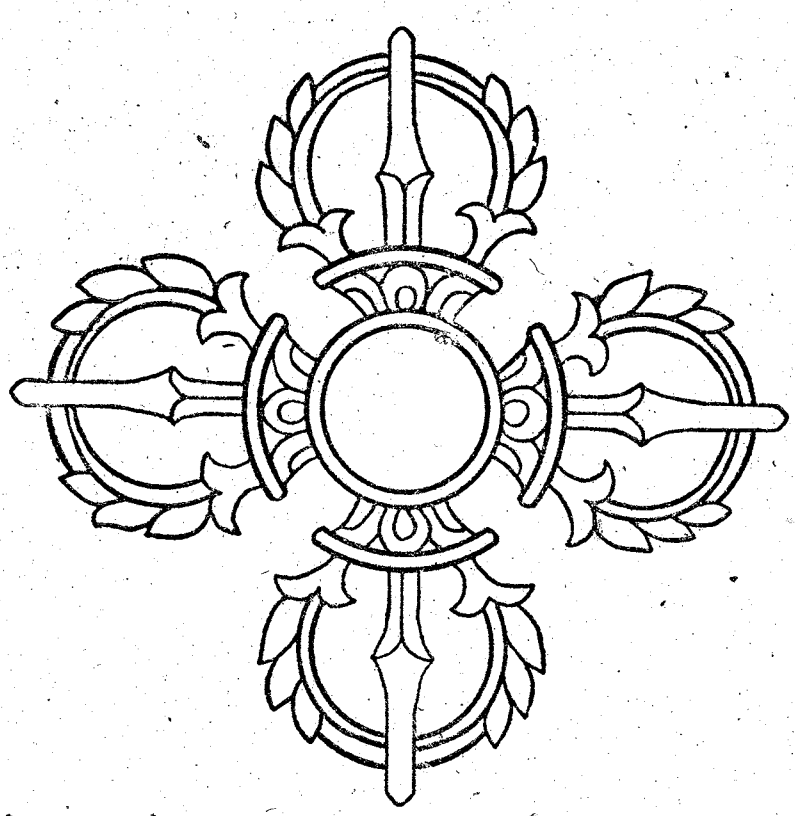
KAILASH

A JOURNAL OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES



VOLUME VI 1978 NUMBER 2

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KAILASH — An independent, interdisciplinary Journal of Himalayan Studies. Published three / four times a year by Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Bhotahity, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE TRADITION OF THE NAVA DURGA IN BHAKTAPUR, NEPAL

Jehanne H. Teilhet

San Diego

Introduction

Nine miles east of Kathmandu, in Nepal, is ancient Bhaktapur (Bhadgaon), "The city of Devotees." The indigenous people are Newars; over 80 per cent of them are farmers. They are predominantly Hindu, with several Buddhist cloisters in the eastern section.

Bhaktapur is famous for its temple architecture and its magnificent representations of the gods and goddesses—created, in the main, by anonymous Newar masters during the reign of the Mallas. Scholars have given much attention to these elite art forms, but little to the surviving folk arts such as the Nava Durga masks.

Nava Durga is a ceremony that is ritually marked by a set of masks, which, on public occasions, are worn and danced with. These masks are unique to Bhaktapur and they have special properties that distinguish them from most mask traditions. The process of making them is regulated by a set of rituals which sanctifies the materials as being above the ordinary. The efficacy of these masks is not restricted to the period of time that they are worn, as is the case with other masks. These masks have a continual life force or energy independent of whether they are worn or are in residence at a specific site or god-house. The masks make particular statements that transcend ordinary social reality. They are the focal point of the Nava Durga ceremonies that are performed from Dasain, or Durga Puja, in late September or early October, until Bhagasti in June. Each year the masks are made anew by the special mask-maker in the four weeks preceding Dasain.

These masks are informed with meaning; they have a tantric significance which is esoteric and can not be fully read by non-initiates or outsiders. But the masked performances are intentionally directed to the non-initiated public, which is the great majority of the population, and these folk levels of meaning have a socio-cultural importance in themselves. This paper will focus on the process of making these masks and their contextual levels of folk meaning.

* The author is grateful to Ms. Diane D'Andrade for her comments and editing on all the drafts of this paper, and to Dr. Robert I. Levy for his comments and for confirming some of the interpretations given here from his own notes on Bhaktapur. This paper could not have been written without the help of Visnu and Surya Bahadur Citrakar, Krishna Banamal and Bhagatamal Banamal. Field work was partially funded by an Academic Senate grant from the University of California, San Diego, in 1974. Direct quotations not otherwise attributed are from Visnu Bahadur Citrakar.

The Nava Durga mask ceremonies are said to be over 200 years old. There are specific oral traditions which explain their origin and the reasons why certain castes were given their respective responsibilities in relation to the Nava Durga. The oral traditions confirm that the Nava Durga are indigenous to Bhaktapur and they affirm their connection with the Taleju Brahmin priest, of the highest caste; the land-owner farmer, a jyapu, who discovered them, a person of middle caste; and the lower caste gardeners, the gatha, who have been given the honor of dancing and caring for them.

The Nava Durga are important to the agricultural cycle in Bhaktapur. When the ceremonies are completed in June, the masks are ritually burned and the ashes are collected and stored in a sacred vessel in the Hanumante river until they are retrieved to be mixed with new materials to make the next set of masks in September. Visnu Bahadur Citrakar, the Nava Durga mask-maker, believes that "the Nava Durga leave their masks and the gathas (members of the gardener caste) who care for them to go into the water because the water is necessary for the planting of rice." According to Krishna Banamal, a Nava Durga dancer, "the Nava Durga help with the other crops when they are above ground. They help the farmers and gardeners with all their crops because they were found by a farmer and cared for by gardeners."

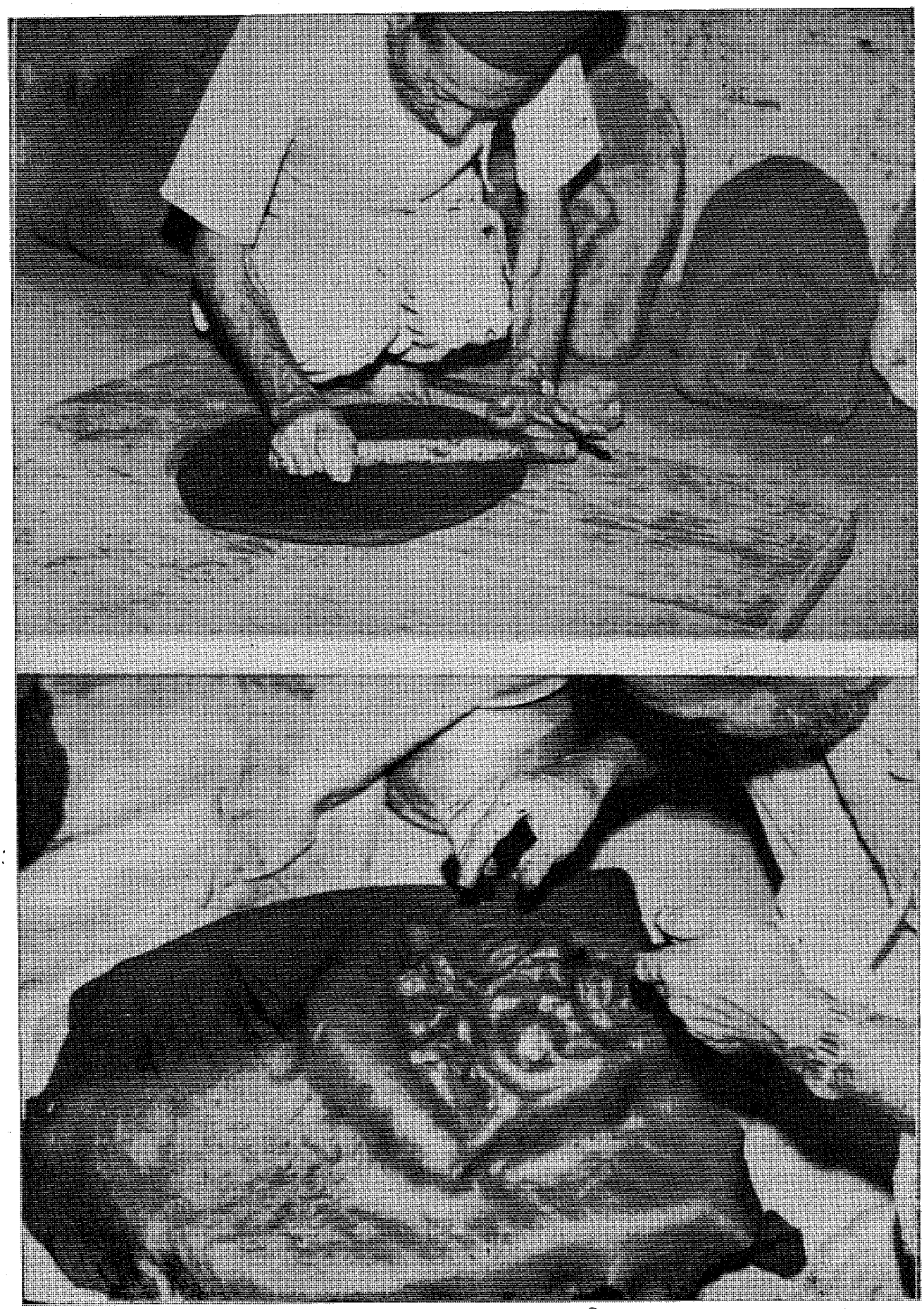
The Nava Durga

Literally translated from Sanskrit, Nava Durga means nine Durgas. Durgas are the various demonic representations or manifestations of Parvati, the sakti of Siva in the tantric tradition. The oldest form of Durga is said in Bhaktapur to be the goddess Taleju, who predates the Nava Durga. Taleju is important to the Nava Durga, even though she is not represented within the Nava Durga pantheon. The Nava Durgas are subordinate to her and at prescribed times they visit her temple within the enclosure of the Royal Palace.

Though the name Nava Durga means nine Durgas, there are thirteen masks which participate in public ceremonies and of these, only seven represent Durgas. However, Visnu Bahadur Citrakar said that there are nine Durgas represented: "Maha Kali, Kumari, Varahi, Brahmani, Mahesvari, Vaisnavi, Indrani, Mahalaksmi and Tripura Sundari." One of these, Mahalaksmi, is not represented in public by a mask, but by a two-dimensional repoussé silver icon. Another, Tripura Sundari, is not visually represented to the public; her mask is kept inside the Nava Durga Ga che (god-house) with the other "secret" mask of Mahalaksmi.

The remaining six of the thirteen masks represent Siva; his son Ganesa; Bhairava and Seto Bhairava, manifestations of Siva; and the guardians, Sima and Duma.

The individual gods and goddesses which collectively form the Nava Durga are well known to the people of Bhaktapur. They belong to the Hindu-Brahmanical pantheon and are venerated by Hindus and many Buddhists.



1. (above) Vishnu Bahadur rolls out clay.

2. (below) The clay is modelled over a mold.

3. (above) The mask, with a cloth which prevents sticking, is lifted from the mold.
4. (below) Strips of paper covered with glue are applied.

Some Notes on the Contextual Folk Meanings of the Nava Durga

The Nava Durga performances render visible, in an active and dramatic form, specific ideologies and beliefs which bring a sense of order and definition to the Newar's culture. And the fact that they are active, mobile forms, makes them more dramatic than their statuary counterparts.

Many of the iconographical elements found in the Nava Durga masks correspond with the traditional imagery of these gods and goddesses as depicted in paintings or statuary. However, some of the iconographical elements found in the Nava Durga masks have a communicative importance apart from their expressive tantric significance. These iconographical elements clarify the role and status of these collective gods and goddesses. For example, eight of the Nava Durga masks have "a precious green jewel" at the apex of the nose, (Maha Kali, Kumari, Varahi, Siva, Bhairava, Seto Bhairava, Sima and Duma). This green jewel is a symbol for the bindu and it distinguishes the major Nava Durga gods and goddesses from the minor ones. The bindu mark differentiates the main performers from the non-bindu chorus of Brahmani, Mahesvari, Vaisnavi, and Indrani, who are the least demonic forms of Durga.

Siva is considered the Lord of the Nava Durga. The Nava Durga emanate from Siva's sakti; he is therefore responsible for the Nava Durga, but in a passive, disinterested way. The Siva mask is smaller than the other masks and has no eye openings. The mask is not worn; it is carried by Ganesa. The people say that "Siva must be carried because he is blind with anger and fury. In blindness he can damage everything and he doesn't care what damages he causes." (Krishna Banamal, a Nava Durga dancer) Siva can be painted "blue-black (the tantric symbol of energy and power) or white (the tantric symbol of male semen), but in the Nava Durga he is red because he is in an angry mood." (Vishnu Bahadur Citrakar). "Ganesa carries Siva because he is very smart. He knows how to control the anger of his father; he carries Siva to keep him from doing more damage and destruction." (Krishna Banamal). The folk interpretation explains why the mask is not worn. However, Siva is portrayed as a handsome young man with a beard and a moustache. Siva is not a tantric god. The fact that the mask is small and can not be worn signals his peripheral role in the Nava Durga pantheon.

Mahalaksmi does not have a public mask. This points to her unique role in the Nava Durga pantheon. She is considered to be the Nava Durga's own goddess because she is more abstract and powerful. Mahalaksmi is in touch with the goddess Taleju and she gives her powers to the other Nava Durgas. Mahalaksmi always leads the processions of masked Nava Durga dancers because she is the most important member of the group. She is depicted in an assertive body stance exquisitely rendered in silver repousse. The six-armed image of Mahalaksmi is framed by lions at her feet and a large aureole of flames. Mahalaksmi has no face. The face, if it was ever represented, has been carefully cut out from the surface plane. According to Visnu Bahadur, "the non-initiated public is not allowed to gaze upon her face because it is so terrible, ... so beautiful. They lack pro-

tection from her powers." Mahalaksmi is carried in a brass-covered wooden chariot which gives the appearance of a miniature one-storey Hindu temple. When Mahalaksmi is in residence at a particular site the mask of Siva hangs from the roof of her chariot-temple. The Siva mask underlines her importance in the Nava Durga pantheon.

All the Nava Durga masks, with the exception of Seto Bhairava, have elaborate headdresses which enhance their extraordinary character. The absence of this iconographical element prominently marks Seto Bhairava's somewhat unusual, inferior role within the Nava Durga pantheon. He is the only one who is allowed to dance with Maha Kali, but he plays the dupe to demonstrate her greater powers. He is a somewhat comical figure whose romantic and often obscene overtures Maha Kali appears to spurn. This sexual licentiousness may relate to the fertility and increase of the crops.

Included among the major performers of the Nava Durga pantheon are the less widely known goddesses Sima and Duma. (Visnu Bahadur also identified the tantric form of Sima as male, however, because of his white color, and Duma as female, because she is orange.) Sima translates as tiger and Duma as lion; their masks represent these animals. They are portrayed roaring, an expression of their fierceness. Visnu Bahadur told me they were messengers of death; later he said they were the bodyguards of Siva. They always dance together, rarely, if ever, dancing with the other gods and goddesses. Their dances, like those of Seto Bhairava and Maha Kali, provide a form of comic relief as well as serving a police function. Children will often taunt Sima and Duma and try to get the two to chase them. However, should a child be caught by either of them, it is considered an evil omen. The parents often pay Sima and Duma beforehand so that their children will not be caught. This belief reflects their roles as messengers of death.

Each of the potentially destructive Nava Durgas has a small face painted on the center of its tightly woven circular headband. These miniature faces represent "the peaceful manifestations of Visnu and Siva. They are necessary because they compliment the powers of the Nava Durgas. If the gods and goddesses did not have these they could become unruly in their public performances." (Bhagatamal Banamal, a Nava Durga dancer Siva, Ganesa and Varahi wear the face of Narsingha, the half-lion, half-man, tantric incarnation of Visnu. It is generally agreed that the moustached face on Bhairava's headband represents Brahma. According to Bhagatamal Banamal, "The face on Bhairava is Brahma. Brahma is the educator, he controls Bhairava because Bhairava is the manifestation of the god Siva. Bhairava is very powerful and Brahma is there to balance his power." Bhagamal Banamal also said that the face on Maha Kali could be either Visnu or Vaisnavi, the sakti of Visnu. Visnu Bahadur concurred and added that "they both have green faces and wear jewelry, but Visnu does not usually have red lips whereas Vaisnavi does."

The other gods and goddesses of the Nava Durga pantheon correspond in iconography and character to their given attributions.

The Maker of the Nava Durga Masks

Visnu Bahadur Citrakar is the maker of the Nava Durga masks; he is seventy-one years old. According to him and his son, Surya, their family has made the Nava Durga masks from the very beginning. He believes that the guthi gave the duty of making the Nava Durga masks to the citrakar caste because this type of artisanry fell into their routine professional calling. The guthi, however, gave only one extended citrakar family the special privilege of making the Nava Durga masks, and this right can be revoked and given to another citrakar family. In return for making the masks, the family was given good land and tenants to farm it.

When Visnu Bahadur dies, Surya, as eldest son, must follow the tradition and make the masks. If there is more than one son in the family, the father must teach the traditional method to all his sons, though the rights to the ritual fall to the eldest son. If there were only daughters in the family, they could not make the Nava Durga masks, nor could their husbands. The duty would pass to the closest male relative. Although the father teaches his sons, they must also, as he did, pay a Gubaju to educate them in the ways of the Nava Durga gods and goddesses, including the esoteric knowledge of tantra and mantra that is used in making the masks.

All the citrakars are "Hindu-Buddhists" and, as Visnu Bahadur stated, "We have many religious beliefs that are the result of Hinduism and Buddhism. We worship Buddha as the tenth incarnation of the god Visnu, after whom I was named."

Visnu Bahadur is an artist who works within a relatively strict iconographical tradition which constrains personal innovation and creativity. He cannot manipulate or change the legibility of the iconographical elements or colors to suit his own aesthetic sensibilities. He can and does, however, strive for an aesthetic excellence within set forms. And it is this criterion of excellence that distinguishes his works and gains him respect from the other citrakars.

The Ritualized Process of Making the Nava Durga Masks

Half in jest, Visnu Bahadur said that being the maker of the Nava Durga masks was more difficult than being a priest. The priest can read in his texts what the characteristics of the gods and goddesses must be, but the artist has to create them.

The masks are the main markers of the Nava Durga ceremonies, and the process of making them is heavily ritualized. The special, prescribed actions, repeated over and over again in the making of each set of Nava Durga masks, lend continuity and stability to the ritual, though they may seem illogical or unnecessary to the outsider. These formal actions, sanctioned by religion, are thought to have an esoteric importance, which is only fully comprehensible to the initiated. As a non-initiate and a woman, I was not allowed to watch the making of the actual Nava Durga masks. I commissioned Visnu Bahadur to make a mask of Maha Kali and asked at each step how the making of the actual Nava

Durga masks differed from that of the commissioned mask. Visually, it is difficult to detect the differences between the commissioned Maha Kali and the one used in the ceremony, although the materials used differ somewhat.

There are several rituals which precede the mask-maker's role in the Nava Durga sequence. First, on Gatha Muga Carhae[1], the day when farmers traditionally finish planting rice, straw figures are burned. These effigies are named after a demon, Ghanta Karna. It is a Newar custom that GhantaKarna be burned "in order to show the other demons and ghosts in the locality that if they do any harm to the people and to their crops, they will also be burned." (Surya Bahadur).

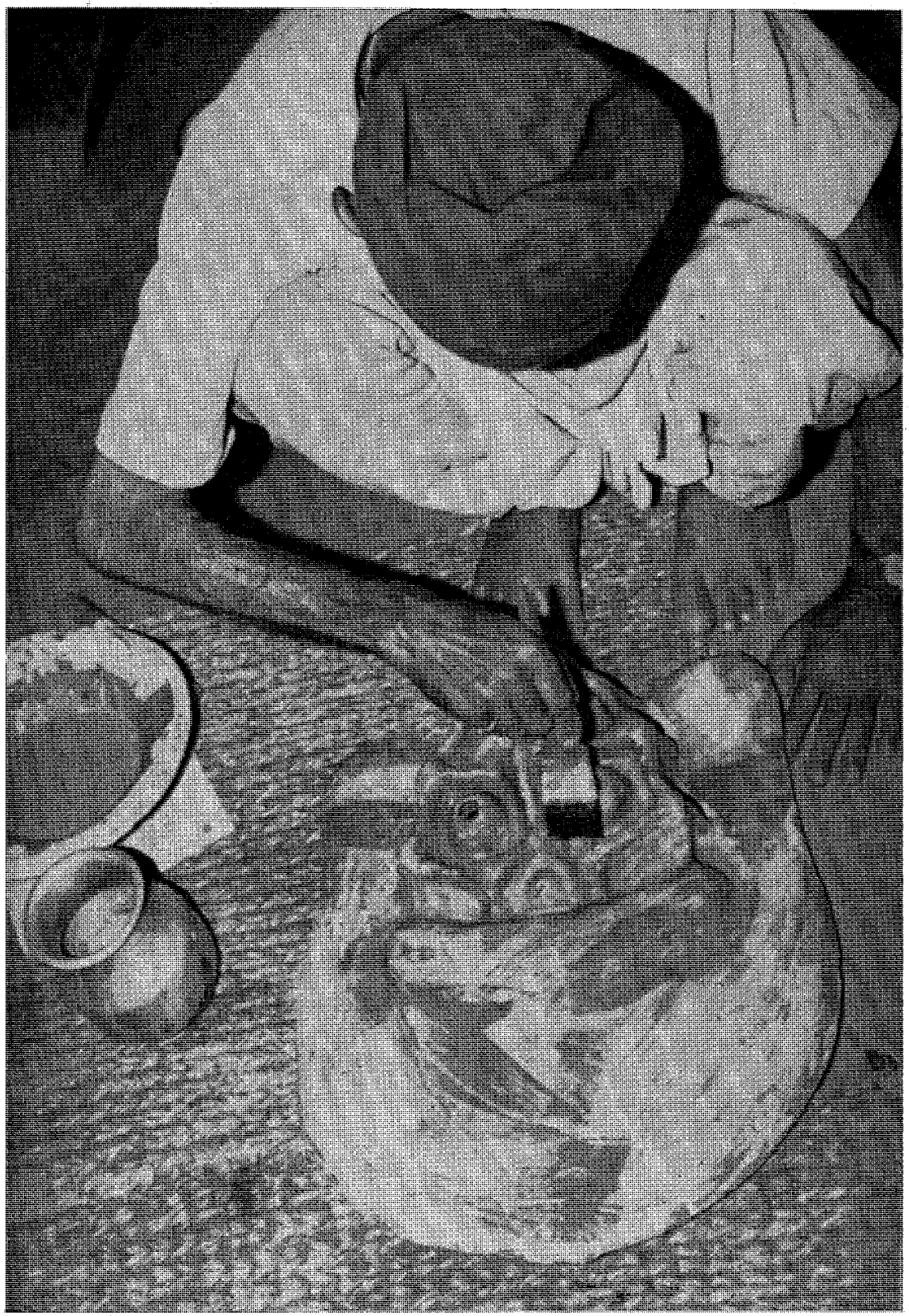
Following the burning of the demons, the gathas who have been chosen to dance in the current year's set of Nava Durga dances perform a mask-less Nava Durga dance. Afterwards, the gathas proceed to Talako tol to ask the elders of the prajapati caste the pottery makers, where they should go to find the proper clay, *dya ca* ('god-soil'), for the Nava Durga masks. The elders usually advise the gathas to go to Sokja, a field some thirty minutes walk north-east of Bhaktapur. *"Dya ca* is unlike the ordinary soil found in the area; it is special and the gathas must dig very deep for it." (Surya Bahadur). They reject soil which has too much sand in it. Though *dya ca* is black, the color has no tantric significance. "What matters is the plasticity of the clay and that it is strong."

Visnu Bahadur said that the gathas then take the clay to the holy house of the Lord of the Nava Durga, Siva, in Ya che. The gathas shape some of the clay into a squarish form about ten inches high and six inches wide, and in the middle of this form they make a hole and stand a statue of Siva. A priest presides as they sacrifice a rooster to Siva and the Nava Durga. This ritual is tantric and gives magic and life to the clay. The now sacred clay is divided into thirteen equal parts. This may imply that the two secret masks are not made anew each year. The divided sacred clay is then re-mixed with the rest of the clay to give it magic and life. All the clay is now sanctified and it is dried and ground into a powder, and stored in a clay pot in the holy house at Ya che, where Visnu Bahadur will work on the masks at the prescribed time.

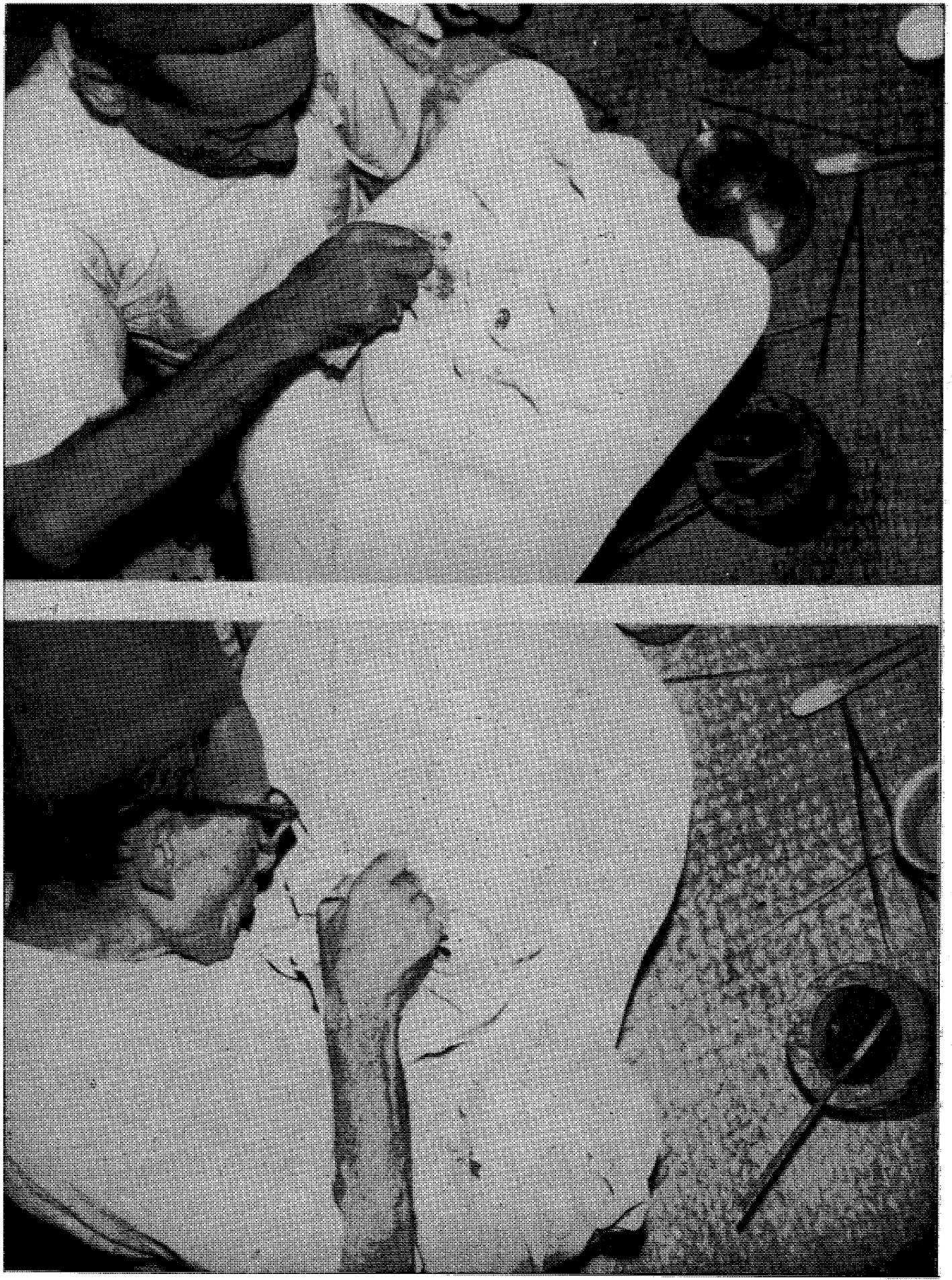
At this point, the ashes of last year's Nava Durga masks are brought out of their secret hiding place and given to the mask-maker to blend with the sacred *dya cá* "for the tantra of the new masks." Last year's masks were ritually burned at the end of the season in June and the ashes stored in a watertight jar in the river.

One month before Dasain, Visnu Bahadur, his son, and perhaps his brother, enter the holy house at Ya che. Visnu Bahadur said that he uses "some mantra, a magic spell the priest gave me for making the Nava Durga masks. I use the mantra in making a puja at Ya che before beginning to work on the masks." He would not answer questions about the sequence in which the masks are made. There may be a particular order in making the masks.

1. Gatha Muga is the name of a demon who prostituted his mother; Carhae is the fourteenth day of the lunar fortnight, here the dark half of Sravan. In 1977 this fell on August 8.



5. White pigment serves as primer, ground, and base color.



6. (above) Primed surface is rubbed smooth with jute fibers.
7. (below) Outlines are painted in light red.

The steps of mask making are initially the same for all the masks. After making a puja to the Nava Durga, the *dya ca* dust and the ashes of the former Nava Durga masks are mixed with bits of cotton and gum-like paste made from wheat flour. This mixture is once again separated into thirteen lumps; hours are spent pounding and kneading these lumps. Visnu Bahadur does not do much of the strenuous work because the strain on his muscles might cause his hands to shake when he is doing the fine, detailed painting.

When the sacred clay has become plastic or workable it is ready for forming. The individual lumps of clay are placed on wooden boards, pounded with a mallet, and rolled into flat oblong shapes about a quarter of an inch thick. Each is gently placed over a low relief mould (*thasa*) of one of the Nava Durga gods or goddesses, which has been covered with a clean black cloth of fine quality. The cloth prevents the clay from adhering to the mould. The mask-makers gently press the flattened clay with their fingers so that it conforms to the contours of the mould. As the mould is in low relief, excess clay from the sides is used to build up prominent features of the mask: the nose, eyes, lips, chin, or, as in the case of Maha Kali, skeletal features. This gives the high relief areas greater strength.

It took Visnu Bahadur about forty-five minutes to flatten the clay and apply it to the mould for the commissioned mask of Maha Kali. When he built up the areas of high relief, he worked slowly, adding clay, smoothing it with water, then adding more clay and smoothing it again with water until he was finally pleased with the resultant form. After completing this process, he smoothed the entire mask with water and cut the overlapping sides to fit the contour of the mould.

The true Nava Durga moulds are kept in the holy house at Ya che. It is said that these mouds "are very old, since the time of the Nava Durga." (Surya Bahadur). The moulds are made from *dya ca,* and sometimes one breaks. When this happens, the mask-maker mends it rather than making a new one. The true moulds are reportedly larger than the one used for the commissioned Nava Durga mask. However, there was little difference in size that I could see between the commissioned Maha Kali mask, 18 1/2 inches high, and the true Maha Kali mask used in the Nava Durga ceremonies. The eye is not the most accurate measuring stick, but it is forbidden to photograph or measure the actual mask because it is believed the Nava Durga would become angry.

The clay mask forms are left to dry, on the moulds, for about four days. During this time "they shrink and begin to harden like stone." (Surya Bahadur). Visnu Bahadur always dries the mask forms inside because the sun dries them out too quickly, and they could crack beyond repair. Small cracks can be corrected. When Visnu Bahadur and his son, holding the four corners of the black cloth, carefully lifted the commissioned mask off the mould, they discovered that the mask was still damp. As it was dry enough to retain its shape, they left it to dry off the mould for two more days. It had been mixed with water rather than the wheat paste which is used for the true masks, and that may account for the extra time it took to dry.

When the masks have dried and been removed from the moulds, they are painted with a mixture of boiled wheat flour, water, and animal glue which dries to an almost opaque finish. This glue is first applied to the back of the masks and covered with large pieces of jute. The jute backing gives the masks additional strength and prevents them from caving inwards. At certain points on the tops and sides of the masks, two holes about a half an inch apart are pierced through the hardened clay and jute, and strong rope, about an eighth of an inch thick, is drawn through. The ends of these ropes are tied to form a net which will hold the mask in position on the dancer's heads. On a real Nava Durga mask, a layer of cotton cloth is glued to the jute so that the mask's interior is smooth (Surya Bahadur). The same glue is next applied to the front of the mask, and strips of cotton cloth, carefully cut to fit the contours of the mask, are glued in place. When the cloths have dried securely on the surface, the process is repeated with strips of low-grade Nepalese paper, a little heavier than tissue paper. The paper is torn to fit the areas and covered with glue to give it a smoother finish. It took about forty minutes to apply the strips of paper to the commissioned mask. Visnu Bahadur did not put cloth on either the interior or exterior of the commissioned mask, as it was not meant to be worn. He said that cloth on the interior of the actual masks serves to protect the dancer's face, and on the exterior the cloth prevents rain, egg-offerings and the like from seeping into the clay and weakening the structure of the mask.

When the glued surfaces have dried, which takes about a day, the mask-makers apply a white mixture to the face of the masks. They grind white clay in a pestle and mix it with water and animal glue. The white pigment acts as a primer, a ground, and a base color; it dries within five minutes. Three layers were painted on the commissioned mask. When the final application has dried, the face of the mask is sanded with natural jute fibers which work like a fine grade of steel wool to give the surface an even smoother finish.

Once the white clay primer has been sanded to the maker's satisfaction, the masks are ready to be painted. In the old days, according to Visnu Bahadur Citrakar, when the trade routes with India were not good, colors were made in Bhaktapur from earthen and metal-ore pigments. Today the paints are purchased from India, in either a solid or powdered form, with the exception of one color, red. This red is found in mines in Nepal. It is a metal-ore, cinnibar, that contains mercury which the mask maker must abstract. The cinnibar is ground to a dust to obtain the desired red pigment. It is only used on the actual Nava Durga masks, and not on a commissioned mask. It is very expensive, but it must be used on the Nava Durga masks because it is "brighter and redder than commercial paints." All the pigments are mixed with an animal glue, which liquifies when heated, and are thinned with water. Paint brushes are bought in Kathmandu.

Although during the months the masks are used much of the original surface of the masks is somewhat obliterated by offerings of eggs, rice, tika-powder and such, great care is taken to paint them correctly. The iconography should be exactly the same as on the original Nava Duga masks. This conformity to the ancient form verifies the endurance

and correctness of the masks through time and provides a sense of confidence and stability in the inherent meanings and powers encoded in these objects. Visnu Bahadur said that he "got the correct knowledge of these shapes and colors from a very old book, a special book on the paintings of the Nava Durga masks." This book, of which I was only permitted to see a few pages, is not considered to be sacred, nor does it explain the iconography of the masks. It contains notations on the proper hues along with extensive detailed drawings of the original Nava Durga masks. As it has been handed down through the generations many of the pages have been recopied. Even though the mask-maker works within a strict iconographical tradition, no art is entirely static. Over a period of time, some minor changes always occur, though they do not necessarily alter the encoded message or intent of the object. As the Nava Durga masks are traditionally burned every years and cannot be photographed, there is no way to know just how much or how little the masks vary from the originals. If the book had been better preserved, it might have shed some light on this problem.

In painting the commissioned mask of Maha Kali, Visnu Bahadur did not draw any preliminary marks on the white clay surface. He began to paint the essential form lines from memory with a commercial light-red paint and a thin brush. It took him close to an hour to outline all the essential elements, and once he began to work he rarely looked away from the mask. At one point he asked to have the pigment and glue mixture reheated, as it was beginning to solidify. Although he could have easily erased or wiped a line clean, he did not; he worked with the ease and certainty of an experienced artist.

The painting of the mask took two days. After outlining all the essential elements, Visnu Bahadur began to fill in color areas that did not overlap. When an area had dried, he would re-paint it if it required a darker or richer color. The green headdress and the deep red on the commissioned mask were re-painted several times. He said that although it does not matter, he usually prefers to commence painting with the colors light-red or blue.

When the essential areas had been painted to his satisfaction, Visnu Bahadur began to paint the smaller elements, such as the five golden brown crowns on the green headdress. These smaller elements are then outlined in black. The fine details are added last. White, yellow, red and black are used as form lines. The color of the form lines seems to have been consciously chosen with regard to the color of the ground. Black, for example, is considered a better form line on green than on white, yellow or red, whereas white and yellow are better on a red ground. White and yellow are used interchangeably as form lines on Maha Kali's face, to accentuate her boniness, as well as to indicate the wrinkles on her skin. Visnu Bahadur said that "they make clear the shape of the bone and it is more artistic to work with two separate colors." His son Surya added, "Maha Kali has a skeleton face and all the corners of the bones have to be painted differently."

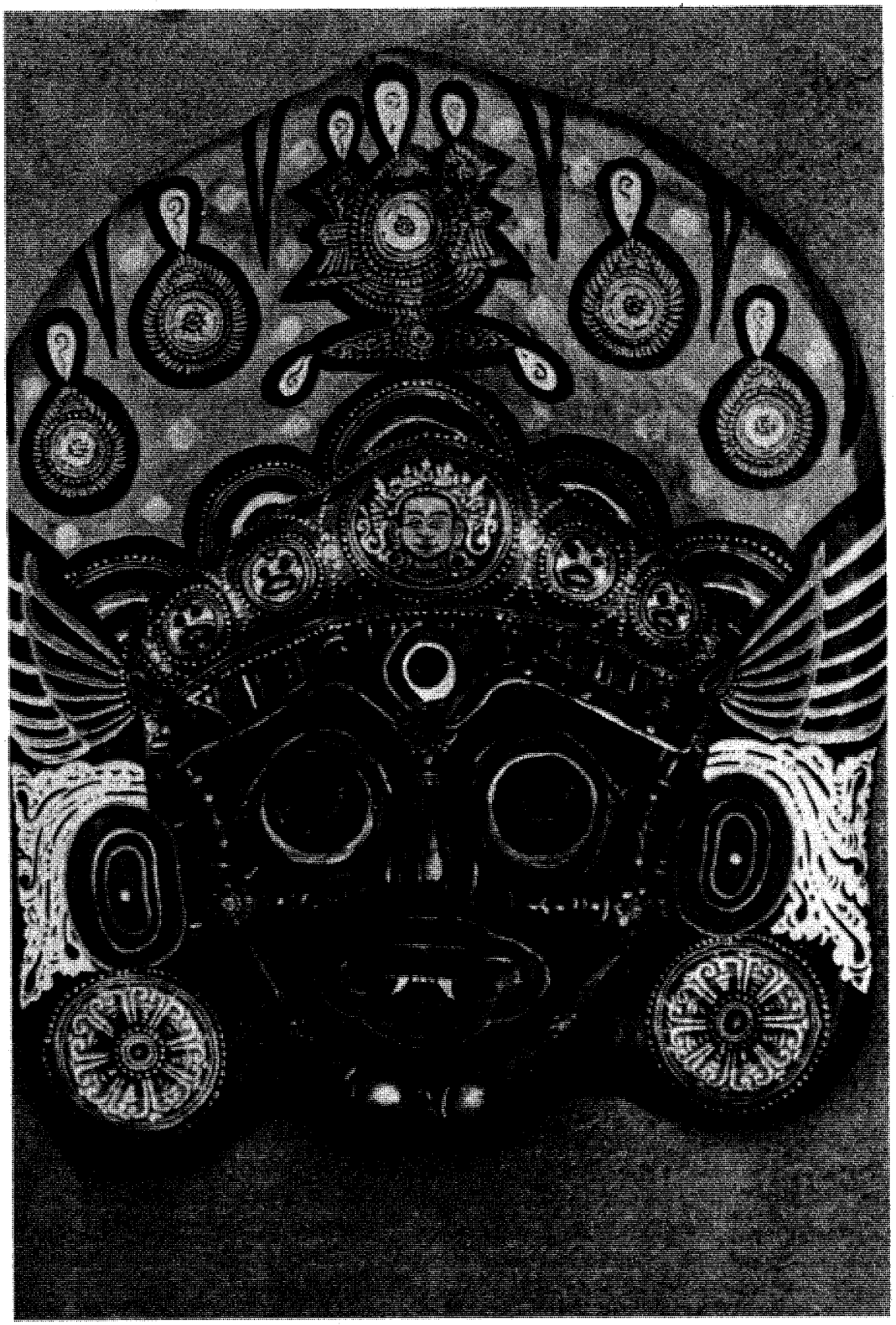
Color in the Nava Durga masks serves several functions. It is primarily symbolic. Specific manifestations and moods of the gods and goddesses are color-coded so that the non-initiates can recognize them. Color is used to heighten or decrease the emotional

effect of the masks. For example, red, blue-black and white are the most powerful colors. The folk level interpretation of the tantric color symbolism is that red stands for menstrual blood, sacrificial blood and anger; blue-black stands for energy and power, and white stands for male semen, purity and death (bleached bones). The "milder colors" such as yellow signify the "gentler" gods and goddesses (Visnu Bahadur and Dr. Robert Levy) and color is also used for its own aesthetic properties. Gold paint, which is found on the ridge line of the nose, bony chins and some eyebrows, is used to heighten the grandeur of the gods and goddesses and for beautification. "Gold is a sign of nobility and wealth."

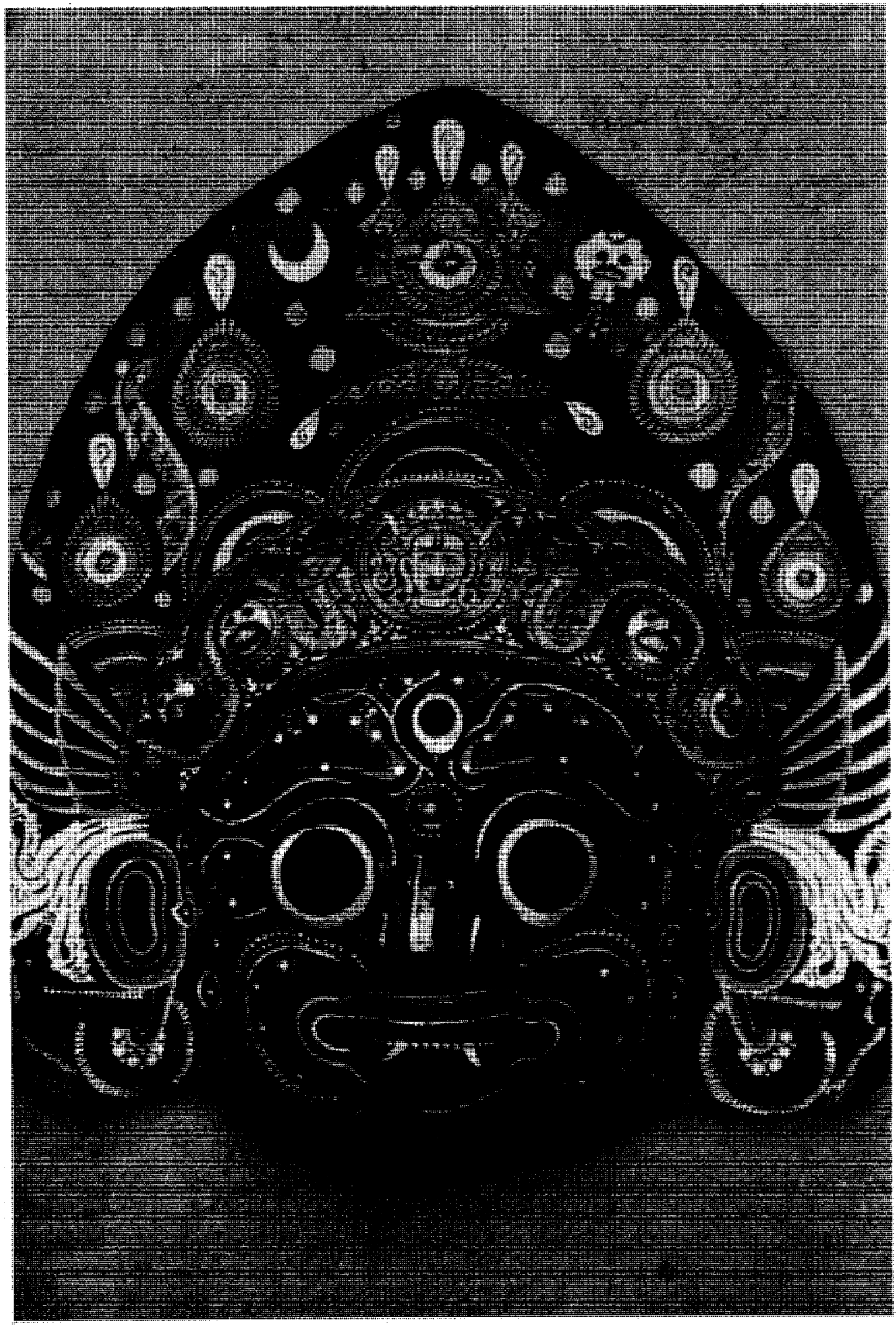
The masks are varnished, after painting, with several applications of the beaten whites of duck eggs. Duck eggs are used in preference to chicken eggs because they are larger and it is easier to separate the yolk. However, Krishna Prasad Prajapati suggested that duck eggs are used because the duck is worshipped by the prajapati caste. The duck taught them how to mix the proper soil for making pots, and as the prajapati tell the gathas where to find the *dya ca,* there may be a symbolic connection. The egg whites are beaten until they are almost stiff and then quickly applied with a paint brush to prevent air bubles. When they have been varnished with egg whites, the masks are finished. (Commercial varnish is used on tourist masks as it requires only one coat and takes no time to prepare.)

It took about seven days to complete the commissioned mask of Maha Kali, but Visnu Bahadur must complete the thirteen Nava Durga masks within one month. With assistance, he could probably apply all the sacred *dya ca* to all the moulds in one long day, or a day and a half. All the masks could be pulled from the moulds within three or four days, and the remaining month could be devoted to finishing the masks. Therefore, the time allowed to make all the masks, including the two hidden masks, does not seem either excessive or limiting.

Visnu Bahadur's favorite mask is Maha Kali, because "it is the most difficult mask to mould and paint, and because it is the most beautiful." Second to Maha Kali is the mask of Bhairava. Most of the masks follow the contour of the mould, but the mask of Maha Kali, with its high skeletal relief, must be carefully built up. The painting of this mask also takes time and intense concentration, because the colors must be exact, particularly the different values of red. The dark red must accentuate "the hollowness, because there is no flesh, no meat under the skin. The light red shows that the skin is tight on the bone." Though Bhairava is even more difficult to paint than Maha Kali, the building of the mask takes less time because it closely follows the contours of the mould. Visnu Bahadur said that the easiest masks, and therefore the least interesting to make, are the masks of Sima and Duma. The conceptualization of their mouths is interesting, however: their teeth are in the center of recessed ovoids composed of triangular elements. They are roaring and the triangular design represents the inside of the mouth. I noticed that the masks of Brahmani, Vaisnavi and even Seto Bhairava have simpler mould forms and fewer elements to paint. It may be that Visnu Bahadur does not like to make the masks of Sima and Duma because of the role they play in the Nava Durga pantheon.



The finished mask of the commissioned Mahakali, ($18\ _{1/4}{}''$ x $14_{1/2}{}''$)



Bhairava, a commissioned mask. (19 1/2" x 16")

When the masks are completed, Visnu Bahadur makes a careful final examination of each mask to assure that the structure is sound and that no mistakes have been made in the iconography. Athough they are not checked by the Taleju priest, he suggested that the dancers also examine them when they come to take the masks "as they know how the Nava Durga masks must look."

If a Nava Durga mask should break, Visnu Bahadur said that it would not be repaired. "They would dance with the Nava Durga mask in its damaged state." He said that this had never happened, and "it will not happen if one works carefully, particularly on the beginning stages of the process."

After the Completion of the Nava Durga Masks: the Gathas' Role

The completed masks are exhibited in the holy house at Ya che on the first day of Dasain. The gatha dancers have spent many days learning tantric procedures from their own caste guru, as well as learning addition mantras from the Taleju priest. "All the tantras and mantras will enable them to handle the power of the masks." (Krishna Banamala) They come to Ya che to "steal" the masks. In the past they left some payment for the maker of the masks; this is not always the case today. That same evening, the dancers take the masks to Brahmani where they attach gilded copper crowns to twelve of the masks.

Gilded Copper Crowns

The crowns, even though they are not sacred, are stored in the Nava Durga god-house in Ga che when they are not in use. They are not as old as the masks. They were, according to Visnu Bahadur, given as a present to the Nava Durga by some rich man, thirty or forty years ago. The crowns were made, and are repaired when necessary, by the tamrakar caste. Krishna Banamal said, "the crowns have no magic; there is no selected family or particular person chosen to repair the crowns. The crowns are heavy, and together, the mask and crown weigh about twenty pounds."

All the crowns have the same basic structure; only the details differ. They consist of two main elements which are joined by a brace bar. The brace bar is attached to the upper part of the mask. A circular bar wrapped in cloth is attached to the lower part of the mask and rests on the shoulders of the dancer.

The back element of the crown is a solid sheet of gilded copper. The exterior surface is decorated in repoussé with the main symbol or emblem of the particular god or goddess: Indrani, the thunderbolt; Brahmani, the book of knowledge; Vaisnavi, the mace; Mahesvari, the trisul; Kumari, the water pot; Ganesa, the radish; Sima, the tiger; and Duma, the lion. Siva wears no crown. Seto Bhairava wears a simplified crown without an emblem. The emblem for Maha Kali, Bhairava and Varahi is a mane of real yak hair. The mane is attached to their crowns because "in real life they had wild looking hair as an aspect of their fierce appearance."

At the apex of the back element is a spire of graduated rings with a rounded finial. This spire, or pinnacle structure, is also found on the top of every Nepalese temple. It is called a *gaju.*

The front element of the crown, an oblong arch, or aureole, is smaller than the back element. It projects above and follows the contour of the mask. The interior is devoid of decoration and the exterior has ornate flower motifs and crescent moons.

A gilded flag protrudes from each side of the mask. "They wear these flags because it is tantric, they have lots of meanings. They are the sakti of the Nava Durga and they are needed in every big puja for the gods and goddesses." The flags are attached to the wrapped cross-piece. Almost hidden behind the painted headdress of the mask, attached to the brace bar, is a lingam. It is difficult to see; Bhagatamal Banamal said it was "a Siva lingam, it is Siva's head."

The crowns denote the power, royalty and sanctity of the Nava Durga. As all the masks, with the exception of Seto Bhairava, have five (for the five tantric elements) crowns painted on their headdresses, these are an additional embellishment of honor and status. It may be that these gilded crowns, which were a later adaptation, also have a practical function. It is easiest, in a large ceremonial crowd, to recognize and follow any particular Nava Durga by its emblem, which stands above the mass of participants.

Costumes: the Special Dress of the Nava Durga

After the gilded crowns have been attached to the masks, the dancers put on their special dress or costumes. They wear a skirt (*jama*), that covers the knees, and a blouse with short sleeves (*bhoto*). The dancers' out-fits are not sacred but "they must be correct." The gathas give an old costume to a tailor (or anyone who can sew), to be copied. "The tailor must have the old costume to copy so that it can be correct."

Five colors are used in the Nava Durga costume; black, red, green, yellow or gold, and white. I was told that the order of these colors had no symbolic significance; black is always on the bottom edge of the skirt for practical reasons. The horizontal strips of color are of approximately even widths. On Varahi's skirt for example, the colors were, from the bottom; black, red, green, yellow, white, gold and red.

The blouses are color-coded to match the face of the mask. Seto Bhairava, Ganesa, Sima and Mahesvari wear white blouses; Bhairava, black; Brahmani, yellow; and Vaisnavi, green; the others wear blouses of various shades of red. Appliqued on the backs of the blouses is a white crescent moon with a protruding triangular element in the middle. It looks like a profile view of the universal man in the moon. "The crescent is a half moon, the half moon is the power of the moon, it is the power symbol of the moon. The Nava Durga get their power from the moon, it is a symbol of Siva." The blouse also has small tabs of cloth at the shoulder line. The color of these tabs varies; Mahesvari has yellow tabs, and Varahi has green tabs. Most of the short sleeves are faced in yellow cloth. Around

their waists they wear a wide band of white cloth. The dancers wear gold bracelets and silver necklaces of linked chain. One necklace is always linked to a large horizontal crescent moon pendant, the sign of Siva. Silver bells are worn below the waist cloth and strapped to their calves.

These above-the-ordinary costumes have a similarity which marks, and communicates to the participants, the Nava Durgas' special group relationship. The costumes unify the group, whereas specific iconographical elements found on the masks and crowns distinguish the individual gods and goddesses.

Life Force Given at Taleju

Ceremonially dressed, the gathas proceed to the main temple, Taleju, with the Nava Durga masks. The masks are taken to Taleju to give them a life force independent of the gathas who wear them. "The Nava Durga masks are given life by the priest of Taleju, by the Nava Durga gods and goddesses, and by tantras and mantras." This life-giving ritual occurs late at night or early in the morning.

Once the masks have been given life, the gathas take them to their own temple at Ga che. Here they are displayed, when not being worn by the dancers, until the final ceremony in June. The icon of Mahalaksmi is kept in her small chariot on the ground floor, and is visible from the doorway. The masks are kept on the second floor. When the Nava Durga are not performing in public, the people come here to make pujas to the gods and goddesses. They make offerings of eggs and other foods.

The dancers are now ready for the first public dance of the Nava Durga, which is traditionally held in Susimere tol on the square before the small temple of Visnu. The Nava Durga will then dance, in accordance with the astrological calendar, perhaps ninety times in the eight month period. (Krishna Banamal).

The Dancers

Oral tradition tells how the Nava Durga told the gathas that they wanted to move through the city and dance. The Nava Durga love dance, drink and blood sacrifices, particularly the pig which is the lowest and most filthy of the animal sacrifices. The Nava Durga needed the gathas as their vehicles and the gathas, who are of a lower caste status, wanted the honor of dancing and care for the Nava Durga. The gathas are allowed to raise pigs and they like being with the Nava Durga.

There are about a hundred families directly descended from the original Nava Durga gathas; only men from this goup can dance or work for the Nava Durga. There are approximately ninety men who can dance, and the privilege of dancing is rotated among them. Those who belong to major families (determined by descent line and primogeniture) dance more often than those of minor families. A dancer can also sell his right to dance to a gatha who wants to dance out of turn and accrue more merit. Dancers must learn all the

dances of the Nava Durga. Krishna Banamal said: "Sometimes we will dance only for one god, but most of the time we dance for all the Nava Durga in the eight month period."

Krishna Banamal was eighteen when he first danced. He did not train to dance as a boy, but watched and sometimes, like other gatha boys, wore a costume, like Sima or Duma, to ask for money. When old enough, between the ages of eighteen and twenty, the men begin their dance training under the supervision of the Nava Durga gatha priests. The dancers train or rehearse for one or two months before Dasain, depending upon their talent and experience. If a man is not a talented dancer, he is not allowed to dance and may sell his right to dance to others.

Krishna Banamal explained that "the Nava Durga dances are all similar, but certain gods and goddesses have different dances that only they do. Sima and Duma dance together. When Maha Kali or Kumari dance with Seto Bhairava, it is different than when they dance alone, and Maha Kali, Varahi and Bhairava dance differently from the rest. Only Maha Kali, Varahi and Bhairava dance with a sword, it is a symbol of their fierceness. Most of us like to dance with Maha Kali or Bhairava. I especially like to dance with Bhairava because he has to do sacrifices and other special things, and he dances for a long time. But I must wait my turn with the other men to dance with Bhairava." He added, "When I wear the face of Bhairava or Maha Kali, I feel different. I feel that I am a part of Bhairava and sometimes I will go mad. Sometimes, when I wear the face of Bhairava, I do not feel the god in me and then I drink a lot of wine. Then I dance more smoothly and begin to feel the god. When I am dancing, I will not see anybody. I dance for myself and the Nava Durga gods and goddesses."

The masked dancers are the surrogates of the Nava Durga. Unlike the Devi dancers, they are not actors; nor are they entirely transformed in the sense of a shaman. The masks and the masked dancers are god-equivalents.

The gathas who belong to the Nava Durga have other ritual responsibilities in addition to dancing, although dancing is one of the more honored positions. Some work in the Nava Durga god-house, others play the drum or cymbals, or carry a basket filled with food and drink for the dancers, or uphold Mahalaksmi's chariot. All the positions are rotated, but the major families are more privileged in the frequency of their roles. Those who do not have a role to play in the Nava Durga tend to their work in the fields or gardens.

The gathas who work in the Nava Durga god-house stay for one year and they reportedly sleep there. There is a male and female leader, whom the other gathas help because someone must always be there to receive the offerings and, in addition to the masks and icon of Mahalaksmi, there are statues, ornaments and other sacred objects that must be cared for. (Krishna Banamal)[2]

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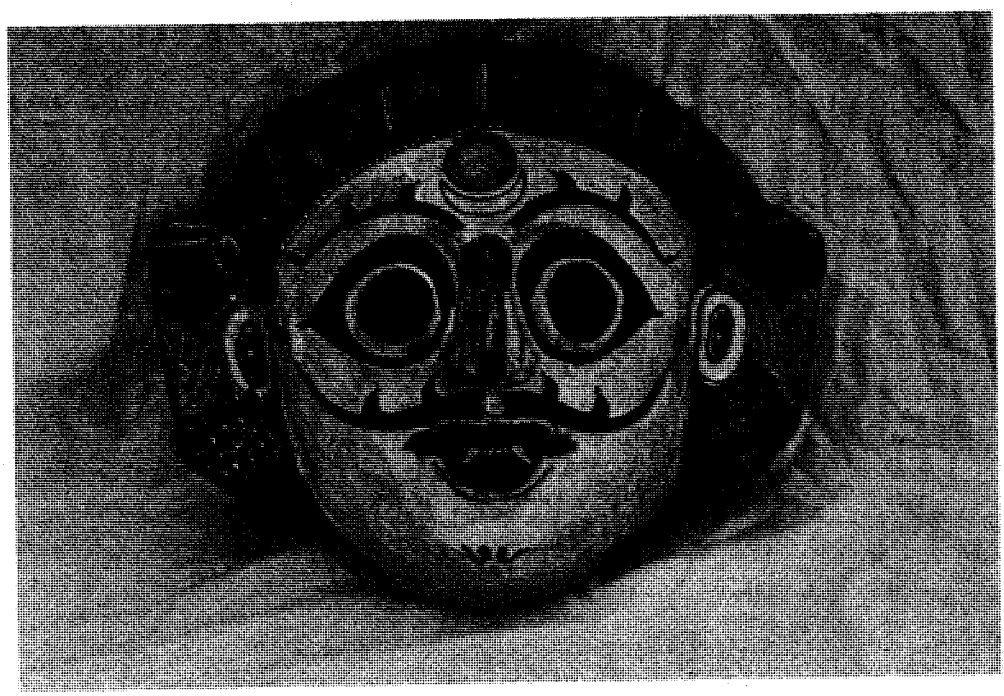
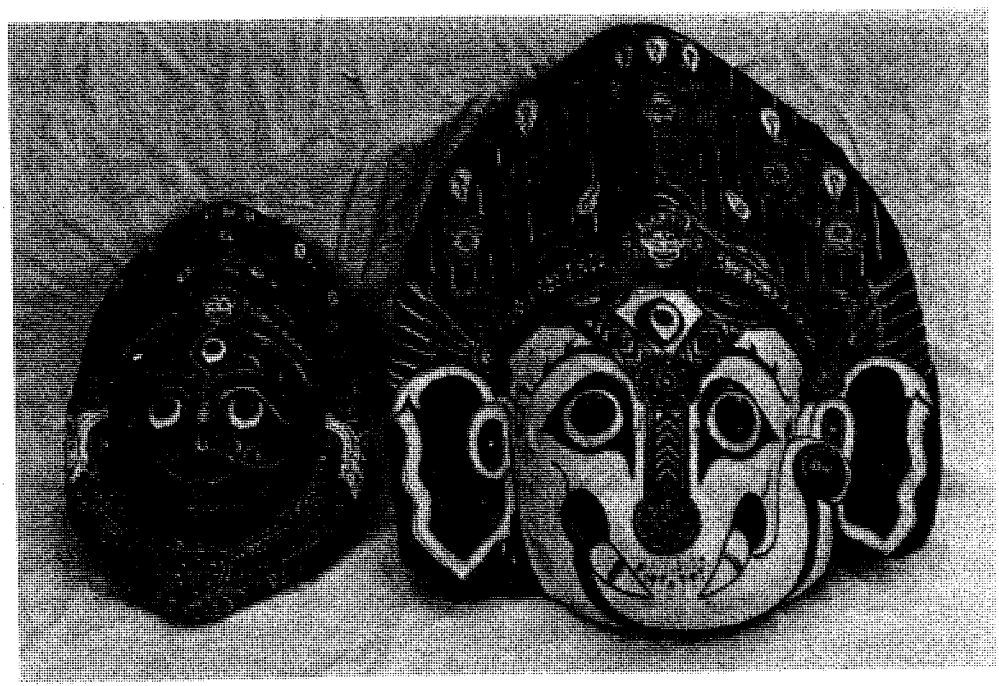
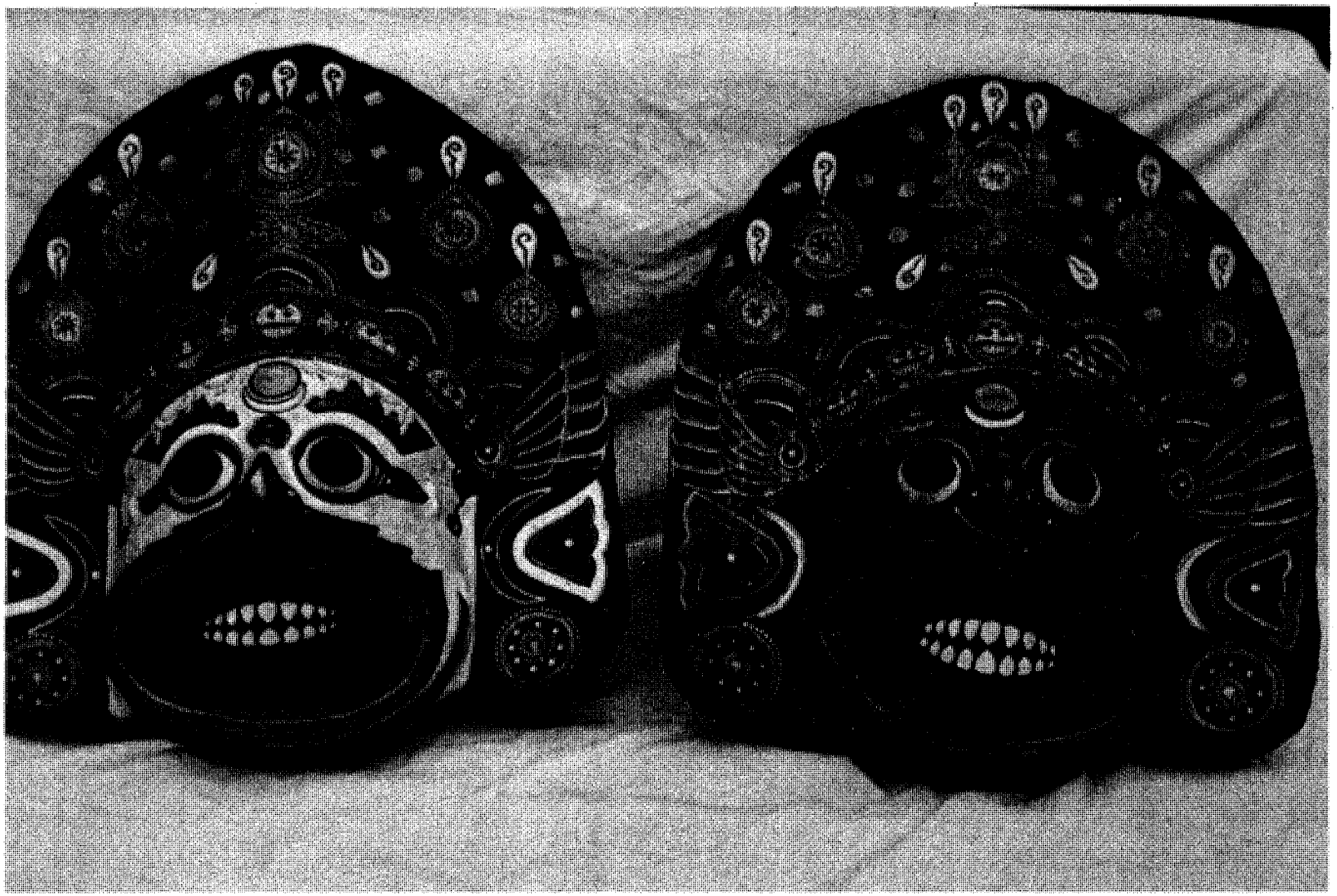
2. Visnu Bahadur says that the dancers live in their own houses in Inachole tol and that no one sleeps in the Nava Durga god-house in Ga che. He added that the gathas, particularly the dancers, go every day to the god-house to keep watch, but go home at night and



Seto Bhairava, a commissioned mask. (8 1/2 " x 10 1/2 ")



Shiva and Ganesh commissioned masks. (Shiva: 13" x 8", Ganesh: 18" x 15")



Sima and Duma, commissioned masks. (Shima: 15 1/8 x 13 1/2", Duma: 15 1/2" x 13 3/8")

Talented gathas also take turns as musicians. They are taught how to play the cymbals and drum. The drum is shaped like a wooden keg with leather heads. A leather strap circles the player's head, so that he has both hands free to play when he walks and accompanies the dancers. This drum is considered special and is only used for the Nava Durga ceremonies. Twisted ram's horns are attached to the top of the drum and projecting from the middle of the horns is a phallic gold lingam called "Siva's head." Hanging from the horns is a magic leather bag called *moni tala.* Just above the *moni tala* hangs a small gold mask of Siva. The barrel of the drum is covered with red and yellow puja dust, a mark of the offerings that are made to the drum.

The cymbals are also sacred and are only used for the Nava Durga ceremonies. They are of two sizes; the larger are about eight inches in diameter, and the smaller about four inches. They have been gilded and were probably cast from brass. When they are not in use, the cymbals are placed near the drum.

Before performing, the dancer touches the drum heads with both hands and then places both hands on the hands of the drummer. Next, he touches the cymbals and the cymbalist picks them up, touching them to his forehead. This reportedly transfers the magic of the Nava Durga dancers to the musical instruments.

The gathas who perform in the Nava Durga ceremonies identify so strongly with the gods and goddesses that they would not be interviewed until after the Nava Durga masks had been burned.

The Concluding Nava Durga Ceremonies

Early in June, the Nava Durga leave their god-house late at night when the non-initiated public will not see them, because, as Visnu Bahadur explained, "They are in an angry mood and might hurt or kill someone. Maha Kali is especially angry because she knows that they are going to Taleju where their greater magic and life force will be taken from them." In Taleju, "the high priest will take away their sakti by mantras and by having them eat some sacred food, *se ja,* a cooked, red rice. The priest cuts the life of the gods and goddesses, and even if the dancer tries his very best to dance with the mask, he can not. The dancer can only walk and do an occasional twirl, as there is little magic left in him." On the way to Taleju, the Nava Durga and the musicians run and dance "madly" through the streets; on their return, they walk, with their masks to the side or on top of their heads so that their faces are visible. "The dancers feel sad because the life of the gods and goddesses has been cut from them."

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share the offerings of food and money with the other gathas. This is their only payment. Both of the dancers, however, insisted that the leaders slept in the god-house to care for the sacred objects.

A few days later, the sakti-less Nava Durga make their final public performance. During this "last day", Bhagasti, the gathas are busy preparing for the secret night ceremony. They collect a special wood, *gusyi*, which is only used for funeral pyres. The *gusyi* is taken to a secret place near the *pith*, or holy place, of Brahmani, on the Hanumante river. This is one of several selected areas where the local people burn the dead. One or more gathas will stay here, on Bhagasti, to prevent the people from bringing a dead person until the masks have been ritually burned.

Music is played in the evening to let the people know that the Nava Durga are coming out for the last time. This music is not played by the gathas, and I was told that it was not the music of the Nava Durga. When the Nava Durga come out, the dancers wear the masks over their faces, but after a halting twist-turn, they stop and place the masks to the side or on top of their heads. Sima and Duma are without masks, for, on Bhagasti, the people can buy the priviledge of carrying these masks for merit. The Nava Durga congregate before the god house; their costumes are either new or extremely clean for this last appearance.

The Nava Durga walk to each tol, paying tribute to specific temples along the way. Before a temple, the dancers may be picked up by other men and whirled around or they may attempt to dance by themselves for a minute; then, as if exhausted by the effort, they knock heads together and walk slowly on. When they attempt to dance, they place their masks over their faces.

After paying tribute to the holy building of Mahesvari, the Nava Durga pause for a sacrifice to Bhairava. A baby pig, the unique vehicle of the Nava Durga, is given to Bhairava, who tears out its heart. As the Nava Durga are ritually forbidden to use a knife or other instruments, he tears the thin skin under the pig's forelegs with his fingernails, inserts his hand and pulls out the heart. The dancers are taught how to do this during their training at Taleju. (Krishna Banamal)

After visiting all the tols, the Nava Durga go to the temple of Visnu. They performed their first dance of the season here, eight months ago. The gathas now sacrifice a ram. **(Perhaps it is this ram's horns which are placed on the sacred drum.) Only those directly** involved in the Nava Durga ritual are allowed to be at this ceremony. Krishna Banamal said that if the dancers had done something wrong during the Nava Durga season they would be punished like the ram in this or in the next life. The reference to being punished is curious, as most sacrificial animals consent to the sacrifice by nodding their heads, and if they do not consent they are allowed to live and become the sacred animal of the god's temple. In addition, this is the only ceremonial sacrifice to the Nava Durga in which the animal's throat is slit with a knife. Since the Nava Durga are not allowed to use a knife, its use here may carry a threat to prevent the dancers from abusing the powers of the gods and goddesses.

The masks are burned after the ram sacrifice. This is witnessed only by the dancers, the musicians, the leaders of the Nava Durga god-house, and a member of the oil-presser caste (*sami*). The masks are burned on funeral pyres, and the ashes are collected and stored

in a copper vessel which is placed in a secret spot on the river floor near the pith or holy place of Brahmani. The sacred vessel is left in the river until the month before Dasain. The ashes are then used in the creation of the new masks. The copper vessel is stored in Taleju until the following June, when it is once again hidden in the river.

Visnu Bahadur believes that "the Nava Durga leave their masks and their gathas to go into the water because the water is necessary for the planting of rice; they help increase the water for the rice crops."

Conclusion

I emphasize two themes concerning the traditions of the Nava Durga in Bhaktapur; the Nava Durga ceremonies are ritually marked by a set of masks which have an efficacy that is not restricted to the period of time that they are worn, and these ceremonies and rituals integrate many ideologies and beliefs, a number of which concern the agricultural cycle.

The Nava Durga masks have special properties that distinguish them from ordinary masks. To begin with, each new set of Nava Durga masks is ritually linked with past by their process of fabrication and the fact that each set of masks contains the ashes of the preceeding generations of Nava Durga masks. Secondly, the masks are the focal point of the Nava Durga ceremonies because they are god-equivalents. The masks can be worn to the side or held upward during a dance, because of this god-equivalence, and it is relatively unimportant whether or not they conceal the face of wearer, unlike other mask traditions. What is important is that these masks, worn or not, are perceived as markers that impose a meaning on the endless flux of events. The Nava Durga masks are one way of capturing, making static and manipulating, within specific cultural contexts, certain meanings that transcend social reality.

At the folk level, the Nava Durga ceremonies have a meaning which is directed to the non-initiated public, eighty per cent of whom are farmers. Some of the ceremonies focus on the assistance these gods and goddesses give with agricultural production. "The Nava Durga help all the farmers and gardeners with their crops, because they were found by a farmer and cared for by gardeners." (Krishna Banamal) Even the essential material used in making the Nava Durga masks, a dark malleable clay (rather than wood, copper or brass), can be interpreted as a symbolic referent to the agricultural cycle. And when it rains on Bhagasti, "it is a good omen for the rice crops."

Visnu Bahadur observed: "The people of Bhaktapur make pujas and sacrifices to the Nava Durga in order to please the gods and goddesses. It depends on the ideas of the people whether to give puja or not. If someone believes in them, they will go and give puja; if one does not wish to be involved, he won't go. But today some of the people are losing their faith in the Nava Durga because the world is changing and because they feel the gathas are too greedy. The gathas demand too many offerings and when the people make their offerings, sometimes the gathas will not let them break the egg in the name of the

gods and goddesses." It may be that the gathas are abusing their ritual privileges; the gathas want more offerings and as the people lose faith, less offerings are given. But, the world of Bhaktapur is changing, and perhaps, with it, the two hundred year old tradition of these unique Nava Durga ceremonies.

RELIGION IN TIBETAN SOCIETY - A NEW APPROACH
PART TWO A STRUCTURAL MODEL

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In the second of this series of two papers I shall look at a particularly well studied Tibetan population, the Sherpas of Nepal. I hope to show that previous accounts of Sherpa religion have been incomplete in certain crucial particulars, and that the approach I have outlined gives a more comprehensible picture of the totality of Sherpa religious experience and activity.

The majority of the Sherpas live in high valleys in the East of Nepal, on the south side of the main Himalayan range. Some have settled in the Kathmandu valley, and there is also a large population in the area of Darjeeling in India, but the centre of Sherpa society remains the two districts of Shorung (Solu in Nepali) and Khumbu in East Nepal, about 70 to 100 miles east of Kathmandu, and it is to these two districts that the anthropological accounts refer. The population of Sherpas in this area in 1965 was about 15,000 (Oppitz 1974: 235)

The Sherpas trace their origin to a group of clans from East Tibet (Kham) who settled in Shorung and Khumbu, probably at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. While the distinctiveness of the Sherpas in relation to other Tibetan speaking populations in Nepal has been stressed by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (1964) there is no doubt that culturally the Sherpas *are* Tibetan. The Sherpas speak a Tibetan dialect, their way of life is in most respects characteristically Tibetan, they absorb Tibetan immigrants into their society easily and rapidly, and as I shall show their religion is quite within the mainstream of Tibetan religious practice. This point is worth making because one of the authors I shall discuss, Friedrich Funke, regards Sherpa religion as not typical of Tibetan religion today. I shall consider the grounds for his assertion below.

The Sherpas have been probably the most accessible population of Tibetans in modern times. At any rate they have been the most intensively studied by anthropologists, as well as being the Tibetan population which has had the most extensive contact with Westerners in general over the last twenty-five years through their participation in mountaineering expeditions.

Here I shall be mainly concerned with the three anthropological works dealing at length with religion; Fürer-Haimendorf's general ethnography of 1964, and the studies of Sherpa religion by Friedrich Funke (1969) and Robert Paul (1970). Some other works will be referred to however, in the course of my argument.

The Nyingmapa in Tibetan Religion

To begin with I shall discuss some general features of Sherpa religion. While the practice of Buddhism by the Sherpas is typically Tibetan, it is typical of one particular

Tibetan monastic order, the Nyingmapa (cf Snellgrove 1957, Tucci 1970). The Nyingmapa are the oldest of the four main orders. By origin they were not so much a homogeneous group deriving from a particular lama and his monastery, as were the other orders, but a kind of residual category of monasteries which remained outside the new monastic orders of tne 12th to 15th centuries, the Kagyupa, Sakyapa and Gelukpa. Their most distinctive feature, referred to in their name, is their adherence to the 'old' (T *rnying ma*)[1] tantras associated with Padmasambhava and his missionary activity in Tibet in the 8th century, and to the rituals discovered subsequently in the form of 'hidden' texts claimed to date from the time of Padmasambhava. Some of the characteristically Nyingmapa tantric ritual cycles, in particular the 'Union of the Precious Ones' widely used by the Sherpas, are centred on the deified figure of Padmasambhava.[2] Another important cycle of texts is that of the *zhi 'khro* (T; Sh *shetu*) the mandala of the tranquil and fierce divinities, best known in the West through the 'Tibetan Book of the Dead' which forms part of this cycle (cf Tucci 1949, Fremantle and Trungpa 1975). However while these cycles are to some degree specially connected with the Nyingmapa, they are used also by lamas and monks of the other monastic orders. More importantly, they are no different in basic nature from the rituals of the 'new' tantras characteristic of the other orders. There are some philosophical differences between the Nyingmapa and the others and interpretations of Buddhist philosophy given by the ethnographers I am discussing perhaps reflect views characteristic of the Nyingmapas on some occasions.[3] These differences are of little or no significance to the average layman.

There are however some differences between the Nyingmapa and their polar opposites, the Gelukpa, the 'reformed' order founded by Tsongkhapa and which was dominant in the Dalai Lama's realm, which are significant in this discussion. In particular it is not necessary for Nyingmapa lamas to be celibate, and many are not. These non-celibate lamas range from relatively low status 'village lamas', that is laymen with some tantric training, to the heads of the most important Nyingmapa monasteries. Also, and consequently, the office of lama at a local temple, or of abbot at a monastery, is sometimes hereditary among the Nyingmapa. Historically it was the Gelukpa who reasserted the Indian Buddhist ideal of monastic celibacy and consequently eliminated hereditary abbacy in their monas-

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[1] T followed by italics indicates Tibetan terms in transliteration (following Wylie 1959); S indicates Sanskrit, and Sh the Sherpa dialect of Tibetan in phonetic transcription (following R.A. Paul 1970 or Fürer-Haimendorf 1964; in some cases where the forms differ significantly I have given both). Tibetan and Sherpa proper names (Nyingmapa, Shorung) are used in the text in phonetic transcription without special indication.

[2] Texts from this cycle are translated by Snellgrove (1957: 228-9, 245-61).

[3] For philosophical peculiarities of the Nyingmapa, cf. Tucci 1970: 94-106; Guenther 1963, 1966, 1972. Specifically Nyingmapa concepts are possibly reflected in R.A. Paul's account, e.g. 1970: 342-3, 376-7.

teries. In both these respects the other two Buddhist monastic orders (Sakyapa and Kagyupa) represent an intermediate situation.

The fifth, quasi-Buddhist Tibetan monastic order, Bon, has no monasteries in Sherpa country, though it is of considerable importance among Tibetan populations in North-West Nepal (Snellgrove 1961, 1967, Fürer-Haimendorf 1975). It nevertheless requires further mention because of the important part it plays in Funke's account. Funke, following Hoffmann and thus, indirectly, the polemical writings of Tibetan historians of the Gelukpa order, uses the term Bon to refer to *both* the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet *and* the contemporary adherents of the monastic order of Bon. It has become apparent over the last decade or so that this usage is highly misleading, as well as historically inaccurate.[4] The inaccuracy lies in labelling pre-Buddhist Tibetan religion as a whole as 'Bon' when the *bon po* were only one of several classes of ritual practitioners in Tibet during the royal period, and were probably largely indebted for their ritual practice to non-Tibetan sources. What is more important is that the Bon of today is a monastic order similar in all its basic features to the four strictly Buddhist monastic orders. It shares many of the same rituals in slightly modified form (e.g., the *zhi 'khro* cycle), and it stands in essentially the same relationship as the Buddhist orders to what Tucci (1970) calls the *Volksreligion* of Tibet and Stein (1972: 191-229) the 'nameless religion' of Tibetan tradition, that is the cult of local deities, the concern with malevolent spirits, the practice of exorcising ritual etc. These matters are in no respect Bon specialities, although it seems that the village magicians (T *sngags pa*) mentioned above tend to be associated with Bon or Nyingmapa rather than with Gelukpa, as might be expected from the Gelukpa emphasis on monastic celibacy for its students of tantra.

At the same time both Nyingmapa and Bon do have monasteries like those of the Gelukpa, containing celibate monks observing their vows and studying Buddhist philosophy (cf Snellgrove 1961, Kvaerne 1976b). At most one could say that there *is* something of a continuum in terms of involvement with 'folk religion' from the Gelukpa with their emphasis on the ideal of the celibate monk, academic study and right motivation, to the less exclusively academic and monastic Nyingmapa and Bon. Since we do not have adequate studies of the involvement of lamas in 'folk religion' in Gelukpa-dominated areas, it is not possible to evaluate the degree of variation between the two poles of the continuum. But even the Gelukpa carry out initiations to strengthen the life-force in laymen, perform monastic dances and other rituals against malevolent spirits, and perform rituals to guide the consciousness of the dead to a happy rebirth. And if my analysis of Tibetan religion is right, it is hard to see how the Gelukpa could have maintained their lay support if they were not involved with 'folk religion'; because these rituals are essential components of the reciprocity between monasteries and laymen.

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[4] On this question cf. Stein 1972: 191, 22-47; Kvaerne 1967a and 1976b; Macdonald 1971.

Outline of Sherpa religion

All of the three authors whom I am considering are in agreement on the general outlines of Sherpa religion, and their account is confirmed by other descriptions (e.g. Snellgrove 1957, S.O. Paul 1970) and by my own observations during a brief visit to Shorung. Some minor differences arise from the fact that Fürer-Haimendorfs account refers to the region of Khumbu, while Funke and Paul both worked primarily in the more southerly area of Shorung. Minor differences in social structure between the two areas (cf.R.A.Paul 1970: 256-275) appear to have little effect on the basic forms of religious behaviour. Funke regards Shorung as less 'Tibetanized' in religious matters than Khumbu, and one might expect a stronger Nepali influence in Shorung, which is further south and nearer the Nepal Valley. However specific examples are not apparent of this influence in the field of religion.[5]

The Sherpa's pantheon corresponds to that described in my first paper for Tibetans in general. The *tantric gods* and *protective gods* are mostly the concern of the monastic cult, with the exception of those few deities who are familiar to the layman: Avalokitesvara (Sh *Pawa Cherenzi*)[6], Padmasambhava (Sh *Curu Rimpoche), Tara (Sh Drolmd*). Lay ritual towards these gods consists of the recitation of mantras or short prayers.

The *local gods* are of considerable importance. The most powerful are the *yul lha* (T) or regional deities, which are associated with major mountains in Shorung and Khumbu, and are known simply as Shorung *yul lha* and Khumbu *yul lha*. Several lesser gods are linked with smaller local mountains and hills, and these are of concern mostly to particular descent groups with a hereditary duty to perform an offering ritual of some kind to them, usually once or twice yearly. Two of the main Himalayan peaks, Everest and Gauri Shankar, are associated with two of a set of mountain goddesses well known in Tibet too, the Five Sisters of Long Life (T *tshe ring mched lnga*), but they have no popular cult among the Sherpas. These local deities are in general benevolent, but can be offended and cause illness and other misfortune.

Overlapping with these mountain gods in power and general nature are another class of spirits, the water-spirits or *lu* (Sh; T *klu,* equated in literary texts with S *naga*). Like the mountain gods they can be helpful to man but are also capable of ill-will. They range from lu associated with a lake high up on the slopes of Shorung *yul lha* mountain, Uomi Tso or Milk Lake, (a place to which many Sherpas make an annual pilgrimage) to *lu* associated with local streams and lakes, and *lu* living in the houses of men (within which a small shrine

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[5] Except perhaps for the use of non-Sherpa shamans in Shorung, and the importance of the cult of the *lu* in both Shorung and Khumbu, both of which are discussed below. As will be seen, these are not very significant exceptions.

[6] These correspond to the Tibetan names, 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs, gu ru rin po che, sgrol ma.

is often erected for them). They are particularly offended by pollution of their lakes and streams, or by bad smells in the case of household *lu* (cf. Funke 1969: 27-33, S.O. Paul 1970: 241-250).

The *lu* appear to be the most important representatives for the Sherpas of the class of deities which includes also the minor gods of earth and fields (T *sa bdag* 'earth-owner' etc.). The Sherpas know these beings too – the *sa bdag* (Sh *sabtak*) are regarded as the husbands of *lu* (who are generally female) according to Ortner (S.O. Paul 1970: 242-248) – but they are given relatively little emphasis.

The Sherpa lamas know the full range of Tibetan *malevolent spirits,* though for the laymen they are generally all lumped together in a general category of *shrindi* or *hrendi* (Sh: T *srin bdud?).* As in the general model discussed in the first paper, these beings are unambiguously malevolent and protection against them is one of the major purposes of all collective ritual. Witches (Sh *pem*) and malignant ghosts (SH *norpa*) are also objects of some concern and are protected against in similar ways.

There are a number of different kinds of *religious practitioners* among the Sherpas, conforming to the general classes suggested in the previous paper. In the first place (though historically they are of recent origin) there are several monasteries – in the sense of communities of celibate monks – such as those of Tengboche in Khumbu, discussed by Fürer–Haimendorf (1964) and Jiwong in Shorung, visited by Snellgrove (1957). Most of these monasteries have incarnate lamas as their abbots or (where in their minority) titular heads.

Buddhist tantric rituals are also performed by lay tantric priests (Sh *lama* or *banzen*) belonging mostly to a hereditary lama clan. Some of the larger village temples have a number of these 'village lamas' (to use Fürer–Haimendorf's term) attached to them, who perform rituals regularly in the temple, and thus constitute communities of married lamas similar to those of Tibet.

Two groups of specialists deal with divination and minor rituals to placate local gods and spirits; the *lhawa* (Sh; T *lha pa*) or spirit-mediums who divine while in a state of possession by a local god, and the *mindung* or *minung* (Sh; T *mig mthong*) who use various material aids to clairvoyance (the distinction between these types is not rigid and a range of different techniques is used, cf.R.A.Paul 1976a: 144). From Fürer-Haimendorf's account (1964:254-263) it is clear that both *lhawa* and *mindung* work in close connection with village and monastic lamas, and are in a generally subordinate position to the lamas. Lamas and *lhawa* may recommend clients to each other, but only lamas can see the higher tantric deities, such as the gods of *Dewachen* (Sh; T *bde ba can,* the Western Paradise of Amitabha), let alone incarnate them (through the processes of tantric ritual). *Lhawa* may be trained by lamas (Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: 255-56); the reverse would be inconceivable. *Lhawa* and *mindung* usually recommend the making of offerings to propitiate the *shrindi,* witch, malignant ghost or local deity who is responsible for the illness or misfortune in question.

In Shorung many of the *minung/lhawa* practitioners are not Sherpa. They belong to non-Sherpa castes resident in the area such as the Newar and Chetri (R.A. Paul 1976a: 144). While the style of their performances may be closer to that of Nepali shamans in other parts of Nepal (cf. Hitchcock and Jones 1976) than to that of the Tibetan practitioners furter north, the role that they perform from the point of view of the Sherpas is inter-changeable with that of Sherpa or Tibetan mediums and soothsayers.

The collective rituals of the villagers are concerned with the protection of the village, its crops and herds from malevolent spirits, and the general welfare of the village community. These rituals are all of standard Tibetan types, and are taken from tantric liturgical cycles such as that of the 'Union of the Precious Ones', referred to above (cf. also Funke 1969: 255-279). The life-initiation (Sh *tseong* = T *tshe dbang*) to strengthen the life-force of the villagers, and the symbolic destruction of evil spirits in the form of an effigy, are both incorporated in the major annual village festival, *dumje* (Sh), which includes masked dances in the larger centres (cf. Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: 185-205, Funke 1969: 116-138). The annual *manirimdu* ceremonies at the monasteries include the same two basic elements, though the dance-sequences are much more elaborate and are performed by the monks (cf. Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: 210-224, Jerstad 1969, R.A. Paul 1970: 430).

One annual collective ritual, the *niungne* fast (Sh; T *smyung gnas*) is concerned with 'other-worldly' ends, namely the accumulation of merit by those who participate (cf. Haimendorf 1964: 180-185, Funke 1969: 116, S.O. Paul 1970: 180). The acquisition of 'merit' (good karma) at an individual level is however a constant theme of Sherpa life, as with other Tibetans and among Theravada Buddhists. Merit can be acquired by recitation of scriptures and other ritual acts, and by the construction and repair of religious shrines such as *mani*-walls and *chorten* (Sh; T *mchod rten* = S *stupa*), circular edifices containing religious relics. One also gains merit through such socially useful acts as building bridges and rest-houses, giving charity and acting as a peace-maker (Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: 272-275). Bad karmic acts ('sin' in Fürer-Haimendorf's terminology, though the word is perhaps misleading) include theft, cheating, adultery, killing or hurting any living creature, and the like. As Fürer-Haimendorf observes, Sherpas are aware that their way of life necessarily involves the commission of some of these 'sins' - yak-breeders have to castrate their bulls, although it inflicts pain upon them, trees must be cut down and living beings occasionally killed. Generally the so-called 'sins' are not so much seen as socially reprehensible, but rather as actions carrying with them their own punishment, through the operation of karma. What is expected is that the necessary minimum of sin involved in daily life should be made up for by the performance of meritorious works. Social disapproval is more concerned with breaches of the rules of clan exogamy, or disobedience to orders of the village assembly.

Merit can also be gained by the sponsoring of ritual performances by others, usually monks or village lamas, either at their monastery or at one's own home. Such ceremonies are performed particularly in cases of illness, and appear to make up much of the work

performed by the village lamas and the monks for the villagers (cf. Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: 164-166, R.A. Paul 1970: 484 ff.). The other main class of occasions on which they perform rituals for the lay population are the rites accompanying and following death. These are of standard Tibetan type, involving the recitation of the 'Tibetan Book of the Dead' (Evans-Wentz 1960, Fremantle and Trungpa 1975) by lamas and monks, and the guiding of the consciousness of the deceased to a happy rebirth by the presiding lama. The Sherpas however usually dispose of their dead by cremation, not by feeding the bodies to birds and wild animals in the Tibetan manner. (In Tibet cremation is generally reserved for high lamas.)

Fürer-Haimendorf and the anatomy of Sherpa values

Fürer-Haimendorf's book is valuable, perhaps, mainly at a descriptive and ethnographic level. It provided in fact the first, and so far, the only adequate ethnographic account of a Tibetan community, and to suggest that it is theoretically weak is perhaps to accuse the author of failing to do what he did not set out to do. However since this paper is concerned with theory, this aspect of Fürer-Haimendorf's book deserves some consideration.

To the extent that *The Sherpas of Nepal* does have a theoretical orientation it lies in Fürer-Haimendorf's concern with values and moral concepts. Furer-Haimendorf's fieldwork has been with Hindu, Buddhist and tribal societies, many of them along the Hindu-Buddhist interface of the Himalayas. For him religion is of interest primarily in terms of its role in shaping morality and values in these contrasted societies, and this dimension of religion permeates the Sherpa book and much of Fürer-Haimendorf's other work. A paper published two years before the monograph on the Sherpas is an explicit comparison of the moral concepts and values of the Sherpas, the Hindu Chetris of Nepal, and the tribal Dafla of Assam (Fürer-Haimendorf 1962). Furer-Haimendorf says of the 1964 work on the Sherpas:

> What I have set out to do is to describe and analyse the type of society in which the Sherpas have developed their spirit of independence, their ability to cooperate smoothly for the common good, their courtesy and gentleness of manner and their values which are productive of an admirable balance between this-worldly and other-worldly aims (1964:xix).

It is in this context that he describes the openness of the Sherpas to outside immigrants, the relative (but only relative) lack of status distinctions and emphasis on equality in family life and in village organization, and it is in this context too that he discusses religion.

Fürer-Haimendorf's material on religion takes up the last four chapters - more than half - of his book. These chapters deal in turn with monasteries and village lamas, with the practice of religion (meaning the seasonal rituals and the death rituals), with the 'control of invisible forces' *(shrindi,* witches, ghosts and local deities), and with values and moral con-

cepts. This last chapter is evidently meant to sum up the book's argument and to answer the question implicit in the quotation given above: what is it in the religion of the Sherpas which is conducive to the Sherpa's 'spirit of independence, their ability to co-operate . . . , their courtesy and gentleness of manner' etc? Fürer-Haimendorf finds his answer in the ideology of sin and merit, in which 'sinful' actions are not so much socially despised as simply tied up inevitably with their own punishment. For the Sherpas 'the individual[is] a free moral agent, responsible for his actions and capable of moulding his fate in the next life' (Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: 288). Fürer-Haimendorf sees this attitude as being at the basis of the tolerance and humanity of the Sherpa way of life.

I would not personally argue with the point Fürer-Haimendorf is making here. Most anthropologists, myself included, who have worked with Sherpa or Tibetan populations would concur with Fürer-Haimendorf's sympathetic picture of their character and way of life. It seems natural to link this to their Buddhist religion, especially in view of the marked contrast to both the Hindu and tribal peoples in neighbouring regions (cf Fürer-Haimendorf 1962).[7]

At the same time it is noticeable that the 'moral concepts and values' framework, such as it is, fails to encompass Fürer-Haimendorf's material on religion. He relates Sherpa morality to the Buddhist concepts of karma, merit and sin; but most of the material on religion given in the previous three chapters has little to do with any of these concepts. In some ways it is to the advantage of Fürer-Haimendorf's work that description is *not* subordinated here to a theoretical scheme. By contrast Funke and Robert Paul, whose books *are* shaped by their authors' theoretical frameworks, provide in some respects much more one-sided accounts.

Funke and the diffusionist approach to Sherpa religion

Friedrich Funke's book (1969) reads strangely to an English-speaking anthropologist, since its approach is within a tradition which is completely out of fashion within the Eng-

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[7] It should be noted that Fürer-Haimendorf describes the Sherpa ethos as differing somewhat from the of other Tibetan groups:

> Although the Tibetan-speaking people of the western border regions also practice Buddhism and live in the seclusion of remote and sparsely populated Himalayan valleys, one does not encounter there a basic outlook comparable in humanity and breadth with that prevailing in Khumbu. Thus we would err if we ascribed the general ethos of Sherpa society solely to the effect of Buddhist ideology. (1964: xix).

As I mentioned in Part I of this article, Fürer-Haimendorf suggests that another relevant factor is the relative freedom of the Sherpa communities from the control of external authorities.

lish-speaking world today, that of diffusionism. Much of Funke's book is concerned with explaining Sherpa religion through a procedure of dividing it into various supposed components and then advancing hypotheses to account for the presence of those components, mostly in terms of diffusion from other culture areas. Since I am concerned primarily with understanding Sherpa religion as a totality, as a functioning aspect of Sherpa society, much of Funke's argument is irrelevant to my approach. However I think it can be shown that not only does his approach lead to a somewhat one-sided view of Sherpa religion, but that he also fails to make a very good job of what he himself sets out to do.[8]

As with the classical diffusionists, Funke places much emphasis on material culture. Much of the book is taken up with extensive descriptions of village temples (particularly that of Junbesi in Shorung) and of religious paintings, and with a number of translations of ritual texts. These translations are perhaps the most useful part of the book, but Funke does little with them, mainly because he wants Sherpa religion to be 'non-Lamaist' - he regularly used 'Lamaism' for Tibetan Buddhism, in the style of Waddell - and the texts obviously don't fit this picture. By contrast with the extensive description of material objects, there is relatively little in the book on how the Sherpas themselves view their religion.

Funke's view of Tibetan religion derives from Waddell (1967) and particularly from Hoffmann (1961). As I mentioned above, Hoffmann's views on Bon are no longer generally accepted; unfortunately Funke incorporated them in his own work in a somewhat simplistic form. Thus for Funke Tibetan Buddhism ('Lamaism') is among the Sherpas a thin veneer over pre-Aryan hill cults, old Persian and in particular the 'pre-Buddhist Bon religion':

> When the protoclans of the Sherpa emigrated from Kham and moved southwards to their present-day habitat in Nepal, they brought with them age-old forms of beliefs and rites and these have survived there up to the present day, whereas in Tibet proper these components of archaic religious views gradually lost their separate identity during five centuries of political and religious power struggles. It is true that in modern times the Tibetan Nyingmapa sect from its border monastery of Rongphu on the north side of Mt. Everest has constantly sought to missionise those Sherpa living across the border and thus win them back to orthodox Lamaism, but their efforts have met with little or no success. (1969: 289; Funke's English Summary).

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[8] Incidentally Funke's approach is relatively mild by comparison with that of Siegbert Hummel, another diffusionist who took a short look at Sherpa religion in a paper based on some of Fürer-Haimendorf's data (1967). After an exhilarating tour through the myths and rites of most of Europe and Asia, Hummel succeeds in demonstrating that the local god of the Sherpas of Khumbu is a variant of Santa Claus. He has published much material on Tibet proper in a similar vein.

This is a very odd statement, considering that Snellgrove clearly regarded the Sherpas as typical Nyingmapa followers, and that the accounts of Fürer-Haimendorf, Jerstad, Robert Paul and Sherry Ortner, and for that matter that of Funke himself, bear constant witness to the very great importance of Buddhism to the Sherpas.

It is all too easy to pick holes in Funke's argument. His basic mistake lies in thinking that the concern with local deities and malevolent spirits among the Sherpas is anomalous for a Tibetan society. In fact it is equally characteristic, on all available evidence, of Tibetans in Tibet proper, and as I showed earlier it is central to Tibetan religion in all its forms. Funke's texts, which are standard Tibetan Buddhist liturgies for dealing with local gods and spirits, indicate as much. If the Sherpas are not really Buddhists, then neither was anyone in Tibet proper, with the possible exception of a few hermits and yogis. I shall not criticise Funke's arguments any further in detail, but it is I think worth having a closer look at the effect of his theoretical outlook on his description of Sherpa religion.

For Funke, explanation consists, in general, in tracing origins of individual items, and occasionally in relating them to standard categories such as the cult of vegetation powers. Thus while Funke describes a number of the same rituals and institutions as Fürer-Haimendorf – the *dumje* festival, the *minung* or soothsayers – the emphasis in his account is on how each ritual or institution is 'non-Lamaist', is derived from Bon, etc.

Certainly there *are* local influences on Sherpa religion. The functioning of the *lu* as house-spirits, and their greatly increased importance in comparison to Tibet proper, may well be related, as Funke suggests, to the non-Tibetan climate of Sherpa country, with its monsoonal rains, and also perhaps to the importance of the corresponding *naga* spirits in the whole area, for example among the Newars for whom they also serve as house-spirits (cf. Nepali 1965: 323-326). Yet what I find striking is that the *lu* simply form part of the standard Tibetan category of local deities, and are treated with exactly the same attitude and methodology as the local deities of Tibet[9]. The basic structure of Tibetan religion persists among the Sherpas in an unchanged form. This is something that Funke is unable to see. In addition he has little to say about the monks, the lamas and the monasteries, or about the 'ideology of merit' (to use Tambiah's convenient phrase) among the Sherpas. Indeed it is hard to see why there should be all this Buddhist activity, and all the emphasis on merit-making, if Buddhist concepts were as meaningless to the Sherpas as Funke would have them.

Paul: Freud and the Sherpa Buddhist Psyche

Funke and Paul both worked in Shorung, and within a couple of years of each other. Yet it is often hard to believe they are talking about the same people. The Sherpas of

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[9] Compare Fürer-Haimendorf's description of the installation of a *lu* shrine (1964: 267-8) with Norbu's account for the local deities of East Tibet (1966: 187-8, 190-2).

Shorung as described by Funke are animists under a thin veneer of Buddhism; as seen by Paul they are Buddhists whose admitted belief in local gods and spirits receives little attention. In Paul's case as in Funke's, it seems arguable that the author has allowed his theoretical perspective to dominate his presentation of the data to an extent where the overall picture is seriously distorted.

In the preface to his thesis Paul cites Melford Spiro as his chief mentor; 'it was he who first interested me in the problems of psychological anthropology, religion and Buddhism. His influence may be discerned on every page of this thesis' (1970: ii-iii). Despite this avowal, Paul's argument is rather different in character from Spiro's, and the thesis is by no means merely a rewriting of Spiro's work on Burmese religion for the Sherpas. The most obvious difference lies in the attitude to psychoanalytic theory. Spiro makes considerable occasional use of Freud, and of Kardiner, in his two books on Burma (1967, 1971) and his other writings on religion (e.g. 1966), but for Spiro the Freudian hypotheses form part of, and are subordinate to, an explicitly functionalist framework. Paul, by contrast, is a very thorough-going Freudian indeed. Somewhat paradoxically, in view of Paul's adoption of such a typically modern Western world-view as that of Freud, he also gives the impression of taking Buddhism as a philosophy much more seriously than Spiro does.

In fact much of his description of the classes of Sherpa deities, and of the nature of monastic life, reads like a restatement of Buddhist philosophy in Freudian language. Paul more or less admits this at the end of the work:

> In answer to the question I asked myself when beginning this project, namely "What is Sherpa monasticism all about?" I am forced to reply, "It is about precisely what it claims to be about, that is, a solution to the problem of how to live in the face of death, and of how to be saved, which is after all the most important question I can imagine". (R. A. Paul, 1970: 629)

Such a viewpoint has some very real advantages. Paul's approach goes a considerable way towards making Sherpa Buddhist thought intelligible to a Western reader, at an emotional as well as at an intellectual level. (I have no space to discuss his analysis in detail, but refer the reader to Paul's article on a Sherpa temple (1976b) which presents some of the same material as the thesis.) I would also emphasize that Paul's ethnography is very thorough and impressive; Spiro's influence is certainly noticeable here. As far as I can tell, Paul alone of the three authors I am discussing here spoke Sherpa dialect, and his knowledge of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy, though mainly from Sherpa oral sources, is also much better than that of Fürer-Haimendorf or Funke.

However I would suggest that his perspective leads to an account of Sherpa religion that is strong on the personal meaning to the Sherpas of their religion, but weak on religion as part of the functioning of Sherpa society as a whole. I think it goes along with this that local gods, and particularly the *lu*, the water spirits, and the demons and ghosts, receive very summary treatment in Paul's account. They are not really relevant to his theme:

> The worship of *zhibtak* [local gods] is quite elaborately developed in Sherpa religion, but since it is not really concerned with the problems of "high religion" (even though it is not distinguished from other internal parts of the religion), a discussion of these gods would carry us too far from the present line of enquiry.
>
> I will likewise avoid an extensive discussion of these fascinating creatures [the *lu*], since they are not really central to soteriological problems. (R.A. Paul, 1970: 373, 373-4)

The ghosts and demons receive slightly over a page of over 600 pages:

> It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss them in any detail, and since they too are largely unconcerned with cosmological, eschatological problems, but with those of the workaday world, I will simply point out that, like all malevolent spirits, they may symbolize a number of different psychological phenomena. (1970: 375)
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> I will continue the above quotation to give some idea of Paul's approach:
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> First, they may be objectifications of individual fears of external threats and rivals They may also be projections of repressed hostilities of all kinds. Second. . .they may represent threats posed by the id, or rather the libido, to the stable organization of the ego. . .

The reader's response to this kind of analysis – and Paul's thesis is full of such psychoanalytic interpretations – is doubtless a function of his attitude to Freud's theories. But whatever one thinks of demons and ghosts as objectifications of internal and external threats to the ego, it remains true that demons and ghosts as supposed agents of disease and misfortune – which is what they primarily are for the Sherpas – fall outside the scope of Paul's analysis. Such matters are simply part of the 'workaday world'.

It is here that Paul departs markedly from Spiro's approach. In his well-known paper on religion Spiro isolates cognitive, substantive and expressive desires met by religion (1966: 109-117). Paul is concerned with the *expressive* desires – the desires to give expression to painful drives and feelings not allowed overt manifestation by the culture. To some degree he discusses too the *cognitive* desire, the wish to have an explanation for the universe and man's place within it. But he is scarcely concerned at all with the *substantive* desires – with religious practice, that is, as a technique to get things done, as a way to achieve material ends. Yet substantive desires – for protection from illness, for prosperity, for a good rebirth, even for the attainment of Buddhahood – are the needs which are most real for the Sherpas. Gods; monkhood and other religious roles; religious practice: all are for Paul manifestations of internal psychological problems. The study of tantra 'is concerned with actually attaining the state of supreme power which is inherent in the id-dominated state of mind' (1970: 410). Maybe it is; but I have suggested already that it is the uses to which that power is put which are critical for the nature of Tibetan, and Sherpa, religion.

Conclusion

I would argue tnen that the material given by Fürer-Haimendorf, Funke and Paul all fits well into the model which I have suggested in the first of these papers – and that if it is looked at in terms of my model, it makes much more sense, and allows for a much clearer understanding of the role of religion in Sherpa or Tibetan society, than if one uses the styles of analysis advanced by Funke or Paul[10]. Fürer–Haimendorf does not give much analysis, and he misses the essential links between the 'power' of Buddhist tantric deities and defence against the local gods, ghosts and spirits, mainly I think because of his lack of knowledge of what the rituals and the philosophy mean to the Sherpas and Tibetans. At the same time, Fürer-Haimendorf does not claim to give an analysis of the Sherpa religious system, and the book has value in its own right. As an ethnographic account of the Sherpas it gave us the first adequate description of any Tibetan society, and provided the basis for much that came later. Funke and Paul on the other hand both set out specifically to study Sherpa religion, and both, I would argue, give one-sided accounts. Funke emphasizes the ghosts, spirits and local gods, and explains them as historically derivative from early (pre-Buddhist) Tibetan religion. Paul emphasizes the Buddhist pantheon and the monastic role, and explains *them* by translating them into Freudian terminology. Neither are able to see local gods and demons, tantric gods, Buddhist monks, and lamas, as all parts of a single system, in which each element can only be fully understood by reference to that total system.

To restate my point in somewhat different language: *both* the beliefs in local gods and malevolent spirits, *and* the lamas and monasteries with their practice of the literary tradition of tantric Buddhism, are essential parts of religion in Tibetan societies. Funke's derivation of the Sherpa animistic beliefs from pre-Buddhist sources doubtless has historical truth in it, though I see no reason to agree with his contention that the Sherpas are *more* involved with these spirit-cults than any other Tibetan group. However his suggestion that the spirit-cults are the dominant feature of the religious system is at most a half-truth, and a misleading one, since it treats Buddhism as a thin veneer over basically animistic beliefs. This scarcely fits with the importance of the 'ideology of merit' for the Sherpas. Also, and in my view more significantly, it is precisely *because* the Sherpa believe in these spirits, who are dealt with for the most part through Buddhist ritual technology and by

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10 A recent analysis of Sherpa ritual symbolism by Sherry Ortner (1975), while approaching the problem from quite a different direction, is I think compatible with the model suggested in the present paper. Ortner correctly sees Sherpa ritual as being concerned with channelling the power which the Sherpas recognize within Buddhism for their own everyday concerns (ibid.: 165-6).

Buddhist ritual practitioners whose position of supremacy is openly acknowledged by all – that the lamas and their monasteries[11] have such a central place in Sherpa and in Tibetan society.

On the other hand Paul treats monasticism, on the whole, in isolation from the everyday concerns of Sherpa life. His Freudian arguments could explain why Sherpas become monks, and also perhaps why Sherpas regard monks and lamas as repositories of power. He is not concerned however with what that power is used for, which is, in general, to meet the Sherpas' substantive desires for long life and deliverance from illness and misfortune.

My analysis, as presented in the first of these papers, would therefore describe the Sherpas neither as primarily Buddhist nor as primarily animist. All Sherpas are some of both, and the emphasis they place on each varies from layman to monk, and from individual to individual. At the same time animism and Buddhism are *not* two separate religions (as Spiro (1967) argues, wrongly in my view, for Burma; they are inextricably bound up with each other, and indeed confirm each other. A Sherpa could scarcely be an animist without being a Buddhist, because only Buddhism provides the power to keep the spirits under control; and most Sherpas would hardly be Buddhists if they were not also animists, for the same reason.

It this has not been sufficiently obvious in previous work on Tibetan religion, the fault lies perhaps in an unwillingness to recognize the degree of religious specialization which is present in Tibetan culture. One might suggest that Funke and Paul, each in their different ways, minimize the difference between lamas and laymen. Lamas and laymen may well share the same basic frame of reference, but their roles are different, and it is only when this rather simple point has been explicitly recognized that the *complementarity* of these roles, and therefore of 'Buddhism' and 'animism', can be discussed.

I believe that much the same is true for 'Buddhism' and 'animism' in the Theravada countries (as Tambiah's study (1970) of N.E. Thailand suggests) and that it is perhaps also true for the 'folk' and 'literary' elements in Indian religion. This subject however will be reserved for discussion elsewhere.

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[11] The monasteries (in the sense of communities of celibate monks) are of course a relatively new feature in Shorung and Khumbu, though communities of married lamas go back probably to the initial settlement of Tibetans in this area (cf. Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: 130; R.A. Paul 1970: 50). These were doubtless similar to communities of married lamas still found among other Tibetan populations in Nepal (Snellgrove 1961). As was argued in my first paper, celibate monasticism is of secondary importance in Tibetan religion, though it has never been entirely absent since the monastery of Samye was founded back in the eighth century. The magical power of the lama is the essential factor from the point of view of the lay Tibetan, and this does not depend on whether the lama is a celibate monk.

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TRENTE CONSEILS DONNÉS DU COEUR PAR GYALWA LONGCHENPA

traduit a

Orgyan Kunsang Chokhorling

Darjeeling

Introduction

Kunkhyien Longchen Ramjampa (1308–1364) is the first human guru to have written down the complete teachings of the Great Perfection, the Dzogchen, of the Ancient Translation School of Tibetan Buddhism, at a time when it had become necessary to preserve these teachings. He had many visions of Guru Padmasambhava and Khandra Yeshey Tsagyal. His teachings fall into two sections known as the Profound and the Vast. The Profound is the Nyintig Yabshy (sñin–thig ya–bshi) which encompasses the whole path to achieve Buddhahood. The Vast includes the Seven Treasures (mDzod–BDun), the Trilogies of the Nalso Kor Sum (Ñar–gso skor–gsum), the Rangdrol Kor Sum (raṅ–grol skor gsum) and other writings which expound the essence of the whole of the teachings of the nine vehicles of Buddhism. The present text is a comment upon *gneydjung* (*ñes byun*), a profound disgust with worldly affairs and determined resolve to get out of them.

Matthieu Ricard

Translation

Au sein du ciel omniprésent de sa Gnose, l'Espace Absolu, dardant les chauds rayons de sa compassion sur les nuages amoncelés de ses prières, une pluie continuelle d'Amritta tombe en abondance sur le champ des êtres à convertir, mûrissant les pousses des trois Corps.
Nous nous prosternons aux pieds du Guru Protecteur, le Suprême des Trois Joyaux.

Par le pouvoir de mes aspirations, je pus joindre la suprême lignée de l'accomplissement, mais ayant manqué de diligence, cette existence vécue en vain arrive maintenant à son crépuscule.
Mon intention était d'agir comme les Rishis, mais je me trouve maintenant totalement abattu, et j'en ai vu quelques autres pareils à moi.
C'est pourquoi, afin d'éveiller en mon esprit une sûre renonciation, j'ai exprimé ces trentes conseils venus du cœur.

Hélas ! Ayant assemblé autour de soi, par toutes sortes de moyens habiles, un large cercle de gens, on détient un domaine monastique florissant. Mais c'est là la source de querelles et la cause de grands attachements pour soi-même.
Rester seul est mon conseil du cœur.

A l'occasion de cérémonies de village destinées à écarter les obstacles et soumettre les mauvaises influences, on peut ainsi faire étalage de ses qualités devant la foule. Mais à cause de la convoitise pour la nourriture et les richesses, notre propre esprit sera emporté par le démon.
Soumettre son propre esprit est mon conseil du cœur.

Ayant collecté d'importants tributs auprès de pauvres gens, on peut ainsi ériger des statues et des monuments de grande taille, distribuer de larges aumônes, etc... Mais c'est faire accumuler aux autres des péchés sur des bases vertueuses.
Rendre son propre esprit vertueux est mon conseil du cœur.

Desirant sa propre grandeur, on expose le Dharma aux autres, et par un grand deploiement de tricheries, on retient un cercle de grandes et petites gens.
Mais un tel esprit attaché aux réalités grossières est cause d'orgueil.
N'avoir que des plans à court terme est mon conseil du cœur.

Vendre, prêter avec intérêt, et tout ce genre de tromperies; avec les richesses amassées de cette mauvaise façon, on peut bien faire de vastes offrandes. Mais vertu qui repose sur la soif du gain est source des huit dharmas du monde (1).
Méditer sur le rejet de la convoitise est mon conseil du cœur.

Témoignant, se portant garant, se mêlant d'affaires de justice, l'on peut ainsi concilier les différents d'autrui, pensant agir pour le bien de tous. Mais s'adonner à ce genre d'activités fait surgir des vues intéressées.
Demeurer sans espérances ni appréhensions est mon conseil du cœur.

Administrant de vastes territoires, possédant richesses, prospérité, intendants, etc... notre renommée peut bien s'étendre à la terre entière.

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(1) Gloire et obscurité plaisir et peine, gain et perte, louange et blame.

Mais au temps de la mort, ces choses n'ont pas la moindre utilité.
Etre diligent dans sa pratique spirituelle est mon conseil du cœur.

Economes, intendants, responsables, cuisiniers, etc... Ce sont là les poutres maîtresses de la communauté monastique. Mais un esprit intéressé à toutes ces choses est cause de soucis.
Minimiser tout ce remue-ménage est mon conseil du cœur.

Emportant avec soi, objets religieux, offrandes, livres, ustensiles de cuisine, etc... on peut ainsi aller dans les solitudes des montagnes muni de tout le nécessaire. Mais être bien équipé maintenant est source de difficultés et querelles.
N'avoir besoin de rien est mon conseil du cœur.

En ces temps décadents, on fait des reproches aux gens peu dégrossis qui se trouvent autour de nous. Mais bien que nous pensions que cela leur sera profitable, c'est là la source de pensées empoisonnées.
Dire des mots pacifiques est mon conseil du cœur.

Sans aucun motif égoïste, on dit avec affection leurs défauts aux gens, ne pensant qu'à leur propre bien. Mais bien que ce que l'on dise soit vrai, cela va ulcérer le cœur.
Ne prononcer que des paroles gentilles est mon conseil de cœur.

Défendant son point de vue et contredisant celui de l'autre, on s'engage dans des controverses, pensant préserver la pureté des enseignements. Mais c'est ainsi faire naître des pensées impures.
Rester silencieux est mon conseil du cœur.

Soutenant de façon partisane sa lignée de Gurus et ses vues philosophiques, on pense que c'est là leur rendre service. Mais faire son propre éloge tout en dénigrant autrui est source d'attachements et de haines.
Laisser là toutes ces choses est mon conseil du cœur.

Ayant examiné à fond le Dharma que l'on a entendu, on peut penser que comprendre les erreurs des autres est faire preuve de connaissance discriminative. Mais c'est comme cela que l'on accumule ses propres péchés.
Voir toutes choses comme pures est mon conseil du cœur.

Ne parlant que le language du vide et dédaignant cause et effet, l'on peut en venir à penser que la non action est le point ultime du Dharma. Mais délaisser les deux accumulations (2) flétrira, la prospérité de sa pratique.
Unir les complémentaires est mon conseil du cœur.

Concernant la troisième initiation, il y a la descente de l'essence et autres choses similaires. On peut penser que la voie du corps de l'autre conduira à des progrès marquants, mais sur ce chemin de l'impur bien des grands méditants se sont égarés.
S'en tenir à la voie de la libération est mon conseil du cœur.

Conférer des initiations à des êtres non qualifiés et distribuer aux foules des substances sacramentelles, c'est là la source de vilipendage et de rupture du Samaya.
Préférer une conduite droite est mon conseil du cœur.

Aller nu en public et autres excentricités, on peut penser que c'est agir en yogi, mais c'est ainsi que l'on fait perdre la foi aux gens du monde.
Etre attentif en toutes choses est mon conseil du cœur.

Où que l'on soit, poussé par le désir d'être le plus grand, on agit de façon traditionnelle et pleine d'art. Mais c'est là la cause de tomber du plus haut au plus bas.
Demeurer sans tensions ni relâchements est mon conseil du cœur.

Que l'on séjourne dans les villages, les monastères ou les retraites de montagne, ne cherchant pas à se faire des intimes, on doit être l'ami de tous, sans intimité ni animosité.
Conserver son indépendance est mon conseil du cœur.

Assumant une contenance artificielle, on rend hommâge de belle façon aux donateurs qui subviennent à nos besoins. Mais feindre en raison d'autrui est cause de se lier soi-même.
Agir suivant le goût uniforme est mon conseil du cœur.

Il existe d'innombrables écrits traitant de divination, d'astrologie, de

(2) **De mérit et de gnose**

médecine etc... Bien que tous aient pour sujet les méthodes fondées sur les liens d'interdépendance, qui conduisent à l'omniscience, se prendre d'un grand goût pour toutes ces choses variées brisera la contemplation.
Réduire au minimum l'étude de ces sciences est mon conseil du cœur.

Au temps où l'on reste au dedans, arrangeant son intérieur, on peut de la sorte se ménager tous les conforts au sein des solitudes; mais c'est ainsi que l'on effrite sa vie toute entière pour des besoins mineurs.
Ajourner tous ces travaux est mon conseil du cœur.

Erudit, vertueux, on peut également avoir fait quelques efforts vers l'accomplissement, et ainsi nos qualités personnelles atteignent à leur apogée. Mais les attachement associés à cela sont la cause de se ligoter soi-même.
Savoir être libre sans égocentrisme est mon conseil du cœur.

Faire tomber la foudre, la grêle, exercer la magie, tout en s'en protégeant soi-même, on peut penser que c'est là soumettre ce qui doit être soumis. Mais brûler de la sorte l'être d'autrui, c'est marcher soi-même vers les destinées inférieures.
Rester humble est mon conseil du cœur.

Il se peut que l'on ait abondance de tous les textes désirables, conseils oraux, notes, etc... Mais si on ne les mets pas en pratique, au temps de la mort ils ne seront d'aucune aide.
Etudier son propre esprit est mon conseil du cœur.

Au temps où l'on se consacre entièrement à la pratique, on peut avoir des expériences, en discuter avec autrui, écrire des stances spirituelles et entonner des chants de réalisation. Bien que ce soient là des manifestations naturelles de la pratique, elles ne font qu'accroître les pensées errantes.
Se tenir à l'écart du mental est mon conseil du cœur.

Quelles que soient les pensées qui surviennent, il est important de les fixer du regard.
Lorsque l'on arrive ainsi à une claire compréhension de l'esprit, il est important d'y demeurer.
Bien qu'il n'y ait rien à méditer, il est important de méditer de la sorte.
Etre toujours attentif est mon conseil du cœur.

Au sein de la vacuité, agissant en harmonie avec la loi de cause à effet, ayant saisi ce qu'est le non-agir, gardant les trois vœux (3), avec une compassion absolue (4), puissions-nous nous employer au bien des êtres.
Unir les deux accumulations (2) est mon conseil du cœur.

Ayant suivi de nombreux Gurus savants et accomplis, ayant entendu de nombreuses et profondes instructions, ayant un peu étudié quelques sutras et tantras, ainsi sachant, si on ne met rien de tout cela en pratique,
Hélas ! on ne fait que se tromper soi-même.

C'est ainsi qu'à ma propre intention et à celle de ceux qui me ressemblent, j'ai exprimé ces trentes conseils du cœur.
Par le quelque peu de mérite qui pourrait survenir d'un tel esprit de renonciation, que tous ces êtres soient guidés au sein des étendues sauvages de l'existence et établis en la grande félicité. Marchant sur les traces des Bouddhas et Bodhisattvas des trois temps, et de tous les grands saints, puissions-nous devenir leurs fils suprêmes.

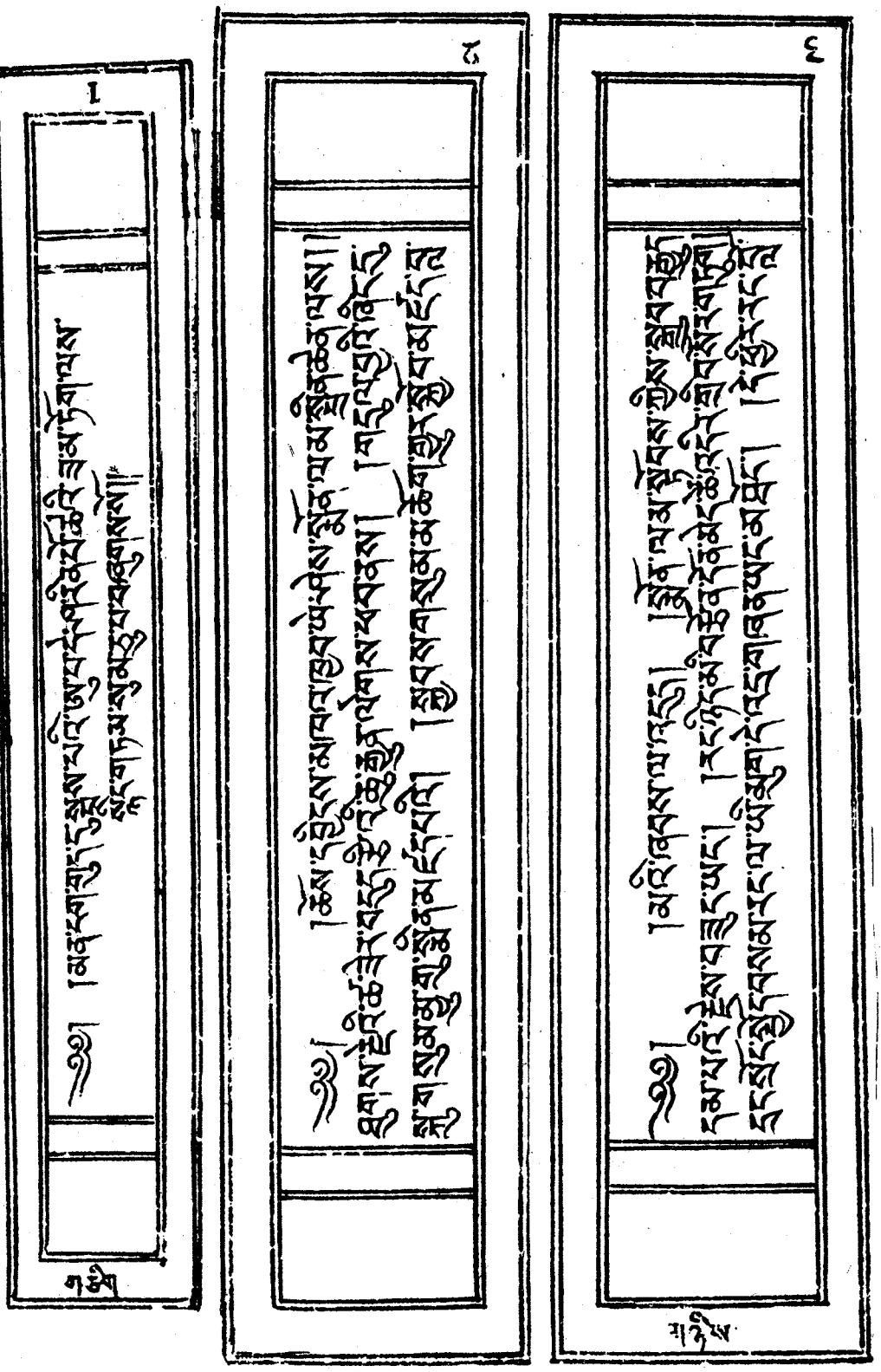
Ainsi, poussé par un brin de renonciation, Tsultrim Lodrö (5) conçut-il ces trentes conseils venus du cœur.

(3) Du Hinayana, Mahayana et Vajrayana.

(4) "Migs-med Snying-rje" compassion sans représentation, sans références à un sujet.

(5) L'un des noms de Longchenpa.

Tibetan Text



NEPALI COOKING : A SHORT ESSAY INCLUDING RECIPES

Meg Sheffield and Siddhanta Shaha
Kathmandu

The cuisine of Nepal is not famous for its variety or its special dishes. It would probably be true to say that it is not famous at all, in the way that regional Indian cooking and South East Asian food is throughout the world. But to those who have eaten it, it will always recall Nepal, and, if one can penetrate beyond the undistinguished Chinese or Tibetan of the restaurants of Kathmandu, it is posssible to be rewarded by food that is sustaining, well-balanced in its components and distinctively flavoured. It's not true that Nepali food is 'hot'. Most is without strong taste, like boiled rice; and the dishes of *tarkari* (vegetables), *achar* (pickle), and *dal* (lentil sauce) that go with rice to make a good Kathmandu meal may be quite bland-or bitter, sharp, aromatic or salty in acceptable variety.

Dal-bhat is probably what most people think of as the commonest dish in the Nepali cuisine, although it is not, in fact, the most commonly eaten meal in parts of the country where rice is not grown. It consists of boiled rice with a sauce of lentils, and is usually accompanied by various vegetable mixtures and pickles. There are many kinds of rice in Kathmandu. The best and most expensive is long-grained, called *basmati* or *masina*, which has a distinctive, pleasant smell when it is being cooked. Another is the white, plump *marsi*, which is also regarded as a "good' rice. There are grades of *marsi*. *Towali* is somewhat brown in colour and cheaper to buy. People say that it stays in the stomach longer and has more vitamins than the others. *Tapchini* is a grade of rice suitable for making *jard* or beer, but difficult to cook well for eating. Rice is cooked in the old-fasbioned round-bottomed brass pots called *kasauri*, or in modern stainless steel or aluminium pans.

Boiled Rice

Wash 2 cups of rice. Do not pour the water directly on to the rice. Pour the water first on the hand held over the rice so as not to break the grains. Wash the rice about four times and drain off the water.

Add 1½ cups of water (sufficient to cover the rice) and a heaped teaspoon of ghee. Do not use poor ghee. If necessary, use butter instead.

Bring to the boil. Stir the rice only four times. Cook only 15 minutes. Each grain of rice must be separate and undamaged.

The main source of protein in *dal-bhat* is the *dal* or lentil sauce which is served with the rice. There are several kinds of dal. Black dal is grown in Kathmandu at the edge of the paddy. Yellow dal comes from the Tarai. Dried peas and beans are

also called dal, and various types are often mixed. Dal can also be cooked in a *kasauri.* (Note: do not leave cooked food standing for a long time in a brass container, because a metallic taint will occur in the food.)

Kasauri

Mas ko dal (black dal) or Mugi Dal (yellow dal)

Ingredients:

$\frac{1}{2}$ cup dal

$1\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon salt. $\frac{1}{2}$ tablespoon of ghee.

Ground ginger to taste.

4 cups water.

1 pinch jimbu. (A special Nepali spice; see following note).

Process:

1. Boil water and $\frac{1}{4}$ tablespoon of ghee.
2. Put the dal and salt in the water and cook for an hour for black dal and half an hour for yellow dal.
3. Add ground ginger.
4. Take off fire.
5. Heat the rest of the ghee in a stirring spoon and fry the *jimbu* and put it in the dal.
6. Serve hot

The *jimbu* mentioned in the above recipe, and the *timur* in the recipe which follows seem to be uniquely Nepali spices. *Jimbu* looks like dried, broken tarragon leaves while *timur* is small, dark berries containing black seeds. The shell of the *timur* berries is highly aromatic. *Jimbu* and *timur* and other spices can be bought from shops in Indrachowk in Kathmandu.

With *dal-bhat,* vegetables are also eaten, and it is these that provide minerals and vitamins. Over the year a great variety of vegetables are available in Kathmandu, for example potatoes, cauliflower, cabbage, *mula* or giant radishes, aubergines, *okra* or lady-fingers, broccoli, asparagus, tomatoes, onions, marrows, cucumbers

and various local specialities–although once a season is over the vegetable will not appear again until its appointed time next year. Two or three vegetables, often mixed together, are eaten at every meal.

Mixed Vegetables (mismas)

Heat ½ cup mustard oil (*tori ko tel*) until bubbles form or blue smoke starts rising. This oil has a strong smell and unless it is properly heated the smell will linger in the food.

Add ½ cup ghee and stir.

Add pinch of asafoetida (*hing*), pinch of bay leaf, pinch of *timur*
¼ teaspoon fenugreek seeds (*methi*)
4 red chilli peppers (*khorsani*)
¼ cup garlic (*lasun*)
¼ cup ginger (*aduwa*)
1 large onion (*pyaj*), chopped
8 peeled and chopped potatoes (*alu*)
½ teaspoon turmeric (*besar*)
2½ teaspoons salt (*nun*) (more or less to taste)
1 small head of cauliflower (*kauli*) cut in pieces.

Cover and simmer until tender (about 15 to 20 minutes).

Then add 1 cup green onions cut in sections
1 cup of green peas (*matar kerau*)

Stir for some time.

Alu ko achar (Potato Chutney or Pickle)

Boil 15 biggish potatoes with the skins on. Peel the skins off and slice the potatoes in halves.

Prepare 1 cup of ground sesame seeds (*til*) which must be roasted first then ground
2 tablespoons of chilli powder (*khorsani*)
¼ cup timur
5 teaspoons of salt
1 cup water.

Put all these ingredients into the bowl with the potatoes.

Heat ⅓ cup mustard oil (*tori ko tel*) in a frying pan until bubbles form.

Prepare 1 teaspoon ground ginger
¼ teaspoon fenugreek seeds (*methi*)
a pinch of jimbu
½ cup of green coriander leaves
4 red peppers.

Put all these ingredients into the mustard oil and let stand for some time.
Mix the ingredients in the oil with the potato mixture. After mixing well, serve.

Cooked Tomato Chutney.

Heat 2 cups of mustard oil.
Add ¼ cup of garlic
1 handful of ginger (fresh)
½ cup of onions (chopped)
½ teaspoon of methi
¼ teaspoon jimbu
8 chillis (powdered)
4 tablespoons salt
1 teaspoon timur
1 teaspoon cumin seed
3 teaspoons chlli
1 handful green coriander
10 tomatoes.
Cook for at least 15 minutes and serve.
Add 5 green chilli peppers, sliced
5 tomatoes sliced and quartered
a few fresh leaves of coriander (*dhania*) with discarded stems
1 heaped teaspoon of chilli powder
2 heaped teaspoons of coriander powder (*dhania*)
1 tablespoon of cumin seed (*jira*)
1 heaped teaspoon garlic powder (*lasun*)
Finally add ¼ cup water, and simmer until the vegetables are tender. Be careful that the vegetables do not burn.
Pickle (*achar*) is essential to give piquancy to rice, dal and tarkari. There are many different sorts of pickle. The piquancy comes from the spices, not from vinegar, which is not used, at least in the following recipes.

Potato and Cauliflower Pickle

Ingredients:
5 cups cauliflower broken into flowerlets
20 small potatoes
3 tablespoons sesame seed
¼ cup *nibuwa* (lime) or lemon juice
½ teaspoon turmeric
2 teaspoons of salt
2 tablespoons of mustard oil

3 garlic buds
6 dry chillis
Some fenugreek seeds (*methi*)

Process:
Boil the potatoes and cauliflower for 15 minutes. Peel the potatoes and cut them into small pieces. Fry and grind sesame seed, chillies and garlic, Mix potatoes, cauliflowers, sesame, chillies, salt, turmeric and juice. (Heat the mustard oil until the smoke comes, add the methi and fry till brown, then put it into the pickle.

Paneu

Pickled Tomato and Peas

Ingredients:
1 pau (½ lb) tomatoes
1 pau green peas
2 onions
1 tablespoon chopped fresh ginger
2 tablespoons salt
½ cup mustard oil
½ teaspoon turmeric
a little mint
¼ teaspoon methi
1 teaspoon spices (ginger, clove, jira, timur etc.)
¼ cup green coriander leaves (*dhania*)

Process:
Wash tomatoes, onions, peas, *dhania*, garlic, ginger, chillies well, then chop them into small pieces.
Heat mustard oil till the bluish smoke comes. Put in *methl*, onion, garlic, ginger, spices, peas, tomatoes, chillies.
Add salt and turmeric and let it cook for 15 minutes. After that put in the chopped *dhania* and mix well.

Meat is not eaten every day by Nepalis, because it is expensive. Also there are various religious taboos on the eating of meats. Of course beef is not eaten at all as it is a crime to slaughter beef. It is also a crime to kill any female animal, although,

as people say, it is difficult to tell from the carcase of a goat, say, whether the animal was male or female. Once a month, on the day when there is no moon, the slaughter of any animal is forbidden. This is called *aunsi*. Once a fortnight there is *ekadasi* when no meat may be sold or eaten (and no rice should be eaten either.) *Aunsi* and *ekadasi* are connected with the worship of Shiva. The sacred nature of the cow is because the cow is an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. The avalilable flesh is mutton (which means goat, not sheep usually), buffalo, pork and chicken. But not everybody can eat all of these. Brahmans are sometimes complete vegetarians (and some cannot eat onions or eggs either) but many brahmans can eat mutton, although not chicken, buffalo or pork. Higher caste Chetris and also Gurungs don't eat buffalo. Other groups (e.g. Magars, Tamangs) do eat buffalo. Newars don't eat pork. In general, mutton will suit most people except vegetarians.

Dadu

Lamb (*bhera*) or Mutton (*khasi*) Curry

Ingredients:
4 small onions
3 tablespoons butter or ghee
4 pound leg or shoulder of lamb or mutton
¾ tablespoon coriander
½ tablespoon turmeric
2 teaspoons salt
1½ cups water

Process:
Dice the meat. Brown the onions, thinly sliced, to a pale brown in the butter or ghee. Add spices, except the salt. Brown the meat, turning it all the time, and add water. Add salt and cook, covered, till tender. Add more water if needed. This light and delicate curry has lots of gravy. It should cover all the pieces of meat.

Bhutuwa (Fried Mutton)

Cut 2 pounds of mutton into very small fine pieces.
Rub with turmeric and salt.
Heat 1 cup mustard oil and ½ cup ghee. Let the oil and ghee heat until bubbles form.
Prepare 1/2 teaspoon of coriander
1/4 tespoon *jimbu*

6 red chillies (*khorsani*)
6 pieces of ginger (*aduwa*)
1/4 cup of garlic (*lasun*) ground
1 teaspoon turmeric
2 1/2 teaspoons salt (or according to taste).

Cook the spices in the oil with the meat. After the meat has been cooking for about 40 minutes:

Add 2 heaped tablespoons of chilli powder
3 tablespoons cumin powder
$\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon timur
2 teaspoons fresh ground or chopped ginger (*adnwa*)
2 teaspoons garlic.

Cook for a further 20 minutes.

Mutton (*khasi*) Curry

Ingredients for 10 persons.

3 pounds of mutton
3 or 4 onions
$\frac{1}{4}$ cup ghee
$\frac{1}{4}$ cup oil
3 cloves
3 buds garlic
$\frac{3}{4}$ tablespoon curry powder
1 tablespoon chopped ginger
$\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon nutmeg powder (*jai phal*)
1 tablespoon salt
$\frac{1}{2}$ cup curd
3 cups water
$\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon cinnamon powder (*dalchini* powder)

Process:

1. Cut mutton into pieces and wash.
2. Chop the onions into small pieces.
3. Heat the oil and ghee in pan.
4. When oil and ghee are heated, fry a few cloves and add the onions. Fry the onions till pale brown.
5. Add the curry powder to the fried onions and cook 5 minutes.
6. And the meat and salt and cook for 20 minutes in a pressure cooker at ten pounds pressure.
7. Add curd and water for gravy, cover and leave to cook until it has thickened.

8. Before taking it off the fire, add cinnamon powder.
9. Serve hot.

With these dishes, and especially if there are guests, it would be appropriate to make more vegetable dishes.

Thal

Cabbage and Potatoes

Ingredients for 20 persons:

5 pounds potatoes
3 pounds cabbage
¼ cup ghee
½ cup oil
3 tablespoons salt
2 tablespoons turmeric
1 teaspoon *methi* (fenugreek)
5 medium-sized onions
1 tablespoon mixed spices (ginger, cloves, *timur,* etc.)
1 cup water

Process:

1. Wash cabbage and potatoes and cut in small pieces.
2. Put the pan on the fire and heat the fat.
3. When the smoke comes add the *methi* and fry till black.
4. Fry the onions till brown, add the potates and fry for five miunutes.
5. Add the cabbage and salt and tumeric (*besar*).
6. After ten minutes ad d the mixed spices.
7. Add 1 cup boiled water and cook for 30 minutes.
8. Serve hot.

Kacaura

Green Leafy Tarkari (*Sag Tarkari*)

Ingredients for 8 persons.

4 pau (1¾ lb) green leafy vegetables

4 tablespoons mustard oil
1 tablespoon aniseed (*jwanu*)
5 big dry chillis
1/2 teaspoon turmeric powder
2 teaspoons salt

Process:

1. Wash and cut the green vegetables.
2. Heat mustard oil till blue smoke comes.
3. Put aniseed, dry chillis and turmeric into the hot oil and fry till brown.
4. Put the greens in the oil and add salt and cook for a minute. Then turn the greens once, completely, and cover. Cook over a slow fire for 15 minutes. Take off the lid every now and then and stir to prevent scorching.
5. Serve hot.

A sweet dish at the end of a meal is not usual for every day, but if the occasion is special, such as when there are guests, a sweet may be eaten.

Yoghurt Pudding (*Sikarnai*)

Prepare Curd or yoghurt (*dahi*) by placing the yoghurt in a piece of fine material to drain for several hours or overnight, depending on the consistency preferred.

Put 4 cups of the prepared yoghurt in a bowl.

Put 1 pinch of saffron (Kashmiri saffron is best) and 1/2 teaspoon rose water (*gulaf pani*) in a marble mortar and allow it to stand for a while. Put these ingredients into the curd.

Prepare 2 cups of sugar (*chini*)
1/2 teaspoon cloves (*lwang*)
1 teaspoon cinnamon (*dalchini*)
1 teaspoon cardamon (*alainchi*)
1/2 teaspoon black pepper (*marich*) by powdering all the spices in the mortar and mixing with the sugar.

Put all the above ingredients into the curd and stir well.

The above recipes are Kathmandu recipes and the meal they are part of is centred on the rice, which is eaten in great quantities. But in other parts of the kingdom rice is not always available and the staple foods are potatoes or wheat or maize or millet. These are cooked in plain, and to this writer, unedifying ways, sometimes with inadequate salt, which makes them very tasteless. But there is one speciality of the hills which is also found in Kathmandu which is used to give flavour and also, presumbly, vitamins and minerals, to the staple potatoes or grain. This is *gundruk*, made from dried *mula* (radishes) or cabbage or caulifower leaves.

To make gundruk, take any kind of *sag* (green leafy vegetable) or strips of mula flesh, wash it, and put it in the sun for one or two days. Then tear it into strips (if it

is sag; if it is mula it will already be in strips) and put it into an earthen jar with a little hot water and keep it outside for three or four days. Then take it out of the jar and dry it in the sun for about seven days. Then keep it in cheesecloth putting it in the sun from time to time. Use it in making chutneys and soups. Gundruk is often eaten with *masura,* another dried preparation. Masura is made by soaking dal, and mixing it with dried potato, mula, marrow, or all three. The wet mixture is formed into little handful-sized heaps and allowed to dry. To cook both gundruk and masura, fry in a pan and add a little water.

Gundruk is useful because it is a preserved food like pickle which can be stored for at least some time. There is not a great deal of food preservation carried out in Nepal, although some vegetables, like pumpkins and chillis, will naturally keep for a few months or more, and of course grains such as wheat and rice keep from one season to the next. Rice keeps for two or three years. The older it is, the more water it needs to be cooked. New rice is also eaten, although it will be a bit sticky when it is cooked if it less than a year old.

Another local taste is for *jard*, which is rice or millet beer. It and the distilled spirit *rakshi* are the commonest forms of alcoholic beverage. Rakshi requires some special equipment and there is a law against its manufacture at home. But jard is easy to make. To finish this essay, here is a recipe for jard made from rice. It is a simple version, requiring no special equipment. (Jard made by some groups, such as Newars, is especially fine but is a longer process than described here and requires a certain strainer for the first cooking of the rice.) Newari jard is clear and almost pale green in colour. The following recipe gives a liquid which is slightly milky but still delicious. It is made in a week.

Karua

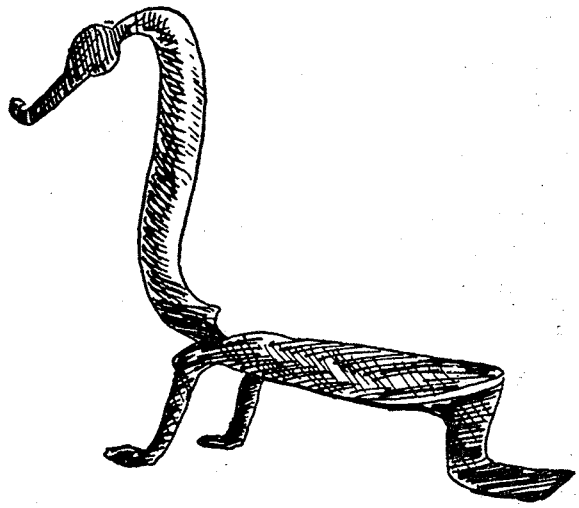
Rice Beer or *Jard*

Take 4 manas (1.65 kg. or a bit less than 4 lbs.) of rice and one piece of *marcha* (a special fermenting agent available in the bazaar).

Cook the rice and spread it out on a basket tray until it is cooled down but

still warm. Crumble the *marcha* and mix it in with the rice. Put the mixture in a warm place. Leave it for one day.

The following day the rice should smell pleasantly of fermentation. Now put it in a big jug or earthenware pot (one that is blackened on the outside, so that it doesn't leak) and add an equal quantity by volume of water.



Culesi

Glossary of Nepali terms.

1. Fruits, vegetables and spices.

apple	syau
banana	kera
beans	simi
brussels sprouts	sano bandakobi
cabbage	bandakobi
cardamon	alainchi
carrot	gajar
cauliflower	kauli
celery and lettuce	jirisag
cherry	paiyun
chilli	khorsani
chives	chyapi
cinnamon	dalchini
cloves	lwang

cucumber	kankro
cumin seed	jira
fenugreek	methi
garlic	lasun
grapes	angur
guava	amba
jujube	bayar
khol–rabi	gyanth kobi
lemon	kagati
mango	amp
matar	kerau
mustard leaf	rayko sag
musk melon	kharbuja
okra	ram–tori
onion	pyaj
orange	suntala
papaya	mewa
peaches	aru
pears	naspati
pepper (bell)	bhede khorsani
pepper (black)	marich
pepper (hot)	khorsani
persimmon	halwabed
pineapple	bhuin katahar
plum	arubakhara
pomegranate	anar
pomelo	bhogate (local grapefruit)
potato	alu
potatoes (sweet)	sakarkhand
pumpkin	pharsi
radish	mula
salt	nun
sesame seed	til
spinach	palung
sugar	chini
tomato	golbhera
turmeric	besar
turnip	salgam

walnut	okhar
water–cress	chamsur
water–melon	tarbuja
yellow mustard	sarson

2. Other foods.

baking powder	baking powder
baking soda	baking soda
beaten rice	chyura
chicken	kukhura
clarfied butter	ghiu
cocoa	kokoa
coconut	nariwal
coconut oil	nariwal tel
cornflour	makaiko pitho
curd	dahi
chick pea	chana
golden syrup	golden syrup
milk	dudh
molasses	chaku
mustard oil	toriko tel
nutmeg	jaiphal
sesame oil	tilko tel
vanilla	vanilla
vegetable oil	tel
wheat flour	gahunko pitho

Cooking utensils

pestle and mortar	khal
frying pan	tapke
cutter	chulesi
pot	kasauri

NOTES ON MARRIAGE AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN BARAGAON

Sidney Schuler
Kathmanndu

Introduction

There has been considerable debate in anthropological literature as to the definition of "marriage".[1] This debate is put aside in the suggestion that "....what is important is the recognition of the variables involved, not the specific names these relationships are given."[2]

This is a working paper,[3] an attempt to systematize some of the variables which characterize marriage relationships in Baragaon. Particular emphasis has been given to traditional legal aspects as opposed to ritual details. It is hoped that a study of traditional legal systems will be useful in planning development strategies for areas such as this one. Data concerning family law, especially inheritance and divorce, should be particularly relevant in assessing and attempting to improve the status of women.

The data which follows has been collected over the past year from the villages of Kagbeni and Muktinath Panchayats in Mustang District of Nepal. Traditional Baragaon consists of these two panchayats plus Cuksang Panchayat, which has not been discussed in this paper. The indigenous launguage is a dialect of Tibetan.[4] The people currently refer to themselves as"Gurung"and"Thakuri". They are not, however, ethnically related to the widely-known Gurung and Thakuri groups who inhabit the middle-hill regions of central and western Nepal. The culture of Baragaon is closely related but not identical with that of traditional Mustang.

Marriage Alliance in Baragaon: General Features

Some of the general features of Baragaonli marriage are bilateral cross-cousin marriage, brother-and-sister exchange (i. e. two males exchange sisters or two females exchange brothers, depending on the perspective), fraternal polyandry, polygyny, status-group endogamy, and clan exogamy. On the baisis of my data I would not refer to any of these patterns as "rules" or "prescriptive systems". It seems that

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1 See Leach, 1955 for summary.

2 Goody, 1958, p. 22.

3 As this is a preliminary report, written from the field, it contains details which have not been fully corroborated and may therefore be innacurate. The main points, however, hve been discussed at length with several different informants.

4 The language in Cuksang Panchayat is reported to resemble Thakali language more closely than it does the dialect of Kagbeni and Muktinath Panchayats.

polyandry, cross-cousin marriage, and brother-and-sister exchange were traditionally "preferred" forms of marriage alliance. Among the more traditional families they are still "preferred", but on the whole it would be more accurate to discuss them as statistical patterns.

Cross-cousin marriage and brother-and-sister exchange

Aside from Baragaon, cross-cousin marriage is also prevelant in Thak Khola to the south, in Lo Mantang to the north, and in a number of other Tibetan speaking areas across Nepal. In Tibet, however, it is considered incestuous.[5] The Drokpa (nomadic Tibetans from the Mustang-brorder region) reportedly follow the Tibetan system in which cross-cousin marriage, like parallel-cousin marriage, is prohibited.

I have heard from some informants that MBD=FZS[6] is the preferred form and that MBS=FZD is sometimes practised but is not very acceptable. I have also heard the opposite. In fact, the terms for MB and FZ (*"azhang"* and *"ani"*) do not refer exclusively to mother's brother's sisters, but to groups of relatives of which the actual mother's brothers and father's sisters are members.[7] It is not uncommon for a spouse to be categorically *both* one's MB's and one's FZ's child. And of course, in brother-and-sister exchange, another "preferred" form, if there is also a cross-cousin relationship one of the marriages will be MBD=FZS and the other MBS=FZD. Therefore it seems unlikely that there could be any consistent claim for unilateral preference

Surprisingly enough, there are no special kinship terms to differentiate parallel from cross-cousins Marriageable as well as unmarriageable cousins are called cousins distinguished by calling them "son" or "daughter" of *"ani"* (FZ) or "azhang" (MB).

Although not directly reflected in the kinship terminology the cross-cousin marriage pattern *is* presupposed in terms for father-in-law and mother-in-law, again *"azhang"* (MB) and *"ani"* (FZ). Taken lietarally these terms suggest that the spouse is a *double* cross-cousin; in other words, categorically *both* the FZ and the MB's

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5 Goldstein, 1975, p. 62

6 This is often referred to in anthropological literature as "matrilateral", but I reject this terminology since it presupposes a male "ego" who marries a relative on his mother's side. It seems unscientific to use terminology which presupposes a sexual bias. The symbols which I have used instead are:

M—mother
F—father
B—brother
Z—sister
S—son
D—daughter
H—husband
W—wife
=—(marriage relationship)

7 This is a feature common to kinship terminology in many societies.

child. If one's parents' marriage had been a brother–and–sister exchange (as well as a cross–cousin marriage), this would be true *actually* and not only categorically. One's spouse's parents *would* be one's father's sister and mother's brother. I have no statistics as yet to indicate the extent to which this extreme form of endogamy is actually practised.

Patrilineal clans (*"gyudpa"*) exist in Baragaon, but I have so far not been able to determine the extent to which they function in regulating social life. There is a "rule" of clan exogamy, in that people will state that "one does not marry a person of one's own *gyupda"*. This restriction is relaxed, however after a distance of three to four generations (*mithok*). In view of this it would not be entirely correct to state that marriage in Baragaon is "clan exogamous".

In fact, the maxim which "explains" why cross–cousin marriage is considered good, is "keep to one's own clan". Cross–cousin marriage, of course, is *not* a marriage within one's own clan, but with a member of one's mother's or FZH's clan. But if practised consistently over several generations, the effect would be an exchange of marriage partners between two clans.[8]

My own feeling is that this maxim expresses an attitude towards property. Marriage in Baragaon is generally virilocal (unless the bridge has no brothers). The property which is transfered from one location to another at marriage is the dowry (*nurkal*), the bride's property.[9] In a virilocal cross–cousin marriage the woman's property would theoretically return to the house from which it had come in the previous generation.[10] It would be interesting to test whether there is a high incidence of cross–cousin marriage among wealthier families and whether dowry tends to be larger in cross–cousin marriages. If this were true it would support the idea that it is a function of cross–cousin marriage to keep wealth intact.

Marriage relations between villages

No village in Kagbeni or Muktinath Panchayat is strictly endogamous or exogamous. The general conception, however, is that the village of Cwnggwr, being based on a single clan (called *"wmbo"*), is exogamous and that the villages of Phalak

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8 I know of families in which this was actually practised.

9 In a case where a bride has no brothers she is apt to take a *magpa* (uxorilocal) husband, thus remaining in her parents' house and inheriting their property. Any property her husband brings along is referred to by the same terms as the female dowry in a virilocal marriage (*nurkal*).

10 Levi–Strauss (*Elementary Structures of Kinship*) takes this idea a step further in saying that women are treated as "property" which is exchanged by males via the institution of marriage. In some systems the exchange only becomes complete in a succeeding generation. I have not heard of any ideology of this sort in Baragaon, so I would tend to think that it is property itself and not "women as property" that people seek to keep intact through cross–cousin marriage.

and Khyingkhar (traditionally considered to be of lower status) are both endogamous. Statistically speaking these are predominant but not absolute patterns.

There is intermarriage between Kagbeni and Muktinath Panchayats, but the percentage of marriages *within* each panchayat is higher, and in general the rate of village-endogamous marriages is higher than that of village-exogamous marriages. It is said in Kagbeni and Muktinath that marriage with people of Tsarang and Mustang Panchayats (traditional Mustang), Cuksang Panchayat, and Manang is also acceptable, but there is in fact very little intermarriage with these areas. There have been a number of marriages between local women and Khamba Tibetans, although many of these were by force. This is especially true of Kagbeni village.

Plural marriages and the inheritance system

The predominant form of plural marriage in Baragaon is fraternal polyandry (two or more brothers sharing a wife.) Non-fraternal polyandry is not permitted. The popular belief is that brothers who marry polyandrously will tend to be richer than those who divide the family property and marry individually. Nevertheless, polyandry is becoming less common with modernization. This may have to do with the fact that under Nepali law brothers have the right to equal shares of the family property.[11]

One version of the traditional inheritance system is the following: A family's landed property will be divided into three parts. Two portions will be equal, and will include houses as well as fields. The third will be a half-sized portion of fields only. When the eldest son marries he takes a full-sized portion. This is called "*drongba*". The second son, who is supposed to become a monk, takes the half-sized portion (*trawa sying*). The youngest son remains with his parents and inheritis their portion (*genzang*) after their death. If there are more than three sons the others live either with their eldest or youngest brother, sharing in either the *drongba* or the *genzang*, but not subdividing the property. Another version is that all sons, should they choose to live separately, get equal shares, except for the monk-brother who gets a half-sized share of fields.

The rate of polygyny is much lower than that of polyandry. In a polygynous marriage the two wives may be, but will not necessarily be, sisters. In a polyandrous marriage a woman marries two or more husbands simultaneously. This is generally not the case in polygynous marriages. It is more common for a second wife to be taken later, especially if the first has not borne children. It is said that if the second wife is a sister the first wife will be more likely to agree. Even so, there are many cases in which the first wife, sister or not, has left a polygynous marriage to live alone or elope with another man.

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11 I have no statistics yet as to how many brothers actually *do* get equal shares if they choose to live separately.

It is said that in the past, fraternal polyandry and sororal polygyny were sometimes combined,[12] that is, two or more males who were brothers would marry and cohabit with two or more females who were sisters. I have been told that this arrangement is still acceptable in principle, but that the reason that no one is currently practising it is that four such individuals would rarely get along well enough to make it work.

Typology of the Marriage itself

For the purposes of this paper I will define marriage as a union between any number of men and women in which the off-spring produced are recognized as socially legitimate. For a male child in Baragaon, social legitimacy entails status as a legitimate heir to his parent's property. For a female child this is somewhat less clear-cut. In the case of a girl with brothers, the property that she "inherits" is the dowry that she takes, and the amount of dowry is generally determined through negotiation. An illegitimate daughter may receive a dowry from her mother, but it will tend to be less than that of a legitimate daughter, since unmarried mothers tend to be poor.

A legitimate female child *without* brothers, however, *is* a legitimate heir to her parents' property. It could be said then, that any legitimate female is a *potential* heir. If her brothers died unmarried she would have full legal claim to her parents' property. An illegitimate female does not have even a potential legal claim to her genealogical father's property,[13] nor to her mother's husband's property (if the mother is married), nor to property belonging to her matrilateral relatives, which her mother may have used during her lifetime. She can only legally inherit property which her mother earned through her own labor.

There are three basic types of unions which produce legitimate children: 1. negotiated marriage, 2. marriage by capture, and 3. elopement. A *negotiated* marriage may be contracted with or without the bride's agreement. In this type of marriage the bride and groom are usually of approximately the *same social rank*. The bride is given a dowry according to her parent's means. (This is determined through negotiation between the two sets of relatives.) Negotiated marriage is the most prestigious type of union.

If the prospective husband is of a *lower rank*, or poor, or otherwise on bad terms with the would-be bride's parents, he may have to resort to capture. The capture may take place after a proposal has been refused by the girl's parents, but more often the boy simply comes to know that his chances are not good. In a marriage by capture the bride may or may not have conspired. In other words the capture may

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12 This has in some anthropological literature been inelegantly referred to as "polygnandry".

13 The genealogical father of an illegitimate child is generally known in the village, except under exceptional circumstances.

be real, or it may be faked if the couple are already lovers. Even if the capture is real there is a point at which the marriage cannot proceed without the girl's agreement. The capture is followed by a sort of *bridewealth* payment, a monetary payment negotiated at great length, which is supposed to put an end to the anger and ill-will of the girls' parents. A dowry may or may not be given later.

In *elopement* there are generally no payments or property transfers of consequence, although, as in marriage by capture, a dowry may be requested and given some time after the marriage–perhaps several years later. In elopement, *either the male or the female may be of lower status:* they may both be poor; it may be the second marriage for the woman or for both of them;[14] or it may be that they are without close relatives who would arrange the marriage. This might be because one or both are illegitimate. A couple may elope when parents won't agree to their marriage or they may elope if there are no parents.

Types of Legitimate Marriage

	payments or property transfers	relative status of bride and groom
1. Negotiated	dowry	usually equal
2. Capture	bridewealth	groom usually lower
3. Elopement		either can be lower

Categorization of Marriage Types According to Consent or Opposition of Bride and Parents

Parents	Bride: agreed	Bride: opposed
agreed	negotiated	negotiated
opposed	capture elopement	capture
neutral	elopement	——

Payments, Gifts, Property Transfers
By the groom and his family

In most legitimate marriages, whether they are negotiated marriages, elopements or marriage by capture, a ritual payment is made by the boy to the girl's parents. This ordinarily consists of Rs. 9: Rs. 8 to the mother "for the milk she has given", and

14 Dowry is generally only given in first marriages.

Rs. 1 to the father. This is presented with an offering of barley beer and a white scarf. The residents of Cwnggwr and Lubra villages are considered to be of sometwhat higher status than the non-aristocratic families in the other villages. Therefore, in a marriage with a girl from Cwnggwr or Lubra, the payment to the girl's father is slightly higher: Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 1. This payment by the groom to a higher-ranking father in-law is called *"ruite"*.

In a marraige between a male of ordinary status and a female of aristocratic status (*hremo*) the female takes on her husband's rank.[15] Because she has lost her high status, the husband must pay a compensation to her parents. This is also called *"ruite"*. The exact amount, which is negotiated by the parents and perhaps the village headman, ranges from Rs. 1 to Rs. 500 in Kagbeni, and tends to be higher in Muktinath-up to Rs. 1,000.

In some cases there is an engagement present of money or a gold ring or other jewelry from the boy to the girl. This may be given during the time that they are lovers, before the parents have been approached, or later, after the girl's parents have formally agreed and a dab of butter has been smeared on the girl's head.

If a boy captures a bride and fails within three days to persuade her to stay with him, he will not only lose face that but will hve to pay a fine of Rs. 50 to the girl's parents. If she *does* agree to the marriage, a settlement will have to be paid to her parents. The negotiations may last several days and may involve lots of arguing and even physical violence. The girl's parents will often feign anger if it hasn't been generated spontaneously. If the boy and girl are approximately equal in status, the marriage settlement will probably be lower than in cases where the boy is of inferior status. The settlement generally ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 2,000 but may also include 1-3 years of the daughter's labor in her parent's home.

Marriages with nuns are usually accomplished by capturing them, although an occasional nun may elope. In this case a fine must be paid to the nunnery and to the village as well as to her parents. It is the fine that legitimizes the marriage. I do not have data on whether these fines are standardized, but in one case recorded, the payment was Rs. 66 to the nunnery, Rs. 16 to the village, and Rs. 112 to the parents.

If the bride's parents are in debt they may make their daughter's marriage conditional on the payment of some of their debts by the prospective husband. A typical debt of this sort may be Rs. 800 to Rs. 2,000. Some girls refuse to "carry" their parents' debts; others agree. Informants in Kagbeni Panchayat claim that the number of marriages with Muktinath girls is low because Kagbeni men are reluctant to accept the debts of their parents-in-law.

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15 This is demonstrated in the seating order at village rituals. A girl who has married into a lower-ranking family will lose her place in line next to her sisters.

By the bride's family: dowry

In connection with marriage there is only one type of payment or property transfer made by the bride's family. This is the dowry or *nurkal*. It is often given on the day of the marriage, when the groom's party arrives on horseback to take the bride to her new home At this time each item is carefully counted and listed as it is displayed to the bride's guests. The groom's relatives will negotiate at this time for a larger *nurkal*. *Nurkal* consists not only of gifts from the bride's parents, but of all her clothing and personal property. In the event of a divorce it is her right to take all of it along with her when she leaves. It is in case of divorce that the list is useful.

Although the *nurkal* is often given on the wedding day it may also be given as much as several years later One explanation of this is that the parents want to be sure that the marriage is viable before they give the dowry. In other cases the girl's parent's may be having some economic difficulties, and so refuse to give *nurkal* at the time of the wedding but promise to give something in a more prosperous year.

In a marriage by capture, as described, it is the husband who makes a payment to the girl's parents, in order to bring an end to their hostile feelings towards him. After this payment has been made and the marriage taken place, the couple may approach the girl's parents and request *nurkal*. This may partly or totally cancel out the bridewealth payment.

A typical *nurkal*, according to infomants, consists of coral and turquoise necklaces, a small amount of gold or silver jewelry, several sets of clothing with woollen front and back aprons, blankets, a special silver teacup, a beercup, a plate, perhpas some large pots and pans, a field (*muzhyng*),[16] a cow or goat, and a sum of money–anything from Rs. 100 to Rs. 4,000. Occasionally grain is also given.

The above may be a somewhat idealized conception. In the cases that I am familiar with, fields and animals were rarely given and the sum of money was only a few hundred rupees. The *nurkal* of a girl from a richer family usually consists of more and better jewellry and clothing. In marriages with Tibetan Khamba men, *nurkal* was generally not given, nor is it usually given in second marriages. In a *magpa* marriage, where the bride inherits her parents' property and the couple lives uxorilocally, the husband may be given a *nurkal* by his parents. This is one option for a middle son whose only means of access to his *own* family 's fields and houses is to marry polyandrously.

By either side: divorce

According to the present panchayat rule, a person who leaves his or her spouse, or misbehaves sufficiently to give the other a good reason to leave[17] must pay Rs.

16 These are of two types: one reverts to the woman's patrilateral kinsmen after her death; the other can be inherited by her own children.

17 Generally by beating or adultery.

1,000. The "wronged" person takes the money and the divorce becomes legal. It is quite common, especially in Muktinath Panchayat, to write a contract (*kamaca*) at the time of marriage. This will be described below. The amount of the payment, in case of divorce, is specified in this contract. Nowadays this is usually Rs. 1,000, but sometimes Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,500. Sometimes a man will go so far as to promise his new wife half of his property should he divorce her, but my female informant on this point was skeptical as to whether this sort of contract would ever be fulfilled.

According to an older system, the person who was "responsible" for the divorce would pay Rs. 60, 80, or Rs. 100.[18] Lots would be drawn to determine which of the three amounts would be paid.

By relatives and friends

Gifts of money are mady by wedding guests both at the bride's house and at the groom's house. The couple (or triple) are seated side-by-side. Friends and relatives approach one by one to give a white scarf and a sum of money. The amounts are carefully recorded so that future reciprocal gifts to the donor can be precisely calculated. These gifts are called *"battar"*. They range from Rs. 1 to Rs. 100 or so, but the usual amount is Rs. 4,8. or 16 per guest. A person who has close kin ties with both the bride and groom will probably be a guest in both houses and will in that case give *battar* twice.

Legal Aspects

Women and inheritance

The traditional system of inheritance has been described above. To summarize the present situation, there are two principles operating: that of equal division of property between brothers (the modern system), and that of division between the eldest son and the parents (the traditional system), with the youngest son taking the parents' share at their death, and the monk-son taking a half-share of the fields. The main variants of this are: 1) in case there are more than three sons, the middle sons share the wife and property of either their eldest or youngest brother. 2) All sons may remain with the parents, marrying polyandrously.

In a family with both male and female children, the females will generally inherit only jewelry, clothing, and other moveable items, along with perhaps one field and one cow. This is taken in the form of dowry (*nurkal*), as has been described above. In a family with sons there is one other means of passing property to daughters. When parents are especially fond of a daughter, particularly if she has cared for them in their old age, they may give her a gift (*kwazhya*) just before they die. This generally consists of money or jewellry. Aside from the dowry and the *khazhya,* the sons of a family will inherit everything.

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18 These were quite substantial amounts of money at the time.

It has also been mentioned above that in a family with no male children, the eldest daughter or the daughters as a group will inherit the family property. This generally involves marrying a *magpa* husband who resides on his wife or wives' property. If a woman inherits her parents' property but dies unmarried, the property will revert at her death to her patrilateral relatives. A father's brother's son would be first in line.

According to one report, in the old system a man's brother's son would inherit before his daughter. The explanation is that in a polyandrous sytem the father's brother's sons were considered legal brothers even if the fathers had not married polyandrously. A girl with brothers would not inherit.

If the father's brother's sons already had considerable property the girl might marry a *magpa* with their permission. Reportedly it is still not uncommon for a girl to consult her father's brother's sons before taking a *magpa* husband. A *magpa* husband does not take his wife's lineage name. Instead, the wife takes the husband's lineage as in a virilocal marriage. The property in a *magpa* marriage then, leaves the women's patrilineage and is henceforth passed down the *magpa* husband's partilineage. If the woman dies, her *magpa* husband keeps the property, but if he remarries it is the first wife's sons, not the second wife's sons who inherit. Sons by the second wife inherit only if there are no sons by the first wife, although they inherit before the first wife's daughters.

In general it seems that a woman's property rights disappear at her death, while a man has the right to pass property on to his children. The *magpa*, as we have seen, can take a second wife after the first wife's death, and if the first wife has no sons her property will be legally inherited by the children of her husband's second wife. In contrast, if a *man* dies childless, his property reverts to his own patrilataral relatives after his wife's death. Or, if the woman remarries, she loses her first husband's property at that time. This same principle operates in the case of the *nurkal* (dowry) field, which often reverts to the woman's partrilateral relatives after her death.

Marital conflict and divorce

In a typical marriage contract (*kamca*) of the sort discussed above, the husband usually agrees not to drink or gamble excessively, not to beat and abuse his wife, and not to desert her. The wife agrees not to leave her husband without good cause, and both agree to pay Rs. 1,000 should they violate the contract. The contract is written in duplicate or triplicate by a village scribe and each copy is signed (with thumbprints) by the couple and by witnesses. One copy is kept by the wife's family and the other by the husband's family; sometimes a third may be kept by the village headman.

Despite this elaborate procedure, excessive drinking, gambling, and beating by husbands are common causes of marital disputes. The woman may run away and stay with her family when such a dispute occurs. Some time later, the two sets of parents will probably try to bring about a reconciliation. At this time another

contract may be written, much along the lines of the original *kamca*. There is generally a considerable amount of pressure on the part of relatives for a couple to remain together, but if serious marital conflict continues there may be a divorce (*kha dalgen*).

A divorce is not a serious soc'al stigma for a woman. Many divorced women remarry or live happily wth their children. The person who violated the original contract is theoretically supposed to pay Rs. 1,000 to the spouse at the time of the divorce. When the payment is made a divorce contract may also be written. The woman has a right to keep her *nurkal* even if it is *she* who deserted her husband; for instance to marry another man. She would, in that case, be liable to pay the Rs. 1,000. I know of a couple of cases where there was no "other man" in, which women made divorce payments simply for the privilege of living alone. Some female informants claim that divorcing husbands rerely fulfill the terms of the marriage contracts.

Nowadays, in plural marriages, partial divorces are quite common. According to some informants, the "extra" spouse who leaves a polyandrous or a polygynous marriage is not liable to pay for the divorce. I have, however, seen a polyandrous marriage contract, written within the past five years, in which it is explicity agreed that *either* husband who leaves will pay Rs. 1,000 to the wife. I also know of a case in which a woman "ran away" from an unsatisfactory polygynous marriage because she could not afford to pay for the divorce.

There is a "rule" that in case of divorce the woman takes the daughters while the husband takes the sons, unless they are too young to leave their mother. This is apt to be negotiated, however, in each individual case. A woman who keeps her sons with her after divorce may be given a house and a few fields by her husband. At any rate, the sons are legal heirs to their father's property. A less fortunate woman may live alone in a small house on the land of some relative, earning her living by working in other people's fields, spinning and weaving and odd jobs. She may survive the winters by running a small hotel along one of the trade routes.

This paper is a preliminary report. I will not attempt to make hypotheses or formulate conclusions at this stage in my research. I would like to emphasise, however, the potential value of comparative data on traditional legal systems, in respect to the status and rights of women A comparative analysis relevant to development in Nepal would require in-depth studies of this sort in a wide variety of localities.

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