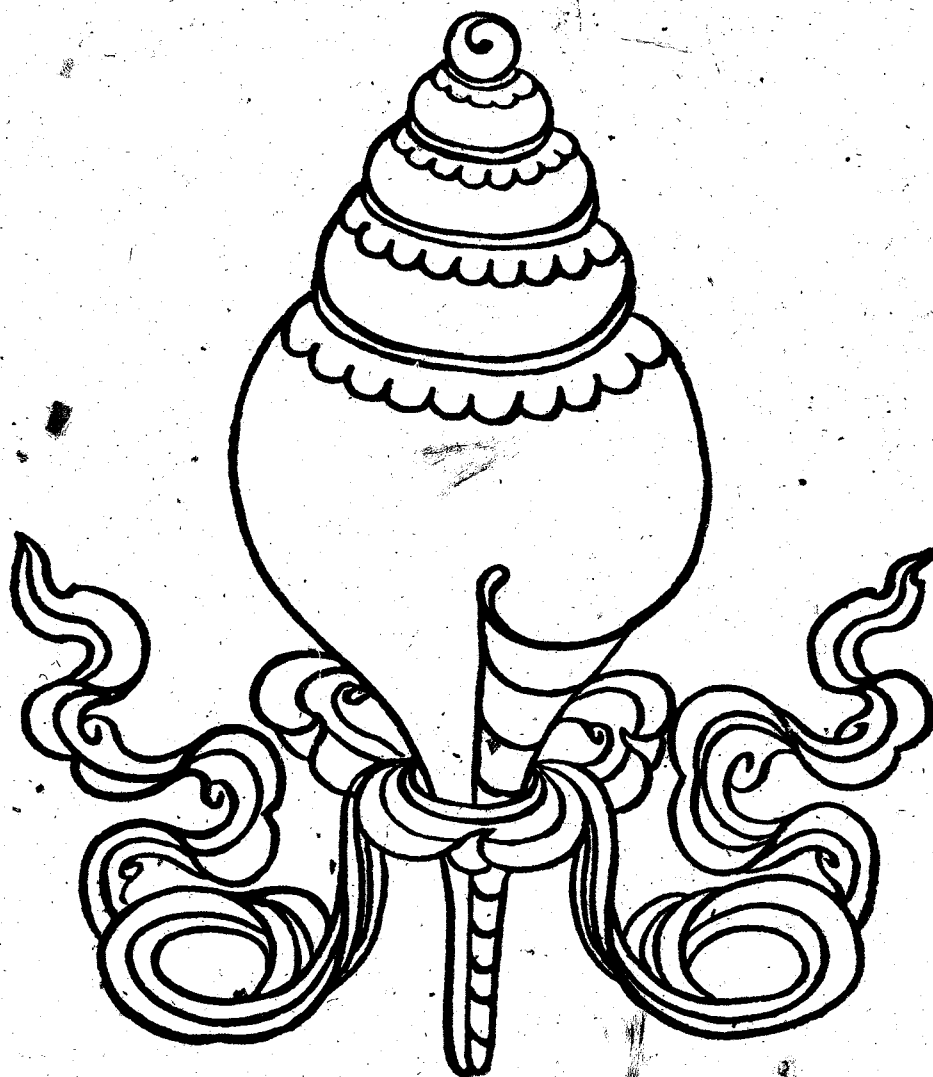


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ILLUSTRATION

Location of the Gods in the area p. 239

ON RE-READING *LE-NEPAL*: WHAT WE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
OWE TO SYLVAIN LEVI*

Andras Höfer,
Heidelberg

It is almost a matter of decency to include Sylvain Lévi's *Le Népal* in the bibliography of any modern work on Nepal's history and religion. However, this pioneering book is unfortunately more often quoted than really read. Only thus can we explain why Lévi's theoretical contribution has so far not received the attention it deserves ¹⁾. I shall try here to summarize some of Lévi's conclusions as discussed on pp. 1-33, 193-392 in vol. I and pp. 1-305 in vol. II of his book. It is not my purpose to criticize Lévi's individual research results, some of which are now outdated. For reasons of space I must also refrain from extensive quotations. This is regrettable because Lévi's style remains throughout vivid; and his warmth and humour, especially manifest in his diary of two months in Nepal (vol. II, pp. 306-408), ²⁾ bear evidence to a truly humanistic commitment which we hardly find in other accounts on "old Nepal", such as Hodgson's or Oldfield's.

* I wish to thank A.W. Macdonald who kindly corrected my English.

- 1) A few years ago, Riccardi (1975) published an abundantly annotated English translation of the first part of chapter II, vol. II, pp. 61-114, of *Le Népal*, along with an introductory note on Lévi's life and work.
- 2) In his introduction, Lévi (I, 39) apologizes for the fact that, as a philologist and European, he had necessarily more to do with learned men and leaders than with the common people during his stay in Nepal. The access to the latter also proved difficult due to the formidable barriers of caste.

Lévi is generally considered as an indologist. In reality, he saw himself as an historian. Although a philologist by training and acquainted with an amazing number of languages (cf. Renou 1936: 57), the documents of the past were, for him, not ends in themselves, but sources of information to be decoded with the suspicion of the historian. As Renou (1936: 8-9) aptly states, Lévi developed a particular sensitivity for meanings hidden "beneath the words" (*un sens profond des réalités sous les mots*). In fact, Lévi extended his quest for meaning into the realms of what we now call ideology, ethno-theory and contextual analysis. As is already manifest in his first substantial publication, a book on the Indian theatre in 1890 (Lévi 1963), he kept a close watch on the social functions of his sources. What fascinated him was the intricate relationship between the author and the public, rather than the mere literary value of a source, the process which produced a source, rather than the product, the source itself.

Lévi undertook his first journey to Nepal (and India) in 1897, and his *Le Népal* came out in the years 1905-08. This was the time when British research on society and social history of India had already detached itself from indology and was to a considerable extent conducted by colonial administrators. However great their merits as ethnographers may be ³⁾, the theoretical contributions of such authors as Crooke, Risley, Hunter and many others are today nothing but waste paper ⁴⁾.

3) Who is nowadays able and willing to provide us with such manuals on castes, folklore and popular religion as did Crooke and others, whom we still gratefully quote?

4) Crooke 1894, 1897, Risley 1915.

The origin and spread of the caste organization were then viewed in a speculative or evolutionistic perspective which led to bold and sometimes even amusing conjectures⁵⁾. These analyses were ahistoric, and if they conceded any specificity to India, it was by stressing her alleged stagnation and inertia⁶⁾.

Sylvain Lévi's approach was in sharp contrast to these tendencies. It was not the beginnings of Indian civilization he was interested in, but rather its history as a process to be reconstructed on the firm basis of documentary and chronological evidence. It was not the origin, in the deductive sense, but the essence, the genius of India (*le génie indien*) he wanted to grasp in all its manifestations. His inaugural lecture in 1890 (cf. Renou 1936: 10-11) already signified a programmatic breaking away from evolutionism, on the one hand, and from a one-sided concentration of research on the Vedas⁷⁾, on the other. Implicitly, Lévi challenged the view according to which everything India has brought forth since the end of the Vedic period is nothing but decay. He claimed that to understand India is to understand her history. Our final objective must be to connect Indian history with the main streams of universal history. Lévi's most important and, at that time, quite new proposal was that developments

5) Some authors even used their training in the Humanities and resorted to such classical mythologems as the "rape of the Sabines", cf. Risley 1915: 247 f.

6) For a critical review of the British historical writings of that time cf. Philips 1961. On the history of the study of caste cf. Cohn 1968. A synopsis of contemporaneous theories on the origin of castes is given in Risley 1915: 259-277.

7) As a disciple of Abel Bergaigne, Lévi even denied the historical authenticity of the Vedas and did not believe in the existence of a Vedic culture or society, cf. Renou 1936: 2-3, 17-18 and Riccardi 1975: 6.

in India itself cannot be analysed adequately without examining the causes and effects of the enormous expansion of Indian culture in other parts of Asia. For this purpose, we must evaluate all relevant sources stemming from this area of expansion, be they in Tibetan, Chinese or Greek, etc. As we shall see, it was his search for India's history that took Lévi to Nepal.

II

Lévi considers Nepal, and the Kathmandu Valley in particular, to be a model country which, on a small scale, reproduces the expansion of Indian culture and society. He states that "*le Népal c'est l'Inde qui se fait*", that is, Nepal is India in the making. In other words, Nepal's mediaeval and modern history repeats the genesis of India, just as in a "laboratory" (I, 28). Lévi perceives "the order and the plan hidden under the muddled mass of events" (*l'ordre et le plan dissimulés sous la masse confuse des événements*, I, 2) in the process by which the Kathmandu Valley "came to be populated, organized and policed" and by which "cults, languages and institutions slowly changed" (*une vallée perdue s'est peuplée d'habitants, s'est organisée, s'est poliee, comment les cultes, les langues et les institutions s'y sont lentement transformés*, I, 2). He maintains that, just as in other parts of Asia, in Nepal, too, it is Buddhism that first contributed to "civilizing" a multitude of tribal and regional cultures, the final cultural "annexation" (*annexion*, I, 28) of which was then achieved by Hinduism (Brahmanism).

Lévi was among the first (cf. note 14) to analyse consistently the spread of Hinduism and caste organization in terms of social mobility. Hinduization is for him not simply the result of a conversion; it is not only a cultural change, but also a social

change. He points out the ideological functions (as we would now call them) of Hinduism and holds that the integration of tribal groups into caste organization has always been the work of the Brahmins, and, to a lesser extent, of itinerant ascetics. The Brahmins are patient realists and tacticians of great flexibility (I, 30, 32, 361). As agents of cultural export, they make themselves available to legitimize the power of local rulers (who are more often than not adventurers and parvenus) by providing them with forged genealogies which derive their dynasties from the prodigious figures of Hindu mythology⁸⁾. As a reward for their services, the rulers bestow upon the Brahmins certain privileges, assign them revenues and propagate the caste organization among their subjects. As a first step towards a "castification" (my term), the population is divided into various occupational groups, and the criteria for their hierarchical ranking are furnished by the Brahmins. Lévi does not mean by this a mere voluntaristic enterprise of cunning Brahmins. Rather, the Brahmins are -- as I would formulate it -- bearers of a socio-cultural dynamism which is inherent in their caste-specific ideology and "mobilizable" under certain historical conditions.

Lévi stressed the different ideological potentials of Buddhism and Hinduism and was, to my knowledge, the first to apply them systematically to a specific historical context, thus anticipating Max Weber's studies published some 15 years later. Lévi maintained that, due to its ethical radicalism and universalism, early Buddhism could not pervade all spheres of Indian society

8) Max Weber, who elaborates on the same phenomenon, quotes the *Epigraphia Indica* as a source, cf. Weber 1972: 10.

(cf. also below). The reverse is true of Hinduism. Hinduism has never been tolerant or intolerant. Rather, it possesses a (dialectical) capability of embracing contradictions (*embrasser les contradictions* I, 32 f.) which enables it to "subdue", "make malleable", "frame" and "organize" a "barbarian multitude" (*subjuguier, assouplir, encadrer, organiser une multitude barbare*, I, 28). Contrary to the Buddhist monk, the Brahmin's (social) person is intimately linked with his institutions: the two constitute "one body" (*sa personne fait corps avec ses institutions*, I, 30), as Lévi put it.

Pantheon, mythology and indigenous historiography consist, for Lévi, of sets of symbols and taxonomies which "translate" (*traduire*, I, 362, 366) or reflect a given social reality. What is more, they can be instrumentalized to effect changes of this reality. Images, names, etc. may serve to constitute new identities by connecting certain meanings with other meanings through a series of equations. The result is a renaming (*nouveau baptême*, I, 357) and -- cognitively speaking -- a reorganization (*recension, réorganisation*, I, 26, 131) of facts; Lévi even uses the modern-sounding word "transformation" (I, 33, 258, 361) in this context. It is with such methods of adaptative exegesis and myth-construction that the Brahmins were in a position to integrate the "divine plebs" (*plèbe divine*, I, 31, 357), i.e., the autochthonous and tribal deities, into the Hindu pantheon, or to disorganize the Buddhist pantheon by "approaching" its gods to Shivaite ones (*désorganiser, rapprocher*, I, 357).

How, then, does the specific case of Nepal exemplify these conclusions? Lévi stressed that, just as in other parts of Asia, in Nepal, too, it is Buddhism that first contributed to "civilizing" a multitude of tribal societies, the final cultural "annexation" (*annexion*, I, 28, 31) of which was then achieved

by Brahmanism. Brahmanical influence reached its first climax under the reign of Jayasthiti Malla, who organized the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley into castes. It fully unfurled itself under the Gorkhali, who conquered the country by the end of the 18th century. The Gorkhali are proud adherents of an orthodox Hinduism⁹⁾ -- all the more orthodox as they have to hide their "impure descent" (I, 18 ff., 258-266). Their forefathers were offspring of mixed marriages between Brahmin and Rajput men, who had immigrated from India, and women of an indigenous tribe. Both the tribe and the offspring of such intermarriages were called Khas, and it was now incumbent upon the Brahmins to assure them a suitable status. This they did by declaring the Khas to be descendants of the Indian Khaśa, a group already mentioned in the Code of Manu as belonging to the *kṣatriya varṇa*. Through the association Khas-Khaśa-Kṣatriya the Brahmins succeeded in creating a category to which their own children from Khas wives could be admitted. For Lévi, this is just one example of how the Brahmins resuscitated names and persons of classical Indian literature in order to define the status of a new group within the hierarchy (*définir leur situation sociale au regard de la hiérarchie*, I, 260) and to provide it with a new, prestigious identity. In the same way, the legend of the Thakuri caste's hailing from the Rajputs of Chitorgarh was invented to conceal their real descent from Magar mothers (I, 258-267).

9) Lévi derives this orthodoxy from the psychology of proselytes. By contrast, Hodgson (1880: 236 ff.), whose ethnographic material is widely used by Lévi, imputes this orthodoxy to the mentality of refugees driven out of India by the Muslim invaders. Cf. also my study of the Muluki Ain of 1854 (Höfer 1979: chapters XIII and XIV).

As to the Magar, Lévi found that only some of them were promoted to *kṣatriya*, namely those who had given up eating cow's meat. Once the Brahmins felt that they had sufficiently strengthened their own position, they denied the recognition as *kṣatriya* to the rest of the Magar tribe. Nevertheless, even these Magar were still striving for a higher status. This manifested itself in an increasing alienation between their local groups which embarked, each with a different intensity, on Hinduizing their customs; some of these groups had already abandoned their own dialect in favour of Nepali (I, 276-278).

The Magar story is, as Lévi stresses, not without parallels in India. There, too, Hinduism and its social organization have been expanding, so to speak, concentrically and in phases. Each phase of adding one more group or territory to the Land of the Aryans (*Āryavarta*) was in fact followed by a period of consolidation during which the newly-integrated entity was strongly demarcated from the outside world inhabited by the Mleccha (I, 30 f.).

Lévi devoted particular attention to the symbiosis of Buddhism and Hinduism in the Kathmandu Valley (I, 224 ff., 316-391). He observed that the advance of Hinduism to the detriment of Buddhism was an extremely subtle process of step-by-step assimilation, rather than the consequence of violent intervention. Hinduism "embraces" Buddhism instead of supplanting it. It is precisely by its integration into Hinduism that the original identity and social relevance of Buddhism are gradually changed. Buddhism is even prepared to borrow from Hinduism in order to maintain itself, nominally at least. In Lévi's apt formulation: "Buddhism lets itself glide into Hinduism for fear of being expelled from it" (*se laisse glisser dans l'hindouisme par crainte d'être rejeté*, I, 320). Both material interest and imitation account for the fact that the Buddhist monks start claiming the

Brahmins' privileges and emerge as a caste of priests (I, 27, 32, 226)¹⁰). Although still Buddhists from the mere confessional viewpoint, they adopt a social organization which contradicts the teaching of the Buddha.

Lévi observed that Nepalese manuscripts of both Hindu and Buddhist provenance recommend the same holy places to the devotees, but that they associate these places with different legends of origin and different deities (I, 326 ff.). This parallelism is also characteristic of contemporary practice in Nepal: what is, say, Mahākāla for the Hindus is Padmapāṇi for the Buddhists (I, 319). In the *Nepālamāhātmya*, a pilgrims' guide of the 13th century, the Buddha is, moreover, apostrophized as an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu, and Pārvatī, Śiva's wife, declares: "to worship the Buddha is to worship Śiva" (I, 318, 375). In Lévi's view, these equations reflected the contemporaneous state of affairs and show that the Brahmins still respected Buddhism as a powerful tradition with a great number of adherents.

The deities Paśupatināth and Macchendranāth provide another example (I, 347-366, cf. also I, 11 f.). Originally, both were autochthonous or "primitive" gods responsible for fertility and agriculture. The proto-Paśupatināth was the Lord of the Cattle and the proto-Macchendranāth brought the monsoon rains. Later, when the Kathmandu Valley was drawn into the orbit of Indian culture, Buddhism and Hinduism adopted both gods and made them into kinds of national tutelary deities. The "pagan"

10) In a recent paper, S. Lienhard (1978) attempts to classify the effects of the interference of the two religious systems in the Kathmandu Valley. For a convincing analysis of the social background of present-day Buddhist priesthood among the Newar cf. Greenwold 1974.

Lord of the Cattle came to be associated with Śiva, and his sanctuary, the Pasupatināth temple, emerged as the "headquarters" (I, 357) of Brahmin missionary work in Nepal. Even here, the Brahmins did not fail to try integrating Buddhism into the cult of Paśupati, and as a result the *lingam* of Śiva is still covered once a year with a mask (periwig) of the Buddha.

As to Macchendranāth, the same process of "transidentification" (my term) is more complex. Lévi compared two legends of the deity Gorakhnāth and discovered that in the first legend, Macchendra is the chief protagonist and is identified with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of the Buddhists, who is venerated by Gorakhnāth. In the second legend, it is the other way round: Gorakhnāth occupies the central position whereas Macchendranāth appears as a subordinate or marginal figure. For Lévi, the two variants marked two different stages of the onward march of Hinduism represented, in this case, by the Kānpḥāṭā ascetics, devotees of Gorakhnāth. The first stage implied some concessions in that the propagandists of Hinduism tried to "come to terms" (*pactiser*) with Buddhism (I, 317 f., 327 f.). Macchendranāth, who was previously "Buddhised" by the Newar, could keep his identity with Avalokiteśvara, but obtains, at the same time, a name of Hindu provenience, namely Macchendranāth. This overture was followed by a second stage in which an attempt was made to "appropriate" (*s'approprier*) Newar Buddhism. Lévi found the relationship between Gorakhnāth and Macchendranāth in the two legends all the more significant as both divinities are still closely connected with the state-cult and the present ruling dynasty ¹¹⁾.

11) Gorakhnāth's sanctuary is at Gorkhā from where the present dynasty originates, and the Macchendra festival is traditionally attended by the King.

III

Some similarities in Lévi's and Max Weber's argumentations are striking. For both, the Brahmins are the most important agents of "castification", and both maintain that it is their specific ideology which made them a caste of hereditary priests and provided them with the capability of successfully allying themselves with kings and feudal lords (cf. Lévi I, 29 ff., Weber 1972: 123 ff., 130 ff., 147 ff.). This ideology could produce a whole range of status criteria for the hierarchically ranked castes. Lévi emphasizes the flexibility of "Hindu thought" (*pensée hindoue*, I, 3), Weber its "ethical pluralism" which makes that even a caste of criminals may have its own dharma (Weber 1972: 24 ff., 142 ff.). For Lévi, it is the "magical formalism", for Weber, the capability of "rationalization" that favoured the emergence of the Brahmins as a caste and enabled them to integrate alien groups and traditions. Weber speaks of a successful "accomodation" to the religious interests of laity, Lévi places more emphasis on "transformation", i. e., the strategy of what we may call transidentification. Though in different formulations, Lévi and Weber also converge in imputing the defeat of Buddhism in India to its inherent inadequacy to produce sufficient inner-worldly relevance ¹²⁾, leaving thus the old-established caste organization intact, to mention just one of the consequences (cf. Weber 1972: 231 ff., 245 ff., 251 ff.; Lévi I, 4 f., 30, 33, i. a.).

12) Weber refers to Oldenberg and Rhys Davids as his main sources on Buddhist ethics. For a critical review of Weber's theses cf., i. a., Bechert 1966: 21 f., 30 ff., 115 ff.

Lévi was not a sociologist, and his theoretical concepts were never formulated explicitly. What clearly emerges from many pages of *Le Népal* is Lévi's idea of man who, as a socially acting person, is at the same time a product and producer of ideologies. Lévi also appears to be close to Weber in positing that man is not exclusively guided by "naked interests", but also by the internal dialectics of a system of ideas, their *innere Konsequenz*, as Weber (1972: 251) puts it. Just as Weber, Lévi is predominantly interested in the process through which, under specific historical conditions, a doctrine comes to be the way of life of a whole group of men.

This is not the place to criticize the deficiencies of Lévi's and Weber's analyses. Suffice it to mention that Lévi somewhat over-emphasized the Brahmins' rôle and wholly neglected the lower layers of the caste hierarchy, i. e., the pariahs and those whom Weber calls "guest peoples" (*Gastvölker*, cf. Weber 1972: 11 ff.). Lévi restricted himself to that to which he had -- in contrast to Weber -- direct access: to the written sources, and admirably demonstrated that the steady advance of Hinduism has always been a "long march through words" 13).

Lévi also anticipated many of the themes that have only occupied a prominent position in anthropological discussion on India since the 1950s. I refer to Srinivas' (1952) "Sans-

13) I am paraphrasing the slogan of the German leftist students' movement, the "long march through the institutions of capitalist society".

critization" ¹⁴⁾, Marriott's (1955) "universalization" and "parochialization", Sinha's (1962) "Rajputization" ¹⁵⁾ or Orans' (1965) "rank concession syndrome", to mention just a few. The fact that none of these authors quotes Lévi is, in my opinion, typical of the synchronistic and mono-disciplinary orientation of most of us anthropologists. It is only recently that we have started to get rid of Durkheimian mysticism which lies at the root of this orientation and which has prevented us for so long from closer cooperation with historians and philologists. And as the example of *Le Népal* shows, we still have a lot to learn from each other.

-
- 14) To my knowledge, Lyall (1882: 102-112) was the first to formulate a sort of proto-theory of Sanscritization. Lyall criticizes Max Mueller's contention that Brahmanism has never been a proselytizing religion and is dying. He points out the very particular way Brahmanism is propagating itself among the lower castes and tribal groups, namely by declaring local gods to be incarnations of Hindu deities and by offering "what are held to be the respectable high-bred manners and prejudices (...) and gods of a more refined and aristocratic stamp, as well as more powerful" (Lyall 1882: 112). Lyall sees two main agents of propaganda: (a) the Brahmins who avail themselves as domestic priests, and (b) the ascetics acting by virtue of their "emotional power" (charisma). The result is, in his own formulation, a "social change", an "upward transition" (mobility) in that people "alter their modes of life" and "adopt the religion of castes immediately above them in the social scale" (Lyall 1882: 102-103). Neither Lévi nor Srinivas quote Lyall.
- 15) It is curious to see that Sinha's "Rajputization" concept is based on the case of the Bhumij which Risley, more than half a century earlier and with almost all the essential details, also recorded, but rather passingly and without recognizing its model character (Risley 1915: 156 f.). The incident amply illustrates the theoretical orientation of Risley's time.

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON KINSHIP
TERMINOLOGIES OF THE BODISH SECTION OF
SINO-TIBETAN SPEAKING PEOPLES

Michael Vinding
Copenhagen

Thirty years ago, at a time when anthropologists had already published several thousand reports on peoples from all over the world, Nepal was still a blank spot on the ethnographical map. Nepal has since the fall of the Rana regime allowed anthropologists to carry out fieldwork in most parts of the country, and hundreds of reports on various groups and subjects have now been published. The lack of an extensive and detailed descriptive material is, however, still felt, especially by anthropologists engaged in comparative studies.

The purpose of the present report¹ is to present ten kinship terminologies of the Bodish Section of the Bodish Division of Sino-Tibetan speaking peoples². Only two of these have previously been described in the literature.

The report presents firstly the kinship terminologies of the three Thakāli groups and examines next the use of kinship terms among the Thakālis. Finally, subsidiary to the Thakāli kinship terminologies seven related kinship terminologies are also presented. The latter are based on only a few interviews and given in a simplified

transcription. They may contain mistakes but have, however, been published now with the hope, that they might be of some service to anthropologists engaged in comparative studies until more complete and revised versions become available.

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES OF THE THAKĀLIS

The Thakālis consists of three ideal endogamous groups known as Tamāng, Mawātan, and Yhulkāsummī.³

A Tamāng Thakāli is a socially recognized member of one of the following four patrilineal clans: Cyokī (Gaucan, nep.), Sālkī (Tulācan, nep.), Dimcan (Śercan, nep.), and Bhurkī (Bhaṭṭacan, nep.). The traditional settlement of the Tamang Thakālis is Thāk Sātsai, the southern part of Thāk Kholā in Mustang District. Today the majority of the Tamāng Thakālis are still living in Thāk Sātsai, but a significant number is also found in the hills and plains south of Thāk Kholā. The latter includes descendants of migrants who left Thāk Sātsai up to more than a century ago, as well as migrants who themselves left Thāk Kholā.

A Mawātan Thakali is a socially recognized member of one of the following four patrilineal clans: Rhoṭen Phowe (Lālcān, nep.), Budi or Puten Phowe (Hirācan, nep.), Gumlī thowā Phowe (Juhārcan, nep.), and Gumlī cyāngpā Phowe (Pannācan, nep.). The Mawātan Thakālis is the indigenous population of Mārphā (Mawā, tha.) village in Pāc Gāū, the northern part of Thāk Kholā. At present the majority of the Mawātan Thakālis are still found in Mārphā, but a significant number of migrants have in the past three decades settled in the hills south of Thāk Kholā

A Yhulkāsummī Thakāli is a socially recognized member of one of the following patrilineal descent units or groups: Gyalkī Phowe, Khya Phowe, Jhisīn Phowe, Che Phowe, Sākā Phowe, Sṛane Phowe, Bom Phowe, San Phowe, Syāngtan Phowe, Pāsīng Phowe, and Bompo Phowe.⁴ The traditional settlement of the Yhulkāsummī Thakālis is Thini (Thin, tha.), Syāng, and Chimāng villages in Pāc Gāũ, and the Yhulkāsummī Thakālis are according to their original village divided into three subgroups known as Thin, Syāngtan, and Chimtan. Today all but a few Yhulkāsummī Thakālis are still found in these three villages.⁵

Though the literature on the Thakālis now numbers more than twenty articles and books, the kinship terminologies of the Thakālis have yet not been published. Here the kinship terminologies of the Thakālis are presented in table no. 1 - 3.

A kinship terminology is here defined as a set of kinship terms, and a kinship term as a word primary used by socially recognized relatives in addressing or speaking of each other. The use of kinship terms is, however, as discussed below, only one of several ways in which relatives can address and refer to each other. Moreover, kinship terms are also used in address between persons who are not socially recognized relatives.

We shall here not carry out an etymological analysis of the Thakāli kinship terms, but can, however, note that most Thakāli kinship terms are related with the kinship terms found in other kinship terminologies of the Bodish Section, especially with those of the Tamang subfamily.⁶ A few terms as e.g. māmā, māijyu, phupu, and kākā are Nepali terms and more recently introduced.

The right columns of the tables include only the most important relatives of the categories of the left columns. Distant relatives have been omitted due to simplification. There are, however, also a number of second generation relatives who have been omitted due to the fact, that they are not a priori classified into a particular category.

Thus, there are no fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her first generation cross-cousins, or reciprocally, between a man or a woman and those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation cross-cousins. The tables includes therefore no terms for e.g. FZSS, FZSD, FZDS, FZDD, MBSS, MBSD, MBDS, MBDD, and FFZS, FFZD, FMBS, FMBD, MFZS, MFZD, MMBS, and MMBD.⁷

On the other hand, there are fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her first generation parallel-cousins, or reciprocally, between a man or a woman and those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation parallel-cousins.

Furthermore, there are no fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation cross-cousins. That is, between second generation cousins if those grandparents through whom the relationship is traced are of different sex. The tables includes therefore no terms for e.g. FFZSS, FFZSD, FFZDS, FFZDD, FMBSS, FMBSD, FMBDS, FMBDD,

MFZSS, MFZSD, MFZDS, MFZDD, MMBSS, MMBSD, MMBDS, and MMBDD.

On the other hand, there are fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation parallel-cousins. That is, between second generation cousins if those grandparents through whom the relationship is traced are of the same sex. Second generation cousins will in these cases classify each other in the same way as first generation cross-cousins if the parents through whom the relationship is traced are of different sex, and as siblings if the parents through whom the relationship is traced are of the same sex.

THE USE OF KINSHIP TERMS

Socially recognized relatives address and refer among the Thakālis each other by using kinship terms, personal names, nicknames, and titles. Which is actually used depends on the seniority between the speaker and the person whom he or she address or refers to.

Seniority between consanguine relatives is determined according to generation, and secondary according to actual age if the relatives are of the same generation. A man is thus always junior to his FFBS, even if he actually happens to be older. Seniority between affines is determined so, that a person is senior to those relatives of his or her spouse whom the spouse is senior to, and junior to those whom the spouse is junior to.

Senior relatives address and refer to junior relatives by using kinship terms, personal names, and nicknames. Generally, senior relatives use names and nicknames

as long as the junior relatives are unmarried or yet not grown up, and kinship terms as long as the junior relatives are married or grown up. Junior relatives should on the other hand address and refer to senior relatives only by using kinship terms or titles.

The Thakāli kinship terminologies include two kinship terms used in reference only. Women refer to other women who have married into the same patrilineal descent unit or group as themselves as *ṭayusyā* when their husbands are older than the husbands of the women whom they refer to, and as *āmtensyā* when their husbands are younger. The term *ṭayusyā* includes thus e.g. HyBW, while the term *āmtensyā* includes e.g. HeBW.

The Yhulkāsummī kinship terminology includes five kinship terms used in address and reference to one of several brothers, namely *pon*, *mocyāng*, *prite*, *sone*, and *kānchā*. *Pon* refers to the eldest and *kānchā* to the youngest of the brothers. Senior relatives use often these kinship terms when addressing junior men who are one among several brothers. In reference usage is generally limited to parents speaking of their sons, and elder brothers speaking of their younger brothers. On the other hand, junior relatives seldom use these terms when addressing senior relatives. There exist among the Yhulkāsummī Thakālis no corresponding terms for a line of sisters.

Also the Nepali kinship terminology⁸ includes a number of kinship terms used in address and reference to one of several brothers, namely *jethā*, *māilā*, *sāilā*, *kāilā*, and *kānchā*. The corresponding terms for a line of sisters are *jethi*, *māili*, *sāili*, *kāili*, and *kānchi*. These kinship terms are widely used by senior relatives when addressing junior relatives, and by parents in reference

to their children, and by elder siblings in reference to their younger siblings. Junior relatives can also use these terms though only in combination with other kinship terms. An elder brother can address his younger brother as *kānchā*, while a younger brother cannot address his elder brother as *jethā*, but must use the combination *jethā dājyu* or *jethā dāi*, or the kinship terms *dājyu* (nep., e.g. eB) or *dāi* (nep., e.g. eB).

The Thakālis have as other groups in Nepal being in close contact with the Nepali groups adopted these kinship terms into their own language. Furthermore, many of the Thakāli migrants' descendants born and living outside Thāk Kholā speak Nepali as their first language and use thus the Nepali kinship terminology.

Table no. 1 - 3 do not include any kinship terms for husband and wife. Thakāli contain a word *peh* which can be translated as wife, and a word *pah* which can be translated as husband. These words are, however, not kinship terms according to our definition in that relatives never use them when addressing or referring to each other.⁹ Spouses use also not personal names when addressing and speaking of each other.

Spouses usually address each other by using the 2nd person singular personal pronoun, *kyāng* (Tamāng and Mawātan Thakāli) or *kīh* (Yhulkāsummī Thakali), and refer to each other by using the 3th person singular personal pronoun, *th.* It is, however, not unusually to hear spouses address each other with various interjections as e.g. *whoī*, *hey* ! The spouses will after the birth of a child usually refer to each other as *kolā āmā* (*tha.*, the child's mother) and *kolā āwā* (*tha.*, the child's father), or as *Kiran-e āmā* (*tha.*, Kiran's mother) and

Kiran-e āwā (tha., Kiran's father) if the child is named Kiran.

Furthermore, a person should never in the front of another person refer to his or her spouse by using the words pah and peh. A man will thus never as his daughter "Pah khatāng yolā ?" (tha., "Where has the husband gone ?") but ask "Māh khatāng yolā ?" (tha., "Where has the son-in-law gone ?") or "The khatāng yolā ?" (tha., "Where has he gone ?").

Among the Thakālis marriage usually takes place between persons who are or who are considered to be relatives. Therefore most Thakālis can trace their relationship to other relatives along more than one line. In such cases the line which reflex the closest relationship is used. This can be illustrated with a few examples.

A Yhulkāsummī Thakāli married to his sister's husband's sister is related to his sister's daughter as āsyāng - koime (e.g. MB - ZD) through his sister, and as āgumā - koime (e.g. FZH - WBD) through his wife's brother. Marriage is, except in extraordinary cases, forbidden between āsyāng - koime, and allowed between āgumā - koime. Therefore the former relation is considered the closest and is actually used in this particular case. Further, the man is related to his brother-in-law as syāngbo - māh (e.g. WB - ZH) through his sister, and as māh - syāngbo (e.g. ZH - WB) through his wife. In such cases where the relations are equal close the first established is used.

In another case, a Yhulkāsummī Thakāli woman married a man whose father's brother's daughter was her father's second wife. The spouses were before their marriage related as āsyāng - koime (e.g. MB - ZD, here

FWFBS - FBDHD) but were anyway allowed to marry in that the husband belonged to another clan than his wife's real mother. The relation between the husband and his wife's father was before the marriage syāngbo - māh (e.g. ZH - WB, here FBDH - WFB) but became after the marriage māh - ken (e.g. DH - WF) in that māh through daughters are considered social more important than māh through sisters.

Usually marriage takes among the Thakālis place between real or classificatory cross-cousins.¹⁰ A son-in-law is therefore usually related to his father-in-law as konca - āsyāng (e.g. ZS - MB) through his mother or as konca - āgumā (e.g. WBS - FZH) through his father, and as māh - ken (e.g. DH - WF) through his wife. The latter is considered the social most important in that a māh has many important obligations towards his ken. Therefore the latter is usually used but it is, however, not unusually for a son-in-law to address his father-in-law as āsyāng and a father-in-law to address his son-in-law as konca if the son-in-law has married his real matrilineal cross-cousin.

Kinship terms are not only used between socially recognized relatives. Persons who are not socially recognized relatives, as e.g. members of different ethnical groups, use often kinship terms when they address each other. Young Yhulkāsummī men address thus, for instance, usually the daughters of the Tamāng household they visit as ānā (e.g. eZ) and picyāng (e.g. yZ), or as didi (nep., e.g. eZ) and bhāini (nep., e.g. yZ), according to age.

Formal friendship is in Nepal a widespread custom with important social, economical, and political functions. It is often established between persons of diffe-

rent ethnical groups. Among the Thakālis formel friendship is known as rowa (nep., mit) when it is established between two men, and as ngyahla when it is established between two women. The two friends will refer to each other as rowa and address each other as brothers if they are men, and refer to each other as ngyahla and address each other as sisters if they are women. Moreover, their children will address each other as siblings.

Each major Thakāli village includes also some Nepali speaking peoples of the tailor-musician caste (tha., ḍulī; cf. nep., damāi) and of the blacksmith caste (tha., kemī; cf. nep., kāmī). These peoples address the adult Thakālis as ākhe (e.g. FF), mom (e.g. FM), ācyo (e.g. eB), and āna (e.g. eZ) even if they happens to be older than the Thakālis whom they address. On the other hand, the Thakālis never address these peoples by using kinship terms, but use the words ḍulī and kemī for the men, and ḍulīsyā and kemīsyā for the women.

The rich Thakālis' servants address their adult male masters as ākhe, āwā, and ācyo, and their adult female masters as mom, āmā, and āna even if they happens to be older than their masters. On the other hand, the Thakālis address their servants by using personal names.

It is thus generally the case, that persons of high status, that is senior Thakālis versus junior Thakālis, Thakālis versus ḍulī and kemī, and masters versus servants, address persons of low status by using personal names, while persons of low status never use personal names but kinship terms which indicate their low position in relation to the persons whom the address.

OTHER KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES OF THE BODISH SECTION

The Bodish Section includes among others the Gurung Branch and the Bodish Branch. The Gurung Branch includes according to Shafer (1955) Gurung, Tamang, and Thakāli, but has by Mazaudon (1978) been extended to include also Manangba and the Nar language. Moreover, I have suggested it to include also Tangbetan, Tetangtan, and Chusangtan.¹¹ The Bodish Branch includes Central Tibetan, Sherpa, and a number of other languages and dialects related to these.

The Tamangs is one of the largest groups in Nepal and is mainly found in the hills north, east, and south of Kathmandu Valley. A large number of Tamangs, and other Nepalese, are also found in Darjeeling District in India. They are mostly descendants of migrants who came to Darjeeling several generations ago. Back in 1891 more than half of the population in Darjeeling were of Nepalese origin, and one-third had been born in Nepal.¹²

The Tamang kinship terminology has been described in at least three reports. Fürer-Haimendorf (1956) presents a kinship terminology based on material from the Risingo area, Höfer (1969) presents one based on material from Dhading District, and Hall (1978) one based on material from the Langthang area.

In 1978 I made a short preliminary study of the Tamangs of Darjeeling District and collected their kinship terminology (see table no. 4). The terminology is basically identical with the ones reported in the literature. In Darjeeling, the terminology is only used by those

Tamangs who still speak Tamang as their first language. The majority of the Darjeeling Tamangs speak, however, Nepali as their first language and use thus the Nepali kinship terminology. The latter use, however, still a number of Tamang terms, thus e.g. akhe for grandfather, mom for grandmother, apa for father, and ama for mother.

The Manangbas are found in the Nyesyang area in Manang District, and are also known as the Nyesyangbas. The area was until recently closed for most foreign research, and the literature on the Nyesyangbas is limited. Gurung (1976, 1977a, 1977b) is the only anthropologist, and Mazaudon (1978) the only linguist who have described the Nyesyangba culture and language in detail. None of these works include, however, the Nyesyangba kinship terminology. In 1978 I visited Nyesyang area and collected the Nyesyangba kinship terminology (see table no. 5).

The people of Nar and Phu villages in Manang District are known as the Nar-Phu people. The villages are still closed for most foreign research, and the only ethnographical informations on them is found in Gurung (1976, 1977a, 1977b). In 1978 while visiting Nyesyang I had the chance to make an interview with a man from Phu village and to collect the Phu kinship terminology (see table no. 6). My informant stated that there are only few differences between the kinship terms used in Phu and Nar villages, and mentioned as an example that FF is called babu in Phu while he is called akhe in Nar. Material collected by Mazaudon (see below) indicates, however, more significant differences.

Chusang area in Mustang District, situated between the Tibetan speaking villages of Lo in the north and the Tibetan speaking villages of Kagbeni and Muktinath areas in the south, is also closed for most foreign research and has yet to be described in the ethnographical literature.

During my fieldworks in Thāk Kholā I have made inquiries about the Chusang area. My preliminary material suggests, that the peoples of Chusang area speak several distinct dialects closer to Thakāli than to Tibetan. Furthermore, there are three separate groups in the area, namely the people of Tangbe village known as the Tangbetans, the people of Tetang village known as the Tetangtans, and the people of Chusang, Caili, and Gyakar villages. The members of these groups do ideally not intermarry.

The Tangbetans claim, that they original came to Tangbe from a now deserted village near Braka in Nyesyang. A significant number of Tangbetans have now settled in Jomsom village in Thāk Kholā where they form the largest single group among the permanent residents. The Tetangtans claim also, that they original came from Manang District, namely from Nar village.

Unfortunately, I have only collected the kinship terminology used by the people in Chusang village (see table no. 7).

The Bodish Branch of Sino-Tibetan languages includes, as noted above, a number of languages and dialects related to Central Tibetan and Sherpa. The Tibetan dialect spoken in Tsumje village in Tsum area in the northern part of Gorkha District belongs according to Allen (1976)

to the Bodish Branch. Kawakita spent in 1953 a few weeks in Tsumje and has in Kihara, ed. (1957) presented parts of the Tsumje kinship terminology.

The Tibetan speaking people living in Gyasumdo area in Manang District speak according to themselves a dialect closely related to the dialects spoken in Nubri and Tsum areas towards the east. The Gyasumdo Tibetans are descendants of migrants who came to Gyasumdo from Kyirong and other border areas in Tibet several generations ago. They have been briefly described by Gurung (1976, 1977b), and by Messerschmidt (1972). None of these works include, however, the Gyasumdo kinship terminology. I shall here present the Gyasumdo kinship terminology which I collected during a visit to Gyasumdo in 1978 (see table no. 8).

Also Baragaun Tibetan, a dialect spoken in Kagbeni and Muktinath areas in Mustang District, belongs to the Bodish Branch. The Baragaun Tibetans have been described by Schuler (1977, 1978), and by Furer-Haimendorf (1975), but none of these works include, however, the Baragaun Tibetan kinship terminology. I shall here present the Baragaun Tibetan kinship terminology which I collected during several visits to Baragaun in 1976 - 78 (see table no. 9).

Also the dialect of Sherpa spoken by the Sherpas of Helambu area belongs to the Bodish Branch. The Helambu Sherpa kinship terminology has been presented by Goldstein (1975), but the material do not include the terms used for several important affinale relatives. Also Graham Clarke, Oxford University, who recently made a long fieldwork in Helambu, has collected the Helambu Sherpa kinship termino-

logy. As long as his material awaits publication, and for comparative reasons, I shall here present the Helambu Sherpa kinship terminology which I collected in 1975 during a short visit to Helambu (see table no. 10).

POSTSCRIPT

Martine Mazaudon, C.N.R.S. in Paris, has collected and kindly sent me an extensive material on the kinship terms used by the Mawātan Thakālis, the Yhulkāsummī Thakālis, the Risiangku (Risingo) Tamangs, the Nyesyangbas, and the people of Nar and Phu.

Mazaudon's Risiangku Tamang material is recorded in a phonemic transcription, cf. Phonologie du Tamang, SELAF, Paris, 1973. She informs me, that she has not made a phonological analysis of the other dialects and therefore she has converted the rough phonetic transcription of her own notes on these dialects into a simplified transcription more or less consistent with my own transcriptions. She notes further, that this simple transcription, in the absence of anything better, may be taken as a starting point for anthropologists engaged in comparative studies of kinship and marriage systems.

The aims of Mazaudon's and my studies are somewhat different, so it is only natural that her preliminary lists in a few cases should not include all the kinship terms presented in the tables here, and that her lists of relatives included under the terms are not so extensive as the ones presented here. In general, Mazaudon's material confirms the informations presented here. There are, however, also a few cases where our material differs.

Mazaudon's list of Risiangku terms includes the term ^{1/2}cha:po for WZH. I have not recorded this term among the Darjeeling Tamangs but recognize it in the Mawatan Thakāli term chawo for WZH. Mazaudon has the term aru for MyZ, while I have asu (cf. tib., a-sru and sru-mo). Further, she has the term ¹chaja for all grandchildren, while my Darjeeling Tamang material includes chaya for SS and DS, chayani for SD, and chani for DD.

Mazaudon has among the Nyesyangbas recorded the term aku for HF and WF, and the term tchye for FyB. The latter may also include FeB. The Nyesyangba kinship terminology presented here has the term agu for FyB, MyZH, HyB, FZH, HF, and WF. Unfortunately, Mazaudon has not collected the terms for MyZH, HyB, and FZH. Further, for the term acyung (e.g. yB) presented here she has three alternative terms, namely acyong, ale, and moyong. Mazaudon has for the term nani (e.g. yZ) from Braka village the alternative term atsen. Mazaudon notes, that the terms acyong and ale also can be used as vocative for S, and further that the term anga which is normally the vocative for eZ and also yZ, also can be used as vocative for D. Finally, she has the term kwen for SS and the term ko:mi for SD. The former may also include BS, and the latter BD. On the other hand, the table presented here has cha for S and BS (m.s.), chame for D and BD (m.s.), koe for SS, and koime for SD.

Mazaudon's material shows, as noted above, more significant differences between the kinship terms used in Nar and Phu villages. From Nar village she has the term ele for S and B, the term kola for S and D, the term anga for yZ, and the term kontsa for SS. The terms ata, nana, cheme, and koime do not occur in her corpus. From

Phu village she has the term ata for eB, cyontsa for yB, kola for S, same for D, kondza for BS and ZS, kommi for BD and ZD, and kommi for SS, SD, DS, and DD. The term nana do not occur in her corpus. She notes that the people of Nar use the term mam for FM and MM.

Table no. 1: The Tamāng Thakāli kinship terminology

yāngkhe	FFF
yāngmom	FFM
ākhe (khe)	FF, FFB, MF, MFB, HF, HFB
mom	FM, FMZ, MM, MMZ, HM, HMZ
āwā (ābā)	F
āthowa	FeB, FFBS (e.t. F), FMZS (e.t. F)
kaka	FyB, FFBS (y.t. F), FMZS (y.t. F), HyB
āgu (āku)	MZH
māmā	MB, MFBS, MMZS
āgumā	FZH
ken	WF, WFB
āmā	M
āmthowa (ānthowa)	FeBW, FFBSW (FFBS e.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS e.t. F)
ācyāngma	FyBW, FFBSW (FFBS y.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS y.t. F)
āphi	MeZ, MFBD (e.t. M), MMZD (e.t. M), WeZ
ācyāng	MyZ, MFBD (y.t. M), MMZD (y.t. M), WyZ
ngeren	FeZ, FFBD (e.t. F), FMZD (e.t. F), HeZ
phupu	FyZ, FFBD (y.t. F), FMZD (y.t. F), HyZ
māījyu	MBW, MFBSW, MMZSW
syungme	WM, WMZ
ācyo	eB, FBS (e), FFBS (e), FMZSS (e), MZS (e), MFBDS (e), MMZDS (e), HeZH
āle	yB, FBS (y), FFBS (y), FMZSS (y), MZS (y), MFBDS (y), MMZDS (y), HyZH
āna	eZ, FBD (e), FFBSD (e), FMZSD (e), MZD (e), MFBDD (e), MMZDD (e), HeBW
picyāng	yZ, FBD (y), FFBSD (y), FMZSD (y), MZD (y), MFBDD (y), MMZDD (y), HyBW

solt̥i	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS
solt̥isyā	MBD, MFBSD, MMZSD, FZD, FFBDD, FMZDD
syāngbo (syāngwo)	WB
ācyumāh	ZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s.), MZDH (f.s.)
māh	ZH (m.s.), FBDH (m.s.), MZDH (m.s.), DH, BDH (m.s.), SDH
nguca	eBW, FBSW (FBS e.t. ego), MZSW (MZS e.t. ego).
cāng	yBW, FBSW (FBS y.t. ego), MZSW (MZS y.t. ego), SW, SSW
āpren	HeB
chāwa	WZH
ca	S, BS (m.s.), FBSS (m.s.), MZSS (m.s.), WZS, ZS (f.s.), FBDS (f.s.), MZDS (f.s.), HBS
came	D, BD (m.s.), FBSD (m.s.), MZSD (m.s.), WZD, ZD (f.s.), FBDD (f.s.), MZDD (f.s.), HBD
konca	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), FBDS (m.s.), MZDS (m.s.), WBS, BS (f.s.), FBSS (f.s.), MZSS (f.s.), HZS
koime	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), FBDD (m.s.), MZDD (m.s.), WBD, BD (f.s.), FBSD (f.s.), MZSD (f.s.), HZD

Table no. 2: The Mawātan Thakāli kinship terminology

khyopen	FF, FFB, MF, MFB, HF, HFB
momwe	FM, FMZ, MM, MMZ, HM, HMZ
āwā (ābā)	F
ākhen	FeB, FFBS (e.t. F), FMZS (e.t. F), HeB
kaka	FyB, FFBS (y.t. F), FMZS (y.t. F), HyB
khīcyāng	MZH
āsyāng	MB, MFBS, MMZS
ākhamā	FZH
ken	WF, WFB
āmā	M
ācyāmā (ācyemā)	MZ, MFBD, MMZD
ānkhe	FeBW, FFBSW (FFBS e.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS e.t. F), HeBW
āncyāng	FyBW, FFBSW (FFBS y.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS y.t. F), HyBW
ngekhen	FeZ, FFBD (e.t. F), FMZD (e.t. F), HeZ
ngicyāng	FyZ, FFBD (y.t. F), FMZD (y.t. F), HyZ
nī	MBW, WBW
syungme	WM, WMZ
ācyo	eB, FBS (e), FFBS (e), FMZSS (e), MZS (e), MFBDS (e), MMZDS (e)
āle (cyon)	yB, FBS (y), FFBS (y), FMZSS (y), MZS (y), MFBDS (y), MMZDS (y)
āna	eZ, FBD (e), FFBS (e), FMZSD (e), MZD (e), MFBDD (e), MMZDD (e)
mīcyāng (srinca)	yZ, FBD (y), FFBS (y), FMZSD (y), MZD (y), MFBDD (y), MMZDD (y)
nuī	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS, eZH, FBDH (FBD e.t. ego), MZDH (MZD e.t. ego)

solt̥i	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS
nuīlyāng (solt̥isyā)	MBD, MFBSD, MMZSD, FZD, FFBDD, FMZDD
syāngbo (syāngwo)	WB
chāmo	WZ, WFZ
chāwo	yZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s., FBD y.t. ego), MZDH (f.s., MZD y.t. ego), WZH
māh	yZH (m.s.), FBDH (m.s., FBD y.t. ego), MZDH (m.s., MZD y.t. ego), DH, BDH (m.s.), SDH
cāng	BW, FBSW, MZSW, SW, BSW, SSW
ca	S, BS (m.s.), FBSS (m.s.), MZSS (m.s.), WZS, ZS (f.s.), FBDS (f.s.), MZDS (f.s.), HBS
came	D, BD (m.s.), FBSD (m.s.), MZSD (m.s.), WZD, ZD (f.s.), FBDD (f.s.), MZDD (f.s.), HBD
konca	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), FBDS (m.s.), MZDS (m.s.), WBS, BS (f.s.), FBSS (f.s.), MZSS (f.s.), HZS
koime	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), FBDD (m.s.), MZDD (m.s.), WBD, BD (f.s.), FBSD (f.s.); MZSD (f.s.), HZD

Table no. 3: The Yhulkāsummī Thakāli kinship terminology

khyopen	FF, MF
momān	FM, MM
āwā (ābā)	F
āthowa	FestB, FFBS (est.t. F), FMZS (est.t. F)
āphowa	FelB, FFBS (el.t. F), FMZS (el.t. F)
ācyāngba	FyB, FFBS (y.t. F), FMZS (y.t. F)
āgu (āku)	MZH
āsyāng	MB, MFBS, MMZS
āgumā	FZH, HZH
ken	WF, WFB
khe	HF, HFB
āmā	M
ācyam	MZ, MFBD, MMZD, WZ, BWZ
āmthowa	FestBW, FFBSW (FFBS est.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS est.t. F)
āmphowa	FelBW, FFBSW (FFBS el.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS el.t. F)
āmcyāngba	FyBW, FFBSW (FFBS y.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS y.t. F)
ngekhen	FestZ, FFBD (est.t. F), FMZD (est.t. F), HestZ
ngeten	FelZ, FFBD (el.t. F), FMZD (el.t. F), HelZ
ngicyāng	FyZ, FFBD (y.t. F), FMZD (y.t. F), HyZ
ānī	MBW
syungme	WM, WMZ
mom	HM, HMZ
pon	estB, FBS (est), FFBS (est), FMZSS (est)
ācyo	elB, FBS (el), FFBS (el), FMZSS (el)
mayung	yB (f.s.), FBS (f.s., y), FFBS (f.s., y), FMZSS (f.s., y)

cyon	yB (m.s.), FBS (m.s., y), FFBS (m.s., y), FMZSS (m.s., y), yZ (f.s.), FBD (f.s., y), FFBSD (f.s., y), FMZSD (f.s., y), HyBW
srin	yZ (m.s.), FBD (m.s., y), FFBSD (m.s., y), FMZSD (m.s., y), WyBW
ānā	eZ, FBD (e), FFBSD (e), FMZSD (e), HeBW, WeBW
chiwā	MZS, MFBDS, MMZDS
chimā	MZD, MFBDD, MMZDD
udung	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS, eZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s., FBD e.t. ego), MZDH (f.s., MZD e.t. ego)
olyāng	MBD, MFBSD, MMZSD, FZD, FFBDD, FMZDD
syāngbo	WB
māh	ZH (m.s.), FBDH (m.s.), MZDH (m.s.), DH, BDH (m.s.), SDH
chāwo	yZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s., FBD y.t. ego), MZDH (f.s., MZD y.t. ego), WZH
cāng	BW, FBSW, MZSW, SW, BSW (m.s.), SSW
ākhen	HestB
āten	HelB
ācyāng	HyB
nī	WBW
ānkhen	HestBW
ānten	HelBW
āmcyāng	HyBW
ca	S, BS (m.s.), FBSS (m.s.), MZSS (m.s.), WZS, ZS (f.s.), FBDS (f.s.), MZDS (f.s.), HBS
came	D, BD (m.s.), FBSD (m.s.), MZSD (m.s.), WZD, ZD (f.s.), FBDD (f.s.), MZDD (f.s.), HBD
konca	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), FBDS (m.s.), MZDS (m.s.), WBS, BS (f.s.), FBSS (f.s.), MZSS (f.s.), HZS
koime	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), FBDD (m.s.), MZDD (m.s.), WBD, BD (f.s.), FBSD (f.s.), MZSD (f.s.), HZD

Table no. 4: The Darjeeling Tamang kinship terminology¹³

akhe	FF, MF
mam	FM, MM
apa (aba)	F, <u>HF</u> , <u>WF</u>
abhen (aba theba)	FeB, MeZH
agu (aba cyangba)	FyB, MyZH
aseng	MB, FZH, WF, HF
siolon	FZH
ken	WF, HF
ama	M, <u>WM</u> , <u>HM</u>
amen (amren)	MeZ, FeBW
asu	MyZ, FyBW
angi	FZ, MBW, WM, HM
syumi	WM, HM
jojo	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), <u>WeB</u> , <u>HeB</u>
cyon (ale)	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), <u>WyB</u> , <u>HyB</u>
nana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), <u>WeZ</u> , <u>HeZ</u>
buring (angan)(anga)	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), <u>WyZ</u> , <u>HyZ</u>
samdhi	MBS, FZS
samdhini	MBD, FZD
jethu	WeB
salo (syangbo)	WyB
mahgen	eZH
mah	yZH, DH
ja	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.), HBS, WZS
jame	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.), HBD, WZD
kon	ZS (m.s.), BS (f.s.), HZS, WBS
konme	ZD (m.s.), BD (f.s.), HZD, WBD
chaya	SS, DS
chayani	SD
chani	DD
cangen	eBW
cang	yBW, SW

Table no. 5: The Nyesyangba kinship terminology

akhe	FF, MF
me	FM, MM
awa (aba)	F
abthewa	FeB, MeZH, HeB
agu	FyB, MyZH, HyB, FZH, HF, WF
asyang	MB, WB
ama	M
amthewa	FeBW, MeZ, WeZ
amcyang	FyBW
aru	MyZ, WyZ
ani	FZ, WM, HM, HZ
ancang	MBW
ata	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), FZS (e), MBS (e)
acyung	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), FZS (y), MBS (y)
ana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), FZD (e), MBD (e)
nani	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), FZD (y), MBD (y)
nyilong (solti)	MBS, FZS
nyilong (soltini)	MBD, FZD
mah	ZH, DH
cang	BW, SW
ca	S, BS (m.s.)
came	D, BD (m.s.)
koe	SS
koime	SD
pha	H
pa	W

Table no. 6: The Nar-Phu kinship terminology

akhe (babu)	FF, MF
ebi	FM, MM
acyo	F
agu	FB, HB
mah	FZH, MZH, ZH, DH
asyang	MB, WF, HF, WB
ama	M, MZ
me	FBW
eni	FZ, HM, WM
nyenye	MBW
ata	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e)
kola	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y), S
nana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), HeZ, WeZ
cheme	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), HyZ, WyZ, D
cang	BW, SW
konca	BS, ZS, SS, DS
koime	BD, ZD, SD, DD
phe	H
per	W

Table no. 7: The Chusangtan kinship terminology

khe	FF, MF, WF, HF
mam	FM, MM, WM, HM
yijo	F
asyang	FB, MB
uma	FZH, MZH
ama	M
encha	FZ, MZ
encang	FBW, MBW
ale	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e), HeB
cyonca	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y), HyB
nana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), WeZ
srinca	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), WyZ
syangba	WB
mah	ZH, DH
cang	BW, SW
ca	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.)
ceme	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.)
konca	SS, DS, BS (f.s.), ZS (m.s.)
koime	SD, DD, BD (f.s.), ZD (m.s.)
pha	H
pa	W

Table no. 8: The Baragaun Tibetan kinship terminology

meme	FF, MF
ibi	FM, MM
uh	F, FB, MZH
asyang	FZH, MB, WF, HF
ama	M
shromo (momo)	MZ, FBW
ani	FZ, WM, HM
nene (neme)	MBW, WM, HM
acyu	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e)
no	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y)
ichi	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), WeZ
nomo	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), WyZ
syangbo	WB
makpa	ZH
namo	BW
bica	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.)
bomo	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.)
chop	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), BS (f.s.)
chamo	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), BD (f.s.)
khogar	H
gyeme (gyemen)	W

Table no. 9: The Gyasumdo Tibetan kinship terminology

meme	FF, MF
ibi	FM, MM
awa	F
au	FB, MZH
asyang	MB, FZH, WF, HF, WeB
ama	M
ani	FZ, MBW, WM, HM
syomo	MZ, FBW
acyo	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e), HeB
no	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y), HyB
achi	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), HeZ, WeZ, HeBW
numo	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), HyZ, WyZ, HyBW
syangbo	WB
makpa	ZH, DH
nama (namo)	BW, SW
bica	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.)
bomo	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.)
cau	SS, DS, BS (f.s.), ZS (m.s.), WBS
caumo	SD, DD, BD (f.s.), ZD (m.s.), WBD
khewa	H
bime	W

Table no. 10: The Helambu Sherpa kinship terminology

meme	FF, MF
ibi	FM, MM
pawa	F
au	FB, MZH
asyang	MB, FZH, WF, WeB
ani makpa	FZH
gyubu	WF
ama	M
chichi	MZ, WeZ
asa	FBW
ani	FZ, MBW, WM
gyuma	WM
ata	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e)
no	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y)
ashi	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e)
nomo	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y)
syabu	WyB
agu	WZH
nyemu	WyZ
makpa	ZH, DH
nama	BW, SW
bu	S
bumo	D
kyobu	H
cyungma	W

NOTES

1. The material for the present article was collected in Nepal in 1972 and from 1975 to 1978. I am grateful to the Danish Research Council for the Humanities under the Royal Danish Government who financed my fieldworks in Nepal. Thanks are due to Krishnalal Thakali who assisted me for more than a year in the field, and to Professor Johannes Nicolaisen who as supervisor has been a constant source of encouragement and stimulation. Thanks are also due to Dr. Nicholas J. Allen and Graham Clarke, Oxford University, who read and commented on an early draft of the present article. Finally, special thanks are due to Martine Mazaudon, C.N.R.S. in Paris who kindly sent me her extensive unpublished notes on kinship terms of the Bodish languages and allowed me here to publish parts of that material.
2. See Shafer (1955) for a classification of Sino-Tibetan languages. We shall, however, here follow Mazaudon (1978) and refer to Shafer's Gurung Branch as the Tamang subfamily.
3. Nepali words are indicated with a following (nep.) and follow the transcription of Turner (1965). Widely known Nepali names of localities and groups outside Thāk Kholā are, however, given in their conventional form.
Thakāli words are indicated with a following (tha.) and follow my own simple transcription system as there does not yet exist a standard transcription system for Thakāli. It has never been easy for me to transcribe Thakāli words and I am aware that the pre-

sent transcription in certain respects differs from the one used in my previous articles on the Thakālis. It has in Thakāli words often been a problem for me to hear whether a vowel is short or long, and whether a consonant is aspirated or not. Further, the transcription of a word such as e.g. 'ca' (tha., son) is a problem in that the forms 'tsa' and 'dza' also seem correct to me. Finally, and most important, Thakāli is a tonal language and includes words distinguished by pitch and melodic features only. The present system does not separate words distinguished by pitch and melodic features only and is thus too simple to give a correct transcription of Thakāli words. For a better transcription, see Mazaudon (1978).

4. The present list is a revised version of the one given in Gauchan and Vinding (1977 : 99).
5. A few Thin households are found in Jomsom village but in a political context these still belong to Thin village.
6. See Benedict (1941) and Allen (1975, 1976) for the emytology of related kinship terms.
7. The symbols used are conventional, thus F for father, M for mother, B for brother, Z for sister, S for son, and D for daughter; e.t. refers to elder than, and y.t. to younger than. Furthermore, est. means 'eldest only', and el. means 'elder, excluding the eldest'. These symbols are placed in brackets immediately after the relative when they indicate a comparison with the speaker. Finally, m.s. refers to male speakers, and f.s. to female speakers.

8. See Doherty (1974) for parts of the Nepali kinship terminology.
9. Tables no. 4 - 10 include however, for comparative purposes, the words for husband and wife.
10. Cf. Vinding (1979), which includes an analysis of the kinship terminologies presented here.
11. Cf. Mazaudon (1978 : 158). Mazaudon touches in her article on the problem of "sociological divisions" and "linguistic divisions". I am aware that here only the three Thakāli groups have been defined in clear and explicit terms. It might in a Nepali context be useful to discuss the problems of defining 'ethnical groups' as raised by e.g. Narroll (1964). What do we after all mean by a Gurung, a Magar, or a Sherpa ?
12. Caplan (1970 : 6).
13. The kinship terms are, for underlined relatives, used in address only.

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A NOTE ON THE PHAGUWAA FESTIVAL OF CHITWAN THARU

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1. Aim of Note

The aim of this note is to give a preliminary indication of the Phaguwaa Festival of the Chitwan Tharu as celebrated in March, 1979.¹ How do they celebrate it? When? Where? There is an account of the same festival among the Dang Tharu in Western Nepal by Alexander W. Macdonald (1969), which is a little different from the one among Chitwan Tharu. Although it was his account which stimulated me to write this note, I will not comment here on the difference. I restrict myself to a diachronic description of the festival I observed.

2. Research

This research was conducted on a ten-day field trip in March, 1979, in Surtaanaa Village, Khairahani Gaun Panchayat, Chitwan district of Southern Nepal. In this

1. I am very grateful to Mrs. Irene Joslin, U.S.A., and to David Paterson, in Kathmandu, who both commented on this note and corrected my English. Their assistance made this note possible. I am also indebted to Mr. Ram Sanehi Chaudhari, Kathmandu, for checking the facts and Tharu words.

district, Surtaanaa is one of the biggest villages where only Tharu live. Information for this note was provided largely by my own observations. I used Nepali for communication with Tharu villagers though I have tried to learn their language, Tharu.

As for researches on Chitwan Tharu, there are, so far as I know, only a few works: Dorothy Leal (1972a, 1972b) in linguistics and William M. Leal (1974) in cultural anthropology.

3. On Chitwan Tharu

The words 'Chitwan Tharu' in this note refer to Tharu in the Chitwan district. Chitwan Tharu have a population of 24,718 (13.45%) out of 183,644 in the district, according to the 1971 Nepal census. They call themselves 'Tharu' and call their language 'Tharu'. Their language is an Indo-European language (D. Leal, 1972a).

4. Transcription of Tharu language

According to the Chitwan Tharu phonemic summary (D. Leal, 1972a), Chitwan Tharu has the following phonemes.

Vowels: i e aa[a] a[a] o u.
 Consonants: p ph (aspirated) b bh m mh,
 t th d dh n nh,
 T (retroflexed) Th D Dh,
 c (affricate) ch j jh,
 k kh g gh nG [ŋ] nGh [ŋg]
 w s l lh, r rh, y, h.

In this note, all the native words are Tharu language and are transcribed as indicated above.

5. Reason for the Festival

The *Phaguwaa* Festival (*Phaagu* in Nepali) is also called *Hori* or *Holi*. Though I asked some Tharu villagers about the reason for celebrating the festival, their answers were vague. The only reason I could get was that it was not for gods, nor for the dead, but "for a new year of the Tharus".

6. Dates and Main Activities

First I will list the dates and main activities of the festival as a whole:

<u>1979 March</u>	<u>phases of the moon</u>	<u>main activities</u>
6	8th day of the ---- new moon	drum dancing "
7	9th	"
8	10th	"
9	11th	"
10	12th	"
11	13th	"
12	14th -----	making liquor drum dancing
13	15th (full moon) --	fishing <i>roTi</i> making feasting drinking hut burning drum dancing

14	1st day after the full moon	-- red powder revelry holy baths feasting drinking drum dancing <i>mantar</i> ritual worshipping gods
15	2nd -----	drum dancing

Those activities depend on the lunar calendar.²
 March 13, 14 and 15 each have a name --- *saamati ki din*,
dhuraheri and *chaitwaari*, respectively.

7. Returning Home

Between March 6-12 it became hotter and hotter. The wheat was almost ripe enough to harvest in the fields surrounding the village, but there was still plenty of time to start planting maize and rice, and it seemed to me that the people took it easy. I noticed two houses and a few livestock pens just under construction. A family was digging a well in its yard. All of those things show that they were not yet harvesting.

Although I could see almost no people working in the fields except those pasturing livestock, I often met persons who lived outside Surtaanaa, but whose home village was

2. In the Nepali calendar, March 6 corresponds to Phagun 22, March 13 to Phagun 29, March 14 to Chaitra 1 and so on. But the activities of the festival do not depend on this calendar.

Surtaanaa. The village was busy with people going and coming back to Surtaana for the festival before the 12th of March, for example: schoolboys living in dormitories, in towns such as Birganj or Kathmandu; officers living in towns; or young wives living in villages other than Surtaanaa.

Drum Dancing

Phaguwaa khelaae jaai means 'let's go to play *Phaguwaa*.' In this sense *Phaguwaa* means the drum dancing. It continued daily for ten days³ from March 6-15. In this section I will give a sketch of the drum dancing between March 6 and 13. (A description of the drum dancing on March 14 and 15 follows in sections 19 and 20).

Men danced, beating drums, in the yards of houses and from house to house every evening between 7:00 and 9:00 p.m. in the dark. The drum dancing crowd could be divided into three parts:

1. men singers
2. drum dancers - men and boys
3. spectators - men, boys, women and girls

Eight to ten singers were at the center of the crowd, twenty to forty drum dancers around them and finally more than fifty spectators surrounding the dancers. Each drum dancer had a drum in his left hand, and a bamboo stick in

3. One informant told me that usually the drum dancing would start at least one month before the full moon though the beginning of it depends on the dancers. But to my knowledge it started on the eve of the 6th.

his right for beating the drum, which was 40 centimetres in diameter with a skin of leather. Some men had gallon cans or polyethylene water bottles instead of drums. Boys and male infants had wooden sticks for beating each others' sticks; one boy had a puppet which amused the crowd. The drum dancers made a circle surrounding the singers at the center, and moved in an anti-clockwise direction around them, beating drums and dancing.

They played for about 10 minutes in front of each house before moving on to the next house. Spectators followed the dancers but some women watched from in front of their own houses.

I have not yet studied the songs sung during the drum dancing.

9. Making Liquor

Women of each family made *mod* (liquor made from rice) in front of their houses on the morning of March 12. It is an important liquor not only for the *Phaguwaa* Festival but also in everyday life. Since *mod*, offered to guests, indicates respect to guests, almost all families keep it in their houses. Consumption of *mod* became high between March 13 and 15. *Mod* was offered by villagers to each other on those three days. So almost all of the men were drunk with *mod* (and respect!) on those days.

10. Fishing

On March 13 in the morning, villagers went fishing in the river three hundred meters to the south of the

village. They formed fishing teams. A team was composed of two or three households with twenty to forty in a team. Each team was divided into two parts with separate functions: men who bailed water out of a pool which was partitioned with mud from the river and women and children who caught fish and shrimp in the dried-out pool. I saw several such fishing teams at the river that morning. All of the fish and shrimp were for the feast on this and the following days.

The main work in fishing was bailing out water. They chose natural pools in the riverbed as fishing pools or they made pools in the main but slow stream by partitioning it with mud. Fishing pools are around 10 meters long by 20 wide, though the size depended on the number of men in a team. In one team six men engaged in bailing water and in another team, fourteen. The method of bailing was: two men shared a basket, which had four ropes attached to it. Each man pulled two ropes, one in either hand. The men lined up along the small bank of mud which dammed up the stream. I estimated two to three hours to bail out a fishing pool.

After emptying the pool, women and children, who had been waiting around the pool with fish baskets at their waists, rushed to catch the fish and shrimp by hand. They fished from early morning till about 1:00 or 2:00 p.m.

11. Domestic Animals Killed

A castrated goat was killed for the feast in the yard of a house in the afternoon of March 13. It was

divided among six families. I was told that a large white pig was killed in a certain house for sale to villagers for the feast. These were my only observations about animals killed for the feast.

12. Making RoTi

It was interesting to see many fires in the yards of the houses after dark on the evening of March 13.

Women began to make *roTi* (fried bread made from rice flour) at the same time at around 5:00 p.m. In one family, women made three holes with hoes in the ground outside, the holes being linked with a large hole below ground. These were cooking places for *roTi* only. A large pan was placed on each of the three holes. Rice dough was dropped into the pans and deep fried on the fires. In another family, rich *jimdaar* (head family of the village) women made five or six fireplaces inside their grain-hut. Each fireplace was made with tripod-stones on the ground. Almost all the families, however, made fireplaces outside in their yards. The reason why they fried *roTi* outside, though the kitchens contain cooking places, was to protect the *roTi* from the ritual impurity of the kitchens. It is clear that *roTi* was a special food for the festival.

Children ate some *roTi* as soon as they were fried, but most were kept in bamboo baskets for the following two days. *RoTi* has the following three kinds of shapes:

1. *sel roTi*; doughnut-shaped, 10 centimeters in diameter
2. *cikari roTi*; round and flat, 10 centimeters in diameter

3. *bari*; round and flat, 4 centimeters in diameter, with peas and spices.

RoTi making continued up to 7:00 or 8:00 p.m., namely till the drum dancing began. When the drum dancers came to someone's yard, the women of the family rushed to fill up the cooking holes with earth.

13. Burning a Hut

A straw hut was burned in a grass field, two hundred meters to the south-west of the village, on the eve of the full moon. This was called *saamat leseke*; *saamat* is a straw hut for this event and *leseke* is to burn something. So this day was called *saamat ki din*, that is, day of *saamat*.

The hut was built that evening by those who pasture cattle as their everyday duty. Ideally, the hut was to be built to the west of the village, but actually it was to the south-west because there was no proper land to the west to perform the ceremony of hut burning. The location of the hut is shifted between the east and the west on alternate years.

The hut was round, 3 meters in diameter and 2 meters high. It was covered with many bundles of straw; they were sustained by a hut-framework of maize stalks bound with straw ropes. The hut was merely one room, whose entrance was on the west.

A great number of spectators had already surrounded the hut when a *guro* (priest) and his assistant, who is not a personal assistant for the *guro*, but a servant for the

village, entered the hut at 7:00 p.m. I was pushed to follow the *guro* into the room by Chaudhari, a member of the powerful *jimdaar* family, who was drunk, but kindly wanted me to see the *pujaa* (worship) performed by the *guro* inside. The hut was filled by the four persons in it -- the *guro*, his assistant, Chaudhari and I. We remained in a half-seated position because of the smallness of the hut.

Later events showed that Chaudhari may have urged the *guro* to start the *pujaa*. The *guro*, in a half-seated position, facing east, dug a small hole in the center of the floor with a small hoe. The things which the *guro* and his assistant brought were:

1. a hoe
2. water in an earthen vessel
3. an egg
4. an oil lamp
5. *prasaadi* (offerings) of seven small *roTi*
6. a handful of white rice flour
7. a chick

The *guro* put the water vessel into the hole and put the egg on the ground at the left side of the water vessel. An oil lamp was lit and rested on the water vessel. Seven *prasaadis* were laid in a line from left-to-right between the *guro* and the water vessel and egg. White flour was scattered on the *prasaadis*, and then around the egg and vessel. The *guro* then plucked a few feathers from the chick and poured water on it. The above-mentioned was a series of *pujaa* which I saw, but failed to get any interpretation for, because those villagers whom I asked could not interpret it. I am

sure that the *guro* must know the explanatio but I have not asked him as yet.

Next, the *guro* set fire to a straw-bundle, and urged us to go outside because of the danger when lighting the hut. He brought the burning straw-bundle out of the hut. Many men, waiting for the *guro* at the entrance of the hut, lit their respective straw-bundles from his, then set fire to the hut from all sides, together. The villagers shouted for joy, and the hut caught fire immediately and burned up. The chick ran away from the burning hut. It had been, I heard, sometimes burnt to death before. When it escapes safely the villagers do not catch it, and it becomes wild. The *saamat leseke* was over at 7:20 p.m., and the villagers began to leave for the village. A bright full moon had just come up in the dark sky.

On their way home, the villagers met about thirty to forty drunk men from the village, and the latter started to quarrel with the *guro* and Chaudhari about something. The men, who were the headmen of each family, said: "who ordered the burning of the hut before we arrived? It should have been burnt in front of us, and the drum dance should have been played around the burning hut". The main event of the festival, hut burning, had been performed without the drum dance, and was already finished before they, the family heads and drum dancers, arrived at the hut to participate in it. However, this quarrel calmed down after a few minutes. One villager said to me, "don't worry about the quarrel because all of them are drunk, but actually the event was not satisfactory for lack of the drum dance around the burning hut".

The drum dance started around 7:30 p.m. on this night as well. It continued till late at night. I was told that men continued to drink *mod* (liquor) till the next morning.

14. Red Powder Revelry

Young people doused red powder (*abir*) on each others' heads, everywhere on the roads, in the yards or on verandas of houses roughly between 7:00 and 9:00 on the morning of March 14. The young people who did it were mainly boys and girls, rarely adults, but all the villagers including me, were victims. They would suddenly attack a victim's head with a fistful of the red powder, taken from a sack behind their waists, and spread it on his face. Some children held dark-blue colored water in a tube to pour on others. No passerby could avoid the red powder, and everyone's hair, face and clothes became red. The village was filled with the uproar of young people who doused the others and then ran away. This uproar reached its climax around 8:00 a.m. and calmed down around 9:00 a.m.

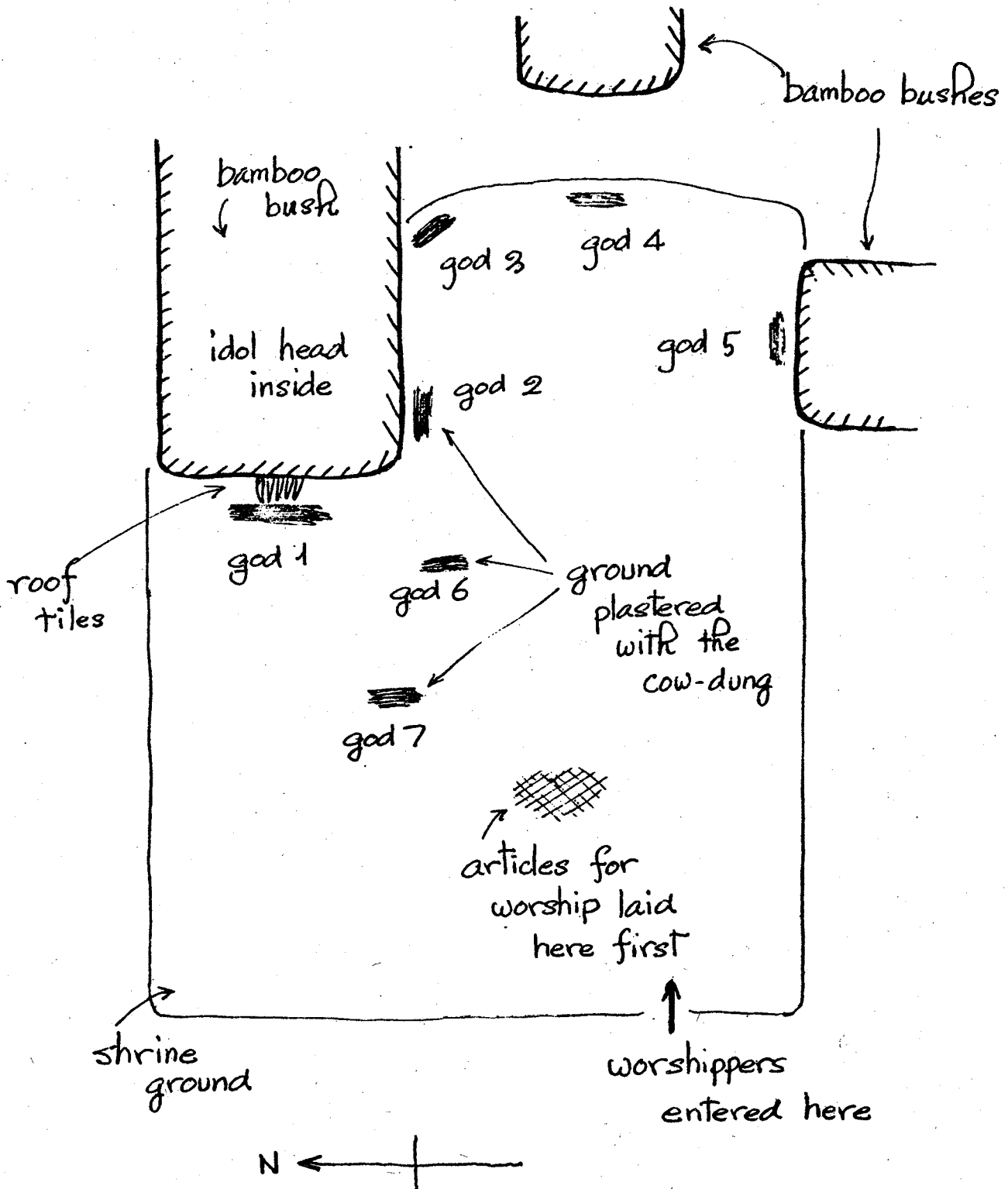
15. Mantar Ritual

All the children were given the *mantar* rituals by *guros* (sorcerer-doctors)⁴ on the morning of March 14. Each family employed a *guro* as a retainer. One *guro* conducted the *mantar* ritual on the verenda of the *jimdaar* house at

4. The *guros* have different roles and statuses. I put 'sorcerer-doctor' in brackets as the meaning of *guro* according to his role in the rituals, though I put 'priest' in the hut burning event of Section 13. As for *guro*, see W.M. Leal (1974), where he discusses in detail the *guro's* role, but does not refer to the difference in roles among *guros*.

Phaguwaa Festival of Chitwan Tharu - 12

Figure 1 Locations of Gods in the Shrine



8:25 a.m. The *guro* (in his fifties) wound a white thread, on which two *long* (a kind of dried seeds) were tied around each child's neck, after murmuring a prayer and blowing on the thread. The white thread protects children from *bhut-dain-boksi* (spirits-witches) which cause sickness.

On returning home the *guro* was doused with a handful of red powder by a girl.

Gods in the Shrine

While the young people were amusing themselves dousing the red powder on each other, a *guro*, the same person who had conducted the *pujaa* in the hut burning, went to the *Brahmthaan* (village shrine for *Brahmaawaa*) one hundred meters east of the village to worship the village gods. This took place at 8:30 a.m. I heard that a *jimdaar* would go too, but actually no *jimdaar* went. Participants in the worship were a *guro* and his assistant, the same two as in the hut burning. I followed them with a friend of mine, and a boy followed us out of curiosity; however, strictly speaking, the only real participants in the worship were the former two.

Brahm-thaan is a small piece of ground 14 by 11 meters in size with bamboo bushes on the east side. (For diagram, see Figure 1). There is an idol head in a thick bamboo bush in the north-east corner of the shrine, and an entrance to the shrine grounds on the south-west corner. The seven gods in the shrine are:

1. *Brahmaawaa* (god 1, so referred to below in this note) head god to protect and keep the peace in the village

2. *BhatagaiDi* (god 2)
assistant of god 1
3. *ThanagaiDi* (god 3)
assistant of god 1
4. *Parihaar* (god 4)
assistant of god 1
5. *Jogihawaa* (god 5)
destroyer-god if not worshipped, and total abstainer, but hashish smoker
6. *DihacanDi* (god 6)
god for determining house locations, and total abstainer
7. *Jokhin* (god 7)
god for a rich harvest

The above-mentioned gods are listed in the order worshipped.

17. Worship Procedure

The *guro* and his assistant entered the shrine grounds at the south-west corner and put the things for worshipping on the ground in the south-west corner. Those things were:

1. handfuls of cow-dung
2. *guiThaa* (fuel of dried cow-dung rolled round maize stalks)
3. wood shavings, to be put on the fire as incense
4. several small *roTi* for *prasaadi* (offerings)
5. red powder
6. an earthen cup for water and a bamboo stick 10 centimeters long
7. hashish in a little pipe
8. *mod* (liquor) in a bottle
9. a bucket for water

The *guro* lit a fire on a pile of *guiThaa* while the assistant brought water with the bucket from the stream near the shrine. The *guro* washed his hands with the water just brought.

Worship procedures were as follows:

- (1) The *guro* plastered cow-dung 30 centimeters wide on the ground in front of god 1, that is, on the west of the thick bamboo bush as shown in Figure 1. He did the same thing before god 2 to god 7 in turn.
- (2) The *guro* put a piece of smoldering *guiThaa* on the ground just plastered with the cow-dung in front of god 1, and then did so to all the gods in turn.
- (3) Murmuring a prayer in front of god 1, the *guro* put a pinch of wood shavings as incense on the smoldering *guiThaa* and lined up a few *roTi*s in front of the pile of wood shavings and *guiThaa*. He then repeated this in front of each of the other gods (from 2 to 7) in turn. Though the number of *roTi* lined up in front of each god was different, it is too detailed to be listed here.
- (4) While the wood shavings and *roTi* were being arranged, an earthen cup with water, and a bamboo stick placed on the cup, were put in the south corner of the ground plastered with the cow-dung in front of god 1 only. The water in

the cup was for god 1 with which to wash his face, and the bamboo stick to clean his teeth. Meanwhile a piece of hashish in a small pipe was put in front of god 5 only, for him to smoke.

- (5) In front of god 1, there were, from the west side, the ground plastered with the cow-dung, the five roofing tiles which had been left before, and the thick bamboo bush (see Figure 1). The *guro* dotted the red powder on two bamboo stalks in the bush and on to the tiles, and sprinkled it on the ground plastered with the cow-dung. (Therefore, accordingly, on the pile of wood shavings and *guiThaa* and on the *roTis*). He then sprinkled it on each place plastered with the cow-dung in front of gods 2-7, and in the case of god 5, he also dotted it on a bamboo stalk.
- (6) The *guro* poured *mod* and water on the ground plastered with the cow-dung in front of god 1 and prayed with his palms together. He also poured *mod* on each place plastered with the cow-dung in front of gods 2-7, except gods 5 and 6 who are not drinkers. Then he made me drink a draught of *mod*.

The *guro* finished the worship at 9:15 a.m. All the acts of worship mentioned above between (1) and (6) were done by him alone.

18. Holy Baths

Around 10:00 on the morning of March 14, many people took holy baths, in company with friends or children in fives and sixes, in the river to the south of the village.

I had heard that people would go to the river after pouring ash from the burned straw hut on their heads, but the people I saw actually went to the river directly. The villagers washed the red color out of their hair and from their faces, and changed their red colored clothes for clean ones. At that time they washed their bodies as well. Young villagers had the first meal of the day after the holy baths.

19. Drum dancing on March 14

The drums had been sounding now and again since around 6:00 in the morning of March 14. Before noon, I saw a man decorating his drum with long peacock feathers. By around 2:00 in the afternoon all the drums had already been decorated with peacock feathers.

All the drum dancers then began marching in procession, beating drums decorated with peacock feathers. They were headed for the bazaar, a ten-minute walk to the north. At 5:30 they came back to the village, beating drums and dancing. Though smeared with dust and sweat looking tired, they were more enthusiastic than before. They played for a while, surrounded by a lot of spectators in the *jimdaar*'s yard, and broke up around 6:00 p.m. so that they could have their evening meals.

Later, they played in the *jimdaar*'s yard between 7:00 and 9:00 p.m. in the dark. The drum dancing which had begun at this time on March 6, employed most of the people in the crowd. However, this time, they mimicked the dance of the Indian Tarai. One player danced, beating two bamboo sticks together. Most of the players had such bamboo sticks, and some had cymbals or cylindrical drums different from the previous ones. The spectators, who surrounded the dancers, burst out laughing very often because of the mimicry.

20. On March 15

On the morning of March 15, the people beat the drums decorated with peacock feathers. They would dance, I heard, all day until evening, and that nothing special would be done on that day.

I left the village on the morning of that day.

21. Concluding Remarks

There is no conclusion to this note, because it is merely a diachronic compilation of the visible facts. These visible facts are clues with which to elicit the invisible beliefs, values, attitudes, traditions and social structures. It is my present endeavour to elicit these from the facts compiled here.

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A TRANSLATION OF A NEWARI VERSION OF THE
CĀNAKYA SĀR SAMGRAHA

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I. Introduction

The *Cānakya Sār Samgraha* belongs to the class of Indian literature known to early scholars as 'collections of gnostic verses'. This particular type of collection has seen many versions over the ages, all attributed to Cānakya, alias Kauṭilya, the celebrated minister of Candragupta Maurya (4-3rd. c. B.C.), whose name has become practically synonymous with diplomacy and statecraft in Indian culture. He is credited with the authorship of the *Artha-śāstra*, the lengthy work on government which has guided wily practitioners of the art of politics throughout centuries of Indian history.

Ludwik Sternbach, the foremost authority on this genre of literature, sums up the development of the later collections thus: "It is most likely that the original collections of maxims known as the work of Cānakya contained a choice of maxims from a treatise on polity attributed to Cānakya, to which at a later date, other maxims and aphorisms, not necessarily connected with polity but with other subjects, in particular morals and ethics, were successively added. Political topics receded, moral and ethical became prominent. With the passage of years, the word *rāja-nīti* probably lost its meaning

of kingship and government and acquired the connotation of excellent, noble behavior, not technically royal, but still moral."¹

From ancient beginnings in Mauryan statecraft, these maxims attributed to Cāṇakya spread through the whole world of 'greater India', reaching not only Nepal, but Burma and even Tibet, where one version of Cāṇakya's sayings found its way into the Tanjur.² The maxims also spread throughout the entire range of Indian Sanskrit literature. They are found not only in the 'secular' books, such as the *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra*, *Śukasaptati*, etc, but also in many of the religious classics as well.³ We have even found very Cāṇakya-like maxims quoted from Buddhist tantric sources, which would seem to be about as far as one could get from the spirit of Cāṇakya.⁴ But in fact, as one grows more familiar with the nature of Sanskrit literature in general, the whole corpus seems to take on the characteristics of a great organism; maxims such as those in our text are like the blood cells flowing through the veins of this vast creature, appearing first here and then there, until it becomes nearly impossible to say where and when they first appeared. It is probable that a pool of such aphorisms has existed in Sanskrit literature for many centuries, and different writers chose those they liked, often inserting them in a flow of narrative to illustrate a point (this technique is often seen in the fable writing such as the *Pañcatantra*). In the case of collections of sayings attributed specifically to Cāṇakya, a pandit would choose his favourites from the pool and create a recension which would gain popularity until it became relatively fixed and stable. Sternbach lists six such essential versions.⁵ Among these six, the recension of Cāṇakya's sayings that is most popular in Nepal is the one we present here, the Cāṇakya Sār Samgraha.

It is, Sternbach writes, "the least known" of the six recensions throughout India as a whole, being found only in Nepal and Northeastern India.⁶

This text's history of translation into European languages seems to consist entirely in two efforts, one by Bh. C. Dutt in 1888 ("extremely poor and often incomprehensible" English translation, according to Sternbach) and the other by Johann Klatt, who, following a scholastic tradition of his time, translated the work into Latin.⁷

It is a basic text in the literature of Nepal. As Prem Bahadur writes in his introduction to the Newari edition on which our translation is based, most school children of some fifty years ago were taught the Devanagari alphabet by reciting Cāṇakya; it was thus their first taste of the written word. Its popularity is attested by the sheer numbers of handwritten copies available. The National Archives has nearly fifty manuscripts of this one work, and the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project has so far microfilmed over 250 editions in Sanskrit, Newari and Nepali.⁸ (The Newari and Nepali versions present the Sanskrit original of each verse along with the translation). Cāṇakya's aphorisms were so respected that his name is even included in one Malla king's traditional list of titles: "... Jaya Jotirmalla, who is purified by all the learning such as Cāṇakya (and) who is the ocean of entire polity..."⁹

Our translation is based on the edition of Prem Bahadur Kansakar, published by Cwasā Pāsā in NS 1091 (AD 1971). This edition presents, essentially unedited, the Sanskrit and Newari of an edition of NS 874 (AD 1754), along with Prem Bahadur's rendering of the maxims in modern Newari. In

translating into English we concentrated on the old Newari. We also referred to two other editions, one dated NS 810 (AD 1960), and another dated NS 813 (AD 1693). (These are ms. b and ms. c respectively; please see references for full description).

As neither of us are Sanskritists, we must warn the reader that this is not, and in no way purports to be, a translation of a critical edition of the Sanskrit Cāṅakya Sār Saṁgraha. By looking over the literature available to us on the subject and by consulting with learned friends, we have discovered that the Newari translator of our edition made many errors v.v. the original Sanskrit. Since it was our intention to translate the Newari version, we have let the meanings stand as they were written, unless the maxim made no sense whatsoever; in such rare cases we referred to our other Newari versions or to English translations of critically edited versions of the maxim wherever available. Whereas many of the maxims have the same meaning attributed to them by translators of such critically edited collections as Sternbach's *Mahā Subhasita Saṁgraha*, others are definitely variants. This is certainly in the tradition of this type of literature, where variants abound; often, in fact the variants of a single 'root' verse can be entirely contradictory.¹⁰

Thus it must be stressed that this offering is only intended to be a presentation of a translation of a *Newari* version of the Canakya Sar Saṁgraha, and thus, we feel, of value to the study of the culture of the Kathmandu Valley. For it is certain that it was through the use of vernacular translations such as our text that the sense of ethical order expressed in the maxims reached the attention of the general population.

Our main text has one peculiarity which should be noted. It is, in effect, a translation cum commentary; the translator chose occasionally to throw in little comments on the meaning of the maxim as he saw it. Thus in comparison with other Newari versions (such as mss. b and c) which are sometimes cryptically short, our version is almost verbose. We have left in all these comments wherever they occur.

Our translation into English falls in between a completely literal, and thus often incomprehensible rendering, and a literary one. We have used the original phrasings unless they proved too awkward for clear understanding.

The *Cāṇakya Sār Saṃgraha* is one of the richest available sources for a study of the development of medieval written Newari; so many copies are available from different periods that it would be possible to trace the development of grammar and vocabulary through a study of a series of chronologically spaced versions. Perhaps we shall have the opportunity to work on such a project in the future; at this time, however, we merely present a simple English translation of our main text, with occasional notes referring to other versions.

Our thanks go to all those who helped us on this little project, most of all to Mahesraj Pant of the Nepal Research Center, who was unfailingly helpful with all our queries regarding the Sanskrit of our version.

Ian Alsop

Prem Bahadur Kansakar

II. Table of Concordance

The following table lists the edited versions of the maxims found in Sternbach's *Mahāsubhāṣita Saṅgraha* and *Cāṇakya Rāja Nīti*. The former is listed, with volume number and maxim number, with the abbreviation MSS. The latter is abbreviated CRN, with maxim number. We unfortunately did not obtain a copy of the edited *Cāṇakya Sār Saṅgraha* in Sternbach's CTT (Vol. I, part 1, pp. 219 ff.) soon enough to thoroughly check the correspondance with our text (ms. a. on which our translation is based), but from a quick examination it appears that the order of the maxims is congruent in the two editions with the following exception: Maxims nos. 141 and 142 in our text appear as 2.99 and 2.100 in the CTT; thus maxims nos. 143-200 in our text appear as nos. 2.41 - 2.98 in the CTT (Sternbach uses a different numbering system from ours, numbering by the hundreds; thus 2.41 means second hundred, no. 41, ie. 141).

Equivalents and variants of original Sanskrit ślokas

our text no.	CRN text no.	MSS text no (and vol.)
1	1	
2		1127-I
3	2	
7	269	
8	121	
16	193	1240-I & 5300-III
19		1712-I
20	41	
25	76	
31	136	
46	78	
51		5705-III
52	229	
53	84	
54	219	

our text no.	CRN text no.	MSS text no (and vol.)
55	213	
56	220	
57	228	
58	234	5156-III
59	226	
60	224	
61	222	
62	223	
63	235	
64	21	
65	203	
66	205	
67	208	
68	209	
69	210	
70	189	
71	200	
72	201	4903-III
73	196	
74	218	3148-II
75	180	
76	194 perhaps.	
82	38	1315-I
89		201-I
91	172*	
92	27	
93		4439-III
97		830-I
101	251	
102	242	
104	134	
105	10	
106	152	
107	143	
108	144	
109	135	
110	142	
111	132	
112	131	
113	133	
114		
115		198-I
116		4524-III
117	30	
118	65	
119	91	2858-II
121		1332-I
	11	

our text no.	CRN text no.	MSS text no. (and vol.)
122	12	
123	13	
124	14	
125	15	
126	16	
127	17	3402-II
128	18	
129		2520-II
131	147	
132	148	
136		1177-I
138		2991-II
141		4108-II
143		3517-II
146		621-I
151	215	3690-II
152		3671-II
159		479-I
161		398-I
167		2529-II
172	191	
181	164	
192		8845-II
199	120	
200		24-I
201	141	
207	204	
214		1043-I
215	71	
216		5784-III
218		3465-II
220	174	
226	167	
231	214	
232	202	
237	127	
240	137	
244		3558-II
246	123	
247	124	
248	267	
249	187	
252	195	
253	26	
255	166	
256	108	

our text no.	CRN text no.	MSS text no. (and vol.)
261	118	
262	113	
266	240	
269	24	
277	245	
279	37	
287		
288		5018-II
289	99	211-I
294	271	202-I
297		200-I
300		1724-I
		3741-II

III. On abbreviations used in the translation and notes:
(Please see references for full descriptions of publications and manuscripts)

CRN	<i>Cāṇakya Rāja Nīti</i>
CTT	<i>Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition</i>
J	Jorgensen's <i>Dictionary of the Classical Newārī</i>
JG	Jorgensen's <i>Grammar of the Classical Newārī</i>
MSS	<i>Mahā Subhāṣita Saṁgrahaḥ</i>
SED	<i>Student's Sanskrit English Dictionary</i>
ms a, ms b, ms c	manuscript sources

lit. literal translation

PBK source of gloss etc., Prem Bahadur Kansakar

new. Newari

skt. Sanskrit

(?) uncertain translation or gloss

() parentheses in the translation indicate words and phrases not in the original added for the sake of clarity, or transliterations of words from the Newari text for reference.

Diacritical marks have not been used in the body of the translation. Unless otherwise noted, references to the mss. in the notes refer to the Newari. We have made no changes in the orthography of either the Newari or the Sanskrit when quoting directly from the mss.

IV. Translation

Canakya Sar Samgraha

Sri Sri Ganeshaya nama:

1. Saluting Lord Visnu, Ruler of the three worlds, I shall present this collection of state policies,¹¹ selected from many shastra-s.

2. If a man studies this shastra and fully grasps its meaning, he will surely know what is righteous and what is unrighteous, what is good work and what is evil work, what is auspicious and what is inauspicious.

3. I speak from a desire to benefit men: this shastra will benefit any intelligent man who learns it just as a child is cared for by its mother.

4. Canakya Rishi first declares the root sutra: whoever learns this shastra, he shall know past, present and future as does the Lord.

5. Whoever gives instruction to a foolish student, gives ornaments to a woman of bad character, or negotiates with war-like enemies, even though he is intelligent, he will suffer.

6. Whoever keeps the company of virtuous men, holds discussions with learned pandits, and makes friends with men of good breeding will never suffer.
7. He who puts his trust in madmen, serpents, drunkards, elephants, women and kings will die young.¹²
8. A man who wishes to trust his enemies is like a man who goes to sleep at the top of a tree; only when he falls down will he wake up.
9. A man should abandon timidity¹³ wherever wealth is made, wherever grain is made and wherever the shastra-s are studied; nor should he be timid in his manners or when eating.
10. The guru is the mother the guru is the father¹⁴ (but) a guru greater even than mother and father is the teacher by whose grace one is enabled to cross this ocean called Sansara.
11. The mother is like the Ganga tirtha, the father is like the Puskar tirtha, and the guru is like the Kedar tirtha.¹⁵ Knowing this, a man must serve mother, father and guru.
12. An ugly man's beauty is learning, an ascetic's beauty is compassion, the cuckoo's beauty is its voice, and a woman's beauty is her faithfulness to her husband.
13. There is no kinsman greater than knowledge, no enemy greater than disease, no affection greater than that of sons' and daughters', and no strength greater than god.

14. In foreign lands knowledge is a friend, in the house a wife is a friend, in disease medicine is a friend, and in the next world righteousness¹⁶ is a friend.

15. If one does not practice for a long time knowledge is like a poison; when one has indigestion food is a poison; if one is poor one's peers are poison; and for an old man a young wife is poison.

16. Knowledge without practice will soon be lost laughing at the wrong time spoils a woman, sowing bad seed ruins the field, and bad servants ruin the king.

17. The family of a man whose son is neither intelligent, bold, nor learned is as dark as a moonless night.

18. The lamp of the night is the Moon, the resplendent lamp of the day is the Sun, the lamp of the three worlds is righteousness, and the lamp of the family is the good son.

19. He who gave you life, he who maintains you, he who teaches you knowledge, he who feeds you when you have nothing to eat and he who saves you from fear and danger: these five you must regard as your father.

20. The guru's wife, the king's wife, a friend's wife, your mother-in-law and your own mother: these five you must regard as your mother.

21. A father should let his son do as he likes until the age of five; until the age of ten he should teach him by threatening and scolding him; when he has reached the age of sixteen, he should treat him as a friend.

22. If a son or a student is allowed to act as he likes, he will have many faults; but if he is taught by rebuke, he will have many virtues. For this reason he should be disciplined,¹⁷ he should not be allowed to act as he pleases.

23. Whoever takes an interest in learning and practices what he learns, for him there is no need of great intellect. Again, for him who neither takes an interest nor practices, what's the use of intellect?¹⁸

24. An intelligent man will make his son versed in the shastras; if the son knows the shastras he will know ethics and become wise; he will be respected by all.

25. Canakya Rishi said to his son: "My dear son, why be lazy? Learn the shastras! If you do not read and learn the shastras, you will surely become a coolie. If you know the shastras, even the king will respect you. Knowing this, study the shastras daily!"

26. Strive for virtue.¹⁹ What is the use of wearing only ornaments? A cow that wears a bell but gives no milk won't fetch a good price. Just so.

27. Beauty is the ornament of man, virtue is the ornament of beauty, wisdom is the ornament of virtue, and compassion is the ornament of wisdom.

28. If you need to enquire about a man, ask not about his beauty, but about his virtue; not about his family, but about his character. Ask not about his knowledge, but about his personal power; ask not whether he was wealthy, but whether he enjoys what he has.²⁰

29. In a man of no virtue, beauty is wasted; in a man without good character, good breeding is wasted; without personal power, knowledge is wasted; without enjoyment, wealth is wasted.

30. The ornament of beauty is virtue; the ornament of good breeding is good character; the ornament of knowledge is personal power; the ornament of wealth is enjoyment.

31. A young girl should be given in marriage to a good family, a son should be made versed in the shastras, an enemy should be encouraged in his vices, and a friend should be shown the Dharma.²¹

32. To a man of skillful means even Mount Sumeru is not too high, nor the underworld too deep, nor the oceans too wide. If a man exerts himself, nothing is difficult.

33. It is sufficient to learn by heart only one verse of the shastras per day without fail, or even one line or one letter. In giving alms also, it is enough to give one dam²² per day.

34. If he continues on his way without being impatient²³ a tiny ant can traverse one thousand yojanas.²⁴ But even a garuda will lag behind if he sits around without moving. With effort an ant can overcome a garuda.

35. In making wealth, learning knowledge, climbing a mountain, and doing the Dharma, it is best to go slowly, rather than be impatient and hurry.

36. There are three ways to obtain knowledge: by rendering service to a guru, by giving wealth to a guru, or by exchanging knowledge. There is no fourth way.

37. A man should respect as a guru anyone who teaches him even one letter. He who does not do this will be reborn one hundred times as a dog; after that he will be reborn as an outcaste.

38. Shastras learned only by looking at books, without learning from a guru, will not be complete.²⁵ Just as a child born of a lover will have no splendor at the court, so it is with knowledge without a guru.

39. A carpenter's business, a stonecutter's business, panditry, friendship and right effort:²⁶ these five are an imperishable treasure no thief can steal.

40. None is superior by birth; one is superior by virtue alone. Though ghee comes from milk, it is superior to milk and curd.²⁷

41. Though a man is born into a good family, even that of a raja,²⁸ if he has no virtue his breeding is totally useless. But a virtuous man is respected by all.

42. Why only take life in a great family, without having learning and virtue?²⁹ If a man is intelligent and learns the wisdom of the shastras, he will be respected as a god, even though born to a lowly family.

43. Learning is the same as a boat. As long as the river has not been crossed, there will be a need for the boat; but when the crossing is completed, the boat is useless.

44. Virtue is worshipped everywhere; in this, there is no distinction between father and son. Because of his

excellence, Lord Krisna is worshipped by all; none worships his father Basudev, for he was without virtue.

45. Everyone flocks to a man endowed with virtue. Just as the bee goes to perch on the Kaytaki flower,³⁰ attracted by its scent, so men go to a virtuous man.

46. (The power of) knowledge and (the power of) a king are not alike. A king is respected only within his kingdom, but a learned man is respected wherever he goes.

47. A single son of learned and noble disposition is more than enough. Just as the moon alone gives light to the night, so such a son will brighten the family.

48. Some men are vessels full of knowledge, others are vessels full of wealth. Some men have both learning and wealth, others have neither.

49. Just as a tree bearing fruit bows down, so does the man of knowledge bow down. It is only the fool who, like a dry branch, does not bow down; if one bends such a branch, it will break.

50. These four things should not be done at dusk: eating, love-making, sleeping and studying.

51. If a man eats at dusk, he will become ill; if he makes love at dusk, a hard and mean child will be born; if he sleeps at dusk his wealth will be ruined; and if he studies at dusk his life will be shortened.

52. The king should appoint as Royal Priest (Purohit) a brahmin who knows the vedas, vedanga and shastras, knows how to perform jap and Hom³¹ and likes to give blessings.

53. A man who is intelligent, charming, above mean actions, who is generous to the worthy and for whom pleasure and pain are the same, should be made King.

54. A virtuous man of good family and good character, faithful and truthful, intelligent and clever, and knowledgeable in matter of polity, should be made King.

55. A man who is bad-tempered, corrupt, greedy, stupid, and who spends without regard to income should not be made King.

56. A man who is always patient, who knows how to test any kind of jewel, who is upright and who is always prepared to make an effort should be appointed Judge (Sabhāpati)³² by the king.

57. The king should make physician (Vaidya) a man who has learned and practiced all the medicine shastras, who is skilled in diagnosis and treatment, popular, virtuous and of good character.

58. The king should appoint as cook (Suvāla) a man who knows the shastras known by his ancestors, who knows how to prepare and serve tasty food, and who does not find it difficult to be neat and clean.

59. The king should appoint as scribe (Lekhak) a man who understands a matter when it is stated once, who writes swiftly and beautifully, and who has studied all the shastras.

60. The king should appoint as guard or gatekeeper (Charidār)³³ a man who can understand signals, is strong but not haughty, popular and competent.

61. A man who knows all the shastras, who is intelligent, untiring, patient and brave should be made Commander (Senāpati).

62. The King should appoint as Master of Horse (Asvavār) a man who knows the horse shastras, who can train horses, and who is brave and bold.

63. The King should appoint as Ambassador (Dūta) a man who is polite, well spoken, intelligent, patient, capable of convincing others³⁴ and who reports matters accurately.

64. I shall describe the qualities of both kings and servants. Whoever increases the king's treasury, he should be made Storekeeper (Bhaṇḍāri).

65. The work of a man who gives the job of storekeeper to a man of good family will never be ruined, neither in its beginning, middle, nor end.

66. A pandit will have all virtues and wisdom, a fool will only have defects and ignorance. Thus it is good to dismiss a thousand fools and select a single wise man.

67. The king will obtain three advantages from work handed over to an intelligent man: these are glory, wealth and heaven.

68. The king will obtain three disadvantages from work handed over to a fool: these are infamy, the ruination of wealth and hell after death.

69. Knowing these things, in order to increase righteousness, wealth and pleasure (dharma, artha, kāma), the king must give work to men of virtue and intelligence, and throw out fools.

70. If a man increases (the wealth and respect of) his king, no matter what work he does, the king should retain him as a servant.³⁵

71. Just as gold is tested by beating it, cutting it and heating it, so a man must be tested by his family, his character and his work.

72. The loyalty of servants is tested by ordering work; kinsmen are tested by times of trouble; friends are tested by great difficulties; and a wife's loyalty is tested when the money runs out.

73. There are both good and bad servants; a king must use them according to their quality. To the good, good work must be given, to the middling, middling work, and to the bad, bad work.

74. The king should dispose of any servant who is lazy, talkative, harsh, obstinate, corrupt, haughty, disloyal or unsatisfied with what he is given.

75. Servants should abandon a cruel king; or worse, a miserly king; or even worse, a king without discrimination. Service rendered to a thoughtless king is service wasted.

76. The wife who is absent in times of difficulty, the foolish son, the servant who ignores orders and relatives without affection: only if all these are abandoned will a man be happy.

77. There is no one who *is* a friend, no one who *is* loving; friends and enemies become so by their actions.

78. The people will be devoted to those who are useful, not those who devote themselves to the gods.³⁶ A calf will desert the cow if she gives no milk; just so.

79. Where is the sleep of the corrupt, the love-pleasure of the unsatisfied, the happiness of the poor, the mercy of a wicked man? These are nowhere to be found.

80. The strength of the weak is the king, the strength of children is tears, the strength of fools is silence, the strength of the thief is lies.

81. Where is the respect of a thief, the mercy of a wicked man, the affection of a prostitute, or the truthfulness of a loose woman?³⁷

82. The orphan, the pauper, the old man, the ascetic, and he who has been wronged; for these there is no one to turn to but the king.³⁸

83. He who is diseased, he who is penniless, he who has been threatened by enemies, he whose heart has been rent by sorrow; for these the best medicine is to look upon the face of a friend.

84. Whenever you are ill, in trouble, without anything to eat, quarreling with enemies, living at the palace gate,³⁹ or faced with a death: in such times, whoever thinks of you and cares for you is your friend and brother.

85. A man's purity lies in his attitude.⁴⁰ For instance a man kisses both his wife and his daughter; the act is the same, only the attitude is different.

86. God is not in wood nor stone nor clay. Wherever there is faith, there resides God. Thus attitude is great.

87. The god of the student is the guru; the god of the guru is wisdom; the god of a woman is her husband; the god of all people is the brahman.

88. Consider the brahman as fire; consider the guru as a god; consider the mother as the earth; consider the friend as a dear son.

89. The brahman's guru is fire; the guru of the four classes is the brahman; the woman's guru is her husband; the guest is the guru of all.

90. Whether he be high or low caste, when a guest comes to beg at the house, a man should respect and worship him; for the guest is the guru of all.

91. Worship the gods by devotion; worship a servant by giving him money; worship the sudra by benevolence; worship the brahman by salutations.

92. The source of Dharma is the king, the source of asceticism is the brahman. Wherever the brahman is worshipped the dharma is perpetuated.

93. Dharma is increased by good conduct, wealth is accumulated through good conduct. By good conduct success is achieved, welfare is also due to good conduct. Knowing this a man must make good his conduct. Good conduct is the basis of the family.⁴¹

94. To be able to eat, having good things to eat; to be able to make love, having a good woman to make love with;

to be able to give, having wealth:⁴² know these to be the fruits of great penances.

95. From childhood a man must practice righteousness, for this life is not permanent; just as the ripe fruit falls so when the day comes this body will also fall.

96. Through pride righteousness is dissipated, through bad temper the fruits of penance are exhausted, without resolution wisdom is lost, and through lack of attention words of wisdom though heard are wasted.

97. If the fire does not catch the oblation is wasted; grain eaten without a witness is wasted; a daughter given away for money is wasted; food cooked only for oneself is wasted.

98. If a man did not give gifts and donations in his past life he will be poor, diseased, troubled, confined and corrupt in this life. To avoid this one must do the dharma and give donations.

99. A man with no taste for righteousness will be, as the empty husk among the paddy, as a runt⁴³ among the animals completely useless.

100. Knowing this world is impermanent, a man must act meritoriously both day and night, seeking the company of the righteous and avoiding the company of the wicked.

Thus the first hundred of Cāṇakya's collection of essentials.

101. The eyes of the wise are the shastras, the eyes of the king are state policies, the eyes of the Brahman are the vedas, and the eyes of other men are their good characters.

102. If the king is righteous, the people will also be righteous; if the king is sinful, the people will also be sinful; if the king does evil work, the people also will do evil work. As the king is, so the people shall be; so the king must be good.

103. Enterprise, boldness, patience, strength, wisdom and prowess: even the gods will fear a man with these six qualities.

104. The king must destroy his enemies by using conciliation, bribery, action, division and strength.⁴⁴

105. There are five signs of a king; he is generous to the deserving, he is a lover of virtue, he socializes with his followers, he understands and believes the shastras,⁴⁵ and he is a great warrior in battle.

106. Great men are won over by respect; the valiant are won over by division; the greedy are won over by giving money; equals are won over by prowess.

107. Without giving away one's own weaknesses to others, one must destroy (through) others' weaknesses. Just as the tortoise watches from within its shell, one must watch out for others' hostility.⁴⁶

108. Any work (under consideration) should be kept only in the mind; the mouth should say nothing. If the work is kept as secret as a mantra, it will be successful.

109. Help should be accepted even if from an enemy. When one is stuck with a thorn it is often necessary to stab with the thorn itself to remove it.

110. When you are in trouble, you should even carry your enemy on your shoulders. When in a good position, destroy your enemy just as you break a pitcher by thrashing it on a rock.

111. Hey, talkative one! Why do you speak harshly? All people like friendly speech; so speak sweet words, not bitter words.

112. Having wealth, friends and relatives all depends upon the tongue;⁴⁷ ruination and bondage are also due to the tongue. Thus one must make good one's words.

113. One must always speak in friendly phrases with everyone, for all men are pleased by friendly words. Knowing this, never be poor in words.

114. Setting fire to another's house, giving poison to another, killing another by arms, stealing another's wealth, abducting another's woman, seizing another's land: he who does even one among these six is a hienous criminal.

115. (Such) a criminal should be destroyed, even if he is a brahman who knows the vedas; anyone who kills such a man will not incur the penalty for killing a brahman.

116. The king protects his kingdom by maintaining truth and righteousness. With the help of truth and righteousness the king will be able to defeat (any) enemy. Knowing this, the king must rule his subjects in accordance with the dharma.⁴⁸

117. The king should consider his role⁴⁹ to be like that of a gardener. Just as the gardener plucks only the blossoming flowers, in the same way the king should not ruin his subjects; punishing only as the fault deserves, he should not pull up the roots.⁵⁰

118. Whoever cannot discern (the differences between) an enemy, a friend, a neutral, an old man and a guru, that man, wherever he goes, will know nothing but ruination.⁵¹

119. Any man who spends without regard to his income, who dares to fight in a place where there is no king, who eats indiscriminately when he is sick, will quickly be ruined.

120. The wise man should ponder the following questions from time to time: What is death? Who is a friend? What is a country? What comes in and what goes out? Who am I? What are my abilities?

121. Mankind should learn from other creatures, taking one virtue from the lion, one from the crane, four from the cock, five from the crow, six from the dog and three from the ass.

122. No matter whether a work be big or small, once it is started he is satisfied only when it has been completed. This virtue man should learn from the lion.

123. The crane, as long as he cannot act, keeps all his senses under strict control and stays quiet. When an opportunity comes, he acts immediately. The intelligent man should take this quality from the crane.

124. He rises early, fights with his enemies, holds discussions with knowledgeable kinsmen, and when it is time

to eat he dines with his wives and children. These four qualities should be learned from the cock.

125. He can eat much when food is available but is satisfied with a little when it is not, he goes to sleep immediately and wakes up immediately, he is brave and devoted to his master; these six virtues man should learn from the dog.

126. He makes love with his woman in secret, he knows the right time for collecting,⁵² he is cunning and never negligent, and he lives and moves about with his kinsmen. These five qualities man should learn from the crow.

127. He carries loads without tiring, he tolerates both heat and cold, he is satisfied with whatever is available. These three virtues man should learn from the ass.

128. A man with these twenty qualities will be victorious over any kind of enemy; no one will be able to defeat him.

129. A man who is not a fool keeps his opinions to himself, and keeps his mouth shut. For if malevolence is allowed to spread within a group, fighting will surely break out.

130. In the ocean there lived a bird called the Bhairunda, which had eight heads but only one stomach. Because the heads of this bird took one another to be enemies, it died. Thus it is never good to make enemies among fellows.

131. When a man is in trouble he should respectfully approach any kind of person for help. In the past, Sri Ramcandra enlisted the help of a monkey and a bear to end his difficulties.

132. There should be no distinction between those who are 'big' and those who are 'small'. With the help of mere monkeys, Sri Ram bridged a mighty ocean. If they are united even a small race can succeed in a great task.

133. King Yudhistira said to Duryodhana: "Hey, Duryodhana, you are one hundred brothers, we are only five brothers. Now we are quarreling because of enmity. But if we must fight other enemies, we should fight in union, combining your hundred with our five."

134. One should finish off an enemy by cutting⁵³ or division. The wise man must see this, for an enemy will never come over to one's side; no matter what one does, an enemy will always be an enemy.

135. The fever of man is anxiety, the fever of the horse is love-making, the fever of a woman is to be unmarried, and the fever of clothes is sunlight.

136. A man who walks too much will become quickly old, a horse who is not walked enough will become quickly old, a woman who cannot make love becomes old quickly, and if a horse makes love too much he will become old quickly.

137. For a man, trouble is to live under the control of others. Worse than this is to live without shelter. Even worse than this is to be first rich and then poor.

138. A man who always hankers after money, a man who is always sick, a man without wisdom, a man who always lives in a foreign country, and a man who is another's servant: these five, though living, should be called dead, or those who only suffer.

139. Even though a man is as great as Indra, if he always goes to another man's house to eat, he will be taken very lightly.⁵⁴

140. Even though he be the equal of Indra, if a man eats another's grain, wears another's clothes, drinks another's drink, takes another's wife, and rents another's house, his wealth will be destroyed.

141. (The state of) the common man who has no gold things,⁵⁵ the house without milk or curd, and (the house) where husband and wife quarrel, are exactly the same as hell.

142. Thighs as thick as Ramchandra's, footsteps as loud as Laksman's and hair as thick as Sita's: those having these signs will suffer.

143. Learned men without wealth, men without sons and daughters, and widows should be considered impure.⁵⁶

144. In this world everyone worships wealth without worshipping the body. If an outcaste has great wealth, then even he is called a great man.

145. The dharma is founded on wealth; in this world, those without wealth are the same as dead. Only those who have wealth should truly be called living.

146. Even if one has many possessions there is always the fear of ruination. Just as a high mountain struck by lightning can fall down, so riches can disappear.

147. A man who eats everything will never recognize what shouldn't be eaten; a man who is always sick will never

be happy; there will be no happiness in a house where the wife is unsatisfied.⁵⁷

148. Under what conditions will a man suffer? If he lives under another's control. Under what conditions will he be happy? If he lives as he chooses. These two are the signs of happiness and suffering.

149. If there is a good harvest the farmer will be happy; he who is free from illness will also be happy; there will be happiness in the house of a man whose wife is under his control.

150. Suffering follows happiness, happiness follows suffering. The happiness and suffering of mankind spin like the potter's wheel.

151. Whenever many fools are gathered together talk of wisdom and virtue is wasted. Just as the rays of the sun are obscured by a thick fog, (so where there are many fools wisdom is obscured).

152. Through association with wicked men, even the best of men becomes the worst. It is just like a wine-selling woman carrying milk in her hand; people will still say she carries wine.

153. Through the fault of associating with lesser men, a noble man will be lessened (in the minds of others). In the dark a level road will seem to be uneven; just so.

154. What man will not be made great by association with virtuous men? If a garland is made of grass and flowers, the grass will rest on the head along with the flowers.

155. By mere association alone a nature cannot be changed. Though the pit lies with the mango, it will never be sweet.⁵⁸

156. Even though one mixes a bitter citrus⁵⁹ with sugar and pours in milk and honey as well, the citrus will not become sweet. Even through association its nature cannot be lost.

157. Knowledge in books and wealth in another's hand are the same; when there is work to be done, both are useless.

158. Friends living far away and loveless associates are useless; when they are needed they are nowhere to be seen.

159. Flowers growing in the depths of the forest and kinsmen living far away are never there (when needed). They are just like something painted on a wall.

160. Words without wisdom and a man without destiny⁶⁰ are as useless as ghee poured into ashes.

161. The fighting of goats, sraddha (mourning ceremonies) for Rishi-s, the quarrels of couples and the morning fog; these four are useless.

162. Service done to a miser, love-making done by a sick man, the vedas read by a brahman full of faults;⁶¹ all these are useless.

163. A wise man should marry a girl of high birth, even though she is ugly. It is not suitable to marry a girl of low caste even though she is beautiful. Or, (If marriage into a higher caste is impossible), then marry the daughter of an equal.

164. It is good to extract nectar even if it is found in poison. Even if gold rests in an impure place, it should be extracted. True knowledge should be learned even from those of low caste. If a woman is excellent⁶² it is good to take her, even if she is of low caste.

165. Whose is the family without fault? Who has not been struck by disease? Who has not known suffering? Who has wealth and property forever?

166. Every man has both virtues and vices; though the lotus is soft, its stem is rough.

167. The nectar of winter is fire; the nectar of rice is milk rice (kṣīr); a virtuous wife is nectar; the chatter of small children is nectar. These are all the same as nectar.

168. Natural speech, the merciful master, the wife who does well for her husband and the man who can speak friendly words: all these are rare in the world.

169. The Ganges is the best of all rivers; the faithful wife is the best of all women; the king is the greatest of men; and one's own country is the best of nations.⁶³

170. Though he has sons, grandsons, servants and maid-servants, the house of a man without a wife is like a dark forest.

171. Of all the gems, an excellent woman⁶⁴ is the greatest. Without such a woman, what is the use of wealth alone?

172. A misbehaved woman will ruin her household, a bad son will ruin his family, a bad minister will ruin the king, and thieves will ruin the kingdom.

173. Women have a thousand vices and only three virtues. These three are: to conserve wealth and property, bear sons, and abandon life together with their husbands.

174. What does the wise man not see? What is there a crow will not eat? What will a woman not do? What will a drunkard not say?

175. One needs a wife to bear sons, one needs a son to offer funeral balls,⁶⁵ one needs friends for one's welfare. For one's own sake these are needed.

176. The earth is surrounded by the oceans, a house is surrounded by walls, a king is surrounded by his country, a woman is surrounded by her own character.

177. A house is protected neither by its walls, nor by the brothers that live within it, not by any kind of fortification. It is only by the good character of a noble woman that a house is protected.

178. A river can destroy its banks, a woman can bring down her family. Both river and woman take their liberty; they don't care that they have destroyed their families.⁶⁶

179. A creeper will climb the tree in front of it; a king will take anyone near him to be his servant;⁶⁷ a woman will cling to any man before her; thus it is, no need for doubt.

180. Neither a man blind from birth, nor a proud man, nor a passionate man, nor a money-hungry man shall ever see anything: these are all the same as blind men.

181. Digestible grain is good; the wife whose youth has passed is good; if one is brave, to go to war, win and return is good; and if the crops are always brought into one's own house it is good.

182. Wealth (Lakṣmī) with an unlucky man, wisdom (Saraswati) with a man of low birth, and a woman who is addicted to worthless men: all these are as useless as the rain Indra sends upon (a barren) mountain.

183. If a wife is ugly, quarrelsome, and talks back, her husband will look like an old man even if he is still young.

184. If a wife is beautiful, obedient, and always talks softly and lovingly, her husband, though penniless, will be just like a rich man.

185. The body of a man whose wife always scolds like a barking dog in his house will suffer much, drying up like a lotus shrivelled by the winter.

186. If a man's wife takes care of him⁶⁸ as does a mother, his body will grow just as the moon grows in the bright half.

187. What's the use of having many sons if they only cause suffering and anxiety? One son is enough, if he is a good son and can support his family.

188. A man who has one wife, three sons, two pairs of bulls, ten cows, and a daughter late in life⁶⁹ will never be disappointed.

189. When one has many sons, one son will go to Gaya. From him will come as much merit as the horse sacrifice or the freeing of a blue bull.⁷⁰

190. If fire catches on one dry tree the whole forest will burn; in the same way, one wicked son can ruin an entire family.

191. The fragrant flowers blooming on one tree perfume the whole forest; one good son improves an entire family.

192. For a man who has obedient and loyal sons, wife and servants, and sufficient wealth as well, this earth is heaven.

193. The son who is obedient to the father is the true son, the father who supports his son is the true father, the trustworthy friend is the true friend, and the obedient wife is the true wife.

194. One should call truly alive a man who makes friends with brahmans and is devoted to brahmans. Otherwise any creature with breath could be called truly alive.⁷¹

195. A man of virtue and righteousness should be called truly alive. Living is pointless for a man without virtue or righteousness.

196. A man who has wisdom (Saraswati) in his words, who has a beautiful wife and who is capable of generosity;⁷² such a man is truly living successfully.

197. Righteousness, finance, pleasure and salvation (Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mokṣa);⁷³ if among these four a man is

without (knowledge of) even one, he is a man without consciousness: he is like a dead man, his life is meaningless.

198. The body of a man without truth or righteousness, who passes his time doing nothing, will become as tattered as the clothing of a blacksmith.

199. It is right to speak of the virtues of an enemy, or of the faults of a guru. That which is suitable⁷⁴ should always be spoken; that which is unsuitable should never be spoken, even of a guru.

200. A man should never do that which is not to be done, even when his life has reached his throat; even then he should do what is right.

Here the second hundred of Canakya's collection of essentials.

201. When the time is right, make a treaty with an enemy; when the time is right, one must quarrel with a friend. The wise man should know the time according to the work.

202. It is by time that all creatures are both created and destroyed. Though we may be asleep, time always keeps watch. So man must never ignore time.

203. In time the seed is planted, in time the fruit follows. In time there is creation, in time there is destruction.

204. Time carries away the sky, the directions, the earth, the water, the sun and moon, fire and the wind; thus time is greater than all of these.⁷⁵

205. To speak in a place where there is no one to listen is as useless as a washerman in a place inhabited only by naked ascetics.

206. A fire put in a plantain forest will be wasted, for it will not catch; in the same way, to talk of virtue with men without discrimination is a waste.

207. At the time of the apocalypse the oceans shall forsake their bounds; but the great man, even at the apocalypse, remains stable.

208. At the end of the kalpa⁷⁶ even Mount Sumeru will move abroad, and the seas will divide. But great men will never be unstable.

209. Women are restless, brahmans do penances, men of low caste speak mean words, and the great man is compassionate.

210. He who shows respect to a noble man will feel peace and joy,⁷⁷ but even if one shows one hundred kinds of benevolence to a wicked man, nothing good will come of it.

211. It is good to instruct an intelligent man with the shastras, but to attempt such a thing with a fool is just like lighting a lamp in front of a blind man.

212. A good man, like the coconut, is hard on the outside and tender on the inside; a wicked man, like the berry, is lovely on the outside and hard on the inside.

213. Sandalwood is cool and pleasant, and so is the light of the moon. But far more cool and pleasant than either of these is the company of a noble man.

214. The lower type of man thirsts for wealth, the middle type of man thirsts for love, and the best type of man thirsts for honor. For a great man, honor is wealth.

215. Flies desire wounds, kings desire wealth, mean men desire quarrels and good men desire peace.

216. The ordinary run of men desire wealth, women desire beauty, intelligent men desire offspring and ascetics desire heaven.

217. By much suffering wealth is obtained, by much greed, happiness is obtained; (but) a good man never does anything to cause trouble to others.⁷⁸

218. A wise man will not do work which is impossible, evil, useless or mean.

219. A ruby will not be found on every mountain, nor will every elephant carry a pearl.⁷⁹ Just so there will not be a sandalwood tree in every forest nor a good man is every place.

220. (The statesman)⁸⁰ should carefully plan the affairs of others while finishing off his personal affairs quickly. Ignoring mean work, he should devote his strength to affairs of state.

221. The work of the lowly will disappear as soon as it is done, like words writ on water. But the work of the great, like letters inscribed on stone, cannot be erased.

222. Great men will have both troubles and riches. Others will have neither.

223. Satisfy Mahadeo by (offering) the Arka leaf,⁸¹ satisfy Candrama by (offering) clothes, satisfy Lord Visnu by remembrance, satisfy the great man by salutation.

224. Those who write, those who read, those who know the shastras are all fools. Whoever is engaged in the work of the Lord is truly a pandit.

225. Trade in ???,⁸² trade in horses, the service of kings, and asceticism; these four are the work of steady and intelligent men. Cowards will only work in the fields.

226. Whoever desires wealth (should) do business, whoever desires knowledge should study the shastras, whoever desires a son should make love with his wife when she is fertile, and whoever desires honor should serve the king.

227. A face blooming like a lotus, words as sweet and soft as sandalwood and a heart like a saw: these are the signs of a rogue.

228. Never believe what a wicked man says. Though his mouth speaks words sweet as honey, his heart is as black as poison.

229. A wicked man will always see the faults of others, though they are as small as the mustard seed; his own faults, as large as the bel fruit, he will hide.

230. Seeing a rich but worthless fool, even if he is far away, is just like seeing the blossom of the Lahasi plant.⁸³

231. Avoid a fool. Distinctly a beast, he speaks words (which) strike (like) arrows. Like an unseen thorn,

impossible to find, he is (nothing but) trouble.⁸⁴

232. Serpents are vicious, and so are wicked men, but a wicked man is worse than a serpent; for a serpent can be controlled by mantras, but a wicked man cannot be controlled by any means.

233. One must keep a distance of 1000 ku-s⁸⁵ from an elephant, one hundred ku-s from a horse, and ten ku-s from any horned beast. As for a wicked man, one will be free only when he has quit the country.

234. One should avoid a wicked man even if he knows the shastras. Such a man is as dangerous as a serpent adorned with a jewel.

235. (When) with an elephant carry a goad, when with a horse carry a whip, when with a horned beast, carry a stick; when with a wicked man, carry a sword.

236. The worthy and the unworthy are like the cow and the serpent; the cow eats only grass and pours forth milk; but even if you give it milk to drink, the serpent will only pour out poison.

237. Never nourish an enemy, considering him unimportant. Just as a tiny flame can reduce an entire haystack to ashes, so even a weak enemy can destroy everything when he has a chance.

238. A wall-eyed man will have sixty faults, a brown-eyed man will have eighty faults, both a blind man and a lame man will have one hundred faults each, and there will be no counting the faults of the hunchback.⁸⁶

239. Avoid friendship with a wicked man, (even if you have) a treaty with him; such a man will ruin your work if you trust him.

240. That which is soft can destroy both that which is tender and that which is hard. There is nothing a soft thing cannot destroy; thus a soft thing is even harder than a hard thing.

241. If a fire ravages a forest the roots of the trees will remain; but if a river comes in flood, not even the roots of trees carried off will be left behind. So soft and cool things are dangerous.

242. One should keep one's distance from thick-haired bulls, women who talk too much and dry or blazing land.⁸⁷

243. Keep your distance from those who disclose private matters, mischief makers, those who talk of others' faults and men of quarrelsome nature.

244. Keep your distance from horse-carriages, mad elephants, cows who have just given birth and the women of the harem.⁸⁸

245. Avoid friendship with wicked men, a woman who sleeps with other men, old cows and tattered clothes.

246. Never trust anyone, friend or foe. Even a friend, if he becomes angry, may disclose all the things told to him in confidence.

247. Trust neither an untrustworthy man nor a trustworthy man. Trusting another is dangerous, for if matters told in confidence should leak out, even the roots of a work may be destroyed. Thus never trust anyone.

248. Never trust rivers, beasts with long claws, animals with horns, men bearing arms, women or kings.

249. A tree on the (banks of) a river, a woman without support and a king without ministers will not live long.

250. A man who desires long-lasting affection⁸⁹ should not do three things: gamble, borrow or lend money,⁹⁰ or visit women when their husbands are absent.

251. Never trust a wicked man, instigate a fight by tricks, lose your temper, or make an enemy of a friend.

252. An intelligent man should never render service to a king who has ministers with bad policies, a brahmin with a low caste wife, or a sannyasi who has broken his vows.

253. Never trust a wicked minister or sleep with a wicked woman; there will be no means of substinence in an evil kingdom, no living in a bad country.⁹¹

254. A thief will not have truthfulness, a brahman with a low-caste wife will not have purity, a drunkard will not have a good mind, and a gambler will not have any of these three.

255. Never go between two brahmans, a brahman and his fire, a man and his wife, a guru and his student, or Mahadeo and his bull.

256. Never gather in a place where there are no people, no festivals, no-one to protect men from danger, no king and no generous men.

257. Kohl will not be white, a very learned man will not be uncertain, a woman's wisdom will not be stable, and the fool will not speak Sanskrit.

258. Debts, fire and disease; let not even a bit of these remain, for they can always increase again.

259. Hurrying, quarreling, scratching, gambling, drinking, adultery, sleep, love-making and laziness: the more these are indulged in, the more they increase.

260. A man should throw out designs on another's woman or another's wealth, or impulses to speak evil of another or to laugh at a guru.

261. Avoid friends and associates who speak sweet words to your face and then ruin your work behind your back.⁹² Such men are like pitchers of poison with a layer of milk on the top.

262. A wise man should avoid for all time an evil country, a place of evil livelihood, women of bad character, bad rivers, wealth (earned by) unrighteous means and bad grain.

263. Though she is as beautiful as the heavenly apsaras Uvarshi, Rambha, Tiloktama, Gopali and Maynaka, if she is another man's wife she should be avoided.

264. If you have a chance to gain quick success in disrupting another's work, it is a great fault to do so if he is in trouble. A wise man avoids such action.⁹³

265. Loyalty and disloyalty, good work and evil work: consider these to be the same. When the time to act comes,

there will always be doubts; a wise man rids himself of these (doubts).⁹⁴

266. You should fear a wife of bad family, a king who destroys the service of others,⁹⁵ an intelligent enemy and a man whom you have harmed in the past.

267. Danger for a tree is the wind; danger for a lotus is the winter; danger for a mountain is lightning; danger for the beasts is man.

268. If your mother feeds you poison, if your father plans to sell you, if the king acts unjustly, from whom can you seek shelter?

269. What's the point of staying in a place where the king, the ministers and the priests all do the work of thieves? There is only fear from those who (should) protect.

270. Who can erase the letters written by the creator on the forehead? Even the gods cannot erase that which has been written.

271. Fate is great; indeed, why even possess wisdom? What wisdom does a stone have? Still it is respected as a god.⁹⁶ Its divinity is due to its fate.

272. Fortune is indeed great. Even though the great rishi Vishishta chose the auspicious moment for Sri Ram's marriage, Sita was still unfortunate.

273. When the winds of fate are favorable, even vices will be virtues; but when the god of fate is opposed, even virtues will be vices.

274. If a man is only wise, what's the use? He must go where his karma sends him. Even a man's wisdom is due to fate.

275. Alms-giving is the ornament of the hand; speaking the truth is the ornament of the throat; listening to the Dharma is the ornament of the ear. Wearing ornaments other than these is pointless.

276. A good character is the ornament of a woman, the ornament of a tree is its flowers, keeping to his duty⁹⁷ is the ornament of a man, and compassion is the ornament of the master.

277. The ornament of the lunar mansions is the moon, the ornament of a woman is her husband, the ornament of the earth is the king, and the ornament of all men is good character.

278. Insults from the great are better than respect from the mean. The naga Kali was made splendid by the trampling of Lord Krishna's feet.

279. Water on the ground is pure,⁹⁸ the faithful wife is pure, the merciful king is pure, and the satisfied brahman is pure.

280. Water springing from the ground is pure if it does not touch the ground (is not mixed with mud): wherever it may be, it is even more pure if it is flowing.⁹⁹

281. Clean a bronze vessel by rubbing it with ashes; clean a copper vessel by rubbing it with sour juice. A woman in (fertile) season¹⁰⁰ is clean, a swiftly flowing river is clean.

282. Give a place of pleasure to the father, a cooking pot (kitchen) to the mother; regard your life and the cow's as the same: field work, go to do yourself.¹⁰¹

283. If he drinks the milk of a brown cow, makes love with a Brahman woman, or studies the vedas, a Sudra will go to hell. He should not do these things.

284. If a Brahman eats food from the hand of a Sudra woman for a month, he will be a Sudra as long as he lives: when he dies he will be reborn as a dog.

285. A woman without good character, a meal without ghee, ornaments without clothes, and a Brahman without knowledge: these are all useless.¹⁰²

286. The ornament of the water is the lotus, the ornament of mankind is the brahman who performs penances,¹⁰³ the ornament of courage is the wound.

287. The joy¹⁰⁴ of the brahman is the sacrifice, the joy of fools is quarrels, the joy of a woman is her husband, the joy of the cow is grass.

288. As a result of learning the vedas the fire sacrifice should be performed; as a result of listening to the shastras one's character should be improved; as a result of making love with a woman a son should be born; as a result of having wealth one should enjoy it and give alms.¹⁰⁵

289. Fire burns by its heat, the sun burns by its rays, the king burns by punishment and the brahman burns by penances.

290. Rubbing the teeth with the point of a hemp plant, the flesh of a dead man, curd mixed in the hand or the index finger is the same as eating the flesh of a cow.

291. Do not kill, do not give the order to kill, and do not witness killing: if one avoids these three things, then it is permissible to eat meat, so Krisna told Yudhishtira.

292. Eating meat is not a vice, drinking liquor is not a vice, making love is not a vice; these are in the nature of man. But if a man is able to give these up, he gains much merit.

293. The same result is obtained by he¹⁰⁶ who gives alms on this earth surrounded by four oceans and he who renounces the eating of meat.

294. Fire, water, women, serpents, fools and kings: these six can demolish (a man's) life at once.

295. Dried meat, an old wife, the morning sun, new curd,¹⁰⁷ love-making in the morning and going to sleep in the morning: these six can end a man's life immediately.

296. A man's life is protected by (eating) freshly butchered meat and freshly made ghee, by (making love with) a young wife, by eating rice and milk, by drinking hot water and by staying in the shade of a tree.

297. Eight times better than grain is bread, eight times better than bread is milk, eight times better than milk is meat, and eight times better than meat is ghee.

298. Those who are obstinate, greedy, haughty, sensual and antagonistic towards the guru will be quickly ruined.

299. Cows, Brahmans, the vedas, Satis,¹⁰⁸ truthful men, men who are not greedy and generous men: these seven sustain the world.

300. If there are any things of permanence in this transitory world they are these: to live in Benares,¹⁰⁹ to associate with the virtuous, to take a bath in the Ganga and to worship Mahadeo. These are the essence of this world.

Here ends the third hundred of Canakya's collection of essentials. Samvat 874, the 10th of the bright half of Magh, Saturday: on this day it was written for Birsingh by Dhanajaya.

V. Notes

1. Ludwik Sternbach LL. D., *Cāṅakya Rāja-nīti*, pg.5-6.
2. The great Tibetan translator Rin chen bzan pa brought the Cāṅakya rāja-nītiśāstra to Tibet in the 10th or 11th c. along with a great stash of Buddhists works. See Pathak, *The Indian Nītiśāstra in Tibet*, pg. 27, and Sternbach, *Cāṅakya Rāja-nīti*, pg. 16.
3. Our text, for instance, shares many maxims with the Mahābhārata. See Sternbach, *Mahā Subhāṣita Saṃgraha*.
4. S.B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, reprint Shambhala Publications Inc., Berkeley, 1974, pg.193: Dasgupta paraphrases the Tattva Siddhi; "milk drunk by the snake results in poison and has the effect of nectar when drunk by others." Compare with maxim no. 236.
5. Sternbach, *Cāṅakya Rāja-nīti*, pg. 42.
6. Ludwik Sternbach, *Cāṅakya-Nīti-Tradition*, Vol. I, Part I, pg. CLXVII.
7. Sternbach, *Ibid.*, pg. CLXVII, CLXIX: the books are listed as: Bhoobun Chaund Dutt, *Bodhi Cāṅakya*, with Bengali and English Translation, Calcutta, 1888.

Johann Klatt, *De Trecentis Cāṅakya Poetae Indici Sententiis*, Halis Saxonum, 1873.

We have not been able to examine either of these editions.

8. These figures include manuscripts entitled Canakya-niti. The totals to date are: National Archives, eight Canakya Niti and 39 Canakya Sar Samgraha; Preservation Project, 67 Canakya Niti and 225 Canakya Sar Samgraha.

9. चानक्यप्रभृतिविद्याविद्यावदातसमस्ताराजनीतिरत्नाकर...
श्री जयजांतिमल्लदेवः from a stone inscription dated
N.S. 533 (B.S. 1469, A.D. 1413) at Pashupati.
Quoted by Nāyaraj Pant in his introduction to
गल्लीमा पयांकिरका कसिंगर, edited by Bholānāth
Paudel and Dhanabajra Bajrācārya, Jagadambā
Prakāśan, Lalitpur, B.S. 2018, pg. 32. Our thanks
to Mahesrāj Pant for the translation, and to Dinesh
Raj Pant for bringing the inscription to our atten-
tion. (The B.S. date is the one we were supplied;
thus the N.S. and A.D. dates are estimates).
10. See Sternbach, *Mahā Subhāṣita Saṁgraha*; the list of
variants for some maxims often cover half a page or
more. See also maxim no. 143, note, below.
11. ms. a राजनीति
12. ms. a आयुञ्जी शरीलन पिहां औनिञ्जी
lit; "life will go out from the body."
13. ms. a लज्या तीलते माल lit; "abandon shame"
ms. c राजकार्यं तीरते मार this could easily be misinter-
preted "abandon royal work" (!), but actually, due to
the transposition of la and ra in Newari, it is the
same as ms. a above; a good example of the problems
occasionally attending the many interchangeable
letters in Newari orthography.
14. ms. a: ग्वम्हया जुलसां माम घायं गुरू lit.; "the teacher should
be called the mother..." etc....
15. The Ganga tirtha refers to the Ganga River; the Puskar
tirtha refers to Puskar, sacred to Brahma, in Rajasthan;
the Kedar tirtha refers to Kedarnath, sacred to Siva,
near Garhwal, H.P.

16. mss. a, b, c: धर्म
17. ms. a: न्वाडाओ तय माल, lit.: "one must scold" (J. "nvaya (-t) v.t. ch-hm- yata, to blame, revile")
ms. b: तालडलपं तय माल lit.: "one must beat..."
18. both 'no need' and 'what's the use' in our translation are the same phrase in ms. a: कु प्रयोजन, lit.: "what use"
19. ms. a: गुण; widely used throughout the text, translated generally throughout as 'virtue'.
20. ms. a.: रूप 'form, or beauty'; गुण 'virtue'; कुल 'family' or 'good family'; शील 'character'; विद्या 'knowledge', or 'learning'; सिद्धि 'personal power' (this unorthodox translation seemed most suitable here; but perhaps 'accomplishment' would also be suitable). These words are common throughout the text.
21. ms. a: the verb in each phrase is the same; जोजलपे, (J- "to install, appoint, make versed in (the shastras)")
22. ms. a: अस्ताक्कि, one quarter of a paisa. The term अयताक्कि is still used today for a quarter of a pau.
23. ms. a: आस मबुस्य, "without being impatient..." J has "ās (M.) - buya (-t) to lose confidence". Our verb/ is perhaps different, but we suspect he has misinterpreted. The modern form is आय बुये "to be impatient" A modern proverb runs, आय बुयां काय बुई मबु "being impatient a son will not be born."
24. ms. a: जोजन .skt.: योजन, (SED- eight or nine miles).

25. ms. a: the same phrase used here and in the next sentence, सभास सौभा मलाक, lit.: "not splendid at the court (of a king)".
26. ms. a: the last three phrases are पण्डित जुय, मित्र संग्रह, अलासी मजुय lit.: "to be a pandit, the collection of friends, to not be lazy."
27. ms. a: गथे दुदु घलिस घेल ज्येष्ट, अथ्यं; this is somewhat unclear, perhaps lit.: "just as in milk and curd, ghee is superior." Our rendering is from PBK's modern rendition.
 ms. b: has दुदु धरि धेर, थौ प्रमानन जुर आथ्यं; lit.: just as in the example of milk, curd and ghee."
 ms. c: has दुदुस धेर प्रमान जुरं श्वथ्यं; lit: "just as in milk, ghee is chief (or, 'has greater authority', J's gloss for प्रमान a somewhat confusing word. ms b's usage is derived from skt. प्रमाण (SED - 5)... 'evidence, proof') and is used in the sense 'as a proof', or 'as an example'. The other meaning, often found in other Newari texts, is 'chief' or 'main'; it is often found as 'minister', or 'chief minister'. A modern word with the meaning is पःयां 'chief'.
28. ms. a घनुर्वश राजाया काय क्वि थजुले, lit.: "even if the only son (?) of Danurbaṁsha Raja..." This line provides an illuminating example of the hazards facing the Newari translators. The second line of the Sanskrit of ms. a reads: घनुर्वश विशुद्धौ पि निर्गुणौ (निर्गुणः CTT 41) किं करिष्यति: The actual intention of the phrase is: "as a bow made of fine bamboo but without a string is useless..." (Mahesraj Pant). The mistake on the part of the translators (all three mss. handle the maxim in the

same way) is understandable, as the Sanskrit contains two subtle puns. गुण, repeated from the first line, is 'virtue' but also 'bow string'; and वंश is 'bamboo; but also 'race, family lineage'. Thus, in effect, "as the Dhanur lineage is spotless, but has no virtue is useless..." is the sense they made of the line. A wide knowledge of Sanskrit vocabulary is of course essential to correct interpretation of such subtelties.

29. ms. a: गुणविद्या मसलडोस, lit.: "if one does not know virtuous knowledge".
ms. b: विद्याहीन जुरडोस . . ., lit. "if without learning".
30. ms. a: केतकी (SED- "N. of a plant, flower of that plant") evidently a fragrant summer flower.
31. ms. a, b, c: जप होम: jap is repetitious prayer, homa generally the fire sacrifice and oblations (SED). The maxims from no. 52 through no. 63 refer to the qualities of kings and specific officers of royal government.
32. The identity of this officer is a bit obscure. The sanskrit of ms a reads घर्माध्यक्षी Sternbach's texts have माण्डाध्यक्षी (CRN 220), and कोशाध्यक्षी (CTT 56); accordingly, he glosses the officer as 'treasurer' in CRN (although he records the reading of ms a as a Sar Samgraha variant). SED has 'a judge' for घर्माध्यक्ष. Certainly 'treasurer' would make sense with the reference to testing jewels, unless this is a figure of speech. SED has for Sabhāpati (the word used in the Newari) 'chairman'; in J. Sabhā is glossed as 'court of justice' (as well as of a king), thus judge seems apt. Mss. b and c have घार्मिक, "virtuous man".

33. ms. a skt: प्रतीहार, "doorkeeper"; or perhaps this officer is 'captain of the guard' (skt. महाप्रतीहार)
34. ms. a: मेव्यात बोध याय समर्थ; our translation is literal.
ms. b: परबोध याक; the translation could be the same, but 'capable of reading the thoughts of others', the meaning of the sanskrit, is also a possible gloss for both these renditions. (see CRN 235).
35. ms. b and c read "By appointing a man of quality, that man (either) by acting auspiciously or inauspiciously, by doing good or evil work (दुःकृत ... सुकृत याडनं) will increase the wealth of the king."
36. ms. a: परमार्थेन मजलपु मस्तु; lit.: "will not be praised by the divine (or, the highest truth)..." is a possible, though highly unlikely reading because of the use of the agentive (ergative) suffix -na. This is most likely a scribe's error. Our translation follows PBK's rendering in the modern Newari.
37. ms. a: क्लिनाल; (J.- chinari - (H. chinar, a loose woman) adj. desirous, lustful). The use of the Hindi word here would indicate specific sex. Mss. b and c have merely कामी ; a 'passionate, lustful' (person).
38. ms. a, b and c: धवतेया गति जुलं राजा, lit.: "for these, shelter (or, 'fate') is the king."
39. ms. a.: राजद्वारस तओले ; lit.: "when put at the palace gate..." mss. b and c: राजास कुदष्टि जुडोसं ; "if in the king's bad view (or bad grace)."

40. ms. a: मनुष्यया शुद्धं जुलं भावनान् ; J. has 'plain, distinct' from skt., 'clean, pure'. We have used 'attitude' for the gloss of भावना and भाव, which are used interchangeably in this maxim and the next. Mss. b and c have "No matter what work a man does it is accomplished (सिद्धिं जुं) only by attitude...etc."
41. ms. a and b: आचार ; usually glossed as 'conduct' or an equivalent with a neutral sense, here seems to indicate 'good conduct', and we have translated it thus. Ms. c: आचार्य (J. a teacher, spiritual guide), rendering the meaning of the maxim very differently. Ms. c is a Buddhist recension; perhaps the translator felt an oblique mention of the Vajrācārya might be in order (the change is also included in the Sanskrit of ms c).
42. ms. a: नयं दुयं नयफु, भिडो स्त्री दुयं काम क्रीडा यायफु, etc.; lit.: "to be able to eat like having (as though one had) something to eat, to be able to make love like having (as though one had) a good wife, etc." This is idiomatic usage. A similar type of idea is expressed by the modern adage, भिगु नसा दुसां, नयमफुसां, कु याये ; "What's the point of having good food if you can't eat it?"
43. ms. a; c: फले, ms. b: फलेचा skt ms. a: पुत्रिका (SED- "3) (at end of Comp.) anything little or small of its kind...). CTT has पुत्रिका (CTT 99); SED-"1) a small kind of bee 2) the white ant." The Newari words are unknown to us.

44. ms. a: साम, दाम, भेद, कर्म, बल, वस्तु; the last word just means 'thing'; perhaps should be 'all things' or (by) all (or any) means..."
45. ms. a: शास्त्र या वचनन बोध जुञ्जी; lit.: "convinced by the words of the shastras". Mss. b and c: शास्त्रस बोध जुय; "convinced in the shashtras..."; perhaps "learned in" is a more accurate gloss.
46. ms. a is equivocal in this maxim; the literal meaning of the first part would be "one must destroy other's faults without giving them one's own faults..." Thus read, it seems altruistic and out of tune with the rest of the maxim and the rest of the collection. Sternbach (CRN 143), though his sanskrit edition varies quite widely from ms. a, paraphrases the maxim thus: "The enemy should not know the weaknesses of the king, but the king should know the weaknesses of his enemy." Mss. b and c have: "Without giving (away) one's faults (दोष) to others, if others have faults one must stay hidden (गोप्यं तय) as the tortoise draws in during the cold season." J., referring to this very maxim has for गोपलपे - "(S. gopa a herdsman) v.t. to protect)." We suggest "to hide" as a more accurate gloss in this context, derived from skt गोप 2) hiding, concealment (SED).
47. ms. a: भेया चोस चोन; lit.: "resides in the tip of the tongue", an idiom for speech. Mss. b and c use the skt. word जिह्वा, tongue.
48. Mss. b and c leave out the last phrase.

49. ms. A: अंग; 'part'; ms. c: अंस, 'part' or 'portion'; ms. b; अंकुश 'a hook'. ms. b's charming variation surprisingly makes perfect sense.
50. ms. a: दौडोया माफिकनं ; lit.: "according to the mistake..." माफिक is a word used in modern Newari as well; PBK traces it from the Persian, mutabiq, 'like, similar'. This phrase is omitted in mss. b and c.
51. somewhat unclear in ms. a: Sternbach's sanskrit edition (CRN 91) and ms. a are essentially the same; his gloss is "...should distinguish friend from foe; an indifferent person from a neutral; an old man from a teacher...". It would seem that the Newari has left out one element from the list. Ms. b has "treat and enemy with emnity, a friend with friendliness, a neutral neutrally: he who does not know the differences between an enemy and a friend, all his works shall be destroyed." Ms. c is similar, except for the part concerning neutrality: मध्यस्थ वने चोगु जेस्त घाय; "it is best to be neutral", or "he who is neutral is best..."
52. ms. a: बेलस दुकाय सजौ; lit.: "at the (right) time, knows how to bring in."
53. ms. a: हृद; (J-chedan yaya, to cut off) Ms. b reads: थव ज्ञाति गौत्रम्ह्व सहरपं ताथे माल. बेरि भावना यातसा मर्म मेदल्पं मोचके फव. गौम्ह पर जुं ओम्हन हु याय ॥ "One must be cautious with one's close kinsman; for if he takes emnity, he can destroy all. As for a stranger, what will (can) he do?" There is considerable difference between

the sanskrit of ms. b and c. Ms. c, through scribe's error, drops the Newari translation of this maxim.

54. ms. a: हलुका जुडओ ; 'to be (taken) light (ly); from Urdu, halkā- "light" (PBK). Ms. b and c have: "though he be as rich as Indra he will become poor." The first part of the maxim (ms. a) reads: ग्वम्ह मनुष्य ग्वगुलि थास जुल्सां नित्य नित्यं ओडोओ नयि ओ; lit: "any man, whatever place it may be, goes daily (there) to eat..."
55. This maxim and no. 142 appear as nos. 199 and 200 respectively in mss. b and c, and also in CTT. Thus maxims nos. 143-200 in our text appear as nos 141-198 in mss. b, c, and CTT. The order of the maxims in our text appears to be somewhat unconventional.
56. ms. b has; "A learned man, if he has no wealth is impure; a woman with sons and grandsons, if she has no husband, is impure." Ms. c has: "A foreigner (विदेसिम्ह), even if rich is impure (!); a man without sons is impure; a woman with sons and grandsons, but without a husband, is impure." Ms. c's reading is astonishing, considering that the man who wrote the translation was himself a "rich foreigner": according to the colophon, "Trailokyaratna Sakyabhiksu wrote this translation (थमसेन अर्थन चौचका जुरा; the use of the causative would seem to indicate he had it written by someone else, but the थमसेन usually emphasizes something one has done oneself) while doing business in many articles in Lhasa..."

MSS vol.II, 3517 glosses a slightly variant list of types to be considered, but rather than describing such people as "impure", the gloss reads "should not

be deplored." This almost complete reversal of the maxim's intent stems from the difference between sanskrit शौच्य (SED-to be lamented or mourned, deplorable, pitiable) and शौच (SED-purity, clearness, etc.), both these terms being employed in the negative in the maxims. An excellent example of a small change making an essential difference in the meaning. The reading of our mss. is mentioned in MSS as a variant possibility; considering the tenor of the whole work, it is perfectly plausible.

57. ms. a: the maxim is phrased in questions, ie: समस्त मदा याकम्ह्या अमदा घायागुलि गन, etc.; lit.: "for the man who eats everything where is the inedible" etc. Ms. c has: रौगिन निग्व नं मनिग्व नं नरडोव रौगिया सुख ख मदु; "whether he eats healthy or unhealthy food, the sick man will never be happy..." Ms. b agrees with ms. c.
58. ms. a: गथे अपया दुओने चौडो पु फाक्या फाकुं पाडु मजुओ ; lit: "just as the seed resting inside the mango will not be sour from (being) bitter (or, tasteless, PBK)." We have changed this to 'sweet' as we usually associate mangoes with the sweet taste of ripeness.
59. ms. a: नीप; ms. a, modern Newari; लेबु (J.-lime); ms. b: निम्ब; ms. c: निम्ब; skt. (all three mss.): निम्ब (SED निंब -"a tree with bitter fruits)".
60. ms. a: कर्म मदु मनुष्य; could be read either "a man without destiny" or "a man without work." Ms. b: ज्या मखन याडो T ज्या; "work done without knowing how to do it..." Ms. c agrees with ms. b.

61. ms. a: दोष दुग्ध ब्राम्हणया वेद lit.; "the vedas of (or from) a brahman full of faults". Ms. b: दोषी याके शिल, ब्राम्हनन डेडोटा पदार्थ; lit.: "(good) character from one full of faults, the things heard from (asked by?) a brahaman." (?). Ms. c is almost the same as ms. b.
62. ms. a: सुन्दरी स्त्री; lit.: "beautiful woman." Mss. b and c use the sanskrit term स्त्री रत्न (SED "excellent woman"). Ms. a's reading renders the meaning slightly ambiguous, as though taking a concubine is implied; but J. lists "to take as one's wife" as one of the meanings of the verb used here, kāya. As the reader has no doubt noticed, contradictions (such as between this maxim and the one previous) are an essential element of the spirit of this work.
63. ms. b: देश दक्खस गना राजा दत्ता ओ देश भिग्ग; lit.: "among all countries, the country where there is a king is good." Ms. c agrees with our text (ms. a).
64. a play on words, used in the Newari as well as the original sanskrit: रत्न, 'gem'; स्त्री रत्न, 'excellent woman'.
65. funeral rites, without which the passage of the spirit of the deceased is difficult.
66. ms. a: थजौ कुल फुक घायुजौ मखु; idiomatic meaning as in our translation; lit.: "(they) don't say their own families have been destroyed." Mss. b and c omit this phrase.
67. ms. b: राजाण थव पासस चौडोम्हं मानपू; lit.: "the king will respect those near him..." Ms. c: राजान थव

- पासस चौडोपनि मारलपयिव; lit.: "the king will destroy those near him..." (!). This is no doubt a scribe's error, substituting *ra* for the intended *na* in *mānala-payiwa*, which reading would give the same result as ms. b.
68. ms. a: हित याक; (J hit yaya-to do good). We have replaced this awkward, if accurate, gloss with others of similar meaning. This verb phrase is very common in old Newari.
69. ms. a: लिखा म्हाच; "a daughter afterwards (or, remaining, ie. born late in the parents' life). Ms. b substitutes "two bodies" (!) for "two pairs of bulls" (शरीर नैगुलि); ms. c has "two enemies" (शत्रु नैगुदि) for the same phrase, adding at the end that such a man "may have disappointments" (विकार राय फुव; this is in fact another scribe's error, the negative prefix *ma-* having been dropped; the correct positive usage would be फव).
70. ms. a: नील थुसा (skt. 'blue bull). The freeing of a bull- a blue bull particularly- is an act effecting speedy passage of the spirit after death. Usually performed by the son shortly after the father's decease.
71. ms. a: आत्मा जुक्क घरलपाओ सु म्वाक; lit.: "only having spirit, who does not live?" This last phrase is omitted in mss. b and c. Ms. c, the Buddhist text, does not tamper with the maxim's pro-Brahman attitude.
72. ms. a: लक्ष्मी त्याग याय समर्थ; lit.: "capable of giving up (giving) wealth..." Ms. b: लक्ष्मी द्याव त्यागी जुलं; lit.:

"having wealth, is generous..." Mss. b and c have
"beautiful and faithful (सति) wife..."

73. The four aims of life.

74. ms. a: जुक्तिं सं ल्हाय तैजो; lit.: "it is right to speak
suitable things..." Ms. b has: "Even if it is of an
enemy, it is suitable to speak of virtue; even if of
a friend it is suitable to speak of faults: one must
always listen to that which is suitable. Even in
spite of respect for the guru (गुरु भयातका न; lit. if the
guru is important) never listen to unsuitable things."

75. ms. a: ध्वतेन तज्जीघडो घाय काल; lit.: "thus time is
(called) great."

76. ms. a: कल्पांत स; (skt, same phrase) SED- कल्प - "A day
of Brahma or 1000 yugas being a period of 432 million
years of mortals and measuring the duration of the
world..."

77. The first phrase of this maxim is very confusing in
all three of our texts. ms. a: थजौ शरीर मिपलास जुजौ;
'one's body will be a cause for fire (warmed), (?).
ms. b: थव शरीर बियं पराग जुयु; 'one will be averse to
giving one's body' (?) ms. c: थव सरिद मियं परागि जुव;
'one will be averse to selling one's body' (?) All
three of these renderings are mysterious to us, and
our glosses are shots in the dark. J has for palākh -
'cause, opportunity', and for parāg juya - 'to have an
aversion to.' Another text we consulted (undated,
Davanagari script, probably 18th c.) has: थव शरीर
मीयावं मेव रक्षा यायुव; lit.: "selling his own body will
protect others..." ie., the good man will sacrifice

himself for others. There seems to be some confusion between the sanskrit word विक्रिया (SED change, agitation, excitement, etc.), used in the text, and विक्रय (SED sale, selling). We must confess to confusion regarding the Newari phrases given above; our translation is frankly a guess, following the lead of PBK's modern rendering.

78. ms. a: परपीडा यायगुलि ज्या साघुजनयाके द्य मदु; lit.: "the good man will not have work which troubles others..." Mss. b and c, though slightly differently worded, agree in the sense of the maxim, which strikes us as a bit of a non-sequitur.
79. ms. a: गजमौती; mss. b and c: मुति; skt.: गजमौक्तिक - SED - "a pearl supposed to be found in the khumbas or projections on the forehead of an elephant."
80. The Newari translations have no specific subject, this is our interpretation (see CRN 174).
81. ms. a: अर्कपात; ms. b: अर्क पात्र ms. c: अक्व पात. SED has for अर्क - "the sun plant, a small tree with medicinal sap and rind."
82. ms. a: फाज; ms. b.: बाहौत; ms. c: बोह्त; ms. a skt.: वाहित्य ms. b skt.: वैहित्य; ms. c skt.: बाहित्यं CTT 225 has वाणिज्यम् अश्व-वाणिज्यं for the first quarter of the maxim, recording वैहिम् (at least *orthographically* related to our mss.) as a variant in only one edition out of seven examined. All of the above phrases are at this point still incomprehensible to us; none of the similar spellings we have found in either J or SED have made any sense. The passage seems extremely corrupt.

83. ms. a: ग्वम्ह जुलसनं मुखं जन स्वय धनवन्तम्ह निर्गुणि दुरस चीनसन लाहासि बीहोओ ध्यं; this construction is awkward and the syntax somewhat confusing. Mss. b and c are similarly difficult. A later Newari text we examined is more elaborate, reading: "A fool shows to others all he has; the virtuous rich man shows nothing, and seems to have nothing. Fools can always be seen from a distance, like the blossom of the lahasi." J has for Lahasi - 'Butea frondosa.' Friends have informed us that the flower in question is a large red flower which, though bright and highly visible, is scentless and considered worthless.
84. Another difficult maxim. Here is ms. a: मूर्खम्ह तोडतेमाल, प्रत्यक्षा पशु वचन हाड्डानं बला न क्यकि ओ । गये सने मदु पुतन क्यजाओ ल्यके मजिओ ध्यं व्यथा जुयु ओ; the version of ms. b: मूर्ख जाति जुवम्हं तोडतेमाल, प्रत्यक्षाणै नैपा तुति पशु वचन हातडडा पुतन सुसु वव, कण्टन क्यया पुत मल्लु ध्यं, ब्याथा बीयु; lit.: "Avoid a foolish man; clearly a beast with two feet, he speaks words (and) like a stuck thorn the point of which cannot be found, he gives trouble." Sternbach's sanskrit edition of this maxim (CRN 214) and that of ms. a vary considerably; but here is his paraphrase: "One should not keep company with a fool; he is like a beast with two feet. Like a thorn he pierces the heart imperceptibly with sharp words." The reading of ms. c is closer to ms. a.
85. ms. a and b: कु (J.- "a hand, handful, measure of length") skt.: हस्त; SED- "the forearm, cubit, a measure of length (equal to 24 angula-s or about 18 inches, being the distance between the elbow and the tip of the middle finger)."

86. a marvellous example of the love of categorization often found in this type of literature. One wonders if a list of these faults is somewhere enumerated in full detail. 'Wall-eyed' - ms. a: यालु; modern Newari यार्पा; J.'s gloss, 'squint-eyed' is not strictly accurate. 'Brown-eyed' - ms. a: सियुञ्जी मिसा; (J. 'reddish-brown, tawny).'
87. ms. a: ग्वाय यञ्जी मु; ms. b: ग्वाय यव मु; ms c: ग्वाय यव बु
J -gvāy ewo bu - salt and barren soil. Our gloss is PBK's.
88. mss. a, b, c: सिंघ्र कौथाया मिसा; the meaning of this phrase is clear from the sanskrit: वन्तःपुरदासी - 'women of the harem, or concubines.' PBK suggests that सिंघ्र may have come from सिंघर, सिन्हल, सिंदुर, all suggestive of the red powder worn in the hair of a married woman. Our gloss for सिंघ्र कौथा; 'harem of a palace.'
89. ms. a: प्रीति ता तुयके घाञ्जीम्ह Mss. b and c agree with the form of the verb. J has 'tā nuyake - to make last'; either a misprint or a reading from a scribe's error?
90. ms. a: दाम कास बिसा याय; ms. b.: थव थे थे याता घन
ब्याहार याय; lit.: "lending money to relatives..."
Ms. c leaves out 'relatives' but uses the same verb phrase as ms. b.
91. ms. b: 'no trust (विस्वास) in a bad country...'
92. ms. a: खलिञ्जीने ज्या सेनकु lit.: 'ruins the work behind the face...' (khe, face). ms. b: परोदास कार्य्य मौचकु
lit.: 'destroys the work unseen.'

93. Cryptic construction in the Newari: ms. a: ग्वम्हसेन कार्यस
 भेद यात तत्दाणं फल दत्तसर्नो बिपत्ति महादोष जुओ । यथिडो
 कार्यं ज्ञानि न तोडते माल ॥ lit. (?): "whoever
 divides the work (of another ?), if there be immediately
 results, in trouble (in times of trouble) it is a
 great fault. Such work the wise must avoid." Mss. b
 and c agree with minor variations. A friend has pointed
 out that the intent of the maxim when thus stated is
 more in keeping with the ethical tone of a *dharma shastra*
 than a *nīti shastra* such as Cāṇakya. The intent perhaps
 should be: "It is a great mistake to embark on work
 which will show immediate results but end in trouble
 later on. Such work the wise must avoid." When
 compared with the Sanskrit of CTT 264, it would appear
 that the Sanskrit of our text is very corrupt.
94. There is wide variation between our three text. Ms. b
 has: फक्तं अमक्तं सोयाव, कार्यं अकार्यं तुल्य याय, सदा कार्यं
 संदेह याय योग्य, सदां ज्ञानी जुक्वस्यन lit.: "When one sees
 loyalty or disloyalty, act accordingly, doing good or
 bad work. It is always right to doubt in all work, by
 all intelligent men." This is a loose translation and
 variations are possible. Ms. a has उत्ति मालपिओ in
 place of तुल्य याय, and is thus unequivocally as we have
 translated it, though the meaning is obviously very
 different from ms. b. Ms. c agrees with ms. b, except
 that it has सदा कार्यस संदेहे स ग्याय जोग्य; lit.: "it is
 always proper to fear doubts (about) a work..." (?)
95. ms. a: भेव्या सेवा मारय याकम्ह राजा; lit. as we have
 translated it, perhaps "a king who does not care for
 the service of others." ms. b (ms. c the same with
 minor variations): अकुलीयां भेव्यां जीवनी नस्यं चौडोया

- राजाओ ग्याय योग्य, पुर्व बैरि ओ ग्याय माल possibly: "It is right to fear a king of bad breeding and/or a king who destroys the lives of others. One must fear a past enemy." (?) Syntax unclear.
96. ms. a: लौहोन कु बुद्धि यात, ध्व गथे केव धकं मान्य यात; lit.: "what wisdom (does) a stone (have), how is it respected as a god?"
97. ms. a: मनुष्यया तिसा जुलं थओ धम्मस चीने; lit.: "the ornament of man (is) resting in his own dharma..."
ms. b: फिजनया थव वृत्ति वत्तरप्यकं चीने शोमा; lit.: "the ornament of a man consists in staying in the development (?) of his profession."
98. ms. a: मुम्सि (mss. b and c: मुसं) चांडो लंस; perhaps "in the ground", ie. a spring.
99. mss. b and c have: "water resting in an unpolluted place (ms. b: मलमुत्र मदले; ms. c: चीया मदले; lit.: 'when there is no feces and urine') is pure; leaving the place where it rests (or, leaving a polluted place) and going (flowing) elsewhere, it is even more pure."
100. ms. a: कृत जुलडोस मिसा शुद्ध जुल; lit.: "when she is in season a woman is clean..." This refers to a woman who has finished her first menstruation (PBK). ms. b: मासिकन शुद्ध जुयु; lit.: "by menstruation (a woman) is clean..." ms. c: सिसा मासिक जुवन सुचि जुयुव; (सिसा = मिसा; scribe's error) lit.: "a woman having had menstruation is clean..."
101. a cryptic maxim. ms. a: बबुयाकेन अंतपुर बिय, मामयाकेन मानस बिय, सायाकेन थम उसम बिय, थम्ह थ्यं थम्ह बु ज्यात ओने The use

of the suffix *yākena* with *babu*, *māma*, etc., is confusing; according to Jorgensen (JG para. 29), this is the classical Newari Ablative. Jorgensen writes that it is also sometimes used as a Locative; and the locative, he further notes, is sometimes used as a dative (JG para. 28) (the usual suffixes for the locative and dative with animate nouns are *-yāke* and *-yāta* respectively). He also notes that this suffix for the ablative is rare, noting "mostly the instrumental (suffix *-na*) is used for the ablative" (JG para 28: but this does not usually apply to animate nouns). The use of the ablative with the verb '*biya*, to give' is nonsensical, given the fact that Newari does not have a passive voice for transitive verbs. We have treated the suffix here as a dative, ignoring the *-na* (or treating the entire suffix as a dative in this case); but this is by no means a satisfactory conclusion. Mss. b and c have बबुयाकेनान, etc., which is totally confusing to us; in all other respects they agree with ms. a. Another ms. we consulted had बबुयानामन, etc., lit. '(give)... in the name of the father', which is at least syntactically possible, and implies some sort of donation. The part of ms. a dealing with the cow, सायाकेन थम उसम बिय, is very difficult. On the basis of the Nepali version (see below) we have surmised that perhaps the word उसम means 'equality', the 'u' taken from the Newari word 'uthe' - 'same', and 'sama' - a sanskritized equivalent. A Nepali version we consulted, dated N.S. 952 (with post-colophon remarks in Newari), has: "Take instructions from the father, take food in the mother's kitchen, regard your life and the cow's as the same

(skt. here varies from mss. a, b, c), do the field work yourself." From an examination of CTT 282, it is apparent that the part of this rendering dealing with the cow is accurate, and we have used it in our translation. But even the edited Sanskrit version (CTT 282) of the first part of the maxim has puzzled those learned friends to whom we have shown it. Here is the CTT 282 version in full:

पि तर् अन्तःपुरं दद्यान् मातुर् दद्यान् महानसम्
गोषु चाऽऽत्म-समं दद्यात् स्वयम् एव कृषिं व्रजेत्

102. ms. c: दुदु मदुग्ग्म्ह म्मिा; lit.: "a woman without breasts" This variant comes from a variant skt. reading, ie. तर हिनो, corruption of स्तन-; this variant we encountered in several other texts, and is the version presented in CTT (285): Both mss. b and c have "wearing ornaments on tattered clothes..."
103. ms. a: मनुष्यस ब्राम्हण शोभा तपस्यानं संयुक्तम्; lit.: "in mankind the brahman is the ornament, (who) is united with (has, performs) penances." Ms. b (ms. c almost identical): ब्राम्हण शत्रुयाकेनान शोभा जुर् तप युक्त जुलङ्काव शोभा जुलं; lit.: "from enemies come the splendor of the brahman, if (he) does penances (he) is splendid... This odd variant reading apparently stems from a variation (or corruption) of the sanskrit. Ms. a: शोभते द्विपदे द्विजः etc., ms. b skt: शोभते द्विषतो द्विजः etc. A Nepali version of N.S. 952 (see note 90) has: "the beauty of the soldier comes from the enemy..."
104. ms. a: उत्साह (SED - energy, inclination, desire, etc.)
ms. a skt.: उत्सव (SED - festival... joy, merriment, etc.)
Mss. b and c. उक्काहा (J.-(H. ucchao) a festival).

The translator of ms. a seems to have slipped in reading the skt. here. We have used the gloss appropriate to mss. b and c.

105. The verb forms in this maxim are जुय, भिनके, द्यके, याय. Jorgensen (JG para. 122) writes that this form denotes "an action which ought to be done, might be done, or is intended to be done." PBK feels the mood of these verb forms is definitely exhortatory, as in our translation. According to the gloss of MSS I 211, the sanskrit is simply indicative, ie.: "The result of the vedas is the fire sacrifice..." etc. Also, the gloss of MSS I 211 reads, "...the result of a wife is sexual enjoyment and sons...", whereas the Newari has sexual enjoyment as a cause rather than a result.

106. mss. b and c have "a king who gives alms..."

107. ms. a: अंखौल घलि; ms. b: वंश घलि; ms. c अमणार (अमखौल) घरि These adjectives are all mysterious to us, though the meaning is clear from the skt. word तरुण (SED - ... young, newly produced...; furthermore, SED gives for तरुण दधि, the term used in the skt. 'coagulated milk five days old')

108. ms. a: सति, here meaning both the faithful wife and by extension the wife who commits sati when her husband dies.

109. mss. a, b, and c: काशी बास; "to stay in Varanasi." PBK remarks this also can mean "to die in Varanasi", especially for a Nepalese reader.

VI. Manuscripts, References and abbreviations:

A. Manuscripts (edited and unedited):

1. Kasa, Prem Bahadur, ed., *Cāṇakya Sār Saṃgraha*, Cwasa Pasa no. 50. Kathmandu, N.S. 1091 (A. D. 1971). Contains essentially unedited Sanskrit and old Newari versions plus a modern Newari version by the editor. Our order of maxims follows that of this text.
abb: ms a
2. *Cāṇakya Sār Saṃgraha*, Sanskrit and Newari, Newari script, Nepalese paper, 9½ x 3", 5 lines to the page, 74 folios, dated N.S. 810 (A.D. 1690). Coll. Prem Bahadur Kansakar.
abb: ms b
3. *Cāṇakya Sar Saṃgraha*, Sanskrit and Newari, fine Newari script, Nepalese paper, 10" x 3", 5 lines to the page, 63 folios, dated N.S. 813 (A.D. 1693) Prem Bahadur Kansakar. For post-colophon remarks see note 45.
abb: ms c

A few other mss. we occasionally consulted have been mentioned in the notes. These are all in the collection of Prem Bahadur Kansakar.

B. Publications:

4. Apte, Vaman Shivaram, *The Student's Sanskrit English Dictionary*, reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1979.
abb: SED
5. Jorgensen, Hans, *A Dictionary of the Classical Newārī*, Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, Levin & Munksgaard, Kobenhavn, 1936.
abb: J
6. Jorgensen, Hans, *A Grammar of the Classical Newārī*, Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, Ejnar & Munksgaard, Kobenhavn, 1941.
abb: JG
7. Pathak, Suniti Kumar, *The Indian Nītisāstra in Tibet*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974.

8. Sternbach, Ludwik, ed. *Cānakya Rāja Nīti*, maxims on Rāja-Nīti compiled from various collections of maxims attributed to Canakya, edited with critical apparatus. The Adyar Library Series Vol.92, the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras, India, 1963.

abb: CRN

9. Sternbach, Ludwik, *Cānakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*, 2 vols, 5 parts (each part is a separate volume), Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1963. Vol.I, part 1 contains an introduction to the Cānakya Sār Samgraha version (pgs clxvii ff) and an edited Sanskrit text (pg. 219 ff.) The order of Sternbach's text and ours coincide with the following exceptions: nos. 141 and 142 in our text appear as 2.99 and 2.100 in Sternbach's. Thus maxims 143 to 200 in our text appear in Sternbach as 2.41 to 2.98. see note 44.

abb: CTT

10. Sterbach, Ludwik, *Mahā Subhāsita Samgrahah*, Vol. I, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1974. Vol.II, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1976. Vol.III Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1976 (Vol.III edited by S. Bhaskaran Nair).

abb: MSS

1. Subramanian, V.K. *Maxims of Chanakya*, Abhinav Publications, Delhi, 1980. A selection and translation into English of some maxims attributed to Canakya; the Canakya Sar Samgraha has not been used as a source.

SHORT REVIEWS

Tantra in Tibet. The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra. By Tsong-ka-pal, introduced by His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Translated & edited by Jeffrey Hopkins. The Wisdom of Tibet Series-3. London. George Allen & Unwin Boston, Sydney. 1977. pgs. 252.

This book consists of three parts: I, a number of small sections written by His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and presenting what the aspirant should know about the preparation for, and then the actual entrance into the Mantra path. II. a translation by Jeffrey Hopkins of the first part, the introductory section of Tsoñ-kha-pa's *Sñags rim chen mo*, which is a bulky compendium on the stages of the tantric path. III. a supplement by Jeffrey Hopkins, based on his own studies of the four-*siddhānta* literature and miscellaneous texts.

The best part of the book is the first part. Here His Holiness displays a subtle though clear, and warm though sharp, type of discourse that gets to the heart of the matter. Those who have had the memorable pleasure of an audience with His Holiness in Dharamsala, India, know there was time for only a few questions. Here we can read the replies to the questions we should have liked to ask for hours and hours. Certainly the book is worth getting for this first third of the whole. While we must depend on the translation team, it seems to have done its job well.

As to the second section, not speaking of the original Tibetan, which inaugurates a masterful survey of the Tantric path, but of Hopkin's rendition of it, it is decidedly inferior to the first third by His Holiness. This is not

said on account of Hopkin's calculated disregard of, or else lamentable ignorance of all scholarly work done in this field--although this is bad enough. This is not said on account of his bibliography practice of mentioning a Tibetan work by an English equivalent, as though the work were available in English translation and it is not--although this is bad enough. It is said because, while Hopkins does reasonably well with Tson-kha-pa's own prose, he has continual difficulty with the citations in prose or verse, and despite the labor of tracing out these passages in the canon--taking up most of the notes--he still exhibits a result which is more typical of language beginners, of giving an obscure and non-cogent rendition as though it represents the original, while in truth the translator does not understand the original. To treat these matters adequately would take up much space and not be worth the effort, so I shall mention only one prose and one verse passage.

Here (p. 129) is Hopkins' version of a citation of the author Ratnākara-śānti: "If one cultivates only [a path] having the nature of a deity, one cannot become fully enlightened merely through that because the fulfilment of [yogic] activities is not complete. Or, if one meditates on the suchness of a deity and not on that deity, one will attain Buddhahood in many countless aeons but not quickly. Through meditating on both, one will attain the highest perfect complete enlightenment very quickly because to do so is very appropriate and has special empowering blessings". The Tibetan for this (from the Peking popular blockprint f. 22b-2,3,4) is:

Autobiographies of Three Spiritual Masters of Kutang, by Michael Aris (ed.), Thimpu 1979. 9pp+789 folio pp. (reproduced five to a page).

In 1973 Dr. Michael Aris was invited by the University of California at Berkeley to lead an expedition to the districts of Kutang and Nubri, situated along the upper reaches of the Buru Gandaki river. He subsequently published a "Report on the University of California Expedition to Kutang and Nubri in Northern Nepal in Autumn 1973" in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* (Journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies), Vol. 2 No. 2, Kirtipur 1975, pp. 45-87. One of the objects of the expedition was to photocopy manuscripts and blockprints in Tibetan relating to the local history of the area. The present volume presents in facsimile five texts from among the finds announced in the above-mentioned article. The texts are autobiographical, relating to three Nying-mapa lamas of Kutang and spanning a hundred years, from 1668 to 1767.

The interest of these texts are manifold. They provide first hand insight into the process of expansion of Tibetan Buddhism in the Himalayan area. Further, to quote Dr. Aris, "Apart from the mass of incidental information these works contain on the local life of Kutang and its neighbouring districts, another major source of interest lies in the accounts of the lamas travels which took them as far west as Kailash and as far east as the Tsa-ri sanctuary, also to the Kathmandu valley and many places in Central Tibet" (p. 5). The texts, written in "a sort of ruralized literary Tibetan", (p. 2) are "marked by a refreshing simplicity of style Uncluttered by pious reworkings and the usual fanciful

embellishments, the total effect rings earthy and true"
(p. 4).

Dr. Aris, whose forthcoming *Bhutan. The early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* will confirm his position as a leading authority on the history and culture of those parts of the Himalayas coming within the cultural sphere of Tibet, has placed a valuable collection of texts at the disposal of a wider public, including, one may hope, eventually the people of Kutang themselves. He has also provided a short but extremely useful introduction.

P. V.

On Sanskrit Education, by Mahes Raj Pant, published by author, Kathmandu, 1979 n. Rs 25.

It's a pity that scholars don't indulge more often in a 'cri de couer', for it is in such moments that we can get the clearest glimpse of their field of study. This little book is just such a cry, in the words of the author, "an embodiment of ideas that have been haunting an obscure Sanskritist, now in his mid-thirties, for more than a decade and a half."

The book contains brief and lucid descriptions of both the traditional approach and the western critical and analytical approach to the study of Sanskrit language and literature. It ends with a fervent plea that neither be neglected in Nepal.

The making of a pandit in traditional India was a long and extraordinarily laborious process, based largely on endless memorization exercises in the aspirant's chosen field of study. Pant treats the reader to marvellous details of this process and the attitudes it encouraged. A traditional scholar who recited his texts with the aid of a book, for instance, was regarded as one of the six worst kinds of reciters; indeed, reliance on a book was classed with gambling and association with women as a hindrance to learning. Pant remarks that a recitation of all the aphorisms of Panini, the great grammarian, "takes no more than six hours", undoubtably short considering the ground covered, but from a western point of view a considerable feat of memorization (to a pandit, however, nothing remarkable). The education of a traditional Indian scholar was a process that ideally had no end; once

the student had finished his course with his guru, he was expected to continue his studies on his own, and be ready at any time for a 'literary affray (Sastrartha)', a kind of debate to test scholars' learning. It goes without saying that even today a traditional Indian Sanskritist is expected to be able to read, write and even speak this complex language fluently and correctly.

With the discovery of Sanskrit by Westerners in the 16th and 17th centuries, another method of Sanskrit scholarship was born. This aims not at an impecable personal command of Sanskrit as a medium, but at a critical understanding of the language and literature largely in terms of historical development. This critical and analytical approach to language, begun in the 15th century with the birth of Biblical scholarship, "enabled scholars to discover the affinity of Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, to penetrate into the formation of human speech and also the development of myths, thereby developing such new sciences as linguistics and mythology". Scholars working with this method have produced many valuable works, such as comprehensive catalogues of the literature, etymological dictionaries and critically edited editions of the great works of Sanskrit literature.

Pant states the differences between these two approaches succinctly: "(The traditional approach) aims at maintaining the Sanskrit civilization, while (the western approach) studies it as a museum exhibit". Essentially the two are both complementary and antithetical. They complement one another in that the areas of learning one ignores the other covers; they are antithetical in that the study of a culture as a 'museum exhibit' is not supportive of efforts to keep

the culture alive and creative. Every native pandit who approaches Sanskrit exclusively from the western critical point of view is one less pandit fulfilling his traditional role. (Of course there are pandits who fill both roles; the author of this book is an example).

Pant argues that "an intergrated system of Sanskrit learning" be vigorously pursued in Nepal. He recommends that the traditional method of learning Sanskrit be encouraged here, where children are familiar with the Devanagri alphabet and can be trained from an early age. In Pant's view, it is essential that pandits be traditionally trained in order to preserve and regenerate ancient areas of learning, such as medicine, astronomy and astrology, the dharmashastras and architecture. The areas of medicine and architecture in particular are of interest from a perspective broader than that of Hindu culture itself. Many westerners are turning away from highly technological western medical techniques and showing interest in alternatives, of which Ayurveda is one of the most important. As Pant points out, there is much Ayurvedic wisdom which has been lost and needs to be uncovered, and there is a need for traditionally trained Sanskritists to begin this task. As for architecture, the fact that two severe earthquakes could "only slightly shake the (Taleju of Kathmandu) temple's golden pinnacle" is evidence enough of the value of traditional architectural knowledge, which is being sadly neglected in favor of imported and often less durable techniques and materials (not to mention less beautiful).

Pant also argues for the importance of encouraging the western approach in Nepal. Nepal has one of the greatest treasuries of Sanskrit manuscripts in the world, and is unrivalled in it's store of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts

often found nowhere else. Scholars are needed to examine and edit this material, and there is no reason why Nepalese should not participate in this work.

Essentially, this book is the emotional plea of a scholar who is dedicated to a body of learning which no amount of modern progress can satisfactorily replace. That his love, Sanskrit, is threatened in Nepal is doubtless; Pant's remarks on the present state of Sanskrit learning here make this abundantly clear. If his recommendations are followed and his enthusiasm kindles interest in others, perhaps this trend can be reversed.

My only criticism of this book is that it deserves a wider audience than its present format and distribution allow.

I. Alsop

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