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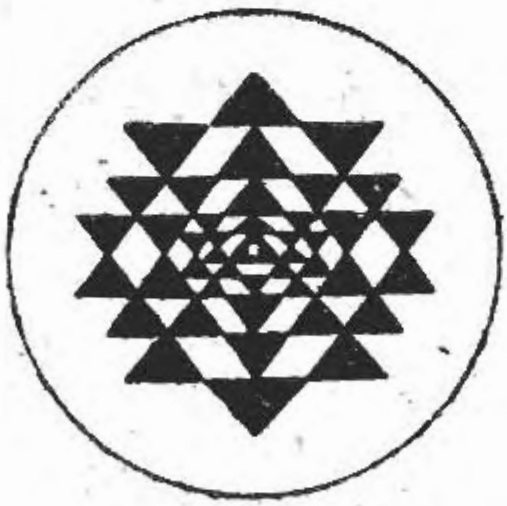

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C O N T E N T S

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MAJOR TIBETAN LIFE CYCLE EVENTS-- BIRTH AND MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

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Introduction

In two articles we propose to survey the major Tibetan life cycle events which we consider to be for a layman the most common: birth, marriage and death. Our basic concern will be an investigation of these events from a religious and ceremonial point of view. Unlike in Christianity or Hinduism where there are special religious ceremonies associated with birth and marriage (such as Christening or Hindu purification rites and a religious marriage ceremony), there is no proper religious equivalent in Tibetan Buddhism. However, there are certain ritual activities which are performed at the time of birth or marriage but which are not necessarily specific to these occasions. They are mainly rituals whose main purpose is to procure prosperity and eliminate evil. On the other hand, funeral rituals are of utmost religious importance. Whereas birth and marriage ceremonies are concerned with gaining blessings for prosperity and happiness in this world, funeral rites are concerned with purification, elimination of sins and guiding the dead person through the state of *bar do* and helping him to gain a better rebirth or even, if possible, Buddhahood.

Since the ceremonies connected with birth and marriage differ due to regional variation and historical tradition, we do not intend to give a complete survey of all these variations.

The description of birth and marriage ceremonies given below is based on two short works in Tibetan which have recently been published in Dharamsala, with the concern of preserving the traditions connected with these events among Tibetans in exile. The booklet concerning birth ceremonies bears the Tibetan title: *bod kyi sngar srol byis pa skye gso bya tshul po tā la yi them skas zhes bya ba dge'o.* It was compiled by Thubten Sangay and published by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, in 1975. The other on marriage customs bears the Tibetan title: *bod du chang sa rgyag tshul gna' bo'i lugs bzang yang gsal bde skyid rdzogs ldan gsar pa mgron du gugs pa'i pho nya zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* It was compiled by Phun tshogs dbang rgyal Bar zhi and edited by Thubten Sangay and also published in Dharamsala in 1976. In using these sources we have extracted the information mainly concerned with the religious activities concerned with those events. At the end, we supply a selected annotated bibliography, selected according to the added information and variation it can add to our presentation.

Birth and Marriage Ceremonies

Birth

The booklet on Tibetan Birth Ceremonies not only describe various rituals performed for the well being and protection of the newly born baby and mother, but also provides long descriptions of practical methods of child rearing. Here, ritual aspects of birth will be concentrated on but mention shall be made of practical aspects when they indicate a typical Tibetan mentality or a particular way of behaving on such occasions.

When both parents especially the pregnant mother, have good dreams (i.e. dreams of fruit, a white conch shell, jewels ornaments, sun-rays) they indicate that the pregnancy is proceeding well and safely. However, when the woman dreams of

clouds, quarrels, weeping or being carried away by water, then this indicates that the pregnancy is in jeopardy. In order to avert the danger, a lama should be requested to perform some suitable rituals for the well being of the expected baby and the parents should carry amulets prepared by the lama according to his discernment of the signs.

There are signs which Tibetans believe indicate the sex of the child to be born. Signs which indicate that a boy will be born are: the mother's right hip is raised, the right breast sheds milk first, she sways toward the right, the centre of her naval is high, she dreams of horses, bulls and males of different animal species. On the other hand, when all the above signs are orientated toward the left. The naval grows evenly and the mother has a desire to meet men and she takes pleasure and delight in songs music and ornaments, then it is believed that a baby girl will be born. When both sides of the naval are high and the centre is low and the other signs are mixed, then twins are to be expected. When all the signs are mixed, then it is said that the child will be a hermaphrodite.

Pregnancy is believed to last thirty eight weeks or until the first half of the tenth lunar month. During this time the mother should take care of what she eats and drinks. She should not visit people who are evil and of impure disposition or partake of their food. She must not wear old or other people's clothes. Very hot or cold drinks as well as *arak* should be avoided and *chang* can only be taken in moderation. She should not eat too much or work too hard. Sexual abstinence should be observed. Once a month she should pay a visit to a lama in order to be sprinkled with holy water. She should also request him to perform the *tshe dbang* (life-empowerment) ritual and recite appropriate mantras. As the time of birth draws near, in order to eliminate winds in the body, she should eat

small doses of good food such as meat, nourishing soups, milk and butter. When it is obvious that the birth is imminent, the house should be cleaned and incensed. Suitable *mantras* should be recited and incense offered to the local deities.

If the birth is difficult, a special *gto* (magic device) must be made. A nine-dotted dice is placed on a square base of butter. The father, the maternal uncle or other people of suitable disposition, recite the following mantra:

> *"Om sha sha* – open the path. *Shu shu* – open the path. Open the doors of the combined four elements."

This mantra may be recited a hundred or a hundred and two times. Then the *gto* is placed inside the woman and the birth should follow soon afterwards. Another *gto* may be performed when birth proves difficult. A butterfish is made and the following mantra should be recited:

> "Om *ka ka* – open mother's path. *Ki ki* – open mother's path. *Shon shon* – open mother's path. *Ma mo* open the path of the four elements."

This mantra should be recited a thousand times. The open-mouthed butter-fish should be pointed towards the mother's abdomen with a *'phu'* sound. Water should then be poured over the fish and caught underneath in a dish to which should be added the burnt feather of a peacock and eight bear's hairs accompanied by the recitation of the above mantra a hundred times. The sound *'phu'* is made over the water which is then given to the mother to drink.

There are several other *gto* which may be performed. In some traditions if the mother is given dried fish from the *Ma pham* or *gYu mtsho* lakes and drinks a little cold water, then the baby should be born quickly.

As soon as the baby is born, the woman helper ties the umbilical cord with a cotton thread and smears the naval with a spice and some sesame oil. She then recites the following verse:

"Oh, my child, you are born out of love,
May you live for a hundred years,
May you see a hundred autumns,
May you live long and be glourious,
May the nine evils be destroyed,
May you have prosperity, happiness and wealth."

The woman helper then takes the child and washes it in scented water. The cloth in which the baby is to be wrapped should be incensed to deter demons. Then the woman-helper opens the baby's mouth with her forefinger and covers its head with a piece of raw silk soaked in a little oil. Before the baby suckles at the mother's breast, the woman helper makes the sign *'hriḥ'* in saffron, on the baby's tongue to promote wise speech. For protection against the local deity, she pours a little water mixed with musk into the baby's mouth. Then she gives it a little honey mixed with butter. The baby can then suckle. Alternatively, according to others, the syllable *'dhiḥ'* may be marked in saffron on the baby's tongue in order to effect a sharp mind or the syllable *'hriḥ'* in *giwang* (an animal extract used in medicine) for long life and the increasing of merit.

In order to avert inauspicious occurences in the house, a lama should perform a *sbyin sreg (homa)* ritual. Similarly, the spirits which may cause misfortune or harm to the baby should be propitiated.

Soon after the baby is born, the mother's vulva should be covered with the skin of a black snake. The placenta should be buried deep in the ground so that dogs or wild animals

cannot dig it up. If the baby is born in the first, fifth or ninth month it should be buried towards the east; if in the second, sixth or tenth month, to the west; and in the fourth, eighth or twelth month, to the south. The mother can then put on clean clothes and the whole house should be incensed.

A lama is then summoned to conduct a special ceremony to pray to the protective deities and the deities that protect against illnesses. According to whether the child is a boy or a girl, four arrows or four spindles respectively, are placed in the different parts of the house. For protection from the sky, one is attatched to the top of the house fence; for protection from intermediary space, inside the house; from doors, on the lintles; from the earth, under the house. For protection against demons, a thread over which *mantras* have been recited, is tied around the baby's neck together with a piece of *shu dag* (rush) and around the wrists.

Each month, on the date of the baby's birth, tormas and food should be offered to the protective deity and a small *glud* (ransom) to the demons. A name may be given to the baby by someone who knows the appropriate recitation that goes with it. Otherwise, a lama may be requested to give the name. The name can be that of the prominent planets at the time of the baby's birth. If all the previous children in the family have died then it is better to give the newly-born baby a different name each month so as to confuse the *sri* (evil sprites) of the babies that have died so that they do not attack the new one. The baby's birth may be celebrated on an auspicious day. A ceremonial scarf is presented to a religious image in the house and prayers are directed to the protective deities. *Chang* is drunk with friends and neighbours.

For the first time that the baby is taken out of the house, an auspicious day is chosen for the child. It is washed and

dressed in clean, new clothes. Before it is actually taken out, a *gto* should be made. A cord used for donkeys is tied to the baby's neck and it is carried outside by the paternal uncle if the baby is a boy and the maternal aunt if a girl. Outside, the house is circumnambulated in a clockwise direction and the cord is discarded. Then, along with the parents, the child is taken to such holy places as the temple or a chöten and then to its root lama for blessing. (If this lama was not asked to name the child before and the child still does not have a name, then the lama will be requested to give the child a name now.)

When asleep, the baby should face north or east and the head should be covered in a cotton cloth soaked in a littke oil. In order to become sharp of mind and firm of body, the baby should be given medicinal substances such as musk, gold dust, mustard, honey, butter and sugar. For protection against the *sa bdag, klu, gnyan,* etc. a bundle containing medicinal substances is attatched to the baby's neck.

In former times, in the eighth month after the baby was born, ear piercing would take place. If a boy, the right ear would be pierced; if a girl, the left. A dog's hair would be drawn through the hole. Also, it was believed that if the first word that the baby uttered was *a ma* then the mother would die first; if *a pha,* the father. It was considered best if the child just uttered the sound 'A'.

When the child is one year old, an auspicious day is chosen to worship the protective deities and the chosen deity on behalf of the child. At the end of the first year the baby should be able to walk. However, if it does not, then a *gto* is performed. A white cow is taken and the baby is seated astride it facing backwards. The person holding the child says: *'Daya, daya'* and makes the cow walk. This was believed to help and encourage the baby to walk.

Physical illnesses aside, the baby can be afflicted or tormented by demons. The following signs are indications that the baby is afflicted by the five *pho gdon*, the seven *mo gdon*, the two *rgyal bsen* and the four *sprul:* the baby always cries, especially in the early morning and the evening, it looks frightened and is out of breath, the baby trembles and it groans, it moves in sleep, when awake it bites its lower lip, it scratches its mother, the eyes are turned, it does not take the breast, it foams at the mouth and the nails are of a dark colour. To appease the deities causing the baby misfortune, they should be offered *yas* (special offerings) and *glud* (ransom made of tsampa) as well as *mdos* (thread crosses). Holy water should be sprinkled on the baby and an amulet prepared. A lama should perform a fierce recitation and appropriate rites in order to subdue the demons.

Besides the usual ways of diagnosing illnesses, there are three others recognised by the Tibetans: examining the veins behind the ears, examining the sound of the baby's voice and examining the mother's milk. There are three veins behind the ear. The three behind the right ear refer to the lungs, liver and kidney; the three behind the left, to the heart, spleen and kidney. When the veins are dark in colour, it indicates high temperature; when yellowish, gall bladder disease; yellow-grey, a cold; very pale, phlegm; red, blood disease. When the veins are not clear (i.e. when they cannot be seen) then it means that the baby is affected by demons and there is a danger of death. A lama should be summoned to perform the ritual for long life as well as the ritual for dispelling demons.

Diagnosing illness by listening to the voice of the baby shows that when the voice is thin and long, the liver is affected; stout, coarse and long, a cold; difficulty in speaking, the lungs; like a goose, vomiting disease; mixed sounds, demon affliction.

Examination of mother's milk is a form of diagnosing illnesses suffered by the mother. A metal dish is filled with water and fresh milk is taken from the mother and poured into it. If the milk floats on the top, there is no need for a medicinal cure; if it stays in the middle, a cure is called for; if it forms itself into a pillar shape, then there is serious risk of death; when it curdles, the mother is affected by a demon. When the colour of the milk is dark, this indicates a blood disease; yellow, gall bladder disease; bubbly, lungs and wind; blue, phlegm; looking like wool, a demon.

Illnesses are usually treated with medicines but, in some cases such as diarrhoea and vomiting, magical devices are made use of. Protective threads are made by winding up three threads together, then cutting them in half. Twenty one knots are then made in each half and the following mantra is recited *"Yama chad"* (Cut the demon of death). The sound *'phu'* is made and one knotted triple thread is put around the neck and the other around the waist. The same thing is done for vomiting except that the mantra *"Yama shig"* (Kill the demon of death) is recited.

Besides medicines for curing, preventative medicines are also made. For example, from a black rock facing north which never gets sunlight, black sooty dirt is scraped. A medicine which looks like moss with red hairy roots and which grows on such rocks is collected. Also hairs from the heads of both the mother and father of the baby are required. All these things are put together and burnt. The ashes should be put in a little *chang* and given to the baby to drink. This brew should prevent the baby becoming ill for twelve months. Likewise if musk, treacle and a rush taken from a lake are mixed and given to the child in a little *chang*, it will remain unaffected by illnesses or demons for twelve years.

Marriage

As there is no religious significance attatched to marriage, the learned monkhood never wrote or took an interest in devising a special ritual associated with marriage. It was only as late as the nineteenth century that one of the leading religious scholars of the *ris med* movement, Kong sprul *Yon tan rgya mtsho* (1833-99) attempted to bring some uniform pattern and give a religious significance to the marriage ceremony. On the basis of old Tibetan and Bonpo customs he wrote a marriage ritual for the prince of Derge, which was divided into eight sections. The first part is concerned with the dispelling of evil spirits which precede the party leading the bridegroom's house. The second is concerned with the purification of the bride in order to prevent offence being made to the *thab lha* (hearth god). The next part of the ceremony concerns spreading a carpet for the bride to sit on. Next the bride, seated on the carpet, is offered the three white things to eat. Then she is given a new name. After that there is the performance of invoking the deities for protection and benign attitude. The seventh part is the summoning of prosperity *(g-yang 'gugs pa)*. The final part consists of prayers and invocations for blessing and happiness.

Perhaps the oldest marriage ceremony is preserved in the Bonpo tradition. As there are certain elements in it which have survived in one way or another in the Buddhist marriage ceremonies, it is appropriate to describe it here. The Bonpo ceremony begins with an account of the first marriage which took place between a man and a goddess. A beautiful goddess called *Srid lcam 'phrul mo che* was sought by both men and gods. A man named *Ling dkar*, the lord of *rGya* requested the father of the goddess to give him his daughter in marriage. The father of the goddess replied that it was impossible for a black-headed man to marry a goddess who belonged to the gods residing

in heaven. *Ling dkar* argued that if men and gods came together then the men would respect gods and the gods would provide them with protection. The sun and the moon remain in the sky but their rays fall on the earth and provide warmth and from the earth a vapour rises and reaches the sky. This and similar arguments convinced the father of the goddess to consent to give her in marriage to *Ling dkar*. He was obliged to make rich presents of gold, turquoises, arrows, cattle and the like which were to be brought by the seven kinsmen of the groom riding on white horses. Before the goddess left her home she played dice with her brother for her share of the parental inheritance. The game of dice was presided over by a priest. Although the goddess wanted half of the inheritance, she received only a third.

When the goddess left her home, her father gave her an arrow, her mother a spindle and her brother a turquoise. She made salutations before the gods, the priest, her parents and her brother. The seven kinsmen of the groom attatched a white piece of silk to the goddess's right lap and led her away to the land of men. At the same time the priest performed the ritual of summoning 'prosperity'. This ritual is considered to be of great importance for it is believed that when the bride or groom leave home permanently, the prosperity of the house may also disappear. This ritual is performed both at the bride's and the bridegroom's house. In the case of the bride it is performed to prevent the disappearance of prosperity and in the case of the groom whose house the bride is being led to, it is performed to increase prosperity. The meaning of the word *g-yang* is rather abstract and vague and carries a rather symbolic significance of wealth and prosperity. In some parts of Tibet, when people sell a horse, they take some hair from the horse's mane and attatch it to the doorway of the enclosure where the horses are kept in order to retain the *g-yang* of the horses.

The second part of the wedding ceremony is the actual marriage ritual. It is called *lha 'dogs* (adhering to the gods). Here a woollen thread called *dmu thag* (sky cord) is attatched to the groom's girdle and a blue thread called *g-yang thag* (prosperity cord) to the bride's. The groom holds an arrow and makes and offering of *chang* and *torma* to the five deities of the head *(pho lha, sgra lha, srog lha, ma lha* and *zhang lha)*. The bride holding a spindle, offers curds and barley flour mixed with butter. The officiating priest offers a piece of gold (ring or ear ring) to the groom and a turquoise to the bride. In this case the piece of gold is called *bla gser* (soul gold) and the turquoise, *bla g-yu* (soul turquoise). Then, the officiating priest together with the couple seated on a white felt mat on which a swastika design of barley has been made begins a ritual chanting. The first part of the chanting describes the origins of the world. Next there follows the story about the origin of the arrow, spindle and material of the sky-cord and prosperity-cord.

From the union of *Phyva gang g-yang grags*, the father and *Srid pa'i gdong bzang ma*, the mother, there came into existance three eggs. From the first golden egg was hatched a golden arrow adorned with turquoise and feathers. This arrow symbolised life: fish-eye of the groom. From the second egg, which was turquoise, a turquoise arrow was hatched adorned with gold and feathers -- this was the arrow of the glory of the bride. From the third, a conch egg, a golden spindle came out. From the rays of the sky and the vapours of the ocean, a white mass of *Bon* was formed and then spun by the wind and wound round a tree. This thread was called sky-cord and prosperity-cord. The ritual concludes by saying that the groom's *bla-gser* and the bride's *bla g-yu* were born and grew up separately but now they are made united. The verses continue with the invocation of trusting the young coupld to the gods:

"May the arrow of manhood and the spindle of womanhood remain united.
May the cords, the *dmu-thag* and *g-yang thag*, remain uncut.
May the union of gods and men remain firm."

There are three kinds of arrow in the marriage ritual. The first one is called *lha mda' sgro dkar*, an arrow with white feathers which serves as the *rten* (residence) for the five gods of the head; it was brought by the five kinsmen of the groom who came to collect the bride as part of the bride-price. The second arrow called *tshe mda' nya mig* ('life-arrow fish-eyed') is the groom's arrow and a symbol of manhood. The third arrow, given as a parting gift by the goddess's father, is called *dpal mda'* ('glorious arrow). The ritual role of the third arrow remains uncertain but, in some marriage ceremonies as we will see later, it is attatched on the bride's back, as she leaves her home. In Amdo, especially among Bonpo families, an arrow with silk streamers of five colours was brought into the house when a baby boy was born by the maternal uncle. This was done in accordance with the marriage ritual which stated that when a boy was born, an arrow should be placed on the pillow, when a girl, a spindle. The custom of placing the spindle seems to have been discontinued.[1]

The Tibetan Buddhist marriage ceremonies vary from region to region. A simple wedding ceremony usually consists of a gathering of relatives and guests who come together to offer the young couple scarfs and wish them every happiness. The wedding ceremony is called the *chang sa* (beer place) which

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1. The information concerning the Bonpo marriage ritual i.e. the story of the marriage between the goddess and the man, the origin of the arrow, etc. is based here on one lecture of a series delivered by Samten Karmay in Tokyo: *A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon*, The Toyo Bunko, Tokyo 1975.

renders its main tone very well. It is mainly a social occasion during which much *chang* is drunk and food consumed. In more elaborate ceremonies, special offerings of *chang*, cow-dung and incense are placed inside and outside the house for the local deities as a propitiation for them not to cause any obstructions to the occasion and to the newly wedded couple. Also, sometimes, a monk is invited to perform a rather general kind of ritual for bringing blessing and prosperity to the married couple.

Nowadays, the Tibetan people in exile, have become aware of their old traditions and make an effort to preserve their customs which, in a new setting and changing life style, tend to be forgotten and replaced by customs acquired from indigenous neighbours. Here we will give a short summary of the different stages of the wedding ceremony, concentrating more on its religious aspects as described in the booklet already mentioned above in the introduction.

First of all, the family of the potential groom send a messenger to the house of the girl to request the year of the girl's birth. Once this is known, a visit is paid to the astrologer to determine whether the birth dates of the boy and girl form a good astrological combination and whether they have a chance of living a reasonably successful married life. At the same time, for the same purpose, *mo* (divination) is performed by a lama and a special prayer of granting *lung* (permission) is recited before the *chos skyong* (protective deity). Once all the three ways of seeking approval are positive, a special party of people is dispatched to visit the family of the girl. The members of the party, as well dressed as possible, offer the girl a white scarf and some garments. They state that the *mo*, *lung* and *rtsis* of the boy and girl are compatible. They offer *slong chang* (begging beer) and request the parents of the girl to agree to give her in marriage. Once their proposition

is accepted a second meeting is arranged to draw up an agreement that their families be related through the marriage of their children and other matters of the dowry. The second meeting usually takes place some fifteen or twenty days later. When the second visit is made, the messengers of the young man make offerings of butter, dry tea, rice, barley, etc. Sometimes, the mother is offered *nu ring* (price of the breast) in the from of an apron and other presents.

The parents of the girl should invite a *snags pa* (tantric priest) or a Bonpo priest to perform a special ceremony called *lha dkrol* which consists of making offerings, libation and insense to the protective deity and making a request to allow the girl to leave the house. The girl joins the priest in worship and making offerings. This ceremony is performed in the temple of the protective deities *(mgon khang)* or otherwise in the house before an image of the protective deity.

A second visit is then paid to an astrologer in order to establish an exact date for the wedding. The astrologer establishes the time, discerns the auspicious and inauspicious factors of the date, calculates the path of the wedding party *(lam rtsis)* and decides what ought to be done in order to eliminate evil influences and hindering spirits which might disturb the procession of the bride to the groom's house.

When the bride does leave her house, together with her dowry she receives an arrow which is attached to her back. At the same time, a woman dressed and adorned with jewellry, performs the ceremony of summoning prosperity with an arrow with silk of five colours attatched to it. This is done as protection against the loss of wealth and prevention against plagues and illnesses. In elaborate wedding ceremonies, there is also the custom, at the bride's house, of performing the ceremony of the inner door, the ladder, washing the hair of the bride, and attatching a turquoise to it.

The groom's party should pitch the necessary tents for resting, cooking tea, etc. about half way between the bride's house and that of the groom. When the bride's procession and the groom's welcoming party meet in the tents, the bride is offered a welcoming turquoise. The groom's envoy offers the turquoise reciting verses which eulogize it as a symbol of youth, elixir of life, love and joy. It is offered to the bride's head for increased blessing and good omens. Before mounting the horse again, the bride is offered an arrow adorned with the silk of five colours and feathers and a mirror. As this offerring is made, verses are recited which tell of the arrow with its notches and the five coloured silk of many family generation's excellent qualities, prosperity and purity. The bride should ride a pregnant mare, the colour of which should be decided by an astrologer.

When the wedding party approaches the groom's house, a *snags pa* or a Bonpo priest should perform a ritual of propitiating an appropriate deity to avert the *bag 'dre* which usually follows wedding parties as well as offering a *glud* (ransom) to the demons. By the door of the house special devices called *mtho po* are positioned. They are black to avert the *'dre* and white to propitiate the blessing of the *pho lha, mo lha* and others. On the spot where the bride is to dismount from the horse, the welcoming party should arrange rice, grain, salt and a white felt mat on top of which they should place a leopard skin and on top of it a tiger skin with the design of a swastika made on it in wheat. A recitation is made by the bride's party which refers to the skins and praises the parents and their good and noble lineages. The mother of the groom comes out of the house holding a milk container in her left hand and an arrow with some silk attatched to it in her right. She joins her hands with the bride's and offers her the milk to drink. Then the father recites verses which refer to the door of the house. The verse describes the door as having a lintel of blue turquoise,

the step up to it of gold, a frame of lapis lazuli overhung by a string of shells and with a mirror and other ornaments. Beyond this door is the wealth and happiness of the family. When the recitation is finished he places a white scarf over the door. Then the bride's party recites verses about ascending a ladder into the nether regions of the house. Here again the verses describe in a poetic way the ladder as being made of precious stones and jewels. They attatch a white scarf to it and climb it to enter a room. After everyone inside receives scarfs, they all go onto the roof of the house where the bride receives a new name and is entrusted in prayer to the deities of the house. *Bsang* (insense) is burnt, five prayer flags are hung, a white scarf with verses is attached to the pole of the big prayer flag and one is placed on an image. Then the prayer for the bride is recited. Wheat grain, *tsampa* with butter and *chang* are scattered by all the assembled people. Then, still on the roof of the house, the ceremony of summoning prosperity is performed by a boy and girl holding arrows and *tsampa* with butter. The remaining part of the wedding celebrations consist of revelries and the distribution of presents to the marriage party, servants, astrologer, etc. Finally, mutual visits are agreed upon.

Now we give the translation of some of the more important verses recited at different times during the wedding ceremonies.

Verses recited at the main door of the house

Oṃ *svasti*, may there be blessing.
This is the gate, auspicious and adorned.
It's blue lintel is made of turquoise.
It's yellow threshold is made of gold.
It's frame is made of lapis lazuli.
It's red panels are made of magic sandlewood.
It's latch and chain are made of conch shell.

It's studs and bolts are made of gold.
Beyond this gate are the doors of gold and turquoise;
There is the treasury of *Vaiśrāvaṇa* [1]
Heaped up with perfect wealth and every wish.
With this pure scarf (of) the inner treasury, [2]
Today at this auspicious moment,
I hold and open the gate.
May always one hundred auspicious doors be open.

Verses before ascending the ladder

This is the climbing ladder dividing
The sky from the earth.
It is the tall ladder with thirteen high steps.
It's two sides are made of lapis lazuli.
It's handrail is made of diamonds.
It's rungs are of the seven piled up jewels.
For this auspicious ladder leading upwards,
I have this scarf with the seven royal emblems.

Verses for the pillar

In this beautiful house equal in all respects
To the gods' palace of the *Tushita* Heaven above,
I wish to describe the components of the pillar
Produced from the magic sandlewood.
On the outside it is square -- the palace of the gods.
Within, is the strong castle of the *pho lha*
Who provides protection and defence.

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1. *Vaiśrāvaṇa* is the god of wealth.

2. In Tibetan, a treasury of store-room is called *bang mdzod* and here, as a play on words, the scarf is referred to as *nang mdzod*.

Below is the jewel-stone, the permanent plinth,
It is round and of self-produced hard material.
It has three ornaments which are capital head,
Garland and wish-granting jewel,
With a long curve, a short curve and a curve-cover,
With an excellent cross-beam, beam-base and streamers,
With lotuses, symbolic squares, sun and moon --
Such are all the thirteen parts of the pillar.[1]
This is the pillar of firmness and permanence,
The foundation of splendour and excellence.
In this house from the previous existences
Till this moment today,
It perpetuates constantly prosperity and every wish.
Today, at this auspicious moment,
I offer a white scarf to adorn this pillar.
May life and wealth prosper forever.

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1. Here, for the sake of readability, the translation, the text has been simplified. The thirteen parts of the pillar are:

(a) *bre* -- capital or top of the pillar. (b) *'phreng* -- painted or carved garland round the pillar. (c) *nor bu* -- drawing of the wish-granting-jewel. (d) *gzhu ring* -- shorter curve (of the capital). (e) *gzhu thung* -- shorter curve of the capital. (f) *gzhu khebs* -- curve-cover or the surmounting part of the curving part of the capital. (g) *gdung ma* -- cross-beam. (h) *gdung gdan* -- beam's base. (i) *gdung khebs* -- streamers or decorations on the beam. (j) *padma* -- lotus designs on top of the beam. (k) *chos brtsegs* -- 'dharma-heap', piled up symbolic squares above the lotus designs. (l) *nyi-zla* -- sun and moon designs. (m) *ka stegs*-- plinth.

For a drawing of the pillar with the Tibetan names of its different parts see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs*, Ascona, Switzerland, 1966; Illustrations: Fig. 3. Also, for the importance of the central pillar, its symbolism and that of the whole house, see Corlin, 'The symbolism of the house in *rgyal thang*' in *Tibetan Studies*, ed. M. Aris & A.S.S. Kyi, Oxford 1979, pp. 87-92.

Verses recited when offering a scarf to the bride

Oṃ *Svasti*, may there be blessing.
Today, this auspicious day of
The planets and stars in a happy conjunction,
On this seat with the excellent *svāstika*
And a cushion, elegant, superior and perfect,
Appears this maiden without comparison,
Whose body shines like the body of a heavenly goddess,
Beautiful, charming and well-composed,
Endowed with a good complexion, softness and best scent
To this lady who is like a precious gem
Fulfilling every wish of touch and the rest,
I offer first this excellent grain and *tsampa* with butter,
I offer this jade vessel, the symbol of prosperity,
Filled with the ambrosia, the best elixir of *Jambudvīpa*,
The Nectar of the Indra's divine ambrosia from above,
And the drink and food of India, Nepal and Tibet.
I place pure inner treasury,
Adorned with the eight auspicious symbols.
May well-being increase.

Offering the chang vessel

This is the precious and beautiful round vessel,
Made from the five kinds of jewels,
Well filled with the divine ambrosia,
Beautifully bedecked with pats of yellow and white butter,
With this bamboo from the southern land of *rMa bya*
I sprinkle three times to the right and left
This ambrosia which is like the one
Produced by the churning of the divine ocean.
Oh, may those present here seated around
Become satiated with this ambrosia (which trickles)

From the roots of this paradise tree,
The tree of Enlightenment,
With branches, leaves, flowers and pollen.
Covering it with a silk diadem of five colours,
I offer a scarf which increases and enlarges
Good luck and the rest.

Prayer for the bride

Om *svasti*, may there be blessing.
We entrust this young woman (called ...)
To the lama, the deity, the protectors of *dharma*.
The *dgra lha*, the god of wealth, the master of treasures,
And to the steadfast gods who protect.
May they always protect and defend her,
Remain in her constant companionship,
Increase wealth and multiply the family with many sons,
Promote strength, merit power and good luck,
Lengthen life and splendour, until her hundredth year.
May there be blessing which brings the splendour of every wish.

Summoning g-yang (prosperity)

Just like a metal clings to a magnet,
May the store of fortune and prosperity which grants wishes,
Pour unhindered and together with joyful dances,
Into this excellent house surrounded by happiness.
We summon all fortune, prosperity, wealth and fame
Of *Hiranagarbha, Nīlankaṇṭha, Viṣṇu,*
Nemi the *cakravartin* and others,
Of every lofty prosperity
Conspicuous in the present life.
We evoke good luck, prosperity, wealth and fame

Of the immortal drink of many excellent herbs,[1]
The wish-granting jewel of divine power,
And the seven royal emblems carried before mighty men.
We evoke all the fortune, prosperity, wealth and fame
Of the eight auspicious symbols:
Gem, umbrella, golden fish, beautiful vase,[2]
Lotus, white conch shell coiling to the right,
Banner of victory, endless knot and wheel.
We evoke all fortune, prosperity, wealth and fame
Of the eight auspicious items.[3]
Spontaneously produced by the causal flux
From the origination of true virtue
And blessedness of true happiness
Bestowed by the son of the leader *Śuddhodana.*
We evoke all fortune, prosperity, wealth and fame
Of long life, freedom from illnesses, all wishful aims,
Power, might and perfect wealth,
As well as every happy entertainment.

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1. The text reads: *legs bris tshogs kyi 'chi med btung ba* -- Here the word *bris* remains unclear. It could be a mistake for *'bri(mo)*, female yak or *'bri mog* or *'bri ka*, the name of a medicinal plant.

2. *bum ba* (vase) added here does not belong to the number of the eight auspicious symbols.

3. The eight auspicious items *(bkra shis rdzas brgyad)* are the eight things given special attributes and associated with *Śākyamuni's* life events. They are:

(a) *me long* -- mirror. (b) *gi vang* -- secretion from animal glands, especially the elephant's, used as an oitment. (c) *zho* -- curds. (d) *dūrvā* -- grass used as a seat. (e) *bil ba* -- fruit said to prolong life. (f) *dung dkar g-yas 'khyil* -- white conch coiled to the right. (g) *li khroi* -- powder. (h) *yungs kar* -- white mustard.

Selected Annotated Bibliography

Aziz, B. *Tibetan Frontier Families*, Vikas Publishing Pvt. Ltd., 1978

In this book, which is a 'brief historical portrait spanning three generations of a Tibetan people living in *D'ing-ri* on the Tibet-Nepal border', Aziz describes Nuptial rituals in the context of a wider frame of reference i. e. that of the wider context of *D'ing-ri* social and economic relations. She writes that

> "marriage in D'ing-ri is not a religious affair, but it is nevertheless, a highly formalised event preceded by elaborate negotiations and culminating in a deeply symbolic song-drama known as the *mo-lha*" (108).

All classes of *D'ing-ri* society have a marriage celebration; those less well off with fewer kin and *dga' gnyen* (mutual aid) networks keep the affair modest, whereas those with status and wealth stretch it out for six days and collect significant amounts of property from reciprocating friends and from bridewealth. Betrothal amounts to binding exchanges of bridewealth and dowry. Bridewealth, usually consisting of livestock and cash, is given first, with the reciprocal dowry being brought with the bride at the time of the wedding, the most valuable part of which is an item of jewellry called the *mgul rgyan* (necklace) which remains the property of the bride. This *mgul rgyan* symbolises the bond of marriage and is not provided for those who cohabit or marry without undergoing formal exchange.

Preferably the marriage is an elaborate cultural and community affair. The ideal procedure involves a procession by the girl and her party, her formal acceptance at the entrance of the groom's house, presentations of symbolic foods,

employment of a ritual specialist to sing the *mo lha* wedding song, recitation of texts by a monk and presentation of gifts by assembled friends in strict accordance with the rules of reciprocation -- all spread over five or six days of drinking, feasting and dancing.

Of special interest in Aziz's account of Tibetan marriage is her reference to the *mo-lha* wedding poem to which it is difficult to find mention in other references. She describes it as being sung throughout the nuptial event, introducing the marriage and concluding it in such a manner that it provides a ritual framework for the entire proceedings. The performer of this poem is called the *mo lha ba* or *mo dpon*. Aziz believes that the poem, containing explicit references to spirits, may have been more religious an event in the past than it is today and that the *mo dpon* figure was once somebody with wider ritual roles and interests. His dress, his dramatic style of performance and his heriditary involvement all suggest vestigial elements, which were earlier a part of a religious tradition.

Bell, C. *The People of Tibet*, Oxford University Press, 1928

In a section on marriage, Bell describes how the preliminaries and the wedding ceremony itself necessarily vary to some extent in the different districts and provinces in Tibet. He gives, in detail, what happens among the upper classes of Central Tibet. After ascertaining the date of the girl's birth, the relatives of the bridegroom consulted either the Dalai Lama, the Tashi Lama or some other high lamas, in addition to their own deities, as to the suitability of the girl. The visit of the bridegroom's party to ask for the girl in marriage is called *slong chang*. On that day, the parents of the bridegroom offer money and an apron as *nu rin* to the bride's mother. On the day of the wedding, when the bride is ready to leave the house, one of the senior servants of the bridegroom's party

puts a turquoise on the top of her head-dress and plants a *mda' dar* (arrow flag) on her back, near her neck. This elderly retainer then describes the good qualities of the turquoise and the *mda' dar* in suitable terms. At this stage, her parents give the dowry, which is mainly in ornaments and to a lesser extent in clothes and money.

> "A well-to-do family may give an out-going daughter a set of ornaments on the following scale, namely: a gold charm box, a pair of gold earrings, a head dress of coral and turquoise for daily use, another set of pearls for use on occasions of high festival or ceremony, a necklace of jade, coral and pearls, and other varied ornaments. They may add a pony for riding and some money." (180)

When the time comes to depart, the bride rides on a mare with a foal. On the way she is twice offered beer from a small pot. She does not drink but flicks a little out with the thumb and finger of the left hand as an offering to the gods. When she arrives at the bridegroom's house, she dismounts on a stack of twenty to thirty loads of wheat and rice and other presents. Feasting, singing and dancing follow. Since the bride has lost the protection of the household gods, she must accordingly be brought under the protection of her husband's deities. Therefore, she pays a visit, along with her husband, to his oracle and they make offerings in the chapel of his guardian deity *(mgon khang)*.

Das, Sarat Chandra, 'Marriage Customs of Tibet' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893 Vol LXII, Part III: 6-31

In this article, Das describes the marriage customs of *Pu hrang*, *mNga ris* and the country around Lake Manasarovara (all in Western Tibet); *dBus* and *gTsang* (Central Tibet); Sikkim and Ladakh. He discusses marriage by capture of which relatively

few remnants remain in central Tibet, but a survival of which may be traced in the part played by the *rkun chen* (thief) in the marriage customs of Sikkim, Bhutan and Spiti. A portrayal of Tibetan marriage customs includes the pre-nuptial observances, such as consultation of astrologers and the *slong chang*. The actual marriage festivities last for three days at the house of the bride's parents. A *sngags 'chang* (tantrik priest) propitiates the *pho lha* and the bride's mother is offered *nu rin* which consists of a present of five or nine articles (Das does not enumerate them). When the bride leaves her parent's house, the *sngags 'chang* tries to prevent the *nāga* following the bride to her husband's place by burning them some incense. A priest (of the Bon religion) now performs the ceremony of *g-yang 'gugs* (invoking good luck) and a small arrow studded with five precious stones and five scraps of silk of five colours, is fixed on the neck of the bride's dress. She mounts a horse and her parents present her with an aspicious scarf called *bkra' shis btags* and *skyel chang* (farewell beer) to be served to her at a short distance from the gate of their residence. She must wear an amulet to protect her against evil influences and the evil spirits of the ten quarters for during her journey from the place where the farewell beer is served i.e. when she parts company with her parents and friends, and the place where she is first received with what is called the welcome beer, she is not accompanied by any guardian spirit either from her father's side or from the bridegroom's quarter. As soon as the bridal party arrives at the bridegroom's house, fear least some evil spirits have followed the bride, a *glud* (ransom) is made of cloth or barley painted with coloured butter and thrown on the ground before the bride. Then the officiating priest recites a few benedictory verses describing the door, house, etc. of the bridegroom. Then the mother of the bridegroom dressed in her best apparel, with a tray containing the *mda' dar* and some barley flour mixed with butter in

her right hand and with a jar of milk in her left, comes to recieve the bride. She is conducted to the marriage altar and seated to the left of the bridegroom on a carpet containing the figure of the swastika on a floor painted with a paste of wheat flour and water, whereupon a sumptuous dinner is served to them. When the auspicious hour of solemnizing the marriage arrives, the *sngags 'chang* makes an offering to the gods, and gives a new name to the bride, connecting it in some manner with the name of the mother in law. When this is performed a small piece of wood about six inches long, is held to the lips of the bridegroom. The bride now sits in front of her husband and takes the other piece of wood between her lips. In the meantime, a tuft of wool is placed in the hands of the bridegroom who draws out the fibres to some length. The bride takes it from his hands and twists it into a thread. This is called the ceremony of the first work of harmonious union.

Although the way in which Das describes these Tibetan marriage customs tend to imply a religious ceremony (e.g. the use of vocabulary such as the 'marriage altar', 'solemnizing the marriage') no spiritual vows are actually made by the bride and groom. What is essential to the solemnization of the marriage is the bestowal of a new name upon the bride which signifies her social incorporation into her husband's household, this being accompanied by the ceremony of the first work of harmonious union signifying cooperation between husband and wife.

Tucci, G. *Tibetan Folk Songs* Artibus Asiae, 1966

In this book, besides editing and translating the folk songs from Gyantse, Western Tibet, Tucci incorporates a section on marriage songs. These are based on a manuscript containing the marriage songs and rituals used in the valley of *Myan' cu* — between Gyantse and Shigatse. This manuscript was taken down

to Sikkim in order to introduce among the families of the high classes the same rituals as practised in Central Tibet, revered by the Sikkimese as a kind of holy land. The songs are sung partly by the bride's party, partly by the bridegroom's and partly by both. They mostly comprise a series of blessings and praises. Not only the bride and bridegroom are praised; the parents of the bridegroom are also alluded to. Blessings are bestowed on the house as well as the various objects and food used during the marriage ceremony. Each part of the house and every utensil is conserated and propitiated by the offering of *kha btags*. The song ends with the dismissal of the go-between and the bride is blessed for introducing all sorts of blessings into the house of her husband.

TAMANG ART
A PARALLEL STYLE IN THE TANTRIC BUDDHIST ART OF NEPAL

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Introduction

While treking and residing in the northern and central mountain areas of Nepal and visiting the temples and house shrines of the local Buddhists I came to distinguish and appreciate old statues known as 'Tamang'. In the vast field of publications on Buddhist art in general and on the art of Nepal in particular, these 'Tamang' statues are only casually mentioned if not overlooked. This art style has not attracted much attention because of the overwhelming and overshadowing consideration shown to the more hieratic and sohisticated creations of both Nepal and Tibet. Another reason for being neglected by historians of art is that the production of 'Tamang' bronzes was considerably less than the production of Nepalese and Tibetan bronzes. The bronzes under discussion in this article all belong to the cult of Tantric Buddhism.

Collectors and scholars have approached and evaluated eastern art almost exclusively by western standards. So far it has been a rule of historians of art when they discuss eastern art to foçus only on the main style of a period and area, to trace its origin and influence and to consider other trends as an imitative substyle or as being folk art. With the

differentiation of the'Tamang' bronzes from the gross of Nepalese sculpture which developed out of the Gupta and Pala-Sena traditions we witness the simultaneous existence of two different art idioms.

Individualism and the search for a new art idiom is totally absent in eastern art. In essence eastern art is transcendental, it aims at expressing the various moments of man's experience of the sacred. The eastern artist adheres strictly to a fixed iconographic code, he mainly imitates a model. He will have succeeded and will be considered successful only if he has been able to recreate and endow the icon with mystical qualities. Tantric Buddhist art especially serves mystical-magical purposes. Aesthetics is subservient to it. When confronted with eastern art one should invariably look for its mystical-magical qualities The art products and ritual implements of Tantric Buddhism are supposed to be magnetized with subtle powers and to have a subconscious acivitating capacity.

As far as I known no attempt has been made to categorize and differentiate the style known as 'Tamang'. Its style characteristics show a marked difference from what is generally acknowledge as being typical for Nepalese and Tibetan metal sculpture. When occasionally a 'Tamang' statue is discussed, it has been classified as being Nepalese[1] without further differentiation or has been wrongly quoted as being Tibetan.[2] Sytlistically the 'Tamang' bronzes differ considerably from other Nepalese productions, whether Buddhist or Hindu. Considering their specific art idiom and particular atmosphere they deserve to be regarded as a distinctive style. This is the purpose of this article.

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1. D.I. Lauf, *Das Erbe Tibets*, Plate 74; P.H. Pott, *Burma, Korea, Tibet*, Plate P. 200.

2. *Tibetica* 37, Schoettle Ostasiatica Stuttgart, Statue 2680.

Origin

The appellation 'Tamang' is a popular appellation. It is partly incorrect, because this type of statue was mainly made in Patan in the Kathmandu Valley by members of the Sakya caste. In general they were commissioned and bought by Tamangs,[1] during pilgrimage to the sacred places of the Valley and therefore came to be known as 'Tamang', although other Buddhist tribes such as Sherpas, Gurungs, and pilgrims from as far as Dolpo and Tibet too purchased these bronzes. A Tamang layman informant living in the Kathmandu Valley asserted that not all the 'Tamang' statues were made by members of the Sakya caste, but that some had been produced by Tamangs themselves. As Tamang paintings were created by Tamangs, so also bronzes were cast by them. He further informed me that Tamangs did carve wood sculpture.

The 'Tamang' bronzes show compositional and stylistic similarities to Buddhist metal sculptures found in Bihar and Bengal, datable from the eighth to the twelfth centuries A.D., which do not show any stylistic relationship with the Pala-Sena art of the same period. These Indian bronzes are the subject of a study by B.N. Mukherjee[2] who distinguishes them from the Pala-Sena bronzes. Correctly he calls these works a parallel style separate from the well-known Pala-Sena school. Mukherjee demonstrates that these bronzes are not imitations of Pala-Sena works and that the difference between the two groups of sculptors relates chiefly to their ideas of and approach to plastic art, particularly to the art of creating human figures. As it is accepted that the Kathmandu Valley metal sculptors are the

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1. According to an informant, a Tamang lama, the Tamang people came to Nepal with the Tibetan conqueror, King Song-tsen-gam-po in the seventh century. They were part of the cavalry or as others say, they were horse traders. The king ordered them to settle in the border areas, to protect Tibet and to cultivate the land. The Tamang all adhere to the Old Schools of Tantric Buddhism.

2. B.N. Mukherjee, *East Indian Art Styles* (Calcutta: K. Bagchi, 1980).

inheritors of the Pala-Sena artists, likewise it could be that the 'Tamang' style is a continuation of these eighth to twelfth century Bihar and Bengal regional styles. Whereas Pala art is traceable to Gupta art, these unsophisticated Bihar and Bengal bronzes are not, and may have their roots in a regional art idiom.

The 'Tamang' bronzes do not show any affinity either with Kashmir Buddhist bronzes or with North West Indian folk bronzes. This is not to say that they never exhibit any outside influence. Unquestionably some 'Tamang' bronzes do display features of Nepalo-Tibetan origins, as for example, the elongated eye. As these bronzes do not try to imitate a hieratic style we cannot calls these icons a substyle. Nor can we categorize these products as folk art, as it shows that when worked at more precisely the artists were able to create bronzes of great artistic merit. The 'Tamang' bronzes should rather be viewed as a parallel style.

Description

The 'Tamang' bronzes are not heavily decorated. The majority of them are not gold plated. The ornamentation on garments is kept very sparese. The forms are generally sober, there is an economy of line. The torso is elongated. In general the volumes and curves of the body of Nepalese statues are more full and round than those of 'Tamang' bronzes. Compared to Nepalese bronzes they look dispassionate. Only the pattern of the aura shows a break with the tradition of sober ornamentation; it has movement and the forms are elaborate. On all the old bronzes I saw, the aura was made by following the repousse technique. Only later, especially in the nineteenth century, is the aura made by the lost wax technique and becomes stiff and flat. All the bronzes in this article except Plate 1 show

apertures at the back of the lotus for holding the aura. The double-petalled lotus in some bronzes, in contrast to the deity, is only superficially carved. The lotus looks 'shaven'. The most primitive looking statues have bulging eyes (pl. 1), while in other bronzes the contour of the eye is circular but with a short line inside to suggest the eyeball (pl. 2 -- pl. 14). In other statues the contour of the eyes is elongated and the line suggesting the eyeball is long.

The head-dress is extremely stylized. In contrast to Tibetan bronzes the head does not show any traces of paint. As a rule, except for Plate 10, the sculptor omits any suggestion of hair. At the back the head looks bald, except for the standing hair knot. Inside the bronzes the husk has been removed, because, as is the custom with Tantric Buddhist statues, they have to contain consecrated materials. Once the statue is filled with sacred materials it is sealed with a wooden plaquette. Some statues display a hole at the back of the head, also with the prupose of containing consecrated materials.

In their bronzes the Tamang have a preference for portraying the historical Buddha, Padmasambhava, Vajrasattva, Avalokitesvara and Tara, while in their paintings they depict wrathful deities. 'Tamang' bronzes display a stylization of devotional features. They possess a mystical intensity and are sometimes endowed with a fascinating numinosity.

Technique

The bronzes are made by the following two techniques: the repousse technique and the lost was technique. Many statues show a combination of both techniques: the torso and arms are made by lost wax and the lotus by repousse. Some repousse parts are so solid and perfectly beaten and polished that they

give the impression of having been made by the lost wax technique. The various pieces are assembled and held together with the help of pins.

Exact dating is a difficult task. None of the bronzes published in this article has a dated inscription. Considering the patina and specific style characteristics, we may assume that all objects, except Plate 16, can be dated safely as being manufactured well before the nineteenth century.

Plate 1 Djadjima
Believed to be the mother of Padmasambhava. It is said that she came to Bodnath in the Kathmandu Valley where she vanquished demons. In this bronze she is depicted holding two demons in her arms. One demon she is killing; another is being trampled upon. The crown on her head is adorned with five turquoises. She stands on a mountain.
Lost wax Bronze. Height 12cm. Collection Lichtenberg.

Plate 2 Avalokitesvara
This is the main form of Avalokitesvara. One hand holds the crystal rosary, another hand a lotus, symbolizing respective compassion and purity.
Lost wax Bronze. Height 13.5cm.

Plate 3 Avalokitesvara
This statue is composed of three parts. Lotus and legs are made by the repousse technique, the upper body by lost wax. The different parts are held together with the help of pins. Height 23cm. Collection Vandevelde, Belgium.

Plate 4 Padmasambhava
In his right hand he holds the vajra in the mudra of teachin and in his left hand he holds a skullcup filled with the eli of life. This statue is made entirely by following the re-pousse technique.
Height 24.5cm. Private collection, Belgium.

Plate 5 Avalokitesvara
This statue is entirely gold-plated. The figure is lost wax, while the lotus and aura are repousse.
Height (with aura) 25cm.

Plate 6 Vajrasattva
Vajrasattva is the active form of the primordial Buddha. Th
vajra symbolizes yogic and spiritual action. The bell is th
symbol of intuitive wisdom. All pieces except the upper bod
are made by repousse. The body is gold-plated.
Height (with aura) 59cm.

Plate 7 Avalokitesvara
Remark that the petals of the lotus are not elaborate.
Lost wax Bronze. Height 15cm.

Plate 8 Vajrasattva
Holding the vajra in his right hand and the bell in his left hand Vajrasattva, containing the five Buddha principles, is the active reflex of the primordial Buddha.
Lost wax Bronze. Height 14cm. Collection Vande Veire.

Plate 9 White Tara
Tara is one of the most important deities in the Tantric **Buddhist** pantheon. The Lotus looks 'shaven'. At the back of **the head** is an aperture for containing consecrated materials. **Entirely** lost wax. Height 16.5cm.

Plate 10 The Historical Buddha Sakyamuni
His right hand is in the 'earth-witness' mudra. In his left hand he holds a begging bowl. After his enlightenment Buddha was pondering about the truth of his experiences. When he was convinced of their reality he reached down and touched the earth. Figure and lotus are lost wax; aura is repousse. Height (with aura) 19.5cm.

Plate 11 White Tara
It is said that she was born from a tear from Avalokitesvara. She is the helping and guiding star. Lotus is 'shaven'. Aura is repousse, figure is lost wax. Height (with aura) 23cm.

Plate 12 Avalokitesvara
Note the particular way of draping the ceremonial scarf, typical for 'Tamang' bronzes. See also Plate 3.
Lotus is 'shaven', lost wax Bronze. Height 16cm.

Plate 13 Padmasambhava with his Two Consorts
Padmasambhava was an Indian magician who brought the Tantric teachings to Tibet in the eighth century.
Lotus is repousse; the figures are lost wax. Height 12cm.

Plate 14
Padmasambhava with his two Consorts.
Lost wax Bronze. Height 15cm.

Plate 15 Stupa
Stupas are monuments symbolizing the totality of the teachings and achievements of Tantric Buddhism. The steps of the base represent: kindness, joy and equanimity. The steps leading towards and reaching just below the dome represent different spiritual stages. The dome symbolized awakening. The spire above the dome shows the different Tantric methods. On top of the spire is the lotus of the five wisdoms, on which is a sun resting on a crescent moon, symbolizing total integration
Wood Sculpture. Height 24cm.

Plate 16 White Tara
This Bronze is characterized by a single perforated lotus.
Entirely lost wax. Height 15.5cm. 19th Century.

SOME NATIVE MEDICINAL PLANTS OF THE WESTERN[1] GURUNG

Broughton Coburn
Kathmandu

Notice has been taken by field workers and villagers alike of the sparing use of and decreased interest in herbal medicines by the Gurungs. It is the purpose of this paper to show that not only did the Gurungs have a rich and systematic herbal tradition in recent history, but also that much of this tradition is unique to only the Gurungs, and is currently practiced or recognized to a greater extent than documented heretofore.

Outside of social interaction, the Gurungs are directly dependant on native and cultivated plants for almost every aspect of their livelihood. Plants are the source of their food, clothing and shelter, but they also play an extensive role in their recreation, decoration, religion and medicine. Further, the climatic and subsequent vegetative diversity

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1. Research for this paper was done throughout Syangja and Parbat Districts, and in Kaski District exclusive of the area to the west drained by the Madi River. Special acknowledgement goes to the Department of Medicinal Plants, Thapathali, Kathmandu for botanically classifying many of the collected specimens.

found within a day's walk of a northern Gurung village has made available a large variety of plants, from a sub-tropical habitat typified by bamboo and rice paddy at 1,000 m. through the temperate range to alpine pastures at 4,500 m. Medicinal herbs are collected from all these ecoclines, but those from the higher altitudes are said to be the more powerful.

A list of the Gurungs' medicinal use of cultivated and introduced plants would include over forty more species and cures. This is an interesting area for further research, but many of these have been tested for alkaloids and other possible active agents, and their ethnobotanical study may not open any new areas of the pharmacological research. Many of the medicinal uses of cultivated and introduced species are not unique to the Gurung.

It is also not within the scope of this paper to cover the religious and ritual uses of plants, due to the surprising vastness of material in this area, complicated by the considerable local variation in plants used for specific rituals. Suffice it to say that there are over sixty native species and many cultivated and introduced species which are of symbolic importance in Shamanic, Buddhist, and Hindu ceremonies *(Gitẽh*, N. *puja)*.[1] The ritual use of medicinal plants which have ceremonial functions are included here however, as this use often reflects on its medicinal value, and vice versa.

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1. Transliteration follows the system used by R.L. Turner in this volume. Plant names are listed Roman alphabetically by their Nepali name due to the greater variation and occasional absence of local Gurung names. In cases where there was no known Nepali name, the entry is included under the Gurung name. Plant names specific to other villages were quickly remarked upon by those who knew them, but little explanation was offered for this marked variation.

Wild food plants include another forty species, the hunters and shepherds depending on them for the bulk of their green vegetable consumption when travelling in the high hills (N. *lekh*) away from villages.

Typically, the forest-jungle adjacent to the Gurung village is a veritable natural pharmacy. It has the purported potential to cure almost any affliction affecting the Gurung of any age, and his livestock. "Sure" remedies have been reported for rabies, cholera and epilepsy. Water-buffalo aphrodisiacs, thorn extractors, and systemic leech repellents are examples of Gurung mountain drugs unavailable in a western pharmacopeia which might deserve more pharmacological investigation. Shepherds, hunters, and to a lesser extent firewood and fodder cutters are the most knowledgeable of native plants and their uses. These transhumanists and other hill travellers have transmitted orally much of the current folk and herbal remedy tradition from their antecedents, reinforced by their daily association with a wide variety of plants.

Several shepherds, lamenting the loss of sheep from grazing on poisonous plants (N. *bikh*, Grg. *mekĕ*), described how they can recognize poison antidote herbs by the lack of any poisonous plants growing in their near vicinity. The efficacy of this potential antidote can be tested by dropping ground pieces of the herb into a vessel of water containing the visible extract of any poisonous plant. If the ground antidote "chases" the poison around in the vessel, it is considered to be effective. One informant said that the "five-fingered" *pãc ãule* root is a good medicine for hand injuries because the tubers are shaped like a human hand. Similarly, several plants with milky sap are taken to stimulate lactation. This is a common method used earlier by some peoples for determining the medicinal value of a plant

by its anthorpomorphic characteristics, for which a pharmacopeia, the Doctrine of Signatures, was developed by the physician Paracelsus in the 16th century.

These and other accounts of uses of plants for medicine suggest the existence of an underwritten and ongoing tradition among the Gurung, distinct from Ayurvedic or Tibetan herbal medicine. Neither the Ayurvedic nor the Tibetan medicinal texts cover a number of genera of plants which are used exclusively by the Gurung. It is apparent that the uses of these plants originated empirically with the Gurung and/or were transmitted orally from another tribe.

The most highly regarded medicinal herb doctors were the Gurung *aamji* (Tib. doctor), lamas who had studied under Tibetan folk medicine doctors in Thak Khola or Tibet.[1]

Though they were familiar with the clinical use of many species of herbs, they often placed the emphasis of their practice of folk medicine on the healing powers of non-plant materials and ritual cures: a rhinocerous horn, musk deer hooves, and a selection of bird droppings were standard ingredients in their medicine bags. Except for some remedies borrowed from the shepherds and hunters, the authentic *aamji* diagnosed diseases and prescribed folk medicine according to the Tibetan texts. Though plants named in these texts usually correspond to the same genera of the plants in the Gurungs' herb collection area, the species are frequently

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1. The Gurung *aamji* are of the *lama* clan (car jaat) and there are apparently only a handful of them left. One *aamji* informant living near Paundar in Kaski District, operates a small dispensary offering a unique combination of western and folk medicine. He stated that the western medicine is much easier and slightly more profitable. Thakali *aamji* are more numerous than Gurung *aamji* though there were none met outside of Thak Khola.

not the same as those used by the Tibetans. Even among the same species, ecotypic variation is marked, and herb collectors are quick to comment that though a specimen from high altitude may be smaller than a low altitude specimen, it is proportionately more powerful medicinally. A favorite analogy is made that just as hill peoples are stronger and more rugged than their valley brothers, and subsequently have more of the "sap of life" (N. *rasilo*), so the alpine plants have more potent sap than the lowland specimens. Many of the more common traditional Tibetan remedies are known by shephereds and villagers alike.

The herbs listed in traditional Ayurvedic texts which occur near Gurung villages are somewhat more widely known, though generally considered to be less powerful than the Tibetan folk medicine. These medicines are prescribed by self-styled herb doctors, usually *car jaat* sub-caste who have studied Sanskrit herb texts and traditions passed down from an elder relative. Similarly, though the Nepali local names are the same and the plants similar, the species collected by the Gurungs frequently do not correspond to those referred to in Ayurvedic texts.

The hunters and shepherds of the high pasture stressed that one must be of a benevolent spiritual nature before attempting to collect herbs from the highest alpine areas; neglect of respect for the irritable mountain deities (N. *deuta*) would result in bad luck, headache, nausea, or in extreme cases, death. They also claimed existence of "virtually inaccessible" plants offering long life or freedom from disease and hunger, assuming a person could find and subsist exclusively on those particular herbs. Two shepherds described a twenty-meter high phosphorescent tree growing on the glaciers of Macchapuchhre; the glowing orange flowers imbue prolonged physical and sexual endurance when ingested.

Renowned lamas and folk doctors disavowed any extensive knowledge of herbal medicine, while acclaiming the new expediency of western allopathic drugs, the availability of Ayurvedic and homeopathic preparations, and the spiritual (traditional) importance of disease-exorcising rites. One villager suggested that a person relapsing or dying after herbal treatment may leave the folk doctor legally responsible, while ritual treatment allows the spiritual healer to transfer all responsibility to the offended spirit. Elder villagers agreed that before western medicines and health facilities were known, herbal medicine was the backbone of all disease treatment which did not prescribe ritual exorcism. Currently, internal and topical medicines are distinct and mutually exclusive of ritual cures; where one is prescribed, the other is said to be totally ineffective. A lama in Armala who had studied under a now-deceased *aamji* said that certain rock fragments and animal organs are "bigger medicine" than plants, but his lack of interest in herbs did not belie his knowledge. When shown plant specimens or asked about a specific herb remedy, the herb doctors and elder villagers recognized them with surprising facility. One self-styled "ignorant" woman in Ghandrung, Parbat District, recognized 85 out of 103 specimens shown, and described the uses and methods of preparation for over sixty of them.

Of those under thirty-five years of age, only the shepherds were found to recognize a considerable number of medicinal herbs in the field, and primarily those of the high pasture. Also, elder villagers could identify many pressed specimens taken from high altitudes despite not having visited there in many years. Even some villagers who had never travelled above the treeline recognized nearly as many of these alpine species.

Many informants were skilled in locating certain herbs and trees, and would scramble well off the trail to retrieve

them. If they did not know of a specific clump or area where they had previously seen a particular plant, they would know well its habitat, whether on the edge of a field, in a forest ravine, or on a north facing scree slope. Furthermore, they universally knew beforehand what biological stage the plant would be in at the time, especially in the case of ripening berries. In collecting medicine for *beghar*, (see below), the plants are collected and prepared preferably on a Sunday or Tuesday, also auspicious days for the collection of other medicinal herbs.

A simple process of filtration (N. *kaparchān*) almost identical to the Tibetat concentration method[1] is employed with some herbs to obtain a stronger and relatively pure medicinal extract: the herb or herbal combination is boiled from one to three hours, allowed to cool slightly, and then poured through a layer of coarse cloth into a large copper vessel. If it does not crystallize upon cooling, it is further boiled and stirred until it crystallizes or precipitates.

A few informants preferred to collect specimens alone and return with them to the village, rather than take a foreigner into the collection territory. One lama (Gurung sub-caste) informant was seen by a villager to be heading in the opposite direction from his stated intention. The reluctance of herb doctors and some other Gurungs to show outsiders the collection sites appears to stem primarily from a hostility toward Indians and Nepalis contracted to collect herbs for Ayurvedic doctors and modern drug companies. These plant collectors reportedly carry out "baskets full" of roots and plant tissue without registering with the Panchayat authorities who claim jurisdiction over the collection of medicinal herbs.

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1. As described in Rechung Rimpoche's *Tibetan Medicine*.

Special note should be made here of some specific afflictions which appear occasionally in the herb list:

Epilepsy (N. *cārmāne rog, chāre rog, bākhre betha,* Grg. *ra betha),* and epileptic fits are brought on according to most villagers by the "susceptible" person having seen a large expanse of a single bright color. Staring at someone wearing a bright blue or red shirt, or just visiting the blue waters of Phewa Lake has been known to initiate an attack. Water is especially avoided by the epileptic.

N. Grg. *kapaṭ* is a term for generally internal ailments caused by eating food that has been hexed by a witch (Grg. *pumsyo).* The person believed to be a witch need only have seen someone eating (esp., tasty or expensive food) for infection of the hex. Diagnosis is obtained by pulse reading (Grg. *naṛi ṅyoba).*

N. Grg. *kuphat* in normal speech refers to indigestion from "bad food", though some elderly Gurungs equated *kuphat* with typhoid or other high fever.

N. Grg. *gaano* was described as a knob-like pain in ther stomach (ulcer?), usually diagnosed by pulse reading.

N. Grg. *beghar* was considered to be the same as *kapaṭ* by some, though most informants claimed that a witch's hex was not an essential vector of the symptoms of malaise common to *beghar.*

Diagnosis for virtually all afflictions, including those which prescribe ritual treatment, is done by pulse reading. One informant of the lama sub-caste emphasized the importance of five heartbeats for every exchange of breath, and that the amount of deviation from this norm is an indication of the degree of illness. The *aamji* informants remarked that they did count and

compare the pulse and breathing, but that it is not diagnostic, and they concentrated primarily on other unverbalized factors to identify the disease.

Unless otherwise noted, plant use descriptions were independently offered, usually with only slight variation, by at least two informants from separate villages, and were recognized as having the same or similar use in at least two other villages.

Gurung plant names common to three or more villages are listed without any area designation, and are generally understood within the Western Gurung range. Those names peculiar to a smaller area and not mutually recognizable within the Western range are geographically designated as follows:

A. Armala village, Kaski District.
Gk. Ghachowk village, Kaski District.
Gl. Ghalel village, Kaski District.
P. Paundar village, Kaski District.
Gd. Ghandrung village, Parbat District.
K. Kolma village, Syangja District.

As in other developing countries, the folk medicine that was once common knowledge and practice among the Gurung is dying out with the remaining elders of the population. All are aware of the inherent value of medicinal herbs, and some of the more efficacious remedies are being transmitted unchanged; but the young are especially impressed by the wonders of modern medicine, in conformity with their changing social values and the wider availability of the drugs.

This plant list is far from comprehensive, and may contain some contradictory information in spite of conscientious cross-references. It is intended to suggest the rich herbal medical tradition that existed, perhaps only recently, in Gurung

history, but of which only a shadow remains today in practice, hopefully lending insight to the depth to which Gurungs believe both in the vested powers of particular plants, and in the inherent value of all living things.

N. *ābijāla* Grg. *tuhi nori* sub-tropical to temperate

This epiphytic vine is ground with *ghoṛ tapre* and eaten for fevers and *gaano*, and mixed with water for a cooling tonic. The fibre from the vine is used in making winnowing trays.

N. *ākhās beli* Grg. *dyo dyoali* Eng. Dodder
Cuscuta reflexa Roxb. temperate

The nuts of this leafless parasite are eaten raw for nourishment or ground into powder for the treatment of *gaano*.

N. *ārkālo* Grg. *kālo maśi* ("black ink" in Nepali) Sub-alpine
Quercus fenestrata

The fruit of this high altitude plant is ground and applied to lodged thorns and splinters, purportedly causing immediate expulsion. The plant was used earlier for making writing ink.

N. *airalu/indreyani* Grg. *nae oṭe* Eng. bitter apple
Citrullus colocynthis K. *nae phaltuh*
nae pharla temperate

The roots of the cucumber-like vine are ground when fresh for a topical antiseptic, and is generally known to be superior to *ārkālo* for thorn and splinter extraction, esp. the embedded spine of a small insect (*ṭĩ ṭiśo*) which is frequently stepped on and notorious for its severe septic infections. The fruit is used in buffalo aphrodisiac preparations, and eaten by man when ripe. Washed in ash-water to reduce the bitterness and

then fried, it is said to be helpful in malaria and pneumonia treatment.

N. *aĩselu*	Grg. *palhã*	Golden evergreen raspberry
Rubus ellipticus Smith		temperate

Though generally eaten raw, the ripe berries (achenes) are cooked in a large pot until they turn black, and stored in bottles. Drunk as a tonic for sore throat-

N. *amrisa*	P. *mraa*	temperate
Thysanolaena maxima	K. Gl. *mro kuca*	

The roots are ground and applied to milk rashes and irritations, and are said to be most effective on boils (Grg. *rhũ*). In Kolma, the flowering spike is ground and eaten for heartburn (*ti naba*). The leaves are used in rituals by *lama* subcaste lamas for dispersing holy water (arg. *phwi kyu*), and the plant is widely cultivated for brooms, made from flowering spikes.

N. *angale jhār*	Grg. *angale no*	temperate weed
Ageratum conyzoides	Linn.	

In Armala, the leaves are smashed in the hands and applied to thorns lodged in the feet.

N. Grg. *aśuro*	sub-tropical, on field margins
Adhatoda vasica Nees.	

The flower of this common plant is collected in November-December, dried, ground and ingested for blood-free dysentery. In Armala, the leaf buds are ground with *ghoṛ tāpre* and taken for nausea.

N. *bãko* Grg. *khyõbale* temperate forest
Arisaema sp.

For fevers and stomach gas, the lower stem of this poisonous jungle herb is ground and eaten in very small quantities.

N. *bãs* Grg. *rĩ* Eng. Bamboo
Dendrocalmus strictus sub-tropical

The water from the hollow of a freshly cut bamboo is fed to children for the control of nocturnal micturition. Older trees yield a white excrecense from the nodes which is mixed with water for a cooling tonic or applied directly to infected sores as an antiseptic. Jessie Glover notes that "the *mhõ* is a spirit of a person who has not reached the village of the dead. They are said to live in bamboo clumps or under stones. Whenever young people walk around the village at night, they will always go around in a group and will sing very loudly especially as they go by the bamboo clumps in order to combat their fears of the *mhõ*,"[1]

N. Grg. *baṛahar* A. *baral* sub-tropical forest
Artocarpus lakoocha Roxb.

The trunk of this large tree is tapped and the sap is drunk or the bark is ground and ingested for missing menstrual period (*kho noba*). In Armala, the sap is drunk for kidney stones.

N. *baṛmale/banbare* Grg. *ṭhõṛa* alpine meadow
Oxyria digyria Hill

The roots, stems and leaves are cooked and eaten for dysentery. Red chilis are not eaten with this.

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1. Glover, Jessie, *Some Religious Beliefs and Practices Current Among the Gurung*, unpublished, 1974, p. 3.1.7.

N. Grg. *ban kapās* — temperate forests

For *kapaṭ* or other infections caused by evil spirits, a length of cord fashioned from the fibers of this plant is blown on and beaten upon the affected person, especially in localized pain areas. In Ghalel, the roots are ground, mixed in water and fed to man or livestock for internal injuries resulting from falls.

N. Grg. *ban silām* — Grg. *ṭana*
Elholtzia blanda

The leaves of this herb are squeezed between the palms and rubbed on cracked blisters and foot callouses. In Kolma, the dried seeds are ground and applied topically to scabies. In Paundar, these ground seeds are eaten to kill stomach parasites.

N. *batkyãulo* — Grg. *ṭibru*; Gk. *ṭipur*; K. *ṭipru* — open sub-tropical forests

The small seeds are ground and eaten raw for diarrhoea, dysentery and stomach ailments. Pieces of this wood are placed under the eaves of the house to ward away the wandering spirits of the deceased (*mhŏ*).

N. G. *bethe*
Chenopodium album Linn. — temperate to sub-alpine

The small seeds of this plant are boiled in cows' milk and drunk for muscle ailments. In Ghandrung, the seeds are ground and fried in cows' milk for *gaano*.

N. G. *bhaĩyar/baher*
Ziziphus jujuba Lam. — sub-tropical

The inner seed is ground and stirred in goats' milk, then drunk for rashes and skin blemishes.

N. *bhalãyo* Grg. *khur sĩ*
Semecarpus anacardium Linn.

In Armala, leaves from this tree are sprinkled with ashes, fried in butter and fed to water buffalo as an aphrodisiac. There is an allergic reaction to the touch of this bark in some people, a rash that will disappear upon repetition of a special mantra. In Kolma the rash is said to disappear within three days of placing a twig of this tree on top of the grinding mill, or if some dirt from the vicinity of the tree is rubbed on the rash.

N. *bhẽṛe kuro* Grg. *kyu tini*
Clematis grewaefolia

The twigs and fruit of this herb are ground or ingested raw, often with the stem of *kaalo niuro*, and taken for *beghar*. The ground twigs are added to Brewer's yeast (*pā mãe*), purportedly imparting taste and vigor to the mash.

N. *bhoj patra* Grg. *kella* temperate forest
Betula utilis D. Don. S. *bhus pāt* Eng. Himalayan Silver Birch

For chills from fever, a *jantar* (written prayer) is written on this birch leaf with ink expressed from a *khayar* seed. The leaf is important in many rituals for its protective properties, and its paper-like bark and resinous pitch have several household uses.

N. *bhorla/bhorlacaur* Gl. *peli*
A. *ple*

The flat dark-red seeds are ground, cooked, and ingested for stomach disorders.

N. *bhudro*
Berberis aristata DC.

Gk. *tisyaa*
Gl. *komme*
P. *gome*
A. *kobe*

Eng. Berberry
temperate, sub-alpine

Similar to *cutro (B. asiatica)*, the inner wood is boiled until a yellow sap exudes, which is put in the eyes for eye pain. In Ramja Kot the tea of the wood is drunk, and fed to animals as a pain reliever.

N. *bhutkeś*
Gnetaceae family

Grg. *talẽi tā*
A. *tani ṭaa*

high alpine meadow

Of black, brown and white varieties mentioned, the brown was claimed to be the most efficacious and best of this alpine herb. The roots and leaves of all varieties are dried, ground and burned as incense in the stables of livestock infected with a witch's or other malicious spirit's hex. By man, the burned incense fumes are generally inhaled to eradicate a cold or fever.

N. *bhyāgur*
Dioscorea deltoidea Wall

K. *tẽco*
R. *tẽthar*
P. *tẽtura*
A. *thẽjo*

primarily temperate

The tubers of this climbing plant are boiled or roasted and eaten for roundworm. It is also taken to alleviate side-aches and constipation.

N. *bilāuni*
Maesa chisia D. Don.

Grg. *chõṭe*

In Armala, the ground leaves and roots of this small tree are said to make a health tonic especially good for the body aches

and pains caused by a deity disturbed by disrespect or neglect (*mhi sarap jhõba*). Only the branch of this tree can be used to suspend the live chicken in the shamanic ceremony (alternatively *ghyã̃ śeba, mhõ tõba,* or *ceni phreba)* performed thirteen days after the death of a villager, blocking the return road to earth from the wandering dead spirit (*mhõ*).

N. Grg. *bojho* — Eng. Sweet flag rhizome.

Acorus calamus Linn. — Sub-tropical

The rhizomes are chewed as a cough medicine, and for laryngitis.

N. *buki phul/bhaki phul* — Grg. *ṭapṭa/he-ṭapṭa* — temperate

Anaphalis contorta (temperate)

A. *triplinervis* (sub-alpine)

A. *napṭa*

These common weeds are gathered in bunches when flowering in the fall and hung from the ceiling of the house as a cockroach repellent.

N. *cãtra niuro* — Grg. *Yopla lowta* — temperate forest

Diplazium sp.

The new shoots of this fern are cooked and eaten for dysentery and stomach aches, imparting a good taste to other vegetables cooked with it.

N. *cari amilo* — R.P. *kyũpro* — temperate forest

Oxalis corniculata Linn. — K.A. *nwa kyumro*

Gk. *nawār kyũ*

In Armala the flowers, and in Kolma the leaves of this small herb are expressed in the hands and applied to the eyes for cataracts and other eye ailments. The leaves are also wrapped

in a cloth rag, twisted tightly and then rubbed vigorously on leather army belts as a polish and conditioner.

N. *chālne sisnu* — Grg. *nai pulu/ nai polo* — Sub-tropical to temperate forest
Girardinia palmata

For diarrhoea, the long root fibers (*nai*) are wrapped around the waist and tied. For dimness of vision, the leaves are cooked and eaten.

N. *cilāuni* — Grg. *khyŭ sĩ* — Sub-tropical
Schima wallicii Chois.

The ground nut is a widely known medicine for scorpion and millipede bites, applied topically. The bark is ground, cooked, filtered and fed to livestock for red-water disease (*lāl muti*). The bark is also crumbled and thrown in streams as a fish poison.

N. *ciple* — Grg. *plhe ṭā* (slippery vegetable)
A. *pre ṭā*

For sore throats the nut of this tree is ground, stirred in water, and drunk. The slippery inner bark is powdered in the *kuni* grain thresher and added to bread mix as a leavener and conditioner.

N. *culthi amilo* — Grg. *khaghyõ/khaghyŭ*
Rheum emodi Wall. — Eng. *rhubarb*
Meadows at 3,500 M.

The roots (N. *padam cāl*) are boiled and eaten for relief of backaches and other bodily pains, and are frequently fed to livestock as a general panacea. The roots also yield a bright yellow fast dye for which it is sold in the Pokhara bazaar. The extract from the edible petiole is applied topically to

the forehead for relief of headaches and fevers and is occasionally applied to contusions or broken limbs. The petioles are also collected in quantity, dried in the village, stripped into long threads, braided into shanks and stored for addition to cooked vegetables, purportedly helpful in digestion.

N. Grg. *cutro* Grg. occ. *cuduru*
Berberis asiatica

The bark and inner wood is crushed and boiled, yielding a yellow sap which is put in the eyes for conjunctivitis. In Ghandrung the inner seed of this edible fruit is used similarly.

N. *cyaau* Grg. *cyãbo* (ground variety) Eng. *mushroom*
nā kru (epiphytic variety)
A. *naa krumo*
S. *dhurbe cyabo*

One large edible ground variety is applied directly to skin abrasions. Several epiphytic species are fried and eaten.

N. *daĩdāli/adahi jālo* Grg. occ. *dāna masi*
Calicarpa macrophylla

The bark is ground and mixed in food for treating *kuphat*. The small white fruits are eaten for their raw sweet taste. The new stem tissue is ground and swallowed with water for throat aches. Pignède equates this with '*bhot guyãli*' used for boils on the tongue though this was not recognized in Ghandrung.

N. *damaura* Grg. *damphal*

The large fruit is ground and ingested, or eaten raw, ripe, or unripe, for cholera and diarrhoea.

N. *dhāka/dhakai* Grg. *khlyã klẽ* temperate forest
Arisaema sp.

The fermented leaves are cooked and eaten as a green vegetable, said to alleviate dysentery and other stomach troubles. In Ramja Kot the seeds and stems are ground and eaten for dysentery.

N. Grg. *dhãiyāri* primarily subtropical
Woodfordia fructicosa Kurz.

The dried flower is soaked in hot or cold water, then drunk for stomach aches and dysentery. The bark is also boiled and used for tanning leather, imparting a reddish color.

N. Grg. *dhaturo* temperate
Datura spp.

In Armala, the fruit is crushed and fed to buffalo as an aphrodisiac. In Kolma, a small amount of this poisonous fruit extract is ingested after being bitten by a rabid dog.

N. *dubo* A. *no dubo* temperate to alpine
Cynodon dactylon Linn (Pers.)

In Ghandrung, this grass is ground with marble dust and the *Pyãuli* plant and applied topically to infected wounds or boils, the poultice being held in place with 'Nepali paper'. The leaves are deemed to have auspicious properties (N. *coko*) playing a role in many rituals, primarily Hindu.

N. G. *ekle bir* A. *ek phãle bikh* open temperate forest
Lobelia pyramidalis Wall.

The expressed root juice is boiled and eaten for infertility in women.

N. Grg. *gaulaaṭa* sub-alpine
*Lacanthus pedunculari*s Royle

The roots of this herb are ground and applied topically to sprains and dislocations.

N. Grg. *ghoṛ tāpre* Eng. *water pennywort*
Centella asiatica (Linn.) Urban

To reduce high fevers, the leaves of this common village plant are squeezed vigorously between the hands and massaged into the forehead and stomach. In Armala, the entire plant is ground and included in the preparation for epilepsy, and when taken alone is said to be efficacious in the treatment of *gaano, kuphat* and painful urination.

N. *giṭa*
Dioscorea bulbifera

K.R. *kāmlo*
Gk.P. *seka*
A. *khã́syo*

The bitter tasting fruit of this spreading vine is sliced and boiled in a thick ash-water mixture for one hour. After rinsing in cold water it is ingested for treatment of intestinal parasites.

N. *gol kã̄kri*
Melothria heterophylla

R. *tus putu* sub-tropical
A. *thã̄ kaja*
Gk. Gl. *those kudo*
P. *thosār katu*

The fleshy fruit of this open forest vine is eaten raw, and the seeds ground and eaten with water for sore throat and as a cooling tonic. It is also said to be medicine for *kuphat*, headaches and malaria.

N. *goru aĩselu/gaai auselu* Grg. *mɛ palhã* temperate forest climbers
Rubus rugosus
R. paniculatus

In Ghandrung the bark is ground and applied topically to scabies and other rashes. The berries are eaten raw or cooked for

N. *gundergāno/gujergāno* Grg. *tāmarkhi*
Tinospora sp.

The large tuber of this vine-like plant is threshed, mixed with rice flour or wheat flour and fed to cattle in treatment of red-water disease (*lāl muti*). The tuber is also cut into chunks and thrown at an arriving bridegroom's party. Two informants claimed existence of a rare phosphorescent variety of this plant, *mhroghya tāmarkhi*, available at only the highest limit of vegetation. It is said to be a powerful panacea.

N. *gurãs* Grg. *poṭṭhā* Eng. *rhododendron*
Rhododendron spp. Gd. *poth*
Gk. *puṭṭā*

The flowers of the red-flowering varieties are collected in the spring, dried, ground, and mixed in food to cure diarrhoea. For throat aches, the red flowers are eaten raw. If a fishbone is caught in one's throat, repeating the word *gurãs* three times is reportedly sufficient to dislodge it.

N. *gwĩyãli/guyeli* Grg. *tibru* sub-tropical to temperate
Eleagnus latifolia Linn. Gl. *timru*
K. *khruni*

The sweet red fruit of this shrub is eaten in May and June for its cooling properties. The crushed roots are fed to children to reduce fevers. In Kilma, witches are said to have a weakness

for the taste of this plant, and a plate made of the leaves containing ashes and a chili pepper is placed on the road to repel them.

N.G. *hāṛjor* Eng. *common mistletoe*
Viscum album Linn.

Informants alternately described the roots, fruits, bark or leaves as being ground or crushed and applied topically to breaks, sprains, and bruises. In Armala, the fruits are cooked, wrapped into a compress.

N. *halhale* Grg. *ulbi*
Rumex nepalensis P. *ulphi*

Common near animal sheds, the leaves are crushed and rubbed on white patches on the skin caused by vitamin C deficiency. In Ghandrung the roasted roots are ground and used similarly. The fresh leaves are cooked and eaten by those suffering from nausea or diarrhoea. In Armala, a plant called *ṭārkhya ulbi* (N. *seto halhale*), *Cynoglossum* sp. is used in a preparation for the treatment of epilepsy.

N. *hari unio* Grg. *chĩgã̃* temperate forest
Diplazium polypodoides Bl. P. *cyiã̃*

The root juice is expressed and applied to open cuts as an antiseptic. The entire plant is placed outside above the door for *lute waaba.*[1]

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1. "Scabies exorcism". On the first day of the month of Srawan (mid-July), these and up to twenty species of plants are used as ritual protection against an outbreak of scabies.

N. Grg. *jamuna* — Grg. *jamuna si*; Gk. occ. *tijù*

The fruit of this plant is dried and powdered, then stirred in water and drunk for diarrhoea and stomach pain. Occasionally eaten raw when ripe.

N. Grg. *jatamãśi* — Gk. *jermaśi* — Eng. *spike nard*
Nardostachys jatamansi DC. — sub-alpine

The dried leaves and pedicel are burned as incense to ward off evil spirits. The smoke is directed over the affected person's or animal's body. Used primarily for treating livestock.

N. *jhãu* — Grg. *leto* (on rocks); *chepal* (epiphytic); Gk. *chama mhwi*
Lichen spp.

The lichen is occasionally picked fresh, rubbed between the hands and dusted on open cuts and abrasions. A holy purified plant according to Hindu religious tradition, it is used ritually in *narayan puja* and other rituals for its 'cleaning effect'.

N. *kaalo niuro* — Grg. *yopla kuta/mhro kuta*; R. *kuturge* — open sub-tropical forest
Tectaria macrodonta

The roots of this fern are ground and eaten for beghar, dysentery and diarrhoea. The new leaf shoots are cooked and eaten, which Pignède says is taken for stomach ailments.[1]

N. Grg. *kãlsinkha* — Grg. occ. *Mhroghya Sinkha* — field margins
Cheilanthes albomarginata

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1. Pignède, Bernard, *Les Gurungs*.

The new leaves of this small fern are ground and eaten for treatment of *gaano* and stomach gas. The roots are ground and ingested in case of giardiasis. A piece of the (black) petiole is inserted as an antiseptic filler to keep pierced ear and nose holes from closing.

	Grg. *keje*	alpine meadows
Rheum moorcroftianum	Gk. *kesa*	

Shepherds and hunters dry and smoke the leaves of this herb in a pipe for sinusitis.

N. *kharsu*	Grg. *pyena*	Eng. *Kharsu Oak*
Quercus semicarpifolia	P. *pyeno*	temperate forest

The trunk or foot of an aged tree is tapped on the scar tissue of a broken branch or other injury, and the sap collected. Heated and drunk as a tea, it relieves muscular aches, though it is occasionally taken simply for its cooling properties.

N. *kukur dāino*	P. *ṅe kre*	temperate forest
Smilax spp.	A.K. *nāi khre*	
	R. *nagi krai-krai*	
	Gl. Gk. *nae re*	

The tender new shoots are eaten raw or made into a digestion-stimulating chutney. The stems and leaves are used for *lute waaba*, and in Syangja district the stem is used in building the *pīlah* symbolic funerary image. The berries of *S. macrophylla* are eaten raw.

N. *kurkure ghãs*	Grg. *kurkure no*	Eng. Horsetail
Equisetum spp.	Gk. *mi thu*	moist lowland ravines

The raw plant is ground and eaten for *kuphat*, and for its cooling properties.

N. Grg. *kumkum* — moist rocky ravines 2,000 — 3,000 M.
Didymocarpus leucocalyx C.B.Cl.

The basal leaf tissue (N. *satte jiban*) of this cliffside herb is burned as incense to ward away evil spirits. It is also dried, powdered and mixed in vegetable oil. Applied to the hair, village women claim that the scented tonic stimulates hair growth.

N. *kurila* — K. Gl. *lhodu* — Sub-tropical
Asparagus racemosus Willd. — Gk. *pwitu/pattu*
R. *lutur*
A. *pajo toro*

The tubers are ground and eaten for varicose veins, and used as laundry soap. The new shoots are made into a tasty chutney which is said by some to be a panacea. The leaves and stems are used in *lute waaba*.

N. Grg. *kuṭki* — Eng. Gentian
Picrorhiza scrophulariaeflora — sub-alpine

The bitter tea made from the ground roots of this high altitude herb is highly valued for its efficacy in reducing fevers. The root extract is applied to livestock wounds as an anti-parasitic.

N. Grg. *kyāmuna/kemana* — sub-tropical

The dried leaves and bark of this tall tree are rolled into cigarettes or smoked in a pipe for sinusitis and colds. The ground bark is occasionally boiled into a mash and swallowed for coughs and colds. In the vicinity of villages there are few of these trees without scars where the bark has been chipped away for this popular medicine.

N. *lãkuri* Grg. *rãguli* Eng. Ash
K. *rãuli*

In Ramja Kot, sap is collected from between the cambium and bark of this tree and mixed with a small amount of water, turning a deep violet color. This paste is used as a substitute for gentian violet antiseptic.

N. *lasune sāg* Grg. *no ṭā* Eng. Wild garlic
Allium wallichii Kunth

The wild garlic bulb is boiled, fried in ghee and eaten for cholera and diarrhoea. It is a common ingredient in stomach tonics.

N. *lausi/lapsi* Grg. *khaĩyã*
Spondias axillaris Roxb.

The succulent sour fruits of this large tree are eaten with the ground inner stone, in splenomegaly (N. *phiyo baṛnu*).

N. Grg. *lũṛe kãṛa* Grg. occ. *lũṛe pujho* temperate forests
Smaranthus spinosus Linn.

Considered a good diuretic and laxative, the entire plant is crushed, mixed with water and ingested. In northern Kaski District a paste made from the crushed roots is applied topically to the navel to stimulate urination. The plant is used in fashioning the *plah*, symbolic funerary image.

N. Grg. *lute jhār* sub-tropical forests

The expressed leaf juice of this jungle plant is put on parasite-infected wounds of livestock. The leaves are essential in *lute waaba*.

N. *māne* Gl. Gk. *jhalkho* moist temperate forests
colocasia spp.

The epiphytic species are ground with the bark and the leaves of *ciple sagi* and applied externally to skin rashes and boils.

N. *magar kãici* — Grg. *kyũbro* — temperate forests
begonia picta — A. *kyũmrũ*

The stems of this herb are collected, crushed in the grain thresher and eaten in loss of appetite. The leaves are crushed and rubbed on pained nipples, man and animal's, or made into a tasty chutney.

Grg. *malkiśri*
Desmodium sp.

In October the seeds are dried, ground and applied to cuts as an antiseptic.

N. *malo/amilo* — Grg. *ãsikra*
Viburnum stellulatum — A. *ācita*
K. *narjhõ*
Gk. *ehrā*

The acidic fruit is crushed and ingested as a stimulant, or boiled until thick and added to chutneys. Pignède shows the wood of this tree as fashioning the center axis of the *plah* symbolic funerary image.

N. Grg. *neramsĩ/nermasi* — alpine meadows
Aconitum spp. — Eng. Monkshood

The red variety of this high altitude plant is distinguished from the unused white variety (though they are possibly the same species) in this way: the roots are dug and the tubers cut slightly. The white starch of only the red variety oxidizes to a deep red color within seconds, while that of the white variety remains white. The ground tubers are ingested primarily as a poison antidote, and are often fed to

sheep which have grazed on poisonous plants. It is also taken to reduce fevers, and in alcohol intoxication. Pignède mentions its topical use on burns.

N. Grg. *pākhan bhed* — sub-alpine meadows
Saxifraga parnassifolia

For backaches, rheumatism and bodily pains the ginger-like root is peeled and fried in ghee. In Syangja district it is believed that young girls won't have children if they eat it, though there was no known intentional use of it for birth control. The ground root is also added to the food of livestock affected with red-water disease (N. *lāl muti*).

N. *rukh pānggra* — R. *prome* — temperate forests
Entada scadens — P. *preme*
Gl. *prami*

The large circular nut is ground on a stone and applied to boils, rashes and irritations, and rubbed in the noses of grazing livestock during the monsoon as a leech repellent. The fleshy part of the seed is also fed to livestock in small doses as a vermifuge. Honey collected from bees which have collected nectar from this tree is intoxicating when eaten.

N. *pāni amala* — Grg. *kyu phĭ* — moist temperate undergrowth
Nephrolepis cordifolia — K. *na pre*
Polystichum leutium

The underground rhizome of this small fern is washed and eaten raw as a cooling agent.

N. *pāni saro* — Grg. *kyeoṛa* — moist sub-tropical undergrowth

The succulent shoots are crushed and rubbed on the body as a cooling lotion. The roots are used in treating sinusitis. The plant is used in *lute waaba*.

N. *paiyũ* Grg. *cyārbu/payem/paẽ* open temperate forests
Prunus cerasoides D. Don. K. *thaar kyaarba sI* Himalayan cherry

In Paundar, the inner wood is crushed to a paste in the grain thresher and allowed to sit, turning black upon oxidation. The paste is then applied to venereal infections (N. *biringi*). The wood is used to fashion spiritually protective walking canes, and is essential in many shamanic rituals, deemed to be powerful in warding off the *mhõ*, a deceased's returning spirit.

N. Grg. *phacyāṅ* open forests and fields

The bitter ginger-like tuber is eaten raw for chronic coughs and colds, and in laryngitis it is said to bring back the voice immediately. In Kolma, slices of the tuber are stabbed onto small stakes made of *mah (Arundinaria* spp.) to ward off the *mhõ*.

N. Grg. *pustākaṛi* highest alpine meadows

An extremely rare high alpine plant. Shepherds and hunters in the Annapurna-Macchapuchare area describe it as a small herb supporting an insect which ascends the inside of the flower stalk, causing it to sway back and forth. For headaches and dizziness it is burned and the smoke inhaled, and is said to make a rejuvenating tonic able to resuscitate those who have been dead less than a few minutes. The Department of Medicinal Plants, Thapathali, has an unidentified specımen meeting this name and description.

N. *pyāuli* Grg. *nimẽ pā* common along walls

The leaves, flowers and stems are crushed and applied topically to bee stings, insect bites and thorn stabs. In Kolma, the roots are ground and eaten for stomach pains.

N. *rakta candan/rāto candan* Grg. *olche* temperate forests

The bark is mixed with other folk medicines in a preparation to stimulate menstrual flow. The powered bark is also occasionally added to distilled alcohol for taste.

N. Grg. *seto bihã/thulo bihã*
Lecanthus pedicularis

The plant is cooked with a specimen of *tin pāte (Dichroa Febriguga)* which has leaves in whorls of three. The infusion is ingested to correct chronic dizziness. The plant is also used in treatment of epilepsy.

N. *sāldhup/guguldhup* Grg. *siuri* temperate forest
Pinus longifolia Roxb.

The resin is mixed with yogurt and ingested for diarrhoea and flatulence. The resin is burned as incense and the smoke directed over the body of dogs infested with dog flies (Grg. *nomuse*).

N. *sarpa makai* Grg. *puri makhaẽ* open temperate forest
Arisaema tortuosum (Wall.) Schott.

During the monsoon, a pinch of the fruit is mixed with marijuana (*Cannabis sativa*) into an intoxicating drink and ingested for treatment of malaria and pneumonia.

N. Grg. *satuwa/satuba* temperate forest
Paris polyphylla Smith

The peeled rhizome is ground and ingested as a poison or narcotic antidote, or as a general stomach tonic when mixed in hot water. In Ramja, it is also applied topically to open wounds. According to Pignède, in Mohoriya the ground rhizome is mixed with water and applied to the forehead with fine paper, as a poultice for headaches.

N. Grg. *siũŗi* — common around villages

Euphorbia royleana Boiss.

The leaves are roasted and the exudant put in childrens' ears for earaches. The thorn is used for piercing the ears of the newborn. During the monsoon the poisonous milky sap is applied topically to joint aches and a small pinch can be ingested for *beghar.* It is said that one will go blind if the milky sap enters the eyes. The stem is essential for *lute waaba.*

N. *silṭimur* — Grg. *kutũm*; A. *kutu*; K. *silṭumri* — open temperate forests

The nuts are picked in August, chewed and swallowed raw, or mixed in chutney for diarrhoea, nausea and flatulence.

N. *sisnu* — Grg. *pulu*; Gl. P. *polo*; A. *palo* — Eng. Nettle

Urtica dioica Linn.

In cold weather and for chills, the leaves are boiled in place of tea. In Ramja, the plant is used as a medicine for bites from non-rabid dogs.

N. *sun phul* — Gk. *basanta*; A. *sun pwaeki phul* — high alpine scree slopes above 4,000 M.

Tanacetum nubigenum

This small herb is burned and it's smoke passed through the clothes for removal of body lice. Leaves kept in the pocket are also an effective lice and insect repellent.

N. *tarul* — Grg. *timi/temẽ* — Eng. Wild yam

Dioscorea pentaphylla — temperate forest

The raw tuber is said to be an effective tuberculosis remedy when eaten daily. The cooked yam is peeled and eaten to

reduce malarial fevers but is avoided when there are any open cuts on the body, as it is said to aggravate them.

N. *tiwāre phul* Grg. *tiwāre ṭa*
Inula cappa Gk. *ḍõṛhã̃*

The roots are ground and worn in a poultice on the head for localized headaches. The flowers are an ingredient in making brewing yeast *(paa maẽ)*.

N. *thakāilo/thakāli kã̄ṛa* Grg. *me pulu*
Sub-alpine var.: *Morina longifolia*

The raw or dried roots are eaten as a cooling agent.

N. *thur* Grg. *kaṭbõbho* Eng. Orchid
Gl. Gd. *kakabõmo*

In Northern Kaski District the pseudobulbs are crushed and eaten for stomach ulcers, or cooked in ghee and taken by women to stimulate lactation. The milky leaf sap is a cooling body lotion. Orchids are also used in *lu puja*.

Grg. *tibe nori* sub-tropical to temperate
Hedyotis scandens Roxb.

The full plant is ground, cooked and applied topically as a leech repellent.

N. *ṭimur* Grg. *pruma*
Zanthoxylum alatum Roxb.

For chills, intestinal parasites or as a general stomach tonic, the seeds are ground and mixed with chutney or other food. The seeds, poisonous in large quantities, are also eaten raw as a leech repellent. Three informants claimed that for eight to ten hours leeches would fall off quickly upon clinging to one's

skin, after ingestion of these sharp-tasting seeds.

N. *ulṭe kãṛa/boksi kãṛa* Grg. occ. *tine/ulte puju* Open sub-tropical forests

In Armala, the leaves are an important ingredient in medicine for the treatment of epilepsy. The *dhame* possessed sorceror uses this plant to reverse witch hexes.

N. *pāti* Grg. *cũṛi*
A. *cõṛe*

The leaves of this common weed are squeezed vigorously between the hands and rubbed on scabies, rashes, and especially nettle stings for which it gives immediate relief. In Armala, the plant is eaten raw as a vermifuge. The plant is religiously pure and is used in Hindu rituals.

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Balkrishna Pokharel, ed. *Paccīsa Varṣakā Bhāṣika Carcā: Nepālī Bhāṣākā Viśeṣa Sandarbhamā* Twenty-five Years of Linguistic Discussion: With Special Reference to Nepali. Edited with an introduction by Balkrishna Pokharel. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, Silver Jubilee Publications Series: 16. 2039 V.S./ 1982 A.D., pp. 10, 258. In Nepali. Price not indicated.

Paccīsa Varṣakā Bhāṣika Carcā (henceforth *PVBC)* contains an assortment of 19 articles on the Nepali language -- all written in Nepali. The contributors form a core of eminent linguists and writers of Nepal. It is therefore appropriate to look closely into the contents of *PVBC*. This review is geared to that goal.

In the present stage of knowledge about the Nepali linguistics, a collection of articles in a book form and dealing exclusively with various aspects of the Nepali language can only be hailed as a significant advance. It is to be regretted though that most contributions have been written with more enthusiasm than caution.

Not all of the contributions contained in *PVBC* belong to the mainstream linguistics (as admitted by the editor, p. 5). Consequently, the remarks that follow will be restricted primarily to a total of eight "especially technical" *(viśeṣa prāvidhika (śāstrīya)*, editor, pp. 5-6) studies only.

Four other papers, however, also deserve mention. Sapkota's paper *('vyākaraṇale janajibrāmā roka lagāunu hũdaina'*, pp. 14-16) is a variationist's delight, a warning to linguists who view language as a monolithic, static and homogeneous system, and a veritable guide to the sociolinguists of Nepal. Pande "Aseem"'s paper *(' "jyū, jī" ko prayoga'*, pp. 21-23) presents a sociolinguistic analysis of the phenomena of verbalization

of respect in Nepali and makes interesting observations on the etymology of respectual suffixes *jyū, jī* and even *jū*. Parajuli's paper (*'śiṣṭa tathā grāmiṇa nepālī...'*, pp. 33-45) begins with a linguistic description of what may loosely be called 'formal' (i.e. 'standard', 'educated', 'literary', etc.) and 'informal' (i.e. 'substandard', 'illiterate/rustic', 'conversational', etc.) varieties of Nepali, but ends up discussing the pedagogical and even sociopolitical implications of a possible coordination between the two varieties. Acharya's paper (*'halanta'bahiṣkāradekhi jimdo-nepālisamma...'* pp. 212-232) raises questions which may have significant linguistic implications. Basically, however, it addresses itself to a chronological survey of pros and cons of such "schools" of Nepali orthographic reform as *halanta vahiṣkārabāda, sajilobāda,* and *janajibrobāda,* and it seeks to establish the superiority of Acharya's own "school?" *(Jimdo- Nepāli bhāṣābāda)* over others. Nothing further will be said about these studies here.

The eight "especially technical" studies are discussed below in the order these have been presented in the book under review.

Bandhu's paper (*'pāikelī paddhatianusāra nepālī vākyaharūko viśleṣaṇa'*, pp. 46-63) presents a simple and lucid account of the Pikean Tagmemics, and sketches cursorily the mechanisms through which the Nepali sentences may be shown to be derived transformationally as it were from a limited core of basic clauses, as envisioned in the Tagmemic model. Writing about the Tagmemic model (or about any modern, i.e. western linguistic model for that matter), or writing a fragment of the Tagmemic grammar through the medium of Nepali is a laudable endeavor, and Bandhu deserves our sincere praise and admiration. One wishes though that the author had consistently provided the original English technical terminologies of Tagmemics within brackets when these are rendered into Nepali (a practice well

observed by other writers, e.g. Dahal, B. Pokharel, etc. in the volume). Such a practice would indeed be useful at the present state of art when no standard technical Nepali vocabulary exists. This would also help the reader, like myself for instance, to follow the main argument of the paper.

Sharma's paper (*'kehī dakṣiṇa esiyālī pratinidhi bhāṣāharūmā kriyābāṭa banine saṁyojakaharū'*, pp. 64-77) deals with the use and functions of the so-called "conjunctive participles" in a few representative languages of South Asia. Data are provided from a total of five languages of three language families, e.g. Indo-Aryan (Nepali and Hindi); Tibeto-Burman (Newari); and Dravidian (Telegu and Tamil).

That the nonfinite verbals with conjunctive functions exist in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian is well known. That this phenomenon has areal implications has been ably demonstated by Colin Masica (*Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976).

Sharma's chief contribution lies in an extensive analysis of morphology and syntax of such nonfinite verbal participles which conjoin sentences in Nepali, Hindi, Newari, Telegu and Tamil. Sharma's analysis yields an interesting pattern of behavior: while Nepali, Newari, Tamil and Telegu continue to use nonfinite verbal participles with conjunctive functions, Hindi has shun such an areal characteristic and has adopted instead constructions which are more akin to western languages, especially English. Would a conscious or unconscious process of 'Westernization' or 'Hindization' lead to a similar phenomenon in Nepali (a process already in existence in Nepali, as noted by Sharma p. 72) remains to be seen.

In sum, Sharma's paper makes a significant contribution to the typological study of South Asian languages and linguistics.

Chapagai's paper (*'nepālī anukaraṇātmaka śabdaharūko prajananakriyā'* pp. 78-95) presents a thorough analysis of the morphology of onomatopoeic, i.e. imitative words in Nepali. Reduplication-partial or complete, reversed or nonreversed - appears to be the most productive (if not universal) process of formation of such imitative words in Nepali.

Dahal's study (*'lekhya sāmagriko bhāṣika vyākhyāko rūparekhā'* pp. 101-122) deals with grammatology in general and graphemics in particular. Stressing the value of the old written texts of a language such as Nepali, it discusses in sufficient detail the ways in which the linguistic interpretation of such old documents may be made by a historical and/or a descriptive linguist. A few of the major problems which a linguist may face in this venture are also discussed with suitable examples.

B. Pokharel's paper (*'nepālīkā kehī dhvanitātvika behorāharū'*, pp. 123-142) deals with the historical phonology of Nepali (eastern dialect). In it, the author has undertaken to trace the sound changes which characterize the origin and development of Nepali from Sanskrit through Prakrit. The author discusses such sound changes as: (a) devoicing (of the final *b*) (b) vocalization, (c) cerebralization, (d) nasalization, (e) declusterization (in final position), (f) vowel rounding (as a result of progressive assimilation), (g) deaspiration (three types), and (h) 'flapping' of retroflex stops (called *luṇṭhībhavana* by the author, p. 139).

Only two remarks -- one general and one specific -- will be made about B. Pokharel's presentation.

General. A complete account of the historical phonology of Nepali would constitute a description of the earlier stage(s) of the language, a series of statements of phonological change, and a description of the sound system of the present-day Nepali. If phonological information on earlier stage)s) as well as the

present stage of Nepali is available, then the historical linguist is well advised to proceed with making statements about the characteristic sound changes of this language. If on the other hand, the description of the modern stage is lacking, then facts about the historical phonology of Nepali must be specifically presented. Since no adequate synchronic description of Nepali is available (to the best of my knowledge), a linguistic historian of Nepali must of necessity be specifically careful and even cautious in presenting the facts about the origin and development of this language.

Specific. The task of a historical phonologist of Nepali would be to come up with the best set of statements of sound change which will capture the significant generalizations about this language. B. Pokharel's art of writing phonological rules leaves much to be desired, as will be apparent from the discussion below.

B. Pokharel's phonological rules of First Deaspiration, Second Deaspiration, and Third Deaspiration (pp. 136-139) operate exactly under similar environments and are thus collapsible into one single rule, of the following type:

P-rule of Deaspiration

$$C^h \longrightarrow / \left\{ V \text{ — } \overset{\#}{V} \right\}$$

The above rule states that in Nepali an aspirated consonant becomes unaspirated intervocalically and finally (word or syllable -- a lot more data need to be investigated in order to determine this).

Also, [h] is treated on par with other voiced aspirates (e.g. [g^h, d^h, j^h, etc]) in B. Pokharel's phonological analysis. This practice may be in vogue in traditional historical phonology, but a closer look at the Nepali data suggests

that B. Pokharel's practice to include the P-rule of [h]--deletion within the P-rule of Second Deaspiration (p. 137) is unwarranted. A few of B. Pokharel's examples are listed below:

1. [sud^{h}ar] → [sudar]
2. [bag^{h}] → [bag]
3. [bəhini] → [bə̆ini]
4. [sahu] → [saŭ]
5. [məhajən] → [majən]

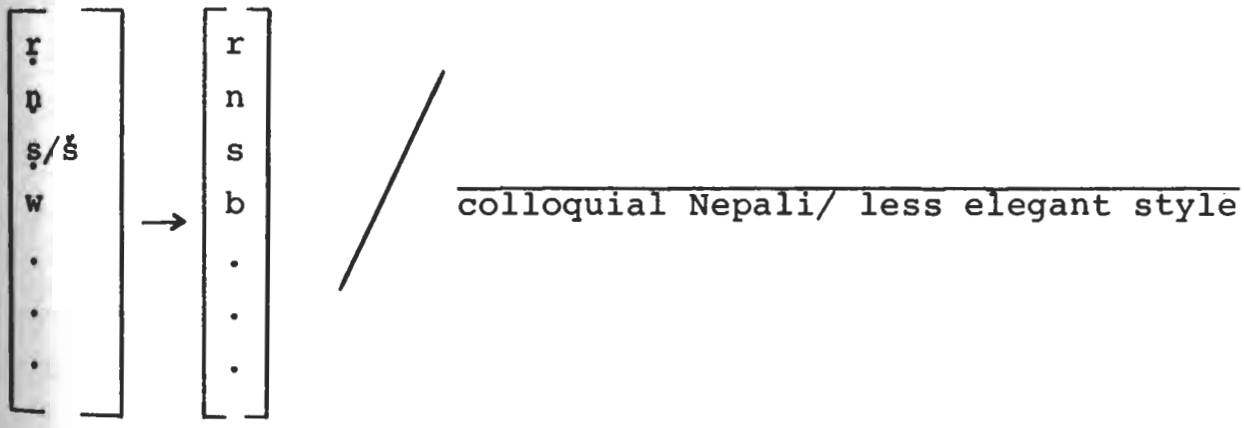
Examples 3–5 demonstrate that upon deletion (not 'deaspiration') of [h] in intervocalic positions, a reduction in the number of syllables is caused. The rule of deaspiration (examples 1-2), on the other hand, does not cause the syllable reduction, and hence ought not to be grouped with the rule of [h]--deletion. In other words, the rule of [h]--deletion and the rule of deaspiration should be treated distinctly as two separate rules.

B. Pokharel provides a set of six statements in order to describe the phenomenon of 'flapping' (*luṇṭhībhavana*, p. 139). Once again, only one phonological rule would be sufficient to describe the data adequately. A tentative formulation of this rule would sound as follows: In Nepali, a voiced retroflex stop (aspirated or unaspirated) becomes a (retroflex) flap syllable finally and intervocalically when no consonant -- homorganic or geminate -- intervenes between the preceding vowel and the voiced retroflex stop in question. Note that the constraint on the P-rule is crucial. This constraint, for example, disallows the Nepali words [piṇḍ] *piṇḍa* to become *[piṇṛ], and [ləḍḍu] *laḍḍu* to become *[ləṛṛu]. Words like /hoḍ/, ləḍnu/, guḍ^{h}/,/prəuḍ^{h}/, and pəḍ^{h}ai/, on the other hand, meet the structural description of the above rule and become [hoṛ], [ləṛnu], [guṛ^{h}], [prə̆uṛ^{h}] and [pəṛ^{h}ai].

respectively in their actual pronunciation. Upon further inquiry, this phenomenon of 'flapping' may turn out to be a pan-Indo-Aryan feature. But this is hardly the place for that.

As a matter of fact, in a few dialects of Nepali, especially in colloquial styles, such retroflex flaps change further into dental taps (called *rakārībhavana* by B. Pokharel, pp. 140-141). Maybe this *rakārībhavana* is not an isolated phenomenon in Nepali after all. It is quite likely that a more general socio-stylo-dialectal rule of the following type is operative in these dialects of Nbpali:

S-rule



Disregard of the above facts seems to have marred the quality of an otherwise excellently written paper by B. Pokharel.

M. Pokharel's article (*'nepālīmā balāghāta ra suralahara'*, pp. 143-159) deals with stress and intonation in Nepali. The study represents the research findings on the topic of stress as epitomised in the writings of Professor Daniel Jones and the phoneticians of his generation -- published mostly in the late 1950's. References are no doubt made to works ranging from the ancient Sanskrit writings such as the Vedas down to the modern English works published in the late 1970's, but

unfortunately the recent findings do not seem to be incorporated into the main body of the paper. Attention may therefore be drawn to an early work of Peter Ladefoged *(Three Areas of Experimental Phonetics*, London: Oxford University Press) wherein it is demonstrated with conclusive evidence that prevailing opinion on the nature and definition of stress and its physiological correlates is simply untenable.

In a 17-page article, M. Pokharel devotes a total of 12 pages to the summary — discussion of works of eminent phoneticians on the topic (a conscientious reader had better consult the original works themselves!) and only two-and-a-half pages each to stress and intonation in Nepali. What is most irksome is that almost every second sentence of M. Pokharel is a paraphrase-summary of ideas of one linguist or the other (p. 146 consists of 17 lines and about the same number of sentences, but it contains allusions to a total of 9 references in the form of footnotes -- to cite only one example).

On p. 155, the reader is left with the unsubstantiated information that three types of stress -- syllabic, assimilatory, and sentence--may be recognised in Nepali. Little, however, is said by way of elaboration of the tripartite division, except that the sentence stress is described as if it were emphatic stress (p. 156).

Questions like the following raise themselves: Is stress phonemic in Nepali? What syllable patterns exist in Nepali? What is the relationship between stress and syllabic pattern in Nepali? What stress-placement rules are needed in Nepali? What is the relationship of vowel length (phonemic / non-phonemic?) and stress in Nepali? Do the stressed syllables cause vowel reduction in Nepali? If so, how much, or how little?, and so on. To attempt to address the above

questions would make serious contributions to the rather neglected areas of Nepali phonetics and phonology.

M. Pokharel's paper is full of serious misprints -- far too many to be listed here. Technical terms like *tāna* 'tone', *sura* 'pitch', and *svara* 'vowel' or 'human voice' or 'accent' are indiscriminately used (pp. 156-158) and it is difficult to ascertain as to which is which. The English phrase '(sound) attributes' is translated into Nepali variously as (a) *dhvaniguṇaharū* (p. 143), (b) *dhvanipradaharū* (p. 158), and (c) *dhvaniprerakharū* (p. 159). In the same breath, 'prosodic features' is translated both as *chāndika svarūpa* (p. 150) and *dhvaniguṇaharū* (p. 143); while 'suprasegmentals' is also translated as *dhvaniguṇaharū*. It is true that these terms are on occasions used interchangeably, but it would pay to begin to use them consistently.

The scholarly apparatus of M. Pokharel is of epic proportions -- it contains a total of 106 references cited as footnotes. It would seem then that although M. Pokharel lacks logical rigor and originality, he has acquired the outward semblance of respectable research.

Tripathi's paper (*'yāskako nirvacana siddhānta ra upādeyatā'*, pp. 185-211) provides an excellent summary-description of Yāska's theory of etymology as propounded in his *Nirukta*. The *Nirukta* of Yāska was composed around 700 B.C. as a subsidiary to the study of the Vedas. In other words, the *Nirukta* was composed in order to explain and interpret the collections of difficult Vedic words (known as the *Nighaṇṭu)* by means of proposing derivations of these words from roots as would suit the sense.

Tripathi's paper is both scholarly and clear. Like Ghimire's study (in this volume), the present study would

also prove immensely useful to those linguists of Nepal who are less knowledgeable about the ancient Sanskritic grammatical tradition. It is regrettable that the importance of Yāska's theory of etymology for the linguistic analysis of Nepali is only stated (pp. 210-211) and not demonstrated.

Ghimire's rather lengthily titled paper *(vedakā bhāṣāko artha nirdhāraṇamā āghāta praṇālīko bhūmikā ra nepālī lagāyata anya paścātkālina bhāṣāmā āghātako lopako kāraṇa'*, pp. 233-244) deals with the phenomena of accent (resulting from pitch variation) in Vedic Sanskrit. Ghimire proposes to accomplish two major goals: (i) to analyse the chief characteristics of the Vedic accentual system and to determine the impact of accent on the meaning of a morpheme, word, phrase, or sentence in Vedic Sanskrit; (ii) to account for the causes of the loss of the device indicating marked accentuation in the written texts of Nepali (and other "later" languages). The author succeeds ably in the first goal, except for a minor but nonetheless significant point that one may want to quibble over. This concerns the placing of short *u* above the accented syllable (i.e. raised in pitch) of the Vedic words *satyam* and *jyeṣṭha* cited (p. 241) in order to illustrate the semantic change that is caused by pitch variation in these words. For instance, one cannot ascertain whether the word *satyam* pronounced with high pitch (i.e. *udātta āghāta*) on the first syllable means 'true' or 'poverty'. Granted that this confusion may be due to typographical error, but no where in the text does the author explain the difference explicitly.

As regards the reasons leading to the loss of marked accentuation in written Nepali, the author hurriedly lists a set of six main reasons at the very end of the paper (p. 244), and offers no elaboration of them.

In spite of these minor shortcomings, Ghimire's paper will be read with profit by those linguists of Nepal who are less knowledgeable about the accentual system of Vedic Sanskrit.

To conclude, printed in India by a certain Deepak press, Benaras, and published by the Royal Nepal Academy of Nepal, *PVBC* is rather poorly edited. Or, to be correct, *PVBC* displays no palpable mark of having been edited at all, and it contains innumerable typographical errors -- sometimes to the detriment of understanding -- and inconsistent spellings. While the printed essays have been allowed to retain the original spelling system as employed by individual authors (and with good reason), inconsistent spellings of a giyen Nepali word within an individual essay itself are not hard to come by (e.g. *viśleṣana* vs. *viśleśana; ārko* vs. *arko; śabdabodha* vs. *śābdabodha* -- to cite only a few examples). One may wonder if this phenomenon would point to the absence of a stable and standardized spelling system of the Nepali language. English words have been 'Devanagarised' with carelessness (e.g. *inṭroḍakṣana* vs. *inṭroḍakśana; inglisa* vs. *ingliśa; suprāsegmeṇṭals* vs. *suprāsegmeṇṭals*, etc.).

There is a certain politics of language that the editor wishes to preach through *PVBC* ('editorial', and p. 2). About which for reasons nonlinguistic the least said the best.

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