, which
is like a city of ogresses, a forest of razor blades,
may a complete renunciation of Samsara be born from our heart.

All the glory and wealth of Samsara are like a dream,
Having understood it to be false and hollow as an
illusion, not clinging to it more than a rainbow
does to the sky, may we never enter into this kind
of activity.

Towards the Glorious Guru endowed with the Three
Kindnesses, not giving birth, as much as a hair,
to the inverted view of Him as an equal friend,
with respecful devotion to Him, the Buddha seen in
reality, may our prayers stream continuously without
distraction,

ཨཨ །ཞེས་རབྱུང་ཡ་ཡུལ། མཁའ་ཁྱབ་རྒྱལ་བ་སྲས་བཅས་ཐམས་
ཅད་ཀྱི། །སྐུ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དེ་དོན་ཉིད། །ཀྱོད་མའི་མཚོན་པོ་
དཔལ་ལྡན་བླ་མ་ལ། །ཀས་ལ་བ་འདེབས་སོ་སྐྱེ་ན་ལམ་ཡོངས་འགྲུབ་མཛོད།

།འཕྲོ་རྒྱ་ཕྱོང་ཁེར་ཟོ་ཆུའི་ལྷུང་མོ་བཞིན། །མཐའ་མེད་ཁ་བརྒྱུད་སྒྲུ་བསྡུལ་
ཐྲིང་འདི་ལ། །སྲིན་མོའི་ཁྱོང་དང་སྒྲ་ཁྱིའི་ཚོ་ལ་ལྷུ་རུ། །མཐོང་ནས་དེས་
།འཇུང་སྐྱེ་ནས་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག།

།ཨི་ལམ་ལྷ་བུའི་འཁོར་བའི་དཔལ་འཕྲོར་གྱུན། །མི་བདེན་ཀསོབ་དང་སྐྱུ་མ་
ལྟར་ཤེས་ནས། །ཟིན་མེད་ནམ་མཁའི་ཇར་ཆོན་ལྟ་བུ་ཡི། །ཐུབ་དྲེར་
།འདི་ལ་ནམ་ཡང་མི་འཇུག་ཤོག།

།ཁ་ཀའ་དྲིན་ཀསུམ་ལྷན་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཐྲི་མ་ལ། །མཉམ་འཇོག་ས་ལོག་ལྟ་
སྐྱེ་ཙོམ་མི་སྐྱེ་ཞིང་། །ས་དམ་ཚིག་དང་ཉུ་མཐོང་བའི་མོས་གུས་ཀྱིས།
།ཡེངས་མེད་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཀསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པར་ཤོག།

Not having the wrong attitude of thinking upon
oneself, the Perfect Idea, the Boddhicitta, the Supreme
Great Jewel, having been born in our nature for all
sentient beings, whose number is vast as the sky
and who have been our parents, may we strive for
their benefit.

Having entered the door of the Supreme Vehicle of
the Secret Mantras, for all the discordances,
interruptions and great difficulties on the path,
and for the obscurations due to spoiling, contradicting
and transgressing the Samaya, may we purify our own
nature by the power of a fierce confession.

The vast treasure of powerful blessings is the Guru
himself, having meditated on Him, unseparably, upon
the crown of our head, by the efficiency of our prayer,
mixing his Mind with our mind, may the sun of
understanding rise from the Innermost.

Thus, appearances and existence, Samsara and Nirvana,
all the dharmas, are self manifesting, being
nothing but mere appearances which have not been born.
May we obtain the steadfast assurance of the View
which recognizes the self nature of the Awareness
free from creations, of the Four Kayas and Five Wisdoms.

ཨཱ། །རང་དོན་ཡིད་བྱེད་བློ་དན་མ་ཡིན་པར། །མཁའ་ཁྱབ་མ་ཚུར་···
སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད། །རང་དམིགས་ཉང་ཆུབ་སེམས་
མཆོག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། །རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱེས་ནས་འགྲོ་ཕན་དོན་གཉེར་ཤོག །

།གསང་སྔགས་ཐེག་པ་མཆོག་གི་སྐོར་ལྷགས་ནས། །ལམ་གྱི་མི་མཐུན་
གེག་ཚེའ་རྣམས་པོ་ཆེ། །དམ་ཚིག་ཉམས་འགལ་འདས་པའི་སྐྱེས་པ···
ཀུན། །ཨཱཿསྐྱོས་དྲག་པོས་རང་རྒྱུད་དག་པར་ཤོག །

།ཕྱིན་བཟས་དབང་གི་བློ་མཛོད་ཐོབ་མ་ཉིད། །མི་འཁལ་སྐྱེ་བོའི་གཙུག་ཏུ···
བསྐོམ་ནས་སུ། །གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་མཐུས་ཐུགས་ཡིད་གཅེག་འདྲེས་ཏེ། །
།རྡོ་གས་པའི་ཉི་མ་ཁོང་ནས་འཆར་བར་ཤོག །
།འདི་ལྟར་སྐྱང་སྐྱེད་འཁོར་འདས་ཆོས་ཟློམས་ཀུན། །རང་སྐྱང་སྐྱང་ཙམ་
ཉིད་ནས་སྐྱེ་བ་མེད། །སྐྱོས་བལ་རིག་པ་སྐུ་བཞི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷའི། །རང་
དོ་ཤེས་པ་ལྷ་བའི་གདོང་ཐོབ་ཤོག །

Not being fettered by the characteristics of an
object of concentration, in the continum of the
Awareness of nowness, which is radiating void and
pristine freshness, by keeping on what falls by
itself, with neither distraction nor grasping,
may we skilfully perfect the meditation upon
the Nature of all things.

Keeping impartially the balance between View and
Action, keeping the Three Doors in harmony with
the perfectly pure Dharma, having united with
the true Nature of Illusion, with neither action
nor distraction, may the cycle of day and night be
experienced as the radiating light of emptiness.

When death comes in due time, being free from
attachment towards the objects of this life and
without undergoing the fierce sufferings which
cut its essence, may we recognize the nature of
all the apparitions and emanations which are
then experienced.

In the Bardo of the moment of death, watching
clearly in mind the Guru's secret instructions,
as a belle her mirror, the radiating light of the
Ground having shone in reality, may we be liberated
in the space of the Dharmakaya pure from the Origin.

།།འཕེགས་གཏད་མཚན་མའི་སྒོ་གས་ཀྱིས་མི་འཆིད་བར།
།དཔལ་ལྡན་རེག་པ་སྟོང་གསལ་ས་མའི་དང་། །མི་ཡེངས་མི་འཛིན་རང་
བབས་སྐྱེད་བ་ཡི། །གནས་ལུགས་སྐོམ་པའི་རྟ་ལ་ཆེན་
།རྫོགས་པར་ཤོག།
།ལྷུ་སྒྲོད་གཉིས་པ་ཕྱོགས་རེར་མ་ཚུར་རྟིད། ། སྐོ་གསུམ་ཡང་དག་
ཆོས་དང་མཐུན་པ་དང་། ། སྐྱེ་མའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཁྱར་མེད་ཡེངས་མེད་
དང་། ། ཉིན་མཚན་འོད་གསལ་ཁོར་ཡུག་ཏུདཏ་བར་ཤོག།

།ཞམ་ཞིག་འཆི་བའི་དུས་སུ་བབ་པ་ན། ། ཆོ་ཏའིའི་ཡུལ་ལ་ཞེན་པ་
བྱལ་བ་དང་། ། གནད་གཅོད་དུག་པོའི་སྐྱ་བསྲལ་མི་སྐྱོང་ཞིང་། ། སྣང་མཆེད་ཐོབ་པའི་ཉམས་ཀྱང་དོར་ཤེས་ཤོག།
།འཆི་ཁའི་བར་དོར་སྐེག་མོས་བཟློག་བསྐྱེ་བཞིན། ། ཟུང་མའི་ཏདམས
ངག་སེམས་ལ་གསལ་བ་དང་། ། གཞི་ཡི་ཞེད་གསལ་མངོན་དུ་
སྐུར་ནས་སུ། ། ཀ་དག་ཆོས་སྐུའི་སྤྱོད་དུ་སྒྲོལ་བར་ཤོག།

If we do not retain the radiating light of the
Ground, as soon as the assembly of the peaceful and
wrathful deities of the Bardo arises, recognizing
these self manifestations as a boy coming into his
mother's lap, may we be liberated in the space of
the spontaneously accomplished Sambhogakaya.

Again, if being little acquainted with the way of
practising, we are not liberated during the "Bardo
of the Dharma's Nature", through our remaining Karma,
acting like an additional segment of pipe fixed to
a drain, the door of the inferior destinies being
closed, may we search for an excellent support.

With this excellent support having fully all the
freedoms and favorable conditions, endowed with
liberty, having found the Guru possessing the
signs of accomplishment, and the Dharma of the
Secret Mantras, taking into practices, may we
obtain the supreme body of the fortunate ones.

In all our successive lies, reaching, with a
perfectly pure Samaya, the ultimate and of the
two stages, for both the sake of ourselves and
others, having swiftly reached the Victorious
Land of the All Perfect Dharmakaya, may we churn
the depths of the Three Worlds of Samsara.

Thus, at the request of the physician Chonyid Gyamtso
and Yeshey Chodon, this was written by Jigdral Yeshey
Dorje, may it be auspicious !
(translated by two disciples, with devotion).

།།ཨཱ། །ཀལ་ཏེ་ཀ་ཞི་ཡི་འོད་ཀ་སལ་མ་ཟིལ་ན། །བར་དོར་ཞི་ཁྲོ་ཆོས་ཏཛར་མ་ཐག །རང་སྣང་དོ་ཤེས་མ་པང་བུ་འཇུག་ལྟར། །སྐྱེན་གྲུབ་ལོངས་སྐུའི་དཔེལས་སྒྲུ་རྟོལ་བར་ཤོག །

།དེ་ཡང་ཉམས་ལེན་གོམ་འཇིས་ཆུང་སྟབས་ཀྱིས། །ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བར་དོར་ཁྲོལ་བར་མ་རྒྱུར་ན། །ལས་ཀྱི་འཕྲོ་མཐུད་ཡུར་བར་ཐ་འཇུག་ལྟར། །།དན་པའི་སྒོ་ཁེག་ས་བཟང་པོའི་ཏེན་འཚོལ་ཤོག །

།རྩེན་བཟང་དལ་འཇེར་ཚོང་ཞིང་དབང་ཅན། །མཚན་ལྡན་ཐུ་མ་དང་ནི་གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི། །ཆོས་དང་འཕྲད་ཅིང་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་པ་ཡི། །སྐལ་བར་ལྷན་པའི་ལྷས་མཆོག་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག །

།ཆོར་བས་ཀུན་ཏུ་དམ་ཚིག་རྣམ་པར་དག །རིམ་གཉིས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་རང་གཞན་དོན་གཉིས་འགྲུབ། །ཀུན་བཟང་ཆོས་སྐུའི་ཀློ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཞིང་ཐོབ་ནས། །ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བ་དོང་ནས་སྟུག་གས་པར་ཤོག།། ཅོས་པཎ་ལྷ་རྗེ་ཆོས་ཉི་ཀུ་མཆོ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཆོས་སྐྱོན་རྒྱང་གིས་བསྐུལ་བ་ལྟར་འཇིགས་ཟལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྡོ་རྗེས་བཀོད་པ་དེག་ལེགས་སུ་ཀྱུར་རྫི།།

A SETTLEMENT AND SMITHY OF THE BLACKSMITHS (*KĀMI*) IN NEPAL

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With the exception of Macdonald (1970) and Caplan (1972), as yet little attention has been paid to the untouchable castes of Nepal. This is also true of the rural blacksmiths, the Kāmi. 2) This paper does not claim to fill the gap even approximately. Rather, it limits itself to certain observations made among a group of Kāmi and is intended as an accompanying text to a collection which is now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna.*)

I. THE KAMI AND THEIR SETTLEMENT

The Kāmi group to be described here comprises altogether 97 persons and inhabits the village of Chautara (pseudonym) at an altitude of about 1.600 m. Chautara lies three-days' walk to the west of Kathmandu and is predominantly inhabited by the Tamang, speaking a western Tamang dialect. The bulk of the population of the neighbouring villages is made up of Tamang, Brahmin, Chetri, Gurung and Newar. All these castes and groups are peasants; only among the Newar do we find some shopkeepers. In addition, there are two other untouchable castes, the Sārki, cobblers and shoemakers, and the Damāi, tailors and musicians.

The first Kāmi are said to have immigrated to Chautara about eight generations ago, only shortly after the village had been founded by the Tamang. This first group came from a region south of the Kathmandu Valley and consisted of men belonging to the Kālulohār clan. The second group immigrated only three generations ago from a village about 10 km west of Chautara. The men of this group belonged to the Koirāl clan. Conspicuously, both groups came from villages whose inhabitants were Brahmins, Chetri, Thakuri and other Hindu castes. One of the informants emphasized in this connection that the Kāmi originally worked only for these castes and that they had immigrated together with these castes from Western Nepal into the central and eastern areas of the country. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Kāmi have only recently settled down among

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*) Post 12/1972, inv. no.s 151.743-151.766.

the ethnic groups of Tibetan linguistic and cultural affinity, as for instance in the Langtang area (north of Kathmandu) or among the Sherpa.

The Kāmi settlement in Chautara lies in the western part of the village. Demarcated by a strip of fields it stands out well against the other part of the village inhabited by the Tamang. Referring to the Tamang part of the village, the Kāmi speak of biṣṭ gāũ, which means 'client's village'. As to the Kāmi settlement, it consists of two sections both of which are the same distance apart from each other as the whole Kāmi complex is from the Tamang village. The first part is composed of Kālulohār houses, the second one of Koirāl houses. Both parts of the settlement are frequently referred to simply as Kālulohār-ṭol and Koirāl-ṭol [3]. All the Kāmi of the Koirāl-ṭol have one workshop in common possession, those of the Kālulohār-ṭol share two workshops [4]. In every sixth to seventh village in a circumference of about 10 km around Chautara, a Kāmi settlement is to be found, normally inhabited by one to five patrilinear exogamous clans (thar). In this region the following clans are represented: Koirāl, Śeṣṭhi, Sincauri, Asārpaṭṭi, Rasaĩli, Diāli, Sadāisaṅgār, Ghadāni, Rāmatāma, Lāmgāde, Gajimer, Rijāl, Lohāgun, Musābakale, Tiruwā, Kālulohār, Kukrekālulohār. Intermarriage is forbidden only for the Kālulohār and the Kukrekālulohār clans. Both clans regard themselves as swāṅge bhāi, that is 'quasi-brothers' [5].

The matrimonial residence is virilocal or, in rare instances, patrilocal. A conspicuous cultural criterion of the Kāmi is the preferential marriage to the matrilateral cross-cousin. Normally, cross-cousin marriage is only to be found among the Buddhist Tamang and Gurung but not among the Brahmin, Chetri and Newar, who profess Hinduism as do the Kāmi. At present, there is no instance of such a marriage. Two women who had been married as mother's brother's daughter died a few years ago.

Divorce is possible. In Chautara [6], of the 19 Kāmi households, six women have been divorced once, three women twice, and one woman three times before their present marriages. Among the 20 men in Chautara, ten have been divorced once and one twice. In most cases, the divorce had taken place on the husband's initiative because he believed his wife to be barren.

Infertility, however, does not necessarily mean divorce. With his first wife's consent a man may take a second wife and live in bigamy. In Chautara only one such case is known: after five years of childless marriage a wealthy Kāmi has married his wife's younger sister.

Contrary to the higher Hindu castes, the Kāmi do not avail themselves of the Brahmin's priestly services. One member of one's own caste is always responsible for conducting a religious ceremony. It is significant, however, that the conducting agent of such a ceremony is called 'bāhun', that is 'Brahmin'. In the strict sense of the word there is only one ritual specialist among the Kāmi: the shamanistic healer (jhākri or dhāmi) who frequently imitates the techniques of the Tamang shamans (bombo) and who often even recites in the Tamang language. Otherwise, at festivals, the offerings may be made by anyone knowing the relevant ritual texts, whereas the life-cycle ceremonies are to be conducted by a certain relative. Thus the wedding ceremony and the ritual purification of the woman in confinement [7] (nwāran) is conducted by the jwāĩ (lit. 'son-in-law') or by the bhānij (lit. 'sister's son'). Actually, not always a son-in-law or a sister's son is meant. For these services any man may be selected who is married to a woman from the local descent group of the bridegroom or the father. If necessary, one can even resort to father's sister's husband. These ritual services of the jwāĩ/bhānij are regarded as an expression of the obligation that binds the 'wife-taker' to the 'wife-giver'.

Among the Hindu deities worshipped by the Kāmi as protectors of their workshops there are Bhimsen, the deity of trade, and the goddess Durgā. In connection with the smithy, the most important ceremony takes place during the Dasaĩ festival (September/October). In the evening of the aṣṭami day [8] they close the workshop for three days. In a corner of the house plastered with cow dung and red earth, the tools are sprinkled with the blood of a buffalo killed by the Tamang villagers on the same day. Two days later, the day of the full moon, the tools are carried back to the smithy. The proprietors of the workshop kill a chicken, sprinkle the bellows with the chicken's blood and briefly invoke Bhimsen.

Of all the untouchable castes the Kāmi occupy the highest position within the traditional caste hierarchy. According to the Muluki Ain (Legal Code) of B.S. 1910, the Kāmi belong to the group of the pāni nacalne castes. Here pāni nacalne [9] means that one must not accept from these castes any food cooked in water or any objects (for example vessels) which have been in contact with water. A neglect of this rule entails ritual pollution. The Code outlines the following hierarchy for the pāni nacalne castes: one of the highest castes are the Kasāi (butchers), followed (among others) by the Kusle (musicians and sweepers), the Hindu-Dhobi (washermen), Kulu (tanners), Kāmi and Sārki (cobblers, at the same level with the Kāmi), (...), Damāi (tailors and musicians), Gāine (singers), Bādi (musicians), Poṛe (skinners, sweepers and scavengers) and, in the lowest position there appear the Cyāme (scavengers). The pāni nacalne group comprises a subgroup, beginning with the Kāmi and Sārki respectively and ending with the Cyāme. The castes of that subgroup are called choi-chiṭo hālnuparne castes, that is to say, they are classified as untouchables. As the term choi-chiṭo (choinu 'to be touched', and chiṭo 'water drop') indicates, anyone having been touched by a member of these castes needs ritual purification by water [10].

Unlike India, in today's Nepal neither legislation nor social politics have been actively committed to a radical emancipation of the untouchables [11]. Nevertheless, the criteria of the status of untouchability are no longer as striking today as they were still some twenty years ago. Using the criteria of the Muluki Ain Code, the Kāmi of Chautara cannot actually even be labelled as untouchables. It is true, that the physical contact with a Kāmi is not yet tolerated by every Tamang, but in such a case, no Tamang would ritually purify himself. If a Tamang wants to give something to a Kāmi, most of the Kāmi still adhere to the traditional gesture of holding up their cupped hands so that the Tamang may throw a coin or a cigarette into them from some distance. Only a few Tamang would mind a Kāmi taking the object in question directly out of their hands. The vast majority of the Tamang

do not yet let the Kāmi into their homes, but, contrary to past times, they for their part are prepared to enter a Kāmi's house. No one objects to Tamang and Kāmi children sitting side by side at school or playing together. Only few Tamang would accept drinking water from a Kāmi, but no one shrinks from taking or washing with water from the well which is also used by the Kāmi. Every Tamang refuses to accept boiled rice from a Kāmi or other food prepared in water - but only within his own village region. The most powerful Tamang leader in Chautara, for instance, has been accompanied on his journeys by a Kāmi cook for years.

The formerly customary address "hajur" ("Sir") by which the Kāmi has addressed the Tamang has been substituted by more familiar forms. Most frequently, the Kāmi use terms which, according to the client's age, allude to a fictive agnatic relationship. The use of these terms can also be a result of the ritual friendship, miteri, between a Kāmi and a Tamang. The client answers by using a reciprocal term.[12]

The slightly plaintive intonation, feigning misery - a token of servility and thus an attribute of many untouchable castes - and the stereotyped allusions to his poverty appear only when the Kāmi bargains or visits his clients on holidays and begs for some alcohol. In the smithy, however, an impatient client is rebuked harshly and a Tamang asking a Kāmi for a cash credit is frequently compelled to flatter and beg for some time before getting the ten rupees he asked for.

The Tamang call the Kāmi a caste of beggars and liars and point out that the Kāmi are never satisfied with what they get, even in case of over-payment. The Kāmi openly admit that begging is a habit of theirs, fulfilling thus the rôle expectation people have of them.

The Kāmi's dissatisfaction, his inclination to exaggerate and to lie often causes trouble. But contrary to past times, only few Tamang can afford to assault a Kāmi in case of controversy. The Kāmi would appeal to the village leaders - at least when he feels unjustly treated.

In other respects, too, there are indications of changing status. Thus, among the 25 Gurkha mercenaries of Chautara, at present serving in the Indian Army,

there are two Kāmi.[13] The job of mercenary still means a unique chance for a man who is illiterate or only slightly educated to earn both money and prestige. A further indicator of changing status is the increasing ratio of Kāmi children among the school children. 15 of the total 29 Kāmi children of school age are sent to school - that is, every second child - whereas of the 137 school age Tamang children only 55 are actually enrolled. Here it has to be borne in mind that all the fathers of the Kāmi children are illiterate, whereas among the Tamang fathers about 10 are literate.

In spite of these changes, all social barriers have been preserved which define the Kāmi as a separate caste. All informants described intermarriage between Kāmi and Tamang as something almost unthinkable.[14] Even extra-marital relations between Tamang men and Kāmi women have been denied, although in Nepal Kāmi women are generally suspected of prostitution.

Equally rigid is the barrier downwards in the hierarchy. The Damāi tailors and musicians are regarded by the Kāmi as untouchables. The characteristics of the Tamang-Kāmi interrelations are to be found again in those between the Kāmi and the Damāi, namely the specialist-client relationship, the refusal to accept water and food cooked in water and the prohibition of intermarriage (cf. note 18). A Damāi may not enter a Kāmi's house any more than a Kāmi may enter a Tamang's house. Sārki (cobblers) and Kāmi, however, consider themselves of equal rank. They certainly do not accept water and boiled rice from each other, but they do occasionally intermarry.

The slackening in the relationship between Tamang and Kāmi ensued in the recent past can be traced back to four main factors:

- The fact that the Tamang are Buddhists. Hence, the caste ideology has presumably never been as deeply rooted among them as among the Brahmin or the Chetri. It may also be of some significance that the Tamang language has no terms for 'untouchable' or for 'caste'.

- The fact that the old village élite of the Tamang has been substituted mostly by ex-mercenaries who had come back influenced by the ideas of the Indian Independence Movement. They encourage a certain amount of democratisation on the village level.

- The fact that, according to the legislation of the post-Rana period all Nepalese are to be treated as equals. This awareness of legal equality emphasises still rudimentary claim on social equality. The claim manifests itself, among other things, in the fact that an ever increasing number of Kāmi denominate and sign themselves as "Biswakarma" instead of Kāmi.[15] The term has been used by newspapers and authorities, and for the time being the Kāmi himself makes use of it only vis-à-vis outsiders and with a self-conscious smile.

- The fact that the recent economic development has changed the old service structure and has emancipated the Kāmi from his dependence on the Tamang client.

As to this last point, I shall go into details in what follows.

All the Kāmi in Chautara work as smiths and each of them works for a certain number of clients. The Kāmi call the client biṣṭ - a term also used[16] by the Damāi and Sārki. Referring to his Kāmi, the client speaks of bāli kāmi which literally means 'harvest Kāmi'. Most of the clients are inherited from father to son but in the case of personal disagreement the biṣṭ may turn to another Kāmi. The number of clients a Kāmi may have varies considerably. In Chautara, it varies from 1 to 95. On average, one Kāmi has 17.4 clients.

The client-Kāmi relationship implies some mutual obligations. The client's prestations rendered to the Kāmi are divided as follows:

- A share (bhāg) each on the days of the full-moon of Baisākh, Jeṭh, Bhadau as well as on festivals such as Sāun Sakrãti, Dasãĩ and Tihār.[17] A bhāg consists of some dried meat, a handful of husked rice, some salt, 2-3 chillies and beer and/or spirits.

- A handlong of dried meat from the neck of a buffalo jointly killed by the Tamang villagers during the Dasãĩ festival. On the same occasion, the biṣṭ hands over to his Kāmi a piece of fried meat skewered onto a stick.

- 2-3 roṭi (dough fried in oil) each on the Tihār and Māgh Sakrãti festivals.

- A basketful of corn on the cob, about 6-7 kg, after the maize harvest. For every six cobs the biṣṭ puts one maize-flower on the top when the Kāmi comes to collect the basket.

- 3 to 6 pāthi, about 10 to 20 kg, of millet (kodo), according to the size of the biṣṭ's household, after the millet harvest.

- 4 mānā (about 1 kg) of unhusked rice soon after the rice harvest.

- An invitation to every ceremony taking place in the client's house (birth, wedding, death-feast).

- A helping "to taste" (chākne) whenever the Kāmi happens to come along after the biṣṭ has prepared fresh beer or spirits.

- A light meal (khājā) consisting of beer and pop corn on the day of placing an order, as well as some spirits and one mānā of grain whenever the client fetches a big hoe or an iron plough-share ordered.

- One additional pāthi (2.5 to 3.5 kg) of grain for a new big hoe (kodāli), the so-called kodāle pāthi.

- 4 mānā of grain each for the repair of a kodāli or a plough-share. [18]

Apart from the last mentioned exceptions (kodāli and plough-share), the Kāmi is obliged to repair all tools and/or to make new ones for the biṣṭ without demanding immediate and additional prestations for it. In case of a new order, however, this is true only if the iron is supplied by the client; otherwise (nowadays) the Kāmi will insist on cash payment, including the wage and the price for the raw iron. In general, the client will resort to such transactions in urgent cases only, as he wants to economize with his cash.

One of the further obligations of the Kāmi is to entrust another Kāmi with any urgent order for which he himself has no time to carry out. Later on, the substitute will get compensation in terms of manpower.

1. The smithy (cf. fig. 1).

This mutual assistance is called parma.[19]

At first sight, these prestations reflect the traditional pattern with which we are familiar in India, too, namely the so-called jajmānī system with its hereditary, personal ties between a craftsman (or a ritual specialist) and his peasant client.

There are many indications, however, that this service structure, within its general economic framework, has undergone a considerable change. Some thirty years ago, the Kāmi was still entirely supplied by the client with food and also partly with materials. That is, apart from the prestations mentioned above, the Kāmi received melted butter, buttermilk, firewood for one year each, and certain materials for the house construction, such as timber, a special kind of grass for the roof, etc. Considering the fact that in former times the Kāmi had neither land nor livestock (except for pigs and chickens), one can assume that they were largely dependent on their Tamang clients.[20]

The change which has been taking place since then is summarized in the diagram below, showing average values per household. We see that with regard to the number of cattle held and the amount of crop produced per annum on their own fields, the Tamang exceed the Kāmi by somewhat less than 50% only.

	average/household:		ratio:
	Tamang	Kāmi	Tamang Kāmi
rice (own yield per annum)	8.1 muri	4.5 muri	9 : 5
maize (own yield per annum)	5.1 muri	2.5 muri	2 : 1 (approx.)
millet (own yield per annum)	3.3 muri	2.1 muri	3 : 2 (approx.)
buffalo (number)	2.4	1.6	3 : 2
plough ox (number)	1.2	0.3	4 : 1

(1 muri of unhusked rice = 49.8 kg: 1 muri of maize corn = 62.5 kg; 1 muri of millet = 67.3 kg).

In the Kāmi's case, the rates of the annual yield would be double if one were to add the annual prestations he gets from the Tamang clients. For instance, the Kāmi with the maximum number of clients in the village, namely 95, harvests on his own land 7 muri of paddy and receives annually about 35 muri of paddy from his clients. - With regard to the relatively small size of their holdings, it would not pay most of the Kāmi to keep oxen, and they prefer to borrow them from the Tamang.

Three reasons can be given for the growing self-sufficiency in food of the Kāmi:

a) As a consequence of the increasing scarcity of land, many Tamang are no longer able to provide even themselves with enough grain from their own production. [21] On the other hand, the Tamang have more cash at their disposal than they had had previously. At present, 38 Tamang men from Chautara are working in India as mercenaries or labourers. [22] The money transferred to their relatives, as well as the pension received by 7 ex-mercenaries may come to an amount of 20.000 to 23.000 Nepalese Rupies per annum. Further sources of cash income are road construction and other projects embarked on during the last decade in the region. As a result, the payments in natural products have thus been replaced by monetary transactions, even though for the time being only sporadically. Some Tamang are now prepared to pay for new tools in cash and thus avoid a journey to the next bazaar (one and a half days' walk to and fro) and buy the iron for the Kāmi.

b) The second reason is that there are too many Kāmi and too few clients , partly on account of the growing Kāmi population, partly because the Tamang can provide themselves with products from the market, such as vessels or tools. There are already a number of Kāmi in the neighbouring villages who have abandoned the smith's trade and work only as farmers. This development, however, seems to have been slowed down by the fact that nowadays many Kāmi also work from time to time as gold- and coppersmiths.

c) The third reason lies in the fact that the cash assets of the Kāmi have grown considerably so that they are able to buy land. [23] During the last four to six years, 9 Kāmi (of 19 households) and 26 Tamang (of 108 households) in Chautara have purchased land. In other words, land has been bought by every second Kāmi household and only by every fourth Tamang household. In terms of annual yield, the Kāmi have purchased land worth altogether 28 muri of grain, whereas the Tamang have bought land worth altogether 98 muri. Taking the average per purchaser, we have in the case of the Kāmi land worth 28:9 = 3.1 muri, whereas the Tamang have bought land worth 98: 26 = 3.8 muri. The Kāmi have purchased, without exception, from the Tamang. In many instances, the land had first been mortgaged and was then transferred to the Kāmi money-lender on account of the insolvency of their Tamang debtors. -- In the particular case of Chautara, there is still another point to be considered: One of the Tamang ex-mercenaries, who enjoys nearly unrestricted authority in the village, has promoted the land purchase of the Kāmi against the resistance of the Tamang.

II. THE SMITHY

The smithies are surrounded on three sides by stone walls (cf. plate 1, fig. 1). The roof consists of unlevelled beams which support a lathwork of twigs fixed with bamboo splints; the twigs are covered with leaves. This roof only gives shelter against shunshine, but hardly against rain. In order to ensure better lighting and ventilation the roof is open on both gable fronts. In the far left corner there is the forge. Near the side with the open entrance we find the iron anvil (liyo), the stone anvil and the smithy trough made of iron or stone and driven into the ground (plate 2).

Apart from these fixed devices every Kāmi carries his tools with him. Even during short breaks he carries them home unless somebody else has borrowed them and taken the responsibility for them.

There are no shelves on which to deposit the tools. Everything is put on the ground, which is covered with a thick layer of dark-grey dust. While working, the Kāmi squats or sits on the ground, his legs pulled up close to the body. The only seating accomodation he uses is a small round mat, cagaṭi. If all co-owners work at the same time the smithy room appears quite narrow. In the smithy, the Kāmi wears only dirty and wornout clothes, partly with regard to the work, partly "because of tradition".

Generally, every Kāmi works for himself, but he lends a hand to the others at short notice. This is the case, for instance, whenever they work with the big hammer, ghan; one has to hold the workpiece and two others must hammer in order to gain time as the metal gets cold very quickly. Apart from fetching water from time to time, the client never helps.

There are no fixed working hours. If there is much to be done, the Kāmi comes to the smithy as early as five o'clock in the morning and works through until nightfall, the only interruption being a short midday break for lunch. The volume of work depends mainly upon the season. In May and June, before rice and millet are transplanted, the bulk of hoes, axes and sickles has to be dealt with. After the rice harvest in the autumn, the client gats his axes and sickles sharpened, for there then comes the season when he must cut firewood and provide the cattle with leaf-fodder. In February, at the latest, the plough-shares are to be mended before one starts ploughing the maize fields.

It is always the client who is the one to come to the Kāmi's smithy. If the order placed can be executed at short notice, the client stays in the smithy, squatting among the Kāmi and passing the time away by chatting with them. This is no problem, for the Kāmi are used to chatting and joking while working. Since the Kāmi also know the Tamang language, the conversation is carried on in Nepali or in Tamang. The Tamang clients always appear in striking contrast to the agile Kāmi with their ready wit and their liking for jokes.

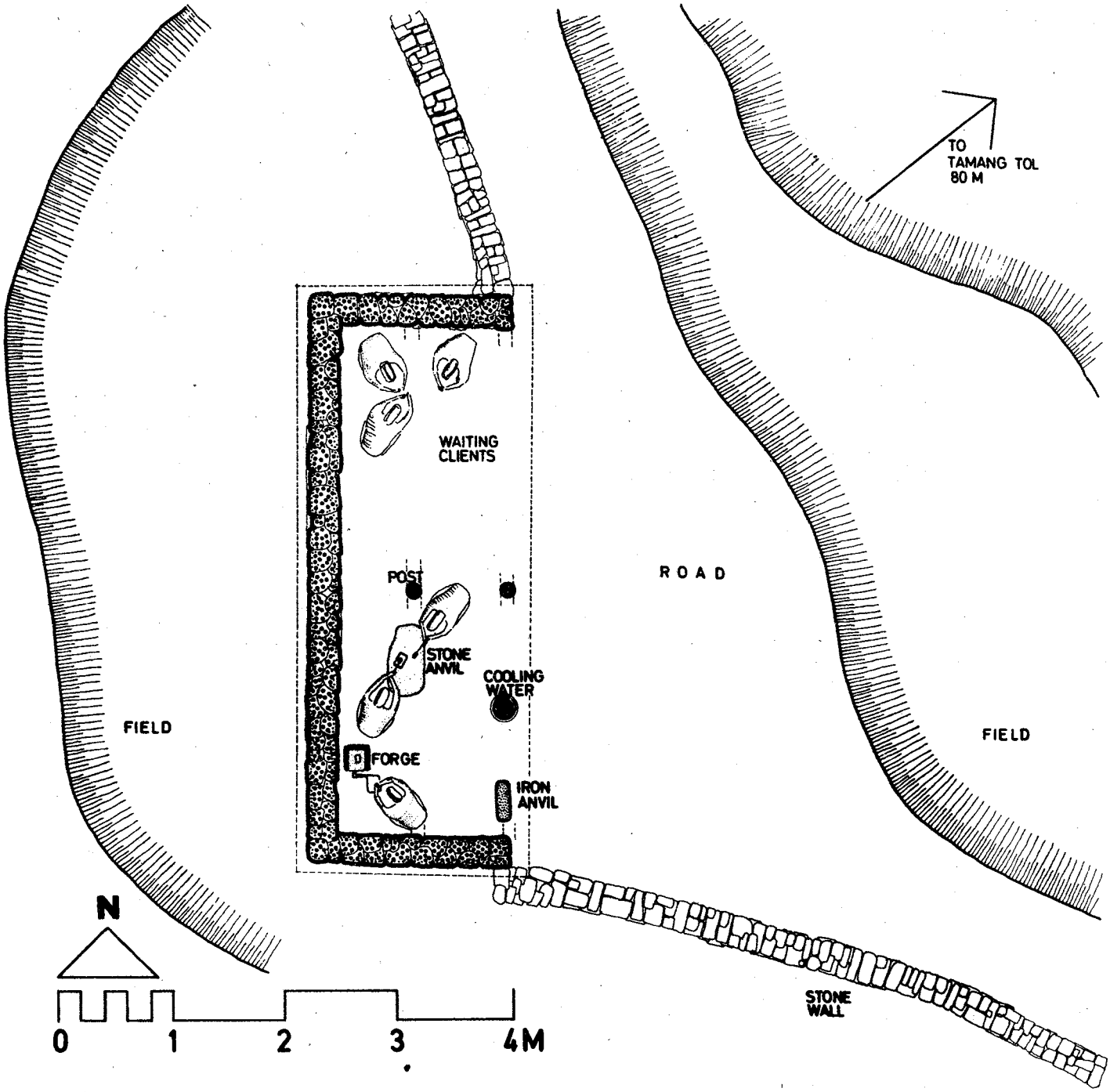


FIG. 1: THE SMITHY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

As a rule, the waiting client is pushed into a rather passive rôle. The Tamang never seems to succeed in making the Kāmi laugh -- he, the Tamang, is the one to laugh and to tolerate the Kāmi having the last word.

Nevertheless, even in the smithy, the Kāmi show a characteristic language behaviour which distinguishes them from most of the other Nepali speakers: the plaintive intonation, the constant reassurance of their misery and their sometimes quite strange distortions of words and contexts seem to reflect their traditional rôle, namely the rôle of beggars and entertainers. The topics of conversation in the smithy are usually village and family affairs which explains why the Kāmi belong to the best informed people in the village. They say that "āran aḍḍā jasto huncha", that is, 'the smithy is like an office', i.e. a place where everybody speaks his mind and where sometimes serious matters are settled.

III. THE TECHNOLOGY

A. MATERIALS

The Kāmi finds the iron (phalām) in the nearest bazaar where the Newar tradesmen sell it in dhārni (= 2.27 kg). Four kinds of iron are known:

a) The iron used most is called rel kamāni or jeṭho phalām, "first-born iron". According to some informants, the rel kamāni (< English rail and Hindi kàmānī) originates from the rejected steel springs of the Indian railways.

b) māhĩlo phalām, "second-born iron", is softer than rel kamāni and is bought only in case of need.

c) sāhĩlo phalām, "third-born iron" (also called sulis), is harder than rel kamāni but it is unsuitable for welding. This iron is mainly used for sickles as they need neither welding nor an especially strong cutting edge.

d) kāncho phalām, "youngest-born iron" (also called jap), is very soft and is therefore used only in case of need, for instance, for hoe sockets.

Copper (tāmā) is undoubtedly a new material in the Kāmi's metal inventory. They use the same type of copper as the Newar copper-smiths of the Kathmandu Valley.

Besides the metal, charcoal (gol, koilā) is the most important material the Kāmi works with. For the manufacture of charcoal, he prefers the wood of the kaṭuj tree (Castanopsis) or that of the sal tree (Shorea robusta). The Kāmi scatters the crushed wood into round earth-holes (about 1 m in diameter) and kindles it. Once the blaze has reduced, small pieces of wood are thrown on to the fire in such a way that the heap assumes the shape of a round hillock. The hillocks are then covered with fresh leaves and again with a layer of earth. The leaves are necessary in order to prevent the earth from intermingling with the charcoal. For the welding of the iron (jornu, tāunu) they use a pulverized mixture of red clay (rāto māṭo) and white marble-like crystalline rock (darśan ḍhuṅgā) 24). The mixture, called kop māṭo 25), is dissolved in water and spread on to the surfaces to be welded together. Later on, some more darśan ḍhuṅgā is thrown on to the already glowing charcoal. Thus the welding process is accelerated. An intensifying effect is attributed to the salt they sometimes admix with the kop māṭo. In order to solder copper the Kāmi uses a mixture consisting of borax (swāk), crushed stinging-nettle leaves, water and the powder of a yellowish metal (pāin) 26). The mixture is spread on cold and the workpiece is heated only when the soldering flux is already dry.

The Kāmi makes use of limepowder (harbi) in order to avoid the melted copper adhering to the sides of the crucible 27). The lime is made of bones which are put into the hearth for weeks and afterwards hammered to dust.

Wood for the handles and shafts is also provided by the Kāmi. For this purpose, they prefer the wood of the jhĩgāne tree (Eurya acuminata) or that of the phalãṭ tree (Quercus lineata).

B. TOOLS

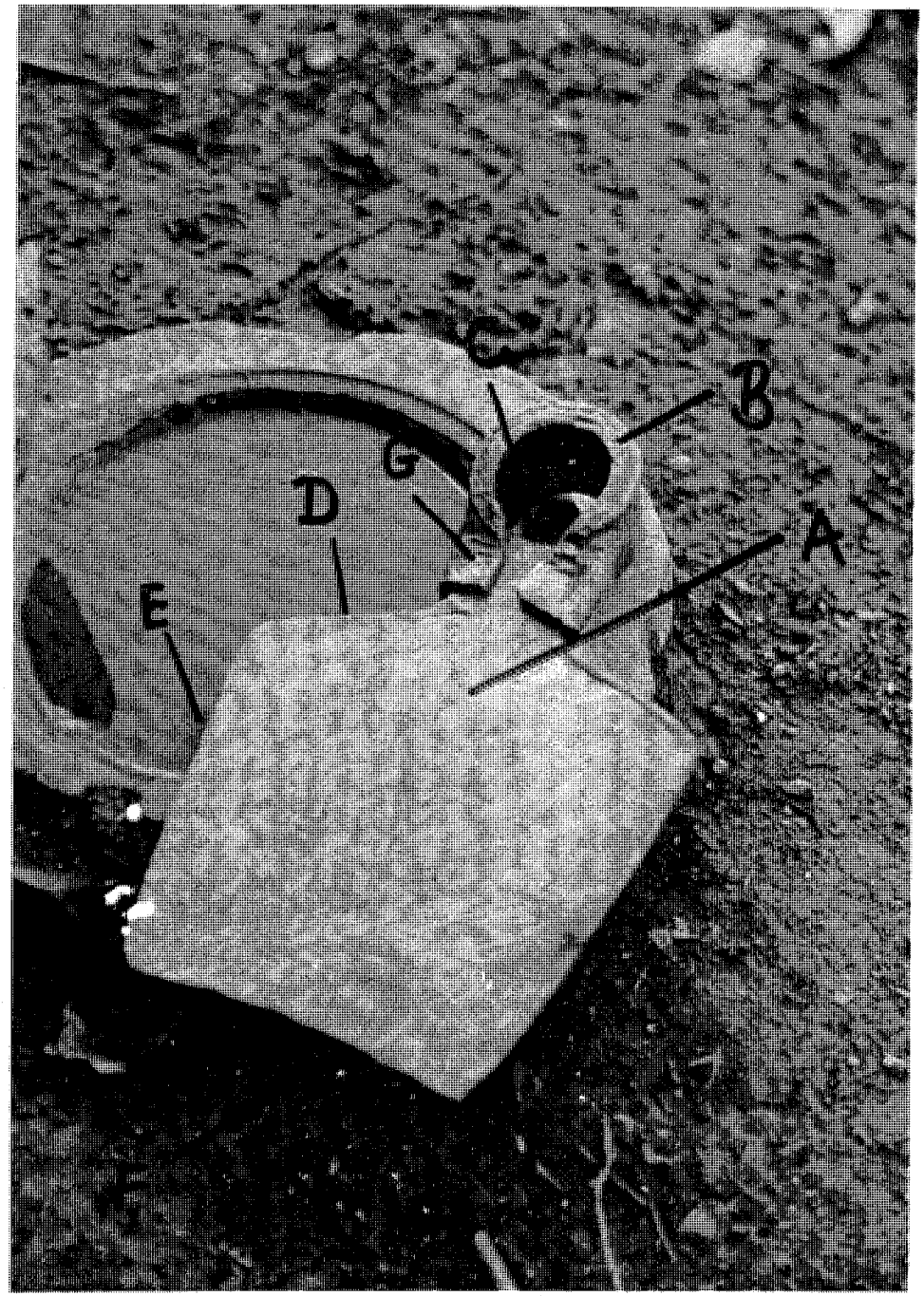
Forge, aginā: a square hole dug in the ground which is lined on three sides with upright flat stones. The workpieces are placed into the fire from the open side (fig. 2).

Skin bellows, khalãti: a goat-skin, either in its natural state or sewed into the shape of a sack is tied around a pipe with a rope. The Kāmi places his right hand into the upper slit in such a way that the skin is taughtened on the one side by his hand and on the other side by his elbow, thus closing the slit. Whilst blowing, the rims of the skin which are between hand and elbow are pressed together in a downward direction with the left hand. Usually, an old iron pipe (water-pipe, tent-pole), nālā is joined with the skin. The front part of the pipe leads into the forge. It is a nozzle (tũro) made of clay [28]. In older types, pipe and nozzle are made in one piece. The clay is kneaded well with goat hairs or pieces of sack-cloth and worked around the handle of the hammer in order to avoid a separate moulding of the chamber. The goat hairs and the sack-cloth serve as a strengthening so that the clay does not crumble when the shaft of the hammer is pulled out. The pipe with the nozzle is not fixed and leads into the forge: one can move it and thus blow upon the workpiece from various directions according to size and form of the workpiece (fig. 2).

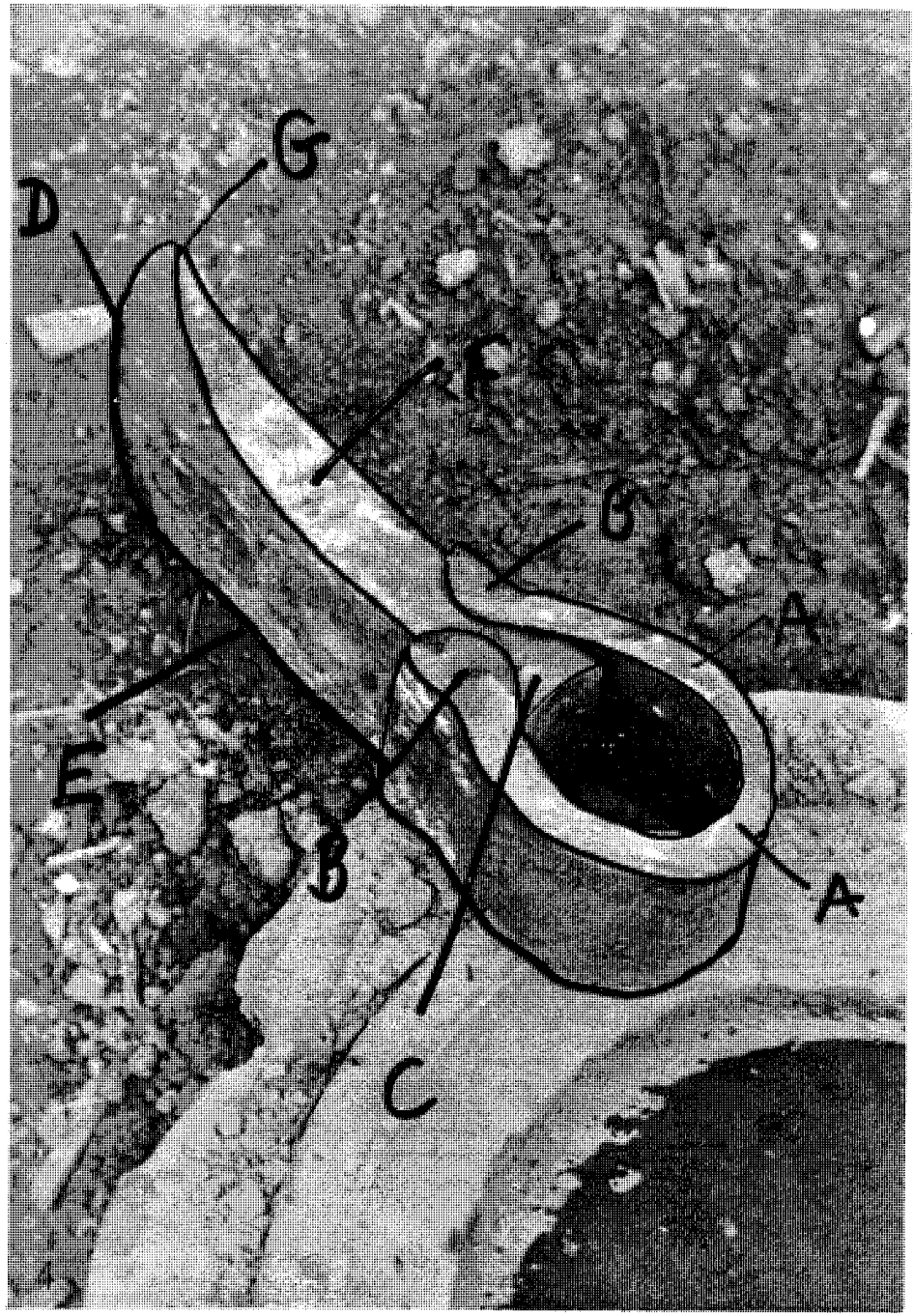
tatāirākhnu = 'to preheat', before the actual heating, that is, to put something near the forge.

tatāunu = 'to heat' for the purpose of hammering (iron).

udāunu = 'to heat' for the purpose of hammering (copper) [29].



5. Blade and socket of a hoe. A = muṭu, B = ṭauko or pāso, C = bheṭi, D = kān, E = biṭ, F = dhār, G = kān.



4. The axe. A = ṭauko, B = kān, C = bheti, D = dhār, F = biṭ, G = chaṛi.

tāunu = 'to heat' for the purpose of welding or soldering.

tāwā = 'white heat'.

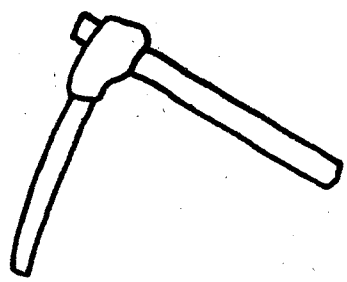
dhunnu = 'to blow the bellows'.

ghan: big, heavy hammer, especially used for beating out. Length of the shaft: 60 cm, length of the head: 15 cm.

hotro: medium-sized hammer, especially used for straightening and chasing. Length of the shaft: 31 cm, length of the head: 15 cm.

mairi: small, light hammer, especially used for chasing. Length of the shaft: 20-25 cm, length of the head: 8-12 cm. The pane often ends in a sharp edge.

hat ghan: long-headed hammer for the chasing of places in the interior of a vessel which are hard to get at. Length of the shaft: 30-33 cm, length of the head:(pane included): 27-30 cm, face: 1.5 x 1 cm (fig. 3).



dwāse: like hat ghan, but with a shorter head. For chasing, particularly used for the shaping of edges and rolls. Length of the shaft: 28-30 cm, length of the head: 10-12 cm, face: 1.5 x 1 cm.

tāl = 'striking surface' of the hammer; sānu tāl = 'pane', ṭhulo tāl = 'face'.

piṭnu = 'to hammer' (unspecified term).

solṭo piṭnu = 'to hammer something placed on edge'.

cepṭo piṭnu = 'to hammer something laid down flat'.

pasārnu = 'to beat out'.

bā̃gyāunu = 'to curve', 'to bend'.

kopryāunu = 'to beat something flat into a spherical shape'.

maṭhārnu 30) = 'to straighten' (a surface).

pur-pār pārnu = 'to straighten' (a surface).

dhār jhiknu = 'to shape the cutting edge (dhār) with the hammer'.

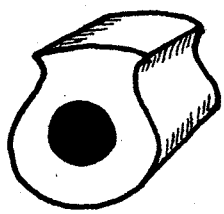
kamāuni ḍhuṅgo [31]: stone anvil, a flat stone driven into the ground with a surface of about 50-70 cm2. It is used for the beating out with the ghan or the hotro.

liyo: iron anvil. Length: about 30 cm. Bought in the bazaar. It is used for straightening with the hotro or the mairi (plate 2).

ghan ṭheli: a ghan head (temporarily removed from the shaft) is tied on to a peg rammed into the ground. Serves as an anvil for the chasing of places in the interior of a vessel which are hard to get at. [32]

samesne ghan: a ghan head (temporarily removed from the shaft) is fixed on to a stick (length: about 130 cm) and the head's face is turned upwards. The stick is weighted with stones. It is used as an anvil for the straightening and chasing of vessels. [33]

muni: iron anvil with a square, slightly convex face. It can be fixed to the shaft of the samesne ghan. For straightening and chasing vessels (face: 3 x 3 cm). [34]



khariyo: a recoil showing at one end a round flat pane (sānu tāl), at the other end a square, slightly convex face (ṭhulo tāl). Used for the chasing and straightening of parts of the vessels which are hard to get at. Besides the faces, its even underside can be used as a support. The khariyo is often placed into a Y-shaped stick (kābe kāṭh) [35] so that one of its ends touches the ground. Total length: 70-75 cm, diameter of the round face: 1.5 cm, square face: 3 x 2 cm (fig. 3 and plate 10).

sanāso: long-handled tongs with a pear-shaped bit. In the eye it is joined by an iron rivet. Length of the bit: 10cm, length of the handles: 30-35 cm.

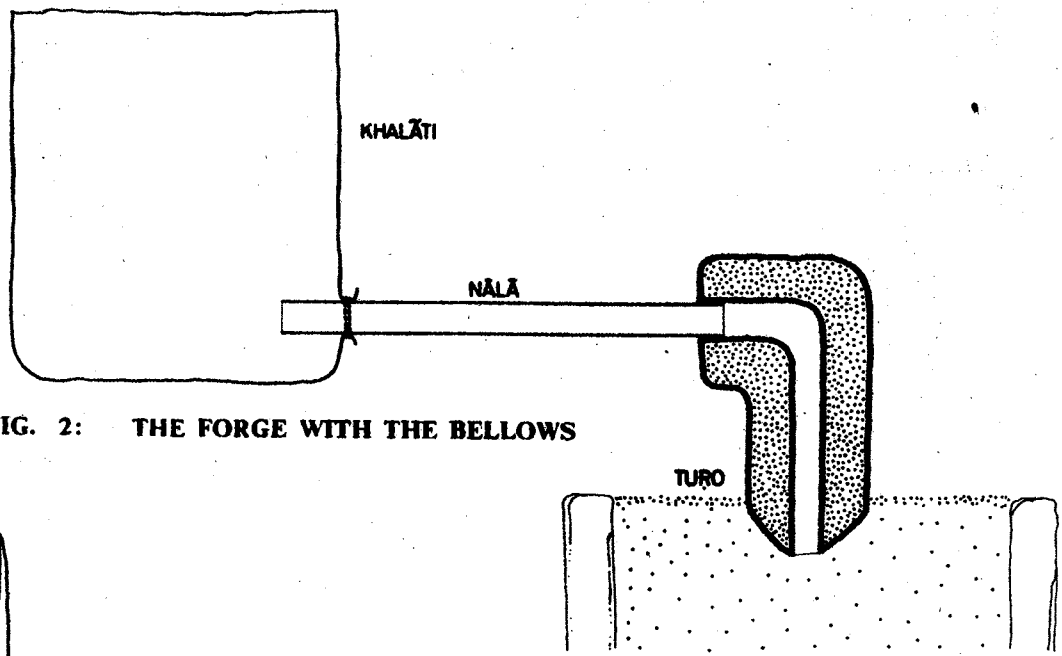


FIG. 2: THE FORGE WITH THE BELLOWS

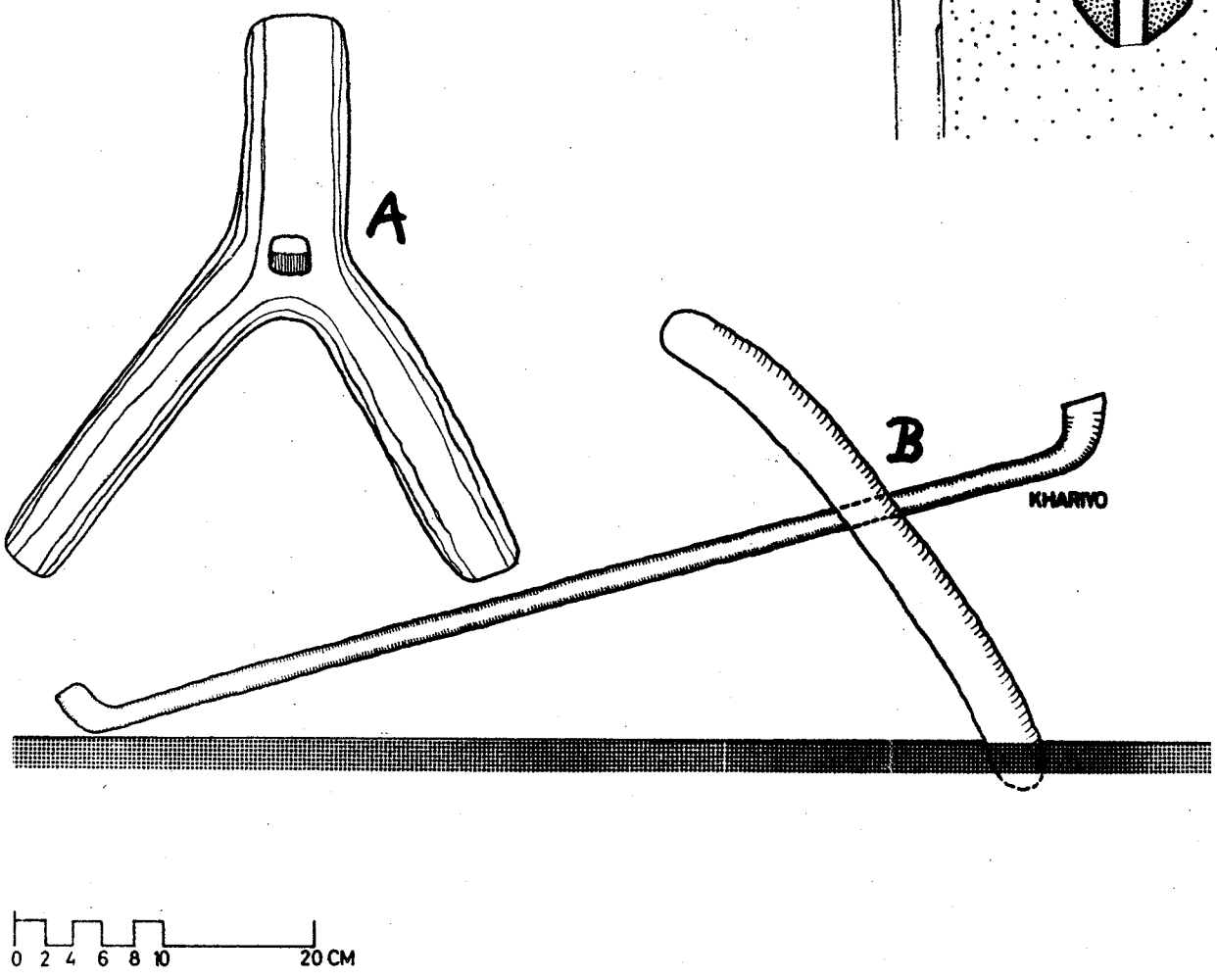


FIG: 3. THE KĀBE KĀṬH (A) AND THE KHARIYO (B) IN IT

chino: chisel. To chop off iron particles thicker than about 1 mm. The chisel is gripped by the tongs and hammered into the red-hot iron. Length: 5-6 cm, length of the cutting edge: 3 cm.

kattarnu [36]: plate-shears. Total length: 35-40 cm, blades: 8-10 cm.

chinnu = 'to cut', 'to disjoin' (with the chisel).

kāṭnu = 'to cut' (with the plate-shears).

ret: a double-cut square file. The blade is generally cut on both of its broadsides only. Length of the iron blade: 18-20 cm, length of the wooden shaft: 10-12 cm (plate 3).

ret lāunu = 'to file'.

bhednu: a round bar-iron for the shaping of vervels and sockets. It is introduced into the socket to be shaped and serves as a support against the strokes of the hammer from outside [37]. Length: 5-10 cm.

The handling of the tools and workpieces often seems to be awkward. For instance, the Kāmi does not know the vice, and in case the tongs do not suffice he must use his feet, toes, and knees in order to grip things firmly. While filing, the Kāmi leans the workpiece against an improvised support (stone, old plough) and presses the workpiece against it by using his soles (plates 2 and 3). For smoothing the edges of a hoe the blade is simply driven into the ground and pressed between both of his soles. The work is retarded by this insufficiency. For instance, the Kāmi does not use the shovel: the charcoal is scattered into the forge by hand and is heaped up around the workpiece with the tongs. As a result of this the iron gets soft and the bit must be recurved several times a day. The vervels for the sickle shafts are placed on to the handle of the tongs in such a way that they can be worked while being continually rotated. Even the light strokes of the mairi

bend the handle of the tongs. The hammering process is partly retarded by the use of the stone anvil. The metal gets deformed again and again on the uneven stone and has to be hammered into shape on the iron anvil later on. The Kāmi uses neither yard-stick nor scales. He always starts on a rough-out which - as a precaution - is larger than required. As a result, the excess iron has to be removed when the workpiece has almost been formed into its final shape.

The joint of skin and pipe of the bellows is never tight and the leather must be pressed on to the bag by hand or by means of stones. Because of the heat the clay nozzle of the pipe cracks again and again and has to be repaired several times a week.

C. THE MANUFACTURE OF AN AXE (BANCORO)

Terminology: bẽṛ = shaft, ṭauko [38] = socket, dhār = cutting edge, biṭ = narrow sides of the cheek, chaṛi = the inner point of the cutting edge (facing the shaft), kān = the [39] parts of the socket which are welded to the narrow sides of the blade, bheṭi = the part of the blade which is embedded in the socket (plate 4).

Blade and socket are manufactured separately (plate 4).

A. For the blade a flat piece of iron (rel kamāni) of about 15x10x2.5 cm is heated to white-heat and removed from the forge with the tongs. It is laid on to the stone anvil. A helper grips it with the tongs and two other Kāmi flatten it. They turn the iron piece repeatedly so that it can be hammered on both flat sides. In the first phase of the flattening they strike with the pane, more often, however, with the face of the ghan in such a way that the face strikes the surface of the workpiece at an acute angle.

Beating begins at the centre and continues outwards in concentric circles toward the rim. In the second phase, when the desired thickness has almost been obtained, these bevel strokes are no longer necessary. Now the workpiece assumes the shape of a trapezoid. It is then put on edge and held against the round rim of the iron anvil in order to shape the bulge of the narrow-side which faces the shaft. After further flattening by strokes on the flat sides the workpiece is laid down on the iron anvil and hammered with the hotro until cutting edge and its point are formed. Finally, the blade is rammed into the ground with its cutting edge downwards and the rims of the bheṭi are hammered flat and straightened with the hotro pane.

Altogether, the workpiece had been heated eight times; the first time it took ten minutes to reach white-heat, from then on only 2 - 3 minutes each time. After a maximum of five minutes hammering the workpiece had to be reheated.

B. For the socket a piece of iron (also rel kamāni) of about 10x3x2.5 cm is heated to white-heat and then beaten out and flattened on the stone anvil with two ghan. The result is a sheet with lobes at either end. They will be the setting for the blade. First, the lobes are straightened (on the iron anvil) with the hotro face and their bulges are fully shaped. Finally, the workpiece is leaned against the head of the flat lying ghan and it is curved at the centre by some strokes of the hotro pane. Now one of the onlookers notices that the reverse side of the socket is not sufficiently straightened. Thereupon the workpiece is straightened again so that the correction can be made. As yet, the workpiece has been heated a total of 14 times, each time for two to five minutes.

C. Finally, blade and pre-shaped socket are heated, the one hammered on to the other with the hotro, and, having cooled down somewhat, spread at the joints with a mixture of charcoal powder and kop māṭo. kop māṭo is also thrown on to the charcoal. After reheating, blade and socket are hammered together. On one side there is now a gap of about 1 mm between blade and socket since this part "had not been sufficiently touched by the fire". Welding has to be repeated. In order to be sure some salt is admixed with the kop māṭo. The bhednu is introduced into the still red-hot eye and the socket is hammered (from outside) on all sides with the hotro. The cheeks are then again straightened on the iron anvil. The onlookers now assess the workpiece, stating that the blade has turned out to be too broad. The iron is reheated to white-heat and by means of a chisel two small strips are cut off at both blade points. The cuts being straightened sufficiently the cutting edge is re-shaped with the hotro. Now the face of the ghan - whose pane is driven into the ground - serves as an anvil. The cutting edge is then finally filed.

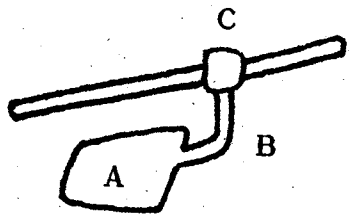
The workpiece has been heated 14 times altogether (welding included), the filing of the cutting edge took 20 minutes.

D. The quenching of the cutting edge is called pāin hālnu [40] and is the "critical phase" of the whole process. Only the lower part of the blade is heated red hot, then water is poured on to the cutting edge out of a spouted jug. The strip to be quenched has a breadth of about 1 cm. Now the workpiece is put aside for three minutes and finally immersed in water. The Kāmi checks the colouring of the cutting edge: rusty-brown, black, and blue stains show that the quenching has been successful. White stains, however, would indicate a bad quality of the iron.

The total working time was three whole hours.

D THE MANUFACTURE OF A HOE (KODALI)

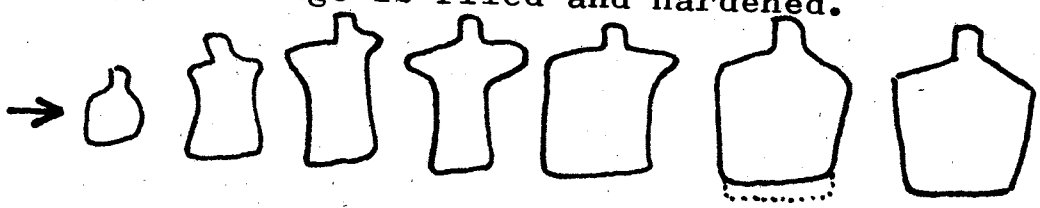
The kodāli is manufactured in three parts: A) blade (pāto), with tang socket (bheṭi), B) tang (nāl) and C) socket (ṭauko or pāso). (cf. plate 5, although it shows a simple hoe without tang, the terminology is identical with that of the kodāli).



A. Blade and Tang Socket:

The sequence of operations can be described as follows:

The rough-out is flattened on the stone anvil with two ghan. After having rammed the blade into the ground with its cutting edge downwards, the Kāmi shapes the tang socket with the hotro. Then the workpiece is placed on to the iron anvil and its sides (biṭ), the "heart" (muṭu) and the cutting edge are hammered into shape with the hotro. Now the blade turns out to be too long. A strip about 1 cm wide has to be chopped off with the chisel. Finally, the edge is filed and hardened.



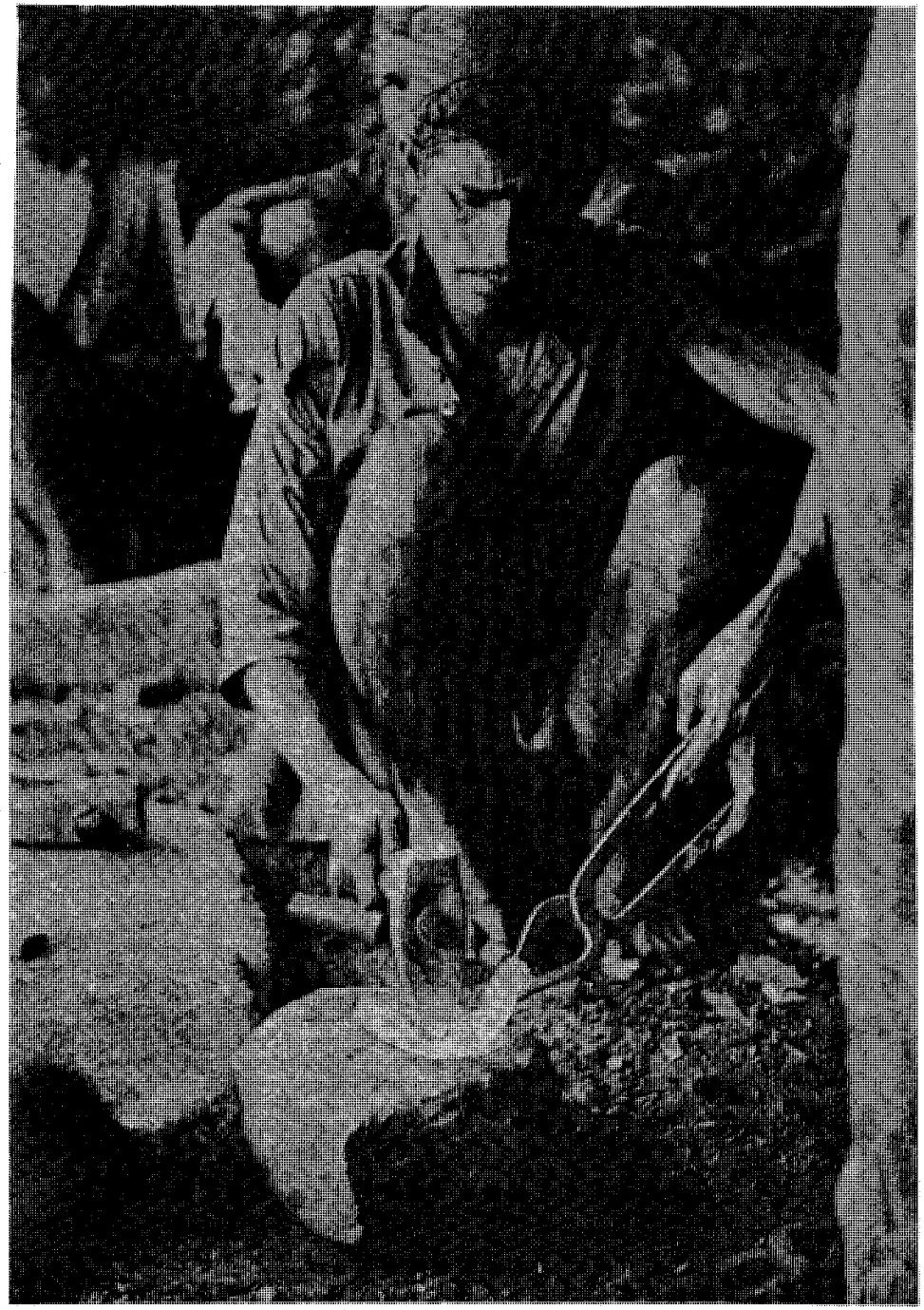
B. Tang:

The sequence of operations is as follows:

After the beating out they shape the "saddle" (bheṭi). Then the tang is leaned against the rim of the stone anvil and bent at the centre with the hotro pane (plate 6). The end which is to be joined to the blade is hammered with the hotro face until it tapers gently on the narrow sides.

C. Socket:

The first working phases can be described as follows:



6. **Manufacturing the tang of a hoe.**

7. Hammering the cutting edge of a sickle with the hotro and on the face of a ghan as anvil.

The rough-out is beaten out. It is flattened until a lobe (kān = 'ear') is formed at either end. The lobes are rounded and straightened on the iron anvil.

Then the Kāmi bends either end with the hotro pane until both lobes face each other and are parallel to each other. Finally, the workpiece is bent into a ring shape (plate 5 B).

D. Welding:

First of all, the socket is placed on to the tang. Then it is firmly hammered on at both lobes (kān). After the welding the hammering is repeated but now the Kāmi passes the bhednu through the ring so that he is able to hammer without risk of deforming it. For this purpose the hotro is exclusively used.

Then tang and tang socket (at the blade) are welded. When he realizes that the tang has turned out to be distorted the workpiece is reheated and hammered again. However, the result is not immediately satisfactory. Only after repeated efforts to correct it, does he succeed in bringing both outer corners of the cutting edge of the blade into an equal distance from the socket. A grass-blade, picked up from the ground, serves as a yard-stick.

The seam between tang and tang socket is a simple one. But at the client's request tang and tang socket can be folded, especially in case of repairs.

E. THE MANUFACTURE OF A COPPER WATER JUG (GAGRI)

As has already been pointed out, the Kāmi have only been working with copper for several decades. There are still only few among them who are versed in that technique. The gāgri manufacture was observed at a Kāmi's who had learnt the technique from his father-in-law. As to the father-in-law, he had "simply watched' the Newar copper-smiths during a stay in the Kathmandu Valley. He had then tried his

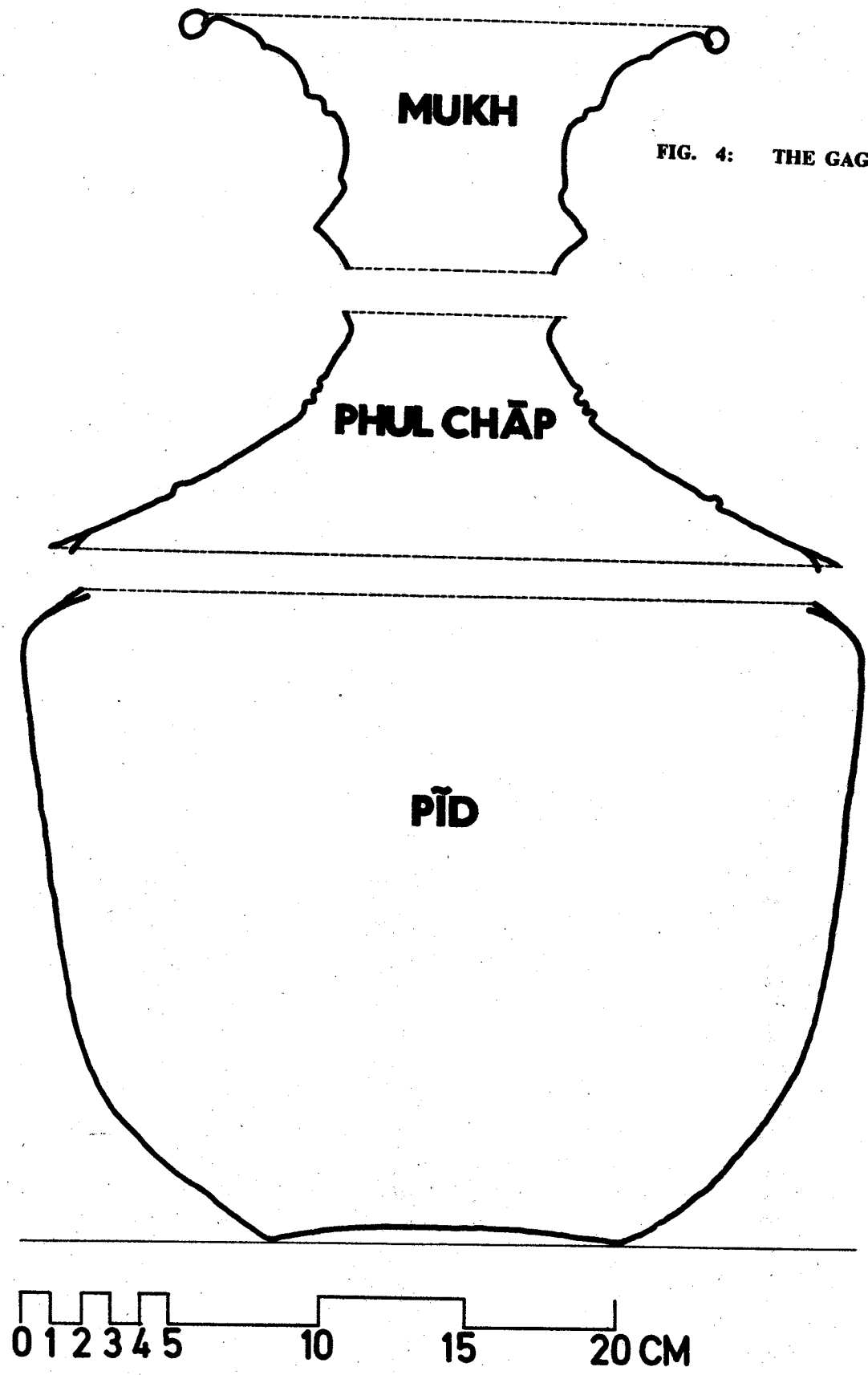


FIG. 4: THE GAGRI

luck at making one himself and one day succeeded in making his first gāgri. Compared to the Newar products, the gāgri made by the Kāmi show a more primitive method of fabrication. On the one hand, this may be a result of the deficient technical skill of the Kāmi, on the other hand it could be linked with their aesthetically unassuming Tamang clients.

The water-jug is manufactured in three parts: bulge with the base (pĩd), lower part of the neck (phul chāp) [41], upper part of the neck and mouth (mukh) [42] (fig. 4).

A. The metal is crushed to pieces of the size of walnuts, divided into three parts and melted separately for pĩd, phul chāp and mukh. During melting, the clay nozzle of the bellows, the crucible (pareni) and the crucible for casting (masuro) are arrayed one below the other (like a ladder) and supported by stones. The crucible filled with the crushed metal is covered to the rim with charcoal and surrounded by upright stones on either side so that the heat cannot escape. After 19 minutes of intensive heating, during which more charcoal is repeatedly added, one hears a noise reminiscent of falling water-drops...the metal has melted. Partly with the tongs, partly by vehement blowing the charcoal is removed from the surface of the metal which has accumulated at the bottom of the crucible. The light-yellow glowing copper is poured into the crucible for casting which had previously been covered with some harbi powder (cf. above "Material"). While the metal solidifies those present must keep quiet because otherwise "it would burst". The round ingot which is shaped in the crucible, is called pāk [43] (plate 9).

B. phul chāp:

Phase No. 1: The pāk, still red-hot, is flattened with two ghan on the stone anvil. They beat with the face of the hammer from the centre outwards towards the rim in a spiral line. They hammer only on one side. The pāk is gripped by two tongs and turned after every stroke "so that one

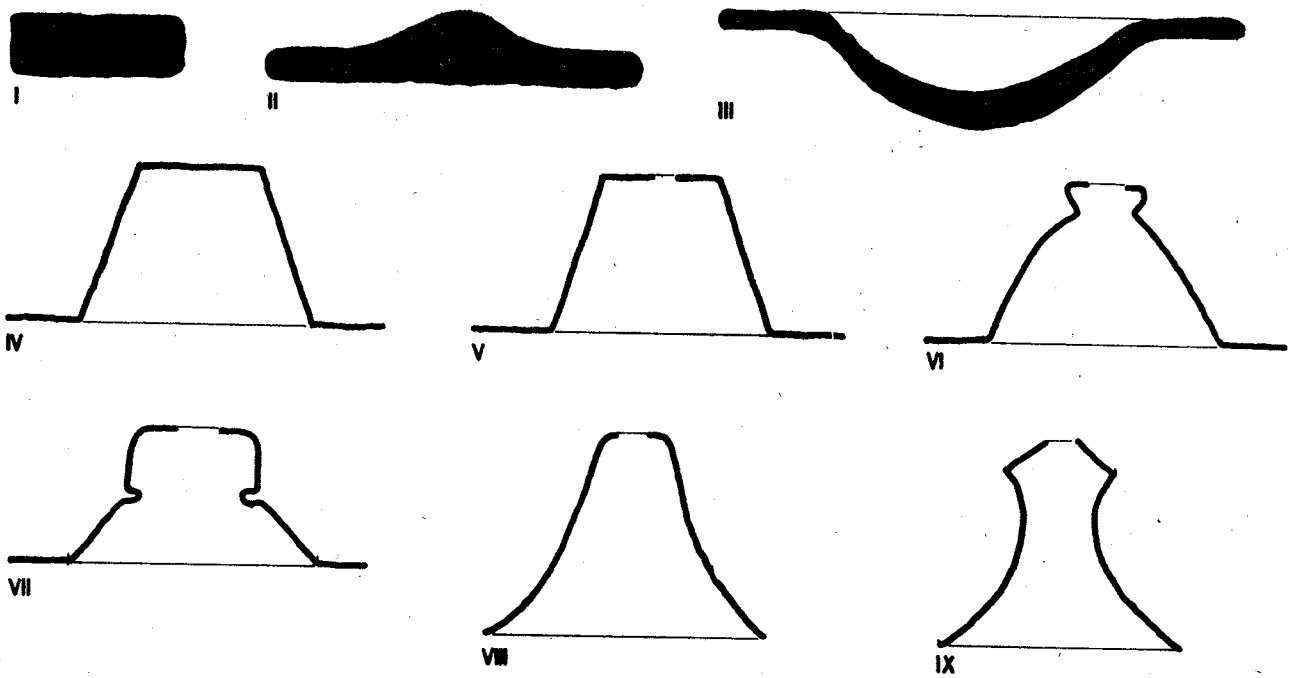


FIG. 5: CHASING THE PHUL CHĀP (I–IX)

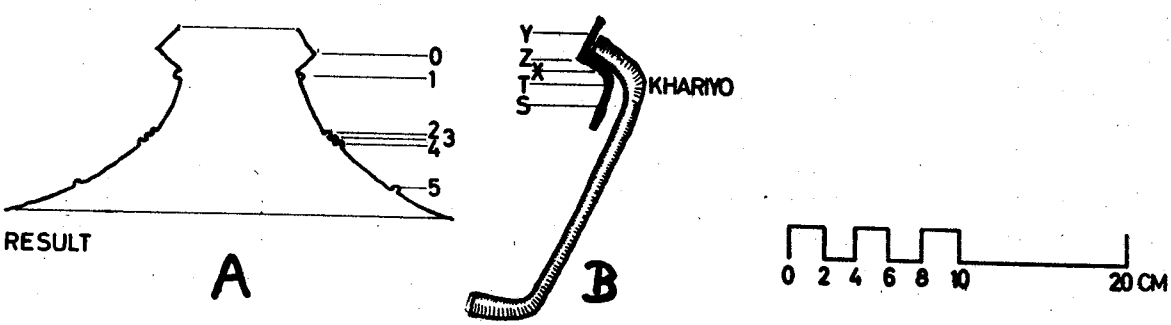


FIG. 6: A: THE RESULT OF FIG. 5
B: WORKING WITH THE KHARIYO

can beat without changing the position of one's body and is not compelled to aim exactly". This acceleration of the rhythm is important because the disk is thin and has to be reheated after a maximum of two minutes hammering. Finally, the pāk disk is placed in a vertical position and hammered round the edge with the hotro. This process is called ṭhāṛo khãdnu [44]. It is meant to prevent the rim from cracking.

After being heated and flattened seven times altogether (2 - 2 1/2 minutes each) the diameter of the disk has grown from 10 to 22 cm (fig. 5,I-II).

Phase No. 2: The disk is again hammered until it is converted into a spherical form: the pāk becomes khorsol [45]. First of all, the metal must be chased toward the centre. This process is called by the Kāmi mājh kopryāunu, "to make the centre hump". For this purpose, the strokes begin approximately at the centre of the pāk radius and move along a concentric circle. They hammer so that the face of the ghan strikes the surface at a slightly slanting angle. The strokes end in a circle, about 3 cm from the centre. As a result, the disk soon takes on the shape of a plate (fig. 5, III). The concentric zone is first hammered with the ghan pane, then with the hotro. After the convexity has been deepened in such a way, the Kāmi thins the metal which is reduced towards the centre (gãṭ) [46] in order to widen the bottom of the "plate". Alternating with this work, he hammers the rim flat (pher chānnu, "to eliminate the rim") with the face of the hotro. The bottom is straightened and finally demarcated from the side of the bulge by a sharp edge. Meanwhile the concavity has become so deep that this edge must be shaped with the hat ghan (cf. above, "Tools"). Now the workpiece assumes a "hat-shape" (fig. 5, IV). Then it is placed on to the face of the samesne ghan (cf. above, "Tools"), and the round base plate (cakki) is cut off by means of the chisel (fig. 5, V).

During this phase the workpiece has been heated a total of 13 times, each time for 1 - 1.5 minutes. On average, each hammering process took the same

time. The workpiece was always put on to the forge with the "plate's rim" down. In order to determine the degree of the heat the Kāmi threw some dust on to the metal surface every now and then: the workpiece is sufficiently heated when the fire begins to spark. This method is also applied in the following phases.

Phase No. 3: The upper half of the bulge funnel is narrowed in downwards, so that the "hat" becomes a "bell" (fig. 5, V-IX). This contraction is called samesne [47].

First of all, a concavity is hammered into the side of the bulge. This is chased downwards by strokes which are driven in a spiral line (fig. 5,VII). The traces of the strokes are coarse and are parallel to the level of the "hat-brims". The round face of the khariyo serves as a support while shaping the trough. The khariyo is laid through the Y-shaped stick (kābe kāṭh) (plate 10). For the rest, the Kāmi uses the samesne ghan as an anvil. He works sitting on its long shaft and turns the workpiece after every stroke with his left hand. The workpiece is heated and then annealed in a heap of wet rice husks (six minutes). This is done in order to soften the metal. Then the operation described above is repeated exactly - but with one exception: the lower rim is hammered with the mairi pane so that the traces of the stroke run slantwise to the rim line. Thus the cracking of the rim is to be avoided. After further heating with subsequent annealing in rice husks the operation is repeated a second time (fig. 5, VI-VII) until the "bell" is shaped (fig. 5, VIII).

This phase ends in the shaping of the big neck-roll (kakani). Now only the upper rim is heated. Again on the round face of the khariyo the upper bell-rim is bent inwards by spiral strokes of the mairi face. The bell-rim is straightened both from the outside and from the inside. The second strip is hammered in the same way (fig. 5, IX). The edge between both strips is sharpened with the mairi face. During this phase, the workpiece has been heated three times

for a duration of 5.3 and 5 minutes each. The informant remarked, "The chasing is easier when the metal is softened, but we know by experience that this can only be achieved by heating and annealing if the metal has a more or less even thickness".

Phase No. 4: On either rim a strip about 5 cm wide is cut off. Although the Kāmi took great care it had become jagged. Then the Kāmi may begin with the forming of the five small rolls (ḍorā) [48]. The final result may be seen in fig. 6 A; the work itself in fig. 6 B.

As soon as the lower kakani strip (O) is straightened, the Kāmi places the workpiece on to the round face of the khariyo and shapes an edge with the mairi face, first hammering strip X and then strip Y (fig. 6 B). When the strips are wide enough the edges Z and T are traced with the dwāse and strip S is straightened. After heating (nine minutes) and subsequent annealing the edge of roll Z is hammered with the dwāse on the reverse of the round khariyo face. Strip S is again straightened from inside with the mairi face. Just like roll 1, rolls 2,3,4 (fig. 6 A), and 5 are first hammered on the lower half of the strip. All edges (1 - 5) are finally traced from inside with light strokes of the mairi pane. The parts which lie in between them are repeatedly straightened with the mairi face. As a support the Kāmi uses the samesne ghan and the round khariyo face alternately. The informant points out, "It is not only a question of straightening out. After having become too thin in some places by the formation of the edges, the metal must be re-distributed evenly".

Phase No. 5: The rim strip beneath roll 5 (fig. 6 A) is laid on to the samesne ghan and slightly bent outwards with the mairi face. Again the strokes begin at the top beneath the roll and are led in a spiral line towards the rim. After further heating with subsequent annealing in rice husks they begin with the punching. For punching they say buṭṭā hānnu [49].

The workpiece is placed on to the samesne ghan and must be gripped and turned by a helper. The punches are used in the following order: ḍorlaṅga, cari amilo, and phul chāp. The Kāmi works using only eye judgement, but is careful enough: at first, the punch is only tapped into the metal with a slight stroke of the mairi and only after having checked the distance from the last punched pattern, does he deepen the trace by a stronger stroke. [49a)]

C. Mouth and upper part of the neck (mukh)

Phase 1, 2, 3: These first three phases are identical with those described in connection with the manufacture of the phul chāp (B.): pāk → "plate" → "bell". Phase No. 3 is shown in fig. 7:

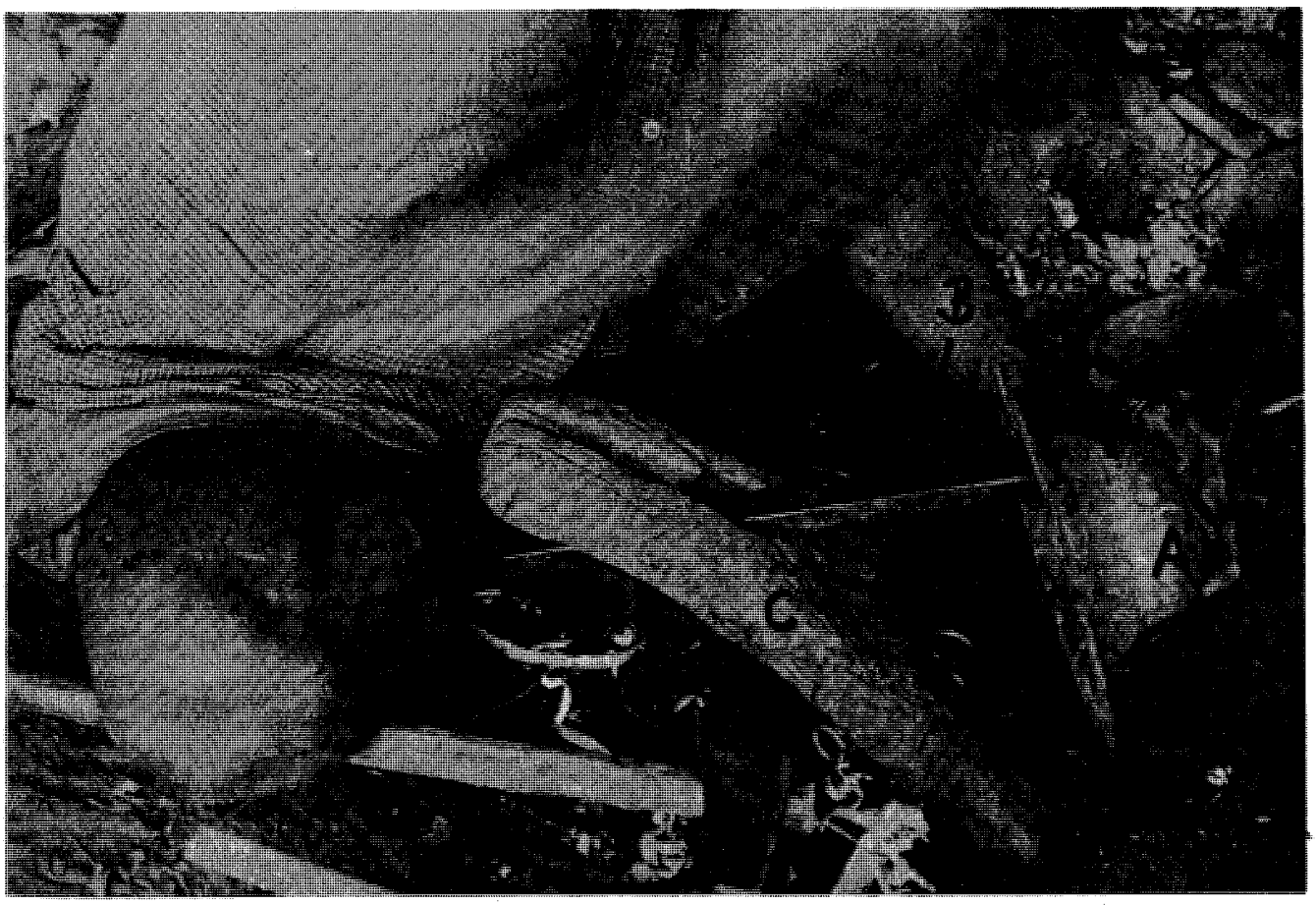
- to narrow the bell-side in (I-IV),
- to shape a "funnel" (V),
- to shape a scroll (VI-X) at the rim of the funnel,
- to remove the "lid" (X),
- to continue to shape the scroll (XI),
- to shape the rolls (XII-XIV).

Both tools and technique are the same as those used for the manufacture of the phul chāp. At the start the scroll (fig. 7, VII-XII) is formed with the tongs as the Kāmi bends the rims inwards. Then the bent strip is hammered with the face of the mairi until the rims reach the first edge of the scroll (fig. 7, XII). While shaping this edge, the "funnel" is further opened; this "opening" is called pharkāuni [50)].

After the mukh has been fitted to the phul chāp the neck of the mukh part turns out to be too tight. It must be widened from inside by careful hammering. During this phase the workpiece has been heated and subsequently annealed a total of 14 times. A sample count showed that the mairi strokes numbered 70 per minute whilst the neck was narrowed in with the pane (fig. 7, II-IV). The strokes increased to 140 per minute whenever the metal surface was straightened with the pane. The difference may be caused by the fact that the chasing - almost exclusively done with the pane - requires more attention to aim the strokes.

8. Hardening the cutting edge of a sickle by quenching.

9. Pouring the copper into the masuro (A); B = pareni, C = tũro.



10. The gagri. Chasing the phul chāp (A); B = khariyo. C = kā̃be kāṭh. (cf. fig. 3).

D. Soldering (rasāunu) of mukh and phul chāp

The lower rim strip of the mukh is incised about 1 cm deep with the plate-shears (kattarnu) at equal distances. Then it is introduced into the phul chāp (or the phul chāp into the mukh) and hammered on to the upper strip of the kakani (fig. 8).

The teeth resulting from the incision are called dāti [51] by the Kāmi. The solder prepared in the meantime (cf. above, "Material") is spread on to the seam with a wooden stick. The workpiece to be dried is exposed to the sunshine for five minutes. Then the rolls and the punched surface are covered with a thick layer of wet cow dung so that the heat "cannot devour them". Now the workpiece is laid on to the forge and turned from time to time. The bubbling solder is squeezed against the metal surface with the handle of the tongs in order to avoid its draining away. In the end the soldered teeth are straightened with the mairi face.

E. Bulge and Bottom (pĩd)

Phase No. 1: The operation is illustrated in fig. 9. As described above, the pāk is flattened (I-III). The only difference to B. and C. consists in the fact that the pāk disk, whose diameter has grown to about 45 cm is turned around and hammered on the underside (IV). First, they form a depression in the centre with the ghan pane. Then the strokes with the ghan face are always carried out from the centre to the rim, but in such a way that the disk remains thicker in the central zone than at the rim. Finally, the disk shows a bowl-like convexity: the pāk has become khorsol (VI). The metal left round the centre is now chased towards the rim - first with the ghan pane, then with the hotro pane and finally, when the "bowl" has already become too deep - with the dwāse.

During this phase the workpiece was heated 28 times altogether, for an average duration of three minutes each.

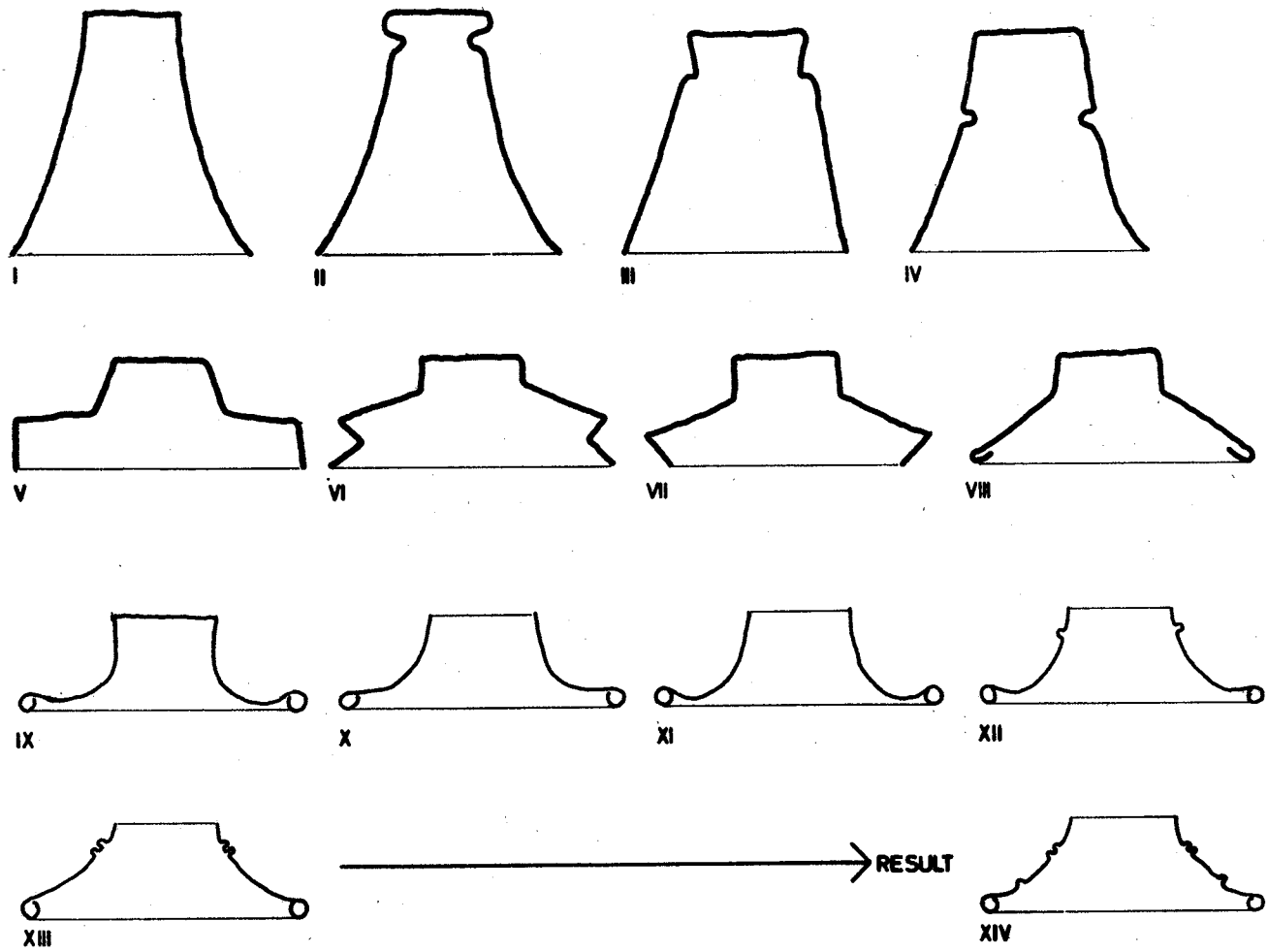


FIG. 7: THE GĀGRI. CHASING THE MUKH (I–XIV)

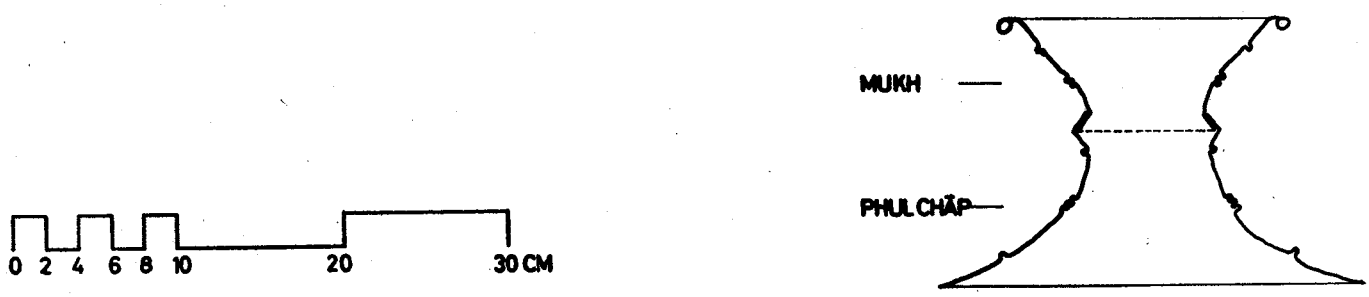


Fig. 8: The gāgri. Joining mukh and phul chāp.

FIG. 8: THE GĀGRI. JOINING MUKH AND PHUL CHĀP

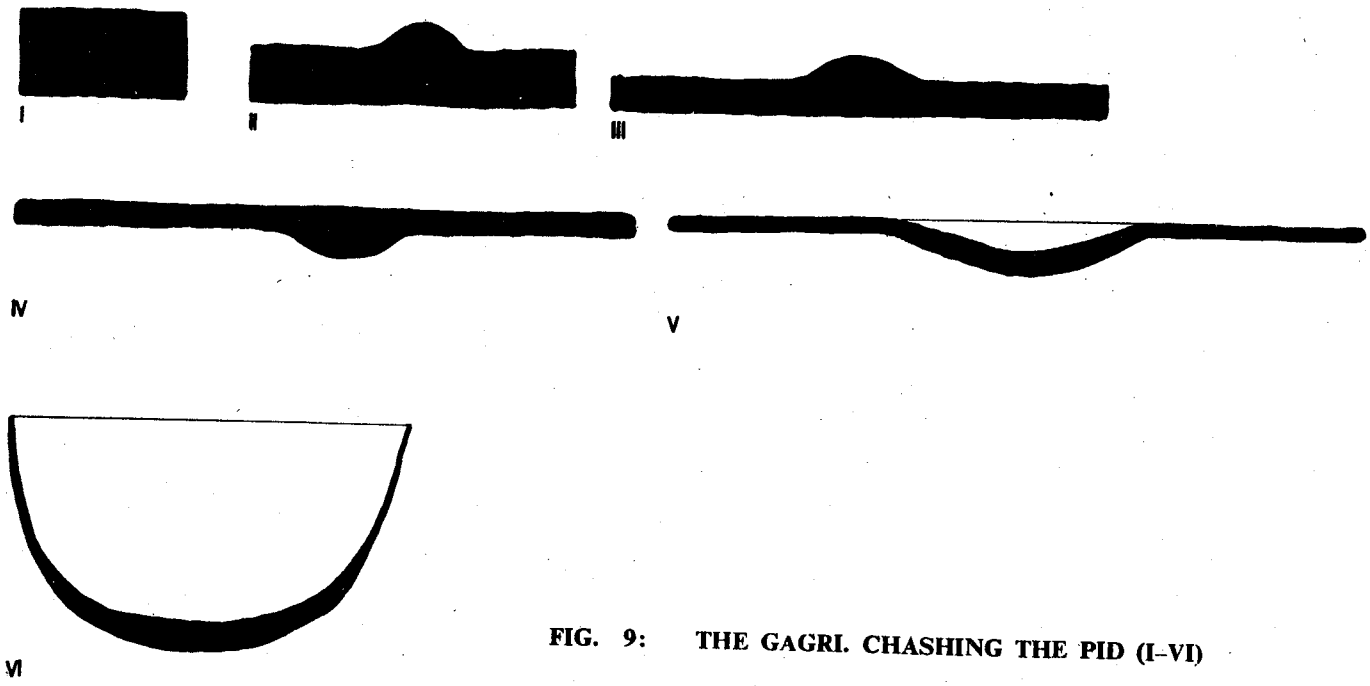


FIG. 9: THE GAGRI. CHASHING THE PID (I–VI)

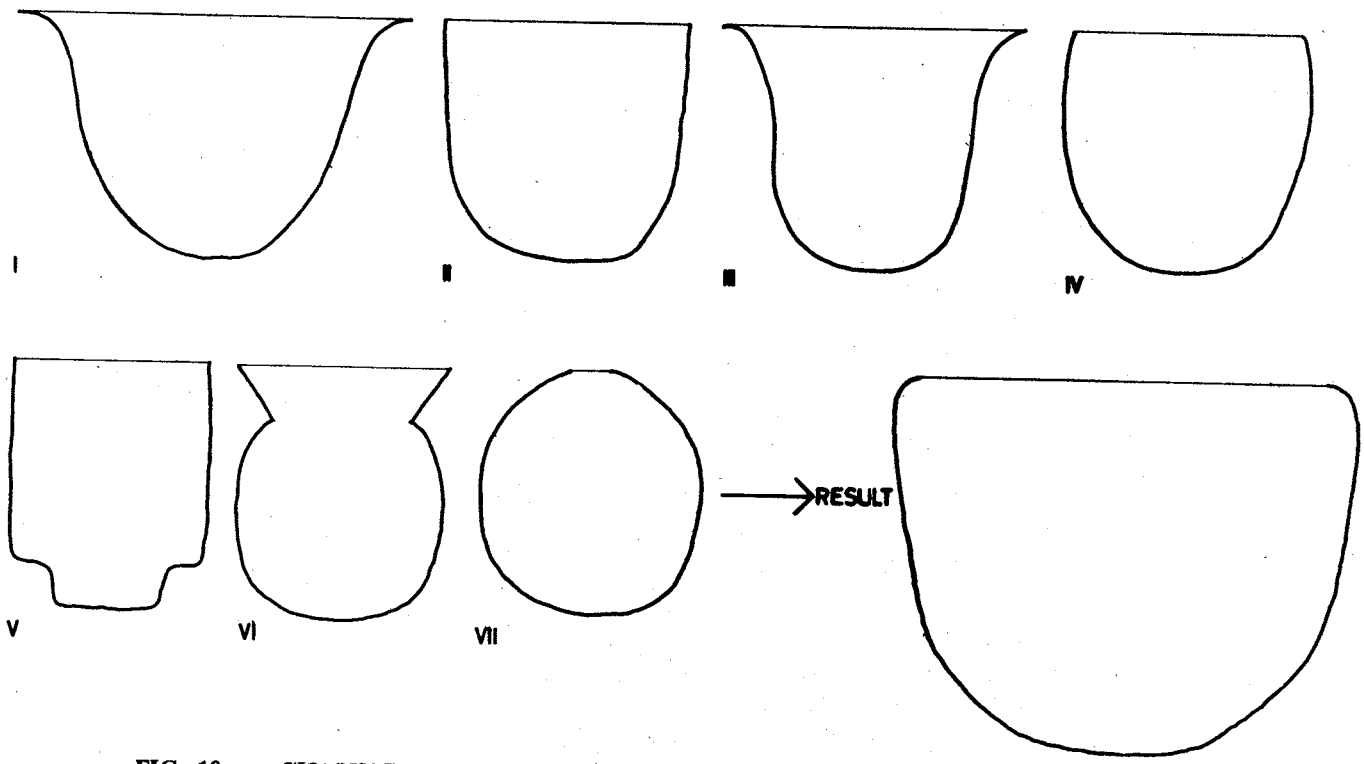


FIG. 10: CHASING THE PID (I–VIII)

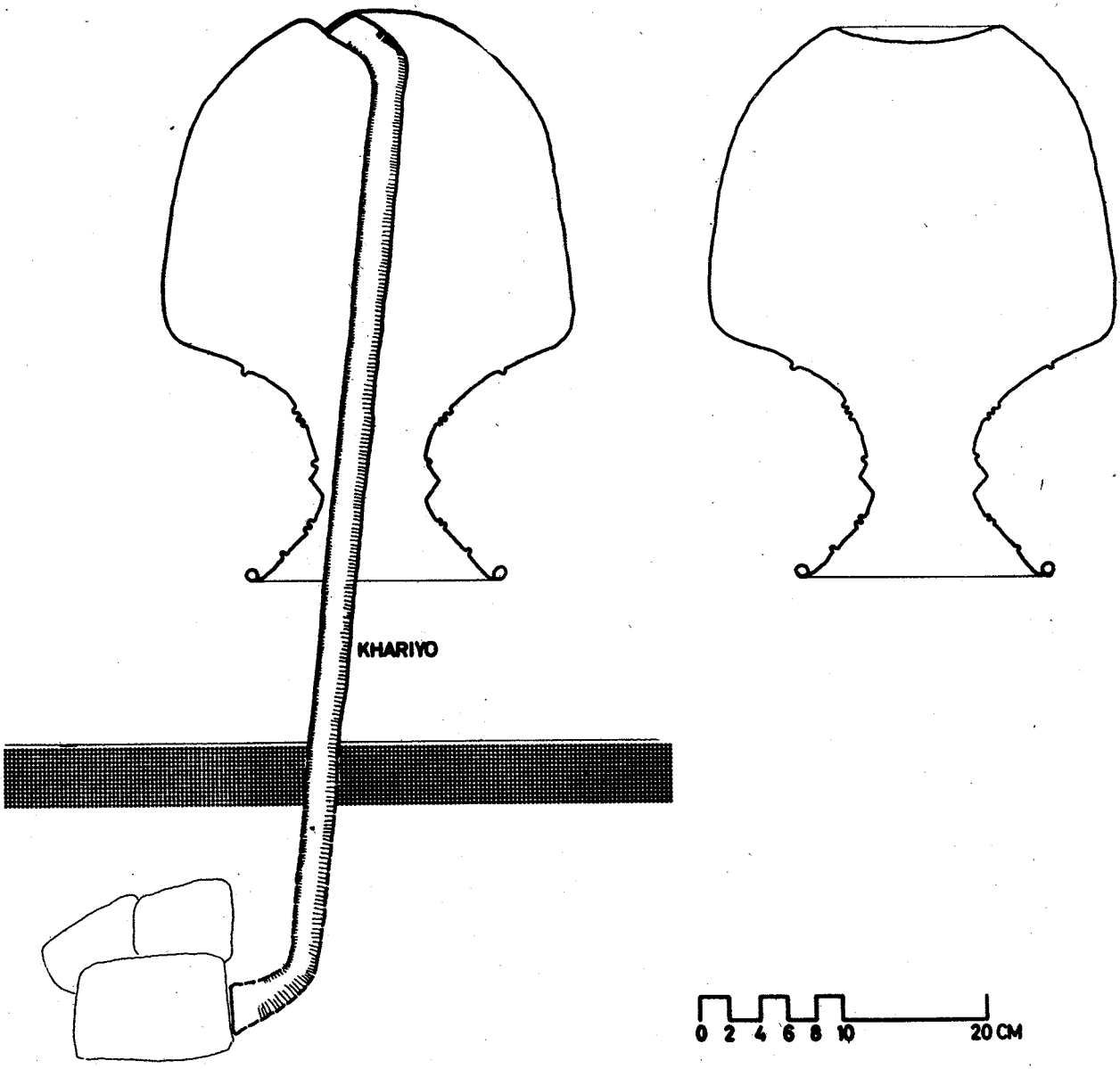


FIG. 11: WORKING WITH THE KHARIYO

Phase No. 2: The operation is illustrated in fig. 10. The base having been widened sufficiently, the Kāmi begins to pull up the bowl-side. This operation is called purnu 52). The workpiece, as yet hammered on the stone anvil, is now placed on to the samesne ghan and hammered with the dwāse: The rims, partly jagged, partly curled up, are straightened. As a result, the "bowl" is converted into a "bell" (fig. 10, I). By another series of dwāse strokes, running parallel to the rim, the "bell" is shaped back into a "bowl" (fig. 10, II). While the Kāmi hammers the inside, the rim widens again into the shape of a "bell" (fig. 10, III). This must be corrected by strokes from outside (fig. 10, IV). Then the chasing is interrupted in order to solder up some cracks which are about 5 mm long resulting from the chasing. The rims of the cracks are slightly slid over one another with the mairi pane. Then the solder flux is spread on. The soldering process is the same as above.

At the border between bulge and base they now shape a depression with the mairi pane. It is chased upwards so that the vessel tapers slightly (fig. 10, V). As the strokes are again led up to the rim, it curves outwards. The next operation is "to close" the vessel. This is called bãdhnu 53). The mairi pane forms a depression (fig. 10, VI). This depression is widened with the mairi face and chased to the rim with strokes in a concentric circle (fig. 10, VII). Thus the metal which had been curled up at the rim is reduced and smoothed.

Phase No. 3: Now the whole surface is hammered twice with the mairi face so that the sheet assumes an even thickness. This is called māsu milāunu 54). The stroke lines run concentricly. ghan ṭheli and muni serve as anvils (cf. above, "Tools"). During this phase the workpiece has been heated only once and was subsequently annealed in rice husks.

F. Soldering phul chāp and pĩd together

The rim of the phul chāp (shoulder) turns out to be too long. After a strip of about 1 cm breadth has been cut off, both parts of the vessel must be fitted to each other. They must be straightened

with the mairi until their rims touch each other evenly all round. The Kāmi spends 40 minutes on this.

Then both rims are incised at equal distances (depth and distance apart: about 1 cm). The teeth resulting from the incision (dāti) are pulled apart in such a way that, as soon as both parts of the vessel are fixed together at the rims, every second tooth covers the other one, or, that every second tooth is covered by another one. Then the Kāmi puts his left hand into the vessel, supporting the teeth with his index and middle fingers. He smoothes the seam from the outside by light strokes of the mairi. The solder flux is spread only on the outside so that the teeth are entirely covered. Apart from the soldering, the workpiece has been heated only once during this phase, but only at the rims "in order to soften the teeth".

G. Around the workpiece a big wood-fire is kindled. After twelve minutes they take the workpiece out of the fire and bury it quickly in a heap of wet rice husks. The metal is still hot when it is polished with a handful of rice husks until the copper shines light-red. This is called ujilyāunu 55).

H. The khariyo is driven into the ground with its rectangular face upwards and it is fixed with pegs. Then the vessel is placed over it and the base is hammered with the mairi face: a depression formed at the centre of the base (fig. 11) is widened centrifugally until a depression (also called pĩd) is formed in the base.

Then bulge and shoulder surface are again straightened. The strokes with the mairi face are led across the solder seam and also remove the "scales" (pāpro) - a result of the chasing. The Kāmi calls this process maṭhārnu 56).

Last of all, they fill the jug with water in order to check if there are any holes or cracks.

Altogether 27 hours and 20 minutes working time has been spent on the water-jug. Two helpers were permanently present to assist the Kāmi.

F. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE KAMI

1. kodālo: just as kodāli (hoe), except that the blade is smaller and thicker. Whilst the kodāli is used only for transplanting rice and millet, the kodālo serves as a shovel and spade for all sorts of work.
2. cãde: hoe with triangular blade.
3. kuṭi: short-handled hoe with a long thin blade, used mainly in vegetable gardens.
4. hãsiyā: sickle.
5. khurpā: sickle, somewhat smaller than hãsiyā. The lower half of the blade is straight. Sometimes the cutting edge is serrated so that it can be used for cutting even bigger twigs (leaf fodder).
6. phali: plough-share made of rel kamāni iron. The cross-section is rectangular or slightly oval. It has a thin cutting edge on the front side. It is attached to the wooden plough-sole with a U-shaped nail (karuwā).
7. khukri: the well-known Nepalese hewing knife.
8. ḍāṛu: ladle made of chased silever 57).
9. jhãgã: a cooking-vessel (mostly) without handles. Made of chased iron or copper; the blade is bent downwards and the neck is short.
10. tāpke: small, deep pan made of chased iron with a riveted handle.
11. cyālaṅg 58): pan made of chased iron, with a shallow spherical base; the upright riveted handle is furnished with a disk to protect one from burning oneself.
12. loṭo: jug without handle and spout. Made of chased silever.
13. baṭukā: wide bowl with low sides and base bent slightly downwards. Made of chased silever.
14. othāno or odhāno: iron tripod for cooking-vessels.
15. borjo 59): chased iron bowl, riveted to a three or four-legged rack. In former times people used this bowl to burn pine chips in. It was meant for lighting.

16. culesi: cutter for vegetables (which are cut by pressing them against the cutting edge). Stand and blade are made of chased iron.

17. sāṅglā or sāṅglo: iron chain with large oval links.

18. kabjā: various fittings made of chased iron. Meant for padlocks.

19. barselo: adze for the carpenter. Short shaft and broad blade.

20. various tools for the carpenter: chisel, plane iron, file, claw-wrench, awl etc.

21. jap 60): ornamental fitting for wooden vessels, made of chased brass or silever.

22. sābi: vervel, fixed above the pestle of the stamp mill as a strengthening.

23. various iron parts of the loom.

G. REPAIRS

The most frequent repairs are the following:

pāin hālnu: to sharpen cutting edges, that is the re-shaping of the cutting edge by hammering and subsequent quenching (plate 8).

gãsnu: "to join something else", or "to join together by welding".

rasāunu: "to mend by means of sheet-metal patches or by soldering".

dāt kāṭnu[61] repair of the file. The grooves are retraced with another file and the blade must undergo a case-hardening. For this purpose they use a mixture of ashes (of feathers of a hen) and the sap of pressed oxalis leaves 62)).

Required repairs and life time of some tools:

tool	repair frequency	life time
kodāli:	once p.a.: sharpening	2 - 3 years
kodālo:	15 times p.a.: sharpening	2 - 3 years
cãde:	15 times p.a.: sharpening	2 - 3 years
kuṭi:	once p.a.: sharpening	2 - 3 years
bancoro:	twice p.a.: sharpening	12 - 14 years
khurpa:	bi-weekly: sharpening	6 - 7 years
hãsiyā:	bi-weekly: sharpening	6 - 7 years
khukri:	once p.a.: sharpening	15 - 16 years

If something cannot be mended it may still be re-cast. For example, if a sickle's cutting edge is already jagged (kãgar bhaeko 63)) in several places, the jagged part is cut off and the rest is converted into a knife. The Kāmi can make a cãde out of a used kodāli, whereas a worn out kodālo may still be used for a socket.

NOTES

1) This is a slightly edited version of the German original in Archiv für Völkerkunde, vol. 26, 1972 (Vienna, Austria). -- I wish to thank Jeṭhā Kāmi Kālulohār, Lāl Bahādur Kālulohār, Phurman Yonjen and Ser Bahādur Mamba, who were my chief informants, W.P. Bauer for the chemical analysis of the samples, Niels Gutschow for the drawing of the figures, Mrs. J. Schäfer, Bisnu Prasād Sreṣṭha and, most of all, my wife Sylvia for their invaluable help in editing this paper. -- The present observations were made in 1972 during a field research in a Tamang community, generously sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For the transliteration of Nepali, the system of R.L. Turner (1965) is used.

2) Turner (1965) derives the term kāmi from Sanscrit karmī, 'active'. The Nepali word for 'carpenter', karmi, derives from the same word.

3) ṭol = 'ward', 'quarter of a town'.

4) The operations described below were observed in both of the Kālulohār smithies.

5) swāṅge ? < swāṅg = 'appearance', 'imitation'.

6) All statistical data quoted here were collected in June 1971.

7) This ceremony takes place on the 9th day after a boy's birth and on the 7th after a girl's birth.

8) aṣṭami = the eighth dav of the lunar 15 days' period.

9) Muluki Ain (B.S.) 1910. Cf. also Macdonald 1970.

10) Muluki Ain 1910: p. 369 § 3 and p. 678-681. The Europeans and Muslims belonged to the upper, non-untouchable group of the pāni nacalne.

11) Nepal has denied any "positive discrimination" to the Untouchables. But even prior to the Constitution of 1967, the law stipulated HMG's right "to make special provisions (wiśeṣ wyāwasthā) for women, children and persons belonging to any

backward class of citizens" (Civil Liberties Act 1955; Nepāli Ain Saṅgraha B.S. 2021: p. 1221 § 4, 5 and 7). The Constitution of Nepal (1967: p. 5 § 10) prohibits any discrimination in the application of the laws and with respect to employment in the public service. Cf. also Caplan 1972: 58-96; Béteille 1967: 92-98, Bhatt 1971.

12) As to behaviour and terminology, "ritual friends" (mit) are considered consanguines.

13) Formerly, the Indian Army employed the Kāmi only as unskilled labourers but not as soldiers.

14) Sexual intercourse with women of the pāni nacalne castes was punishable for members of the higher castes (Muluki Ain 1910: p. 670-671 § 1-2).

15) biśwakarmā/wiśwakarmā = 'the creator, the god Brahma, (...) Shiva, a deity who is supposed to have invented all handicrafts and arts, a carpenter, a mason, a blacksmith' (Pathak 1970: 1001).

16) The popular etymology derives biṣṭ from bis = 'twenty' by stating that in the past, the Kāmi had received 20 shares of prestation (bhāg) from the Tamang client (cf. below).

17) The names of the days of the full moon are identical with the names of the months. Actually, the days of the full moon do not necessarily fall in the homonymous month.

18) In this respect, too, we find some close parallels in the interrelations between the Tamang and the Kāmi on the one hand, and between the Kāmi and the Damāi on the other. Just as every Tamang family (household) has its bāli kāmi, so has every Kāmi family its bāli damāi tailor. The Damāi, too, call their clients among the Kāmi biṣṭ and receive from the latter regular prestations in natural products, namely cereals and meat, alcohol, salt and spices. The amount of these prestations depends on the size of the Kāmi family the tailor is working for, because the greater the family the more clothes have to be sewn. - In the same way, every Kāmi family

has its Sārki shoemaker. He can be remunerated either in kind (as is the Damāi) or, on individual agreement, in service (one kodāli for one pair of shoes, etc.). -- The pattern of relationship between the Kāmi and the Damāi with regard to economy, commensality, intermarriage, etc. shows that, rather than forming a homogeneous block, the untouchable castes constitute a sort of sub-hierarchy within the greater hierarchy. This is especially true of the concept of "ritual" impurity: The relations between individual untouchable castes repeat the relations existing between two categories of castes, namely the non-untouchables and the untouchables. Just in the same way as the caste of the Damāi is untouchable for the caste of the Kāmi, all Damāi, Kāmi, Sārki, etc. are untouchable for the Brahmins, Chetri, Newar, Tamang, etc. (For the relationship between client and specialist cf. also Bista 1972: 24 ff.).

19) parma ='mutual assistance', also the exchange of workmen or plough oxen.

20) This dependence may be at the origin of the beggar-like behaviour of the Kāmi.

21) Nearly one half of the Tamang households has to make additional purchases of grain against cash.

22) The first Tamang from Chautara were recruited during the first years of World War II.

23) The increase in their cash assets is partly due to the development mentioned under a). Besides this, the Kāmi takes advantage of the fact that he is less dependent on farming than the Tamang. He can leave the village from time to time for several months to hire himself out as labourer or to trade in metal or hardware.

24) The analysis of the samples has shown the following results: darśan = common quartz; rāto māṭo = mainly Si besides some Fe, Mg and Al (cf. Bauer 1973: 2).

25) kop = ?; māṭo = 'soil', 'earth'.

26) In one of the pāin samples, 49.86% copper and 49.17% zinc have been found. With regard to its high content of zinc, the pāin is similar to the alloy called silever, cf. footnote 57 (Bauer 1973: 1). - The cutting edge of a tool is also called pāin. Cf. below pāin hālnu, as well.

27) The word harbi might be related with hāṛ = bone'.

28) cf. also ṭũro in Sharma 2019: 421 and in Turner 1965: 252.

29) Turner gives for udāunu 'to rise' (sun, moon), 'to dawn'.

30) cf. Hindi maṭhārnā and Nepali muṭhārnu.

31) < kamāunu, 'to work', 'to earn' and ḍhuṅgo/ ḍhuṅgā, 'stone'.

32) ṭheli < ? ṭhelnu, 'to push', 'to protrude' (Turner 1965: 254).

33) samesne < Nepali sameṭnu, 'to gather together', 'to pull up', 'to arrange'; Hindi sameṭnā, 'to collect', 'to gather up', 'to contract' (Turner 1965: 588; Pathak 1970: 1065).

34) muni, lit. 'below', 'underneath'.

35) kābe < kāp, 'ramification', 'bifurcation' and kāṭh, 'wood'.

36) Turner (1965: 70), katarni, 'scissors'.

37) The pronunciation varies. Sometimes the word sounded like bednu. The latter might be derived from bedhnu, 'to penetrate'.

38) Instead of ṭauko, lit. 'head', the Kāmi occasionally say pāso, lit. 'snare'.

39) kān, lit. 'ear'.

40) pāin, 'temper of a blade', 'strength' (Turner 1965: 371).

41) phul chāp < phul, 'flower' and chāp, 'stamp'. The stamping on this part of the vessel is also called phul chāp.

42) mukh, lit. 'mouth', 'face'.

43) pāk < ? pāk, 'the cooking'.

44) ṭharo, 'upright' and khãdnu, 'to press', 'to press down'.

45) khorsol < Hindi khor, 'trough', 'manger' (?) (Pathak 1970: 276).

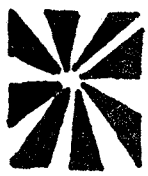
46) gãṭ < ? gãṛ, 'goitre' or gãṭho, 'knot'.

47) cf. footnote 33).

48) ḍorā < ? ḍoro, 'thread', 'line', 'course' (Turner 1965: 262).

49) buṭṭā, 'pattern', hānnu, 'to strike'.

49a) ḍorlaṅga resembles the low relief of a double pearl-string; cari amilo reminds of a garland; and phul chāp consists of eight (or less) triangles in a quadrangular field (cf. drawing).



50) pharkāuni < pharkāunu, 'to send back', 'to turn'.

51) dāti < dãt, 'tooth'.

52) purnu, lit. 'to fill up', 'to bury'.

53) bãdhnu, lit. 'to bind', 'to tie up'.

54) māsu, lit. 'meat' (here: the metal), and milāunu, 'to arrange'.

55) ujilyāunu, lit. 'to polish'.

56) cf. footnote 30).

57) silever < English 'silver', probably because of the white shine of this alloy. A sample brought from Patan contains 50.25% copper, 48.22% zinc and 0.78% lead. Cf. also footnote 26 (Bauer 1970: 203 - 206).

58) cyālaṅg: a Tamang term.

59) borjo: a Tamang term, < ? Nepali borsi, 'a small stove' (makal) (Sharma 2019: 769 and Turner 1965: 461).

60) jap < ? jalap in jalap lāunu, 'to gilden', 'to tin'.

61) dãt, lit. 'tooth' and kāṭnu, 'to cut'.

62) The plant is called cari amilo.

63) kãgar < Hindi kāgarī, 'worthless' (Pathak 1970: 202).

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SEMINAR OF YOUNG TIBETOLOGISTS

This is the third and final invitation to the seminar of "young Tibetologists" to be held in Zürich this year.

The seminar is organised on the personal initiative of Martin Brauen and Per Kværne as an informal gathering of young scholars engaged in a great variety of Tibetan studies—history, art, religion, linguistics, social anthropology, etc. Our common interest is *Tibet,* as a country and a culture highly significant as a field of study in its own right.

On the basis of the answers to our second invitation, we have decided on the following dates for the seminar:

Sunday	June 26th 1977	: arrival
Monday	June 27th	: symposium, visit to the exhibition "Impressionen aus Tibet " (Coll. H. Harrer)
Tuesday	June 28th	: symposium
Wednesday	June 29th	: symposium
Thursday	June 30th	: morning: symposium afternoon: visit to Museum Rietberg
Friday	July 1st	: symposium
Saturday	July 2nd	: excursion to the Tibetan Monastery at Rikon

We sincerely hope these dates will be convenient, and that we may look forward to meeting you in Zürich.

For your accomodation in Zürich, please complete the enclosed *From No. 1*, to be returned to:

Volkerkundemuseum der Universität Zurich
att. Miss M. Grauwiler
Ramistrasse 71 *CH*-8006 *Zürich,* SWITZERLAND

You will receive a confirmation of your reservation with the name and address of your hotel.

We do hope that everybody will contribute a paper, film, or research report. Kindly also complete *Form No.* 2, to be returned to:

Professor Per Kværne
Religionshistorisk Institutt
Postboks 1010, Blindern, *Oslo* 3, NORWAY

We should like both forms to be returned as soon as possible, and not later than end of January 1977. When we have received the forms, we will count on your definite intention to participate in the seminar.

In Spring 1977, a final letter with the detailed programme of the seminar will be sent to those who have already returned Forms 1 and 2.

The result of the seminar will entirely depend on each of its participants. Personally, we feel it is a very exciting opportunity for all of us who share a common interest to get to know each other and to learn from each other.

With best wishes, and looking forward to hearing from you.

Martin Brauen Per Kværne

FORM 1

REQUIRED HOTEL RESERVATION AT ZURICH,

☐ single room without bath (about SFr. 30,—)
☐ double room without bath (about SFr. 45,—for two persons)
☐ single room with bath (about SFr. 50—)
☐ double room with bath (about SFr. 80for two persons)
In the above mentioned prices breakfast is included
☐ I cannot afford a room in a hotel. Please find a cheaper private accomodation for me. I can spend max. SFr.....per night.

— Food is available in the University at about SFr. 5- per meal
— Extra costs for excursions to Rikon, etc.: SFr.: 30,- to 50,-

☐ Please reserve for me a hotel room as mentioned above for the time of the seminar (i. e. from the evening of Sunday June 26th until the morning of Saturday July 2nd).
☐ I can only attend part of the seminar. Please reserve the hotel from..... until.....

Name and address:.....
.....
.....
.....

This form should be returned to:

Volkerkunde museum der Universtat Zurich
att. Miss M. Grauwiler
Ramistrasse 7
CH-8006 *Zurich*
SWITZERLAND

FORM 2

Title/subject of paper/research report/film (delete what does not apply)

.....

.....

Requirements (if any) of technical apparatus:

- ☐ slide projector; size of slides:....x....mm
- ☐ 16 mm film projector; magnetic sound
- ☐ 16mm film projector; optic sound
- ☐ 8 or super 8mm film projector
- ☐ tape recorder
- ☐ casette recorder
- ☐ gramophone
- ☐ overhead projector

The duration will be approx.....minutes (please feel free to indicate any lenght of time up to 1 hour)

If you can only attend part of the seminar, please indicate which days you will be present

.....

Please return, preferably by the end of January 1977, to:

Professor Per Kværne
Religionshistorisk institutt
Postboks 1010
Blindern, *Oslo* 3
NORWAY

Your own name and address: .....

.....

.....

.....

SHORT REVIEWS

* *Books*

THE TIBETAN ART OF HEALING By Theodore Burang. *ix-171 pp.* Published by Watkins, London, 1974, Price : £ 1.50.

This book is a revised edition and translation of the author's *Tibetische Heilkunde,* Zurich 1957. Through prolonged contact with adepts of the traditional Tibetan medical science, the author has gained a high degree of insight into this "art of healing." The present book is a short, highly readable introduction to the basic principles and practices of Tibetan medicine. It is written for the non-specialist; however, the author has much to say which, one feels, might provide food for thought for the Western medical practitioner as well. Thus, "methods which aim at removing only the outward symptoms of disease, strike the Tibetan doctor as superficial. To his way of thinking, a lasting cure can only be effected when the whole mental and emotional world of the patient is taken into account" (p. 2). In particular, the two chapters "About Cancer" (pp. 76-88) and "Mental Illness and Possession" (pp. 89-107) would seem to contain many insights which merit very serious attention.

P. K.

GLIMPSES OF NEPAL WOODWORK. By Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo. The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, New Series, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1968–69. (Ed. Umakant P. Shah). *xv and 48 pages of text with 38 pages of illustrations and a map.* Price: I. Rs. 40/–

Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork is one of the earliest studies devoted to the structural and ornamental woodworking tradition of the Newar craftsmen of Nepal. In an unpretentious, though at times perhaps too casual, style the author has given a general account of the distinctive ornamental features of traditional architecture found in the major centers of the Kathmandu Valley.

The work is arranged in 24 titled sections. The first five sections (Prologue, Historical Background, Cultural Contacts, Scope and Aims, and Nature of the Data) include a broad historical and cultural discussion, bringing the reader as briefly as possible up to the period under study, 17th to 19th century. In summarizing the history of major influences upon the traditional architecture and upon the composite culture of Nepal, the author discusses the early legacy of Indian art, religion, and philosophy; the later contacts with Tibet and China; and at last a brief exposure to Moghul and Rajput motifs and styles, leading into the 19th century. He takes us then to the architectural forms themselves as found in the temples, *vihāra*-s, palaces, and private residences he has chosen for examination. As the author indicates. the foundations

of these structures may in some cases be dated as early as the 14th or 15th century, based on historical and inscriptional data. However, as they exist today they represent largely the composite of numerous additions and restorations.

In three short sections, pages 14 to 18, we find a tantalizingly brief discussion of The Artisans, Tools and Apparatus, and Technique. We are introduced to a number of Newari technical, descriptive, and iconographical terms, many possibly being identified for the first time in such a publication. Clearly there exists a technical vocabulary of precise architectural terms, used by the traditional artisans themselves, which could well replace the often quite inappropriate European terms. Examples of the more distinctive terms found in Newari are indicated intermittently thorugh the sections titled The Doors, The Pillars, The Brackets, and Entablature.

In the section on The Struts, on page 28, the author establishes that, "The general nomenclature for struts is *vilampu* as used by the carpenters of Bhadgāon and Kāthmāndu, while the Pātan carpenters call the struts *vilampan*. The corner sturts of the *vyāla* motif are classified into four categories:

1. *Siṅgha:* lion,
2. *Bhenrā siṅgha:* ram-horned lion,
3. *Maga siṅgha:* goat-horned lion, and
4. *Garuḍa siṅgha:* Garuda-faced lion."

However, one can take this subject a bit further. We are informed by Newar traditional carpenters in Patan that the generaic term for strut is *tunā* (तुना), meaning any plain brace or support for the eaves of the roof. According to the *sikarmī-s'* or master carpenters, only a strut carved with the figure of a deity is called *bilāṅpau* (बिलाँपौ) which appears to be a variant rendering of the terms *vilampū* and *vilampan* given by the author. The corner strut, however, is distinguished by the carpenters of Patan by the technical term *kuṅ sala* (कुँसल) meaning, "corner horse". The word is used to indicate the corner *tunā*, whether it depicts a lion or other animal, or whether it is left uncarved. There seems to be need for greater clarity. One could make other small objections, such as to the use of the term "griffin" for *kun sala*. "Griffin" is perhaps a reasonable equivalent for the *Garuda singha,* since it is a Western evolution of the early Iranian and Central Asian prototypes from which the Indian varieties of beaked, winged, lion-bodied *vyala* forms are also evolved.

A very useful addition to *Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork* would have been a glossary of fully defined terms relating to the technical aspects of art and architecture that are discussed in the volume. Such a glossary could form the systematic beginning of a work that is much needed in the study of Nepalese architecture. Any tradition deserves to be described wherever possible in the terminology most appropriate to its culture. The author should be commended for making an early suggestive step in that direction.

The section describing The Windows is evidently of special interest to the author. A large number of the plates, both photographs and drawings, illustrate aspects of the infintely varied ornamental windows. A transitional 19th century window (Plate XXIII, No. 3) with undertones of Nepalese and European Neo-classical hybridization, is not discussed. A carved grille (Plate XXXV, No. 8) clearly influenced by early 19th century European design, is also not discussed.

One must remark that the many small illustrations, some only of incomplete views, are far less informative than larger, more visually telling photographs of the really excellent examples would have been, even if fewer in number, This criticism might be made of many of the photographs of windows (Plates XX-XXIII) and of other illustrations, e. g. the struts in Plates XVIII and XIX. The magnificent *torana* from Chusyabahal, Kathmandu (Plate XXXVI, No. 7) could have visually told us much more about the basic form, structure, and iconography of "the *torana*" if it had been given half the page or a full page, rather than being reduced to a minute $1\frac{1}{2}$ "x $2\frac{1}{2}$ " block. On the other hand, the line drawings (of pillars, Plates IX and X; of types of window decoration, Plates XXIX-XXXIV) and the photographs of doorframe orders (Plate XI), with terminology indicated in the case of the pillars and doorframe orders, are certainly to the point.

The author continues with short sections on The Tympanum, The Wall Band, Eave Boards, The Erotic Scenes, Symbolism, Social Life, and last, The Epilogue. In this latter section the author restates somewhat more extensively his earlier statement of connections with South India, particularly with reference to "Nānyadeva of Simrāongarh (11th-12th cent.), who called himself 'the ornament of Karnataka family', (p. 44). A brief comparison is made of architectural features of the Chalukyas with those of Nepal.

Such a comparison might also be made with the wooden architecture of the 16th to 18th century in Gujarat or in Kerala, which were at the very border of Karnataka power and received direct and sustained Chalukyan influence during the 11th and 12th centuries. Chalukyan style and architectural theory were continued in the South by the Hoysalas into the beginning of the 14th century. The 16th to 18th century architecture of Kerala particularly bears a number of striking correspondences to the wooden architecture of Nepal from the same period. Largely constructed of wood, brick and plaster upon stone socles, Kerala's temples have corresponding carved struts (Malayalam *tāṅṅu*) depicting the gods, supporting the eaves of often multiroofed superstructures. The custom of placing a carved wooden strut depicting a rampant *siṁha vyāla* at the corners supporting the roofs is also a common practice and strikingly like the Nepalese tradition. The intricate and ornamental carved Kerala woodwork is most often polychromed as well, and a variety of pierced ornamental wooden screens

or *jāla* is common. The roofs of temples are often sheathed in copper and surmounted by gilded finials or *tazhikakūtam* as they are known in Kerala. Cast as well as repousse ornamental hardware and decorative devices are commonly found as architectural embellishments. Again this is a usage characteristic of the architecture of Nepal as well.

There are indeed similarities, but to say that "somehow the influence of South India on the history and architecture of Nepal has been considerable" (p. 44) is still premature. A short reference is made to the South Indian "Vāstuśāstra text—especially the *Mānasara*", and the author detects in the wooden architecture of Nepal architectural features described in this text attributed to the 7th to 9th century (p. 45). However relating the precepts of early texts to later traditional architecture is difficult even under more favorable circumstances. Until it is established that such a text as the *Mānasāra* or other South Indian works on *śilpaśāstra* were in use in Nepal, or until a thorough study is made of the history of dated architectural texts known to have been in use in Nepal, we should not jump to hurried or romantic conclusions on the basis of what is still very slim evidence. It is reasonable to expect that in late medieval times two secluded areas on the periphery of an ever-changing India might preserve and continue to develop many of the ancient forms and techniques of wooden architecture. Today, the tradition of wooden temple architecture, having died out in most of the South Asian subcontinent, lingers on in Kerala, and only in Nepal does it survive in such vital abundance and infinite variety. A comparative study could certainly be done. There are ample textual materials as well as hundreds of examples of architecture in these two areas that have only recently begun to be examined in any detail.

The author of *Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork* has produced in his short work a remarkably swift and broad overview with many useful and controversial points not presented previously. Minor criticisms aside, the author should be commended for having made the first attempt at an extended presentation of the subject. He has clearly demonstrated that there is a very real need for further systematic research.

The work is somewhat loosely footnoted: there is a short, but well chosen, bibliography of 18 entries.

Clifford Reis Jones

TRAUMLAND NEPAL. By Dietmar Frank.
192 pp. incl. 116 colour plates, one block-print on orange cloth of a Buddhist prayer flag, and one 24 page travel guide pamphlet. Published by Suddeutscher Verlag, Munchen, 1974. Price: n. a.

The title of this book—"Dreamland Nepal"—indicates a romantic endeavour, and so it is. Mr. Frank has visited Nepal many times, and done a number of treks with his Sherpa friends and companions, as well as several trips to Marpha in Mustang where he also has friends. As the book is intended for the general reader, and to impress by its colour plates rather than by the text, the chapters are short though not necessarily concise. The text is supplemented, however, by a number of schematic profiles, maps and tables, which tend to increase the value of the text. However, this book should be bought because of the marvellous colour plates. Mr. Frank evidently has had time and opportunity to record Nepal as its best. Almost all photographs are taken at the right season from the right place and at the right time of the day. If one knows Nepal well, one realizes the time and patience which lie behind these pictures. On the other hand, one also realizes this is an unreal and overly romantic portrait. The book is a colourful festival from beginning to end—subtly and richly presented. The hard realities of the Nepalese working day are nowhere to be found: the heavy-laden porter, villagers pitted against soil erosion or floods, the malnourished child or the goitre-plagued grandmother. But as the book is intended for coffee-table purposes in the affluent drawing-room, such an approach in understandable.

H.K.K.

DEUTSCHE FORSCHUNG IN NEPAL 1950-1975. By H. Henberger and A. Höfer.
61 pp. Heidelberg/Munchen, April 1976.

This summary of German research in Nepal is a useful publication. It contains a brief historical description of research by (West) German scholars in Nepal during the past 25 years (Part I), a subjectwise list of scholars with some biographical and research data, and a list of German institutions sponsoring work in Nepal (Part II), an authorwise bibliography with a subject index (Part III), along with an Index of persons and institutions.

This publication concerns itself only with basic or pure research and not with so-called applied research. A few works by non-Germans are also included in the Bibliography, as they have, or have had, some direct connection with German projects in Nepal or with German institutions.

In terms of number of items (articles, short communications etc.) published on a given subject, the survey reveals that Zoology is the most important followed by Geo-

graphy and Botany/Limnology. However, in terms of detailed studies published, such as books or long monographs, social sciences and humanities are by far the most substantial fields for German researchers. (Auer, Donner, Frank, Funke, Gutschow, Kaschewsky, Kölver, Oppitz, etc).

The bibliography is deficient in that the entries do not show the number of pages of books/monographs, or the page references for articles in journals or anthologies.

As this publication is not for sale, it can presumably be obtained by writing to Dr. Andras Höfer, South Asian Institute, University of Heidelberg, 6900 Heidelberg, W. Germany.

H.K.K

DOLPO. COMMUNAUTES DE LANGUE TIBETAINE DU NEPAL. By Corneille Jest. *481 pp. (incl. 129 figs, 211 b/w photos, 4 colour photos, 8 maps).* Published by CNRS, Paris, 1975. Price: n.a.

In 1974 Corneille Jest published a modestly sized book entitled *Tarap. Une vallee dans I'Himalaya* (Editions du Seuil, Paris).

In pictures of haunting, often stunning beauty, and in short prose passages which not seldom attained a lyrical quality, the author succeeded in giving an impressionistic, yet sensitive and coherent picture of one of the last areas of practically untouched traditional Tibetan culture.

In an appreciative review of that book, Michael Oppitz, *Kailash, III, 2 (1975)* commented that "the picture has to be replaced in the end by verbal explanation". And this is precisely what the present work does. Not that it does not contain significant pictorial documentation—on the contrary, the illustrations are abundant and well-chosen, presenting work-processes and other activities in a systematic way. However, the scope of the present study is strictly empirical, making use of systematic inventory and statistical analysis, remaining, at the same time, highly readable for the non-specialist.

The author covers practically all aspects of life in Dolpo, with a certain emphasis on economic and social life. He arranges his material in conventional order, starting with a description of the physical setting and milieu of Dolpo ("Les elements du milieu" pp. 33-100), then giving a detailed analysis of the means of production and exchange, in short, of the economic life ("La production et l'économie", pp. 101-206), devoting the third part of the work to the existence of the inhabitants of Dolpo as social beings ("La vie sociale", pp. 209-288), and concluding with a description of religious concepts, institutions and practices ("La vie religieuse" pp. 289-380).

There can be no question of giving even a brief abstract of the contents of this work; it contains an inexhaustible wealth of information for students of any aspect of the culture or geography of the Himalayan area. In order merely to indicate the the exhaustive thoroughness of the author, a more detailed presentation of Part II, dealing with production and economic life, may be given. Thus under *Agriculture* (pp. 105-134), the author deals with: types of soil; organization of irrigation; the growing of barley (the staple crop), each stage in the process of cultivation being described in detail; religious rites connected with the agricultural calendar; and other crops grown in Dolpo and the surrounding areas. Turning to *Livestock-Raising* (pp. 135-154), he deals with each particular type of domestic animal found in Dolpo; the annual grazing cycle; ownership of live-stock; and protection of flocks. Thereafter, he describes the mechanisms of *Trade* (in the form of barter) (pp. 155-116) which play a crucial role in making life in Dolpo possible, describing the principles, history, mechanism, psychology, products, and measures of exchange. The author then turns to a carefully documented, house-by-house inventory of the *Economic Output* of that valley in Dolpo on which he has focused his investigations, viz. Tarap, as well as to taxation (pp. 171-178). Finally he discusses the various sources of *Nutrition* (pp. 179-188): wild plants, barley (tsampa, beer), milk (butter, cheese), meat, and tea, as well as various forms of production based on skin, wool, wood, and metal (pp. 189-206).

Although the perspective of the present study is on the whole synchronic, presenting conditions in Dolpo as they were during the 1960's, it is also historic for two reasons: firstly, the pattern of daily life, social relations and religious beliefs had, at the time of the author's stay in Dolpo, hardly changed for many centuries. The book therefore provides an entirely valid, detailed and living background-picture for the study of historical texts, like the brilliant translations of local hagiographies by Professor David L. Snellgrove (*Four Lamas of Dolpo*, Oxford 1967). Secondly, the conditions which the author describes and which still prevailed in Dolpo in the 1960's are rapidly undergoing change, whether the inhabitants of Dolpo like it or not: the historical forces of the collapse of traditional civilization in Tibet due to the political changes in that country, and the urge towards modernization emanating from a dynamic and developing Nepal of which the Dolpopas too are citizens, exert an inexorable pressure on traditional social, economic and cultural patterns. Indeed, as the author points out (p. 384), conditions in Dolpo—an area which remained through the centuries far away from the centres of Tibetan civilization—have a certain archaic aspect, which other Tibetans are not slow to notice: thus the custom of marriage with matrilineal cousins prevails in Dolpo, a union which in recent times has been considered incestuous in Tibet itself.

The author is eminently well qualified for the task he has set himself, i. e. to give an integral description of life in Dolpo, having visited Dolpo four times between

1960 and 1967, including a stay of a whole year in 1960-61. The present volume (which together with ethonographic collections of 550 objects from Dolpo, herbariums, tape recordings, films,and more than 6000 photographs represents the immediate result of his field-work) will be indispensable for anyone concerned with the culture, social and daily life, or geography of Tibet and the Himalaya. At the same time, the author's sympathy for the people of Tarap, reflected in a sensitive and detailed documentation of their world, makes this book more than an inventory of a society doomed to rapid change, but also—and above all—a deeply moving human document.

P. K.

AN INTRODUCTION TO TIBETAN MEDICINE. Edited by Dawa Norbu. *95 pp.* New Delhi 1976. (A *Tibetan Review* Publication) Price : *Rs. 8*

Tibetan medicine, one of the branches of traditional Tibetan knowledge, is moving more and more into the field of attention not only of Tibetologists, but also of Western medical science and a large and growing group of non-specialists. This is a collection of short essays on various aspects of Tibetan medicine. Most of them have been published in *Tibetan Review,* including the special issue (May/June 1974) focusing on Tibetan medicine. Bhagwan Dash, "Indian Contribution to Tibetan Medicine" (pp. 12-24) has been published in *The Tibet Journal.*, Vol. 1 no. 1 (July/September 1975) pp. 94-104, under the title "Ayurveda in Tibet". On p. 13 (bottom) of the present publication, the paragraph beginning "The following are the details of the Ayurvedic works.. "should be placed *after* the following paragraph.

The article by William Stablein, "Tibetan Medical-Cultural System" (pp. 39-51) has been published in *Kailash*, vol. 1, 3 (1973) pp. 193-203 under the more informative title "A Medical-Cultural System Among the Tibetan and Newar Buddhists: Ceremonial Medicine".

"Tibetan Medicine on Cancer" by Theodore Burang (pp.52-61) corresponds to the chapter "About Cancer" (pp. 76-88) in the same author's *The Tibetan Art of Healing* (see above). Other articles of special interest are Alex Wayman's "Buddhist Tantric Medicine Theory" (pp 33-38) as well as contributions by B. C. Olschak, Yeshe Dhonden Jeffrey Hopkins, and Kesang Tenzin. The address list of "Tibetan Physicians in Exile" (pp. 73-77) is a useful addition.

The booklet does not, in the words of the editor, pretend to provide more than "a sort of appetizer" with regard to a vast and highly complex subject. Nevertheless, Dawa Norbu is to be congratulated on this effort to popularize a subject which may yet turn out to be one of the most important contributions of Tibetan civilization to the world.

P. K.

VISUAL DHARMA : THE BUDDHIST ART OF TIBET. By Chögyam Trungpa. *xii+140 pp. incl. 54 b/w plates and one colour plate.* Published by Shambala Publishers, Berkeley, 1975. Price : US $ 7.55.

This volume is the joint work of the Nalanda Foundation (recently founded by Chögyam Trungpa) and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M. I. T.) Office of Exhibitions, based on an exhibition of the art work depicted in the book itself. It contains a greeting from H. H. Dalai Lama, and a foreword by the Director of Exhibitions at M. I. T. The volume was compiled in an effort to provide an authoritative perspective on Tibetan religious art. It is divided into an introduction and 26 pages of explanatory text, followed by 54 black and white plates, and a four page glossary. Each plate is accompanied by a brief commentary.

In the text, the author sketches briefly the historical and stylistic influences from neighbouring Buddhist Asia on the Tibetan art tradition, as well as the technical and physical characteristics of *tankas,* and their devotional aspects. There is also a hierarchic outline of the deities in the Tibetan pantheon in a section entitled "Elements of Iconography".

The text itself is a bit lean in its treatment of historical and stylistic developments; but has a good explanation of the religious and secular use of sacred images as an aid to visualization in the *Sadhana,* or tantric, meditation with which they are intimately tied. The author also deals nicely with the rather academic issue of whether the manifold divinities in the Tibetan assembly can properly be called "deities" in the theosophical sense. There is a good analysis of the main gods of the pantheon, classified and described according to their various attributes, symbolism, accoutrements, and place in the practice of the Dharma. What is lacking in the iconography section is amply filled by the individual commentaries on the plates, where the symbolic accoutrements, asana, mudra, colours and forms are spelt out for each deity.

In general, there is good complementarity between the text portion and the plates section, although I am certain only a very few people in or outside Tibet could distinguish the four schools of painting based on the specimens in this volume.

The text itself is brief and factual, and seems to be aimed at the literate layman. It hardly presupposes a complete coverage of Tibetan art, however. Bronzes in particular are poorly represented (only 9 specimens viewed from the front) and most of the discussion is devoted to *tankas.* In addition, some of the best examples of the pure Tibetan idiom which are found in paintings and sculptures depicting the lives of saints, and in various historical work, free from the strict canonical guidelines governing the main deities, allows for perhaps the fullest expression of the unique Tibetan style. Also regretably, save the frontispiece, all plates are black and white. There is a mis-numbering of pages in the copy in my possession resulting in an absent page (p. 122).

On the whole, hwoever, this work is brief, factual, and comes from a reliable and authoritative figure in Buddhist tradition. Hardly a scholarly encyclopaedic volume of the scope of Professor Tucci's works, it is a handy volume for someone who wishes to gain an introductory familiarity with tantric imagery from an authoritative source. The short glossary is also useful.

Terrence J. Sullivan

* *Journals*

Hokke-Bunka Kenyu, or Journal of the Institute for the Comprehensive Study of Lotus Sutra. No. 1, March 1975. *45+132 pp.* Published by the Institute for the Comprehensive Study of Lotus Sutra (CSLS), Rissho University, 4-2-16 Osaki, Shinagarvaku, Tokyo, Japan. Price. : n.a.

Most of the articles in this new journal of Buddhist studies are in Japanese. The 45 pages devoted to material in English contain "Gilgit Manuscript of the Mahasannipātaranta-ketusūtra, kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu" by Z. Nakamura, "Bibliographical Notes of the Ratmaketuparivatra" by Y. Kurumiya, and a Japanese translation of J. W. de Jong, "The study of Buddhism—Problems and perspectives". The Japanese section contains four articles on the Saddharmapundarīkasūtra (Y. Kanakura, S. Matsunami, S. Kabutogi and S. Sakawa), one article on Buddhist monuments in India by K. Tsukamoto, and two contributions by T. Maryama and Z. Ito on Buddhist Logic.

H.K.K.

Objets et Mondes. Vol. XIV, No. 4. Winter 1974. Special issue on Himalaya (L'homme et la Haute Montagne: L'Himalaya). *157 pages, 78 maps and illustrations.* Published by Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Price: 25 F (N. Rs. 62/-)

From time to time, we are elegantly reminded that Paris is one of the leading centres for the study of Nepal and the Himalaya. In the Autumn of 1966, *Objets et Mondes* published its first issue (100 pages) devoted exclusively to Nepal, with contributions by J. Millot, D. Snellgrove, M. Gaborieau, M. Helffer, A. W. Macdonald and C. Jest. In the Spring of 1969, another splendid issue on Nepal appeared, containing 142 pages of articles by K. B. Bista, M. Gaborieau, M. Helffer, C. Jest, A. W. Macdonald, J. Reinhard, P. Sagant and S. Thierry.

The Winter 1974 issue is more voluminous and extensive in geographical coverage than any of the previous ones, although there are fewer in-depth studies and also more emphasis on geographical and purely ecological studies than in the previous issues.

With the exception of one article on the architecture of Bhutan, Nepal is the focus of attention. There are four contributions on the Kali Gandaki area, and a brief but interesting description by C. Jest of the communities far north-west along the Seti river. G. Toffin writes on the Ankhu Khola settlements, J. M. Sacherer on the Rolwaling Valley and M. Goldstein on the people of Limi in the extreme north-west of Nepal. D. A. Messerschmidt has contributed a fine study of the Gurung shepherds of Lamjung Himal. There are also general articles on Himalayan demography, geography, etc., including a brief but good general survey of the Himalayan environment by J. F. Dobremez. It is not possible to review here the whole issue in detail, but it is hoped the above will give our readers a general idea of the content. As usual, the photographic illustrations are exquisite, and graphs and maps well executed. Overall editing and organization is also of a very high standard.

H.K.K.

Töid Orientalistika Alalt (Oriental Studies). Volumes I (1968) and II, parts 1 and 2 (1973). [Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis, vols. 201, 309 and 313]. *342+504 pages*. Published by the Tartu State University, Tartu, Estonia, USSR.Price: Vol. 1: 1.60 Rbl.; Vol II (1): 1.41 Rbl.; Vol II (2): 1.19 Rbl.

Tartu State University, which was founded in 1802, is one of the oldest higher institutions of learning in the Soviet Union, and Oriental studies have been undertaken since the 1830's, according to one of the articles in volume I of this anthology.

The 24 papers printed in volume I were read at the 10th Anniversary of the Oriental Department in 1965, and comprise works by Estonian as well as other philologists of the Soviet Union. The articles are either in Russian, Estonian, French or German, with summaries in either English, German, Estonian or Russian. Most papers are concerned with indological or sinological subjects, but a few may be of interest to Kailash's readers, viz. B. D. Dandaron: "Elements des abhangigen Entstehens auf Grund tibetanischen Quellen" (in Russian); Lennart Mall: "Bemerkungen zum Prajnaparamitischen Metalogik" (in Estonian); or A. M. Piatigorsky: "On the psychological contents of early Buddhism" (in Russian), etc. (Titles quoted in the languages of the summaries.)

Volume II is very extensive, and concentrates on philological aspects of ancient Indian culture, particularly the Sanscrit grammarian Panini. This volume contains work by scholars from other countries as well. There is one article related to Tibetology, "Contents of the Mantra om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum" by B. D. Dandaron (Ulan Ude).

Copies of these journals may still be obtainable from the Oriental Department, Tartu State University, Tartu, Estonia, USSR.

H.K.K.