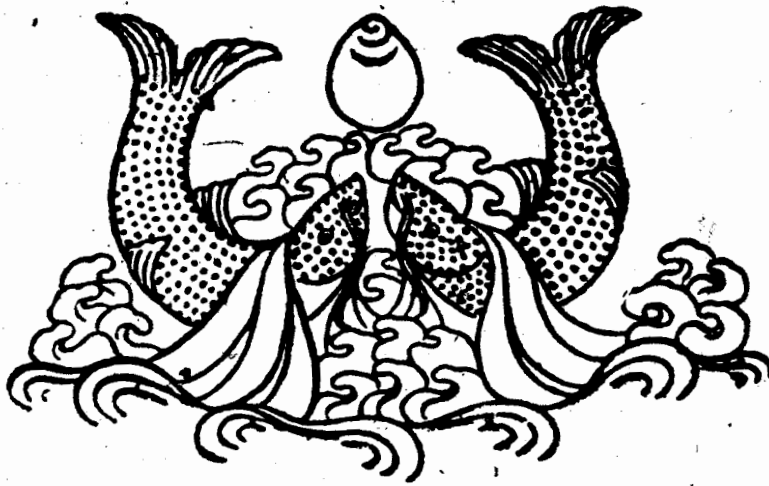


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WHERE EXACTLY ARE CĀRITRA, DEVIKOTĀ
AND HIMAVAT?
A SACRED GEOGRAPHY CONTROVERSY AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF TANTRIC BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE
SITES IN TIBET*

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"This snow mountain [Ti-se] and the holy lakes, all three, are a meditation place which was Prophesied by the Buddha. And, if one does not respond to those who criticise them, then not only will these slanderers heap up sins but the greatness on this meditation place will also be violated!"¹

Mi-la Ras-pa (1040-1123)

Introduction

Over the last millenium a major Buddhist pilgrimage network has developed in Tibet and Tibetan areas of the Himalaya. It is based upon the *pīṭha* traditions found in the influential *anuttarayoga-tantra* cycle of Cakrasaṃvara, and related traditions such as the Hevajra, Vajradāka, Ḍākārṇava, and so forth. Along with the pilgrimages developed more recently to the persons and places of leading incarnate Lamas of the dGe-lugs-pa school, especially the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas, and to sites associated with the Indian saint

* My thanks are due to Paul Harrison, together with whom I read many of the difficult Tibetan sources, and to Hubert Decleer, Leonard van de Kuijp and Dan Martin for their useful critical comments during the preparation of this article.

¹ Rus-pa'i rGyan-can (alias gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka) 1989:417)

Padmasambhava, the holy places dedicated to the cult of Saṃvara Tantrism in Tibet rank as one of the main pilgrimage networks patronised by Buddhists in the region. The three leading sacred mountain sites of Saṃvara and consort, namely Tise (i.e. Kailāsa), La-phyi and Tsa-ri are among some of the oldest systematised Buddhist sacred mountains in Tibet. Pilgrimages to them motivated by the status they were given in Tibetan interpretations of Indian Buddhist Tantric, and to a lesser extent 'sūtric', traditions date back at least to the beginning of the *phgi-dar* or 'later diffusion' of Buddhism to Tibet from about the 11th century on.

The study of these sites is of central importance for an understanding of Buddhist pilgrimages in Tibet. This is not only because of their long-standing popularity as pilgrimage venues and the large numbers of individual pilgrims involved in visits to them, but also because of what the Tibetan literary and oral sources concerning them can tell us about the processes which A.W. Macdonald has recently referred to as 'Buddha-isation' and 'Lama-isation'² that is, the 'conversion' of Tibetan culture to a Vajrayāna Buddhist one.

It is undoubted that the three holy mountains dedicated to Saṃvara, and other associated sacred places, were established at important pre-Buddhist sites which were the preserves of Tibetan autochthonous deities and their cults. What is poorly understood at present is how this conversion process operated and what its consequences were for Tibetan pilgrimages and religious culture in general. The primary narratives which account for the conversion of these Tibetan holy places are now becoming more familiar to us: i.) The Buddha-isation 'drama' of the subjugation of Rudra/Maheśvara by Vajradhara/Cakrasaṃvara at the twenty-four *piṭha* sites of the vajrakāya, and ii.) the dramas of Lama-isation which followed depicting the contests of magic at individual Tibetan locations when yogins, such as Mi-la Ras-pa and gTsang-pa rGya-ras, 'opened' these regions as sites of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage by conquering local spirit forces, 'binding them by oath' into the services of Buddhism. These two themes are widely employed in the Tibetan pilgrimage literature.

Both these types of narratives are of great importance for an understanding of the ideological schemata and their styles of presentation which members of the Tibetan Buddhist clerical elite invoked in their literary and oral efforts to bring about and account for this conversion. Some studies have now been directed towards this issue.³ However, in the Tibetan literary sources on pilgrimage, both in the guide-books (*gnas-yig*, *dkar-chag*, etc.) and the commentaries on sacred geography, there is another set of prominent issues relating to the Buddhist conversion of Tibetan holy places which have never been analysed,

² See in particular Macdonald (1991:198-202).

³ See Macdonald (1991) and Huber (1991).

and which I would like to begin investigating in this paper. This alternative set of sources, which I refer to collectively as the materials on the 'sacred geography controversy', take the form of a polemical dialogue between leading Tibetan scholars belonging principally to the Sa-skya-pa and certain lineages of the bKa'-brgyud-pa, and also various other claims by Tibetan authors concerning the Tantric status and Buddhist identity of certain Tibetan holy places. By using this body of material we can begin to address such fundamental questions as: How was it that the original India-wide sacred geography of the *vajra-kāya* doctrine became relocated in the Himalaya, and by what mechanism did this Indian Buddhist pilgrimage cult of Tantric *pīṭha* sites become established in Tibet?; what were Tibetan reactions and responses to this process?; and what subsequent developments have resulted from this conversion, viz. were Buddha-isation and Lama-isation finite or on-going phenomena in the cultural history of Tibet? Herein, I will present relevant materials and make some tentative suggestions regarding these and other related questions. There is still much that could be said about this topic and I hope that the present offering will stimulate others to do so.

The *Pīṭha* Tradition in India and its Beginnings in Tibet

Before introducing and analysing some of the principal Tibetan sources concerning the sacred geography controversy there are some preliminary remarks which need to be made about the Indian Buddhist traditions and the initial period of their establishment by the Tibetans in their own zone of cultural influence. The role of the twenty-four (or in some schemes thirty-six) Tantric sites classed as *pīṭha*, *kṣetra*, *chandoha*, and so forth, as fully developed in the *anuttarayoga-tantras* is now clearly understood as being related primarily to the internal practice of yoga. In this yoga the logic of the *vajra-kāya* and the 'body *maṇḍala*' systems is directed towards the experience of unity referred to as *dākiālasamvara* in the Tantras.⁴ But the *pīṭha*, etc., were also sites in the external world considered to be presided over by certain deities in the 'geographical *vajra-kāya*', and as such were places of gathering for an exclusive coterie of yogins and yoginīs who followed specific Tantric practices. These were especially those who had reached the *carya* or 'action' phase of the Completion stage (*sampannakrama*) of the *anuttarayoga-tantras*.

During the religious 'feasts' that were performed at these sites the internal yogic practices of *dākinījāla* were performed as externalised rituals. The esoteric nature of these gatherings and the Tantric teachings and practices they involved meant that during the Pāla

⁴ For discussions of the sophisticated *pīṭha* practice and cult in Buddhism see: Tsuda (1974: 54-62 & 260-73) and Tsuda (1978:215-31); Snellgrove (1959: 66-72) and Snellgrove (1987:167-70); Chandra (1987:26-28); Das Gupta (1976: chapt.4).

period when these traditions enjoyed currency in certain Indian regions the true Tantric pilgrimages to them were the preserve of a relatively few initiated practitioners. And even they remained aloof from the 'public' by using a system of secret signs (*chomā*) through which to identify and meet each other at these sites. It is important to note here the original 'secret' and exclusive nature of the cult of these sites in Indian Buddhist Tantrism as it contrasts strongly with the way they were developed and promoted later in Tibet, as will become apparent below.

Another important sub-division of sites in the *pīṭha* cult is that of the eight cemeteries (*aṣṭa-śmaśāna*). These Indian charnel grounds, well known to Tantric ascetics, were sites frequented for the purpose of performing certain meditations and rites. Symbolically they are represented as part of the *vajrakāya* around the perimeter of the Saṁvara *maṇḍala*. In his earlier description of the symbolism of the eight cemeteries, G. Tucci has pointed out that there are eight mountains, such as Kailāsa, Himavat, Śrīparvata, etc., each related specifically to a cemetery and arranged in a cosmographic symmetry around the *maṇḍala*, and a set of tree species associated with them also.⁵ As will be seen, the tradition of relating together sacred mountains and Tantric cemeteries, and to a lesser extent certain trees, became a significant one when these doctrines were introduced into the Tibetan geographical and cultural context, and certain Tibetan claims about Tantric sites to be investigated below may have been inspired to some extent by such symbolic relationships.

During the *phyi-dar*, particularly from the 11th century onward, the *anuttarayoga-tantras* and their cult were introduced systematically and became popular in Tibet. In this period Tibetan masters, such as 'Brog-mi (992-1074-), Mar-pa (1012-1096), Rwa Lo-tṣā-ba (1016-1128) and others, visited and obtained the *annutarayoga* lineages from Indian yogins and scholars in Buddhist Bihar, Bengal and Nepal. By this time the main Indian area of influence for the diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet had shifted from the North-west to these Eastern Indian regions which were the chief centres of activity of the Indian Vajrayāna Siddhas and also the influential Śaiva Nāth yogins. It is in these regions and in the teachings of these groups of yogins that the *pīṭha* cult was developed into its sophisticated form. Although limited in number of individual practitioners, the traditions from which the Tibetans gained their knowledge of the *pīṭha* system were indeed a vital source at that time. The Tibetans also took up the cult which had developed around the most famous of the Indian Buddhist Siddhas whose life-stories abound with references to the important Tantric geography of India.⁶ It is by way of pioneering figures such as 'Brog-mi and Mar-pa that the then fledgling Sa-skyapa and bKa'-brgyud-pa lineages respectively took up the

⁵ See Tucci (1989: 52-3, 1980).

⁶ See Dowman (1985), Templeman (1983) and (1989) as good sources of this material.

annutarayoga-tantras in Tibet, and it is in these same two schools that the sacred geography controversy over the development of the *pitha* cult in Tibet has its origins.

The Tibetan Sacred Geography Controversy

The exact historical details of the conversion of the sites of Ti-se, La-phyi and Tsa-ri to places of Tibetan Vajrayāna pilgrimage in the 11th-12th century remain somewhat vague. bKa'-brgyud-pa sources and some early *chos-'byung* all claim that the development of these sites as meditation places with the status of Tantric *pīṭha* dedicated to Saṃvara was instigated by the founders of the so-called 'Hearing Lineage'. These include Mar-pa, Mi-la Ras-pa, sGam-po-pa and Phag-mo Gru-pa. It appears more certain that by the time of 'Bri-gung-pa' Jig-rten mGonpo (1143-1217) large and regular expeditions and pilgrimages were being undertaken to the three sacred mountain retreats.⁷

During the early period of this development of the three holy mountains as Saṃvara sites it was claimed, most probably by bKa'-brgyud-pa Lamas (although this is not precisely established), that each of these three sites on Tibetan soil were either *pīṭha* or Tantric cemeteries (depending on which classification one resorts to) of the *vajra-kāya* or Saṃvara *maṇḍala* listed in the Indian texts. Tsa-ri in Southern Tibet was said to be the site of Cāritra or Devikoṭa, Ti-se was taken to be Himavat or Himālaya (Gangs-can or Ri-bo Gangs-can in Tibetan) and La-phyi identified as Godāvarī. Also it was claimed that Ti-se was the mountain mentioned by the Buddha in other cosmographical references in important *sūtra* texts. In addition there were various other claims about famous Indian Tantric cemeteries existing in Tibet.⁸ At the time these specific transpositions of Indian holy places, which often violated the existing sacred geographical traditions of India, appear to have been part of a more general relocation of the entire *vajra-kāya* to the Himalayan zone. This process is at present poorly understood, although Tucci has ventured that it was a result of the decline of Indian Buddhism in the late Pāla period due in large part to the stress of successive Muslim invasions.⁹ I think it is fairly certain that both Indian and Tibetan

⁷ On these early developments see Petech (1978: 313-326); and Huber (1991).

⁸ Although I do not deal with Tantric cemeteries specifically herein, it should be noted that sites claimed as Tantric *pīṭha* in Tibet are often locations of important cemeteries, such as the Saṃvāra cemetery at Pha-bong-kha, the 'Cemetery of the Siddhas' found on the circuit of Kailāsa and Dur-khrod rNgam-pa sGra-sgrogs near Tsa-ri. On the Tibetan Sitavana (bSil-ba'i tshal) at 'Bri-gung see Dowman (1988: 116).

⁹ See Tucci (1940: 21) and (1989: 42-3) who demonstrates that by the 13th century Tibetan pilgrims traveling through the western Himalaya and North-west India claim to have visited all 24 *vajra-kāya* sites.

Tantrists played a role in this relocation process as both stood to benefit from the continued access to their pilgrimage places as a result. But while the decline of Indian Buddhism was a factor I hope it will be clear from what follows in this paper that, from the Tibetan side, the intentional relocation of these sites to their own region was most importantly a part of the process of the Buddha-isation of Tibet that was taking place at the time.

i. Sa-skya-pa Criticisms

That such a transfer of sacred geography and pilgrimage traditions was taking place and that such claims were being made in Tibet during the 12th-13th century did not go unnoticed by some of the great luminaries of the day. An important critical response to these events was produced by the Sa-skya Pandita Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (Sa-pan) (1182-1251), who was one of the greatest Tibetan scholars to bridge both the Indian and Tibetan Buddhist traditions.¹⁰ Sa-pan set down his criticisms of some of the then current traditions of Tibetan sacred geography and pilgrimage in c.1232 in his *sDom gsum rab dbye* (DS), a controversial text that ranks as one of the most important works of indigenous Tibetan Buddhist literature.¹¹ The DS, or 'Discrimination of the Three Vows' is, as characterised by D. Jackson "... a classic statement of the need to subject religion to rigorous examination for the sake of removing anything spurious and establishing that which is authentic."¹² In the section discussing topics relating to the *guhyantra* vow Sa-pan gives the following treatment of Tantric pilgrimage and sacred geography:¹³

[31b,5]...With all the four initiations [obtained] meditate initially in your own house. After obtaining a firmness [meditate] in the cemetery, and so on. After obtaining a great firmness, practise well the signs of body and speech [i.e. *mudrā* and *mantra* and realise suchness. In order to travel through the lands and gain mastery over the countries, wander in the thirty-seven great countries, beginning with the *pīṭha* and *upapīṭha*, for the sake of the *caryā* of

¹⁰ For an excellent study of this figure and his works see Jackson (1987: esp. 1-104).

¹¹ See Jackson (1987: 47-8 & 64); Smith (1970:4).

¹² See Jackson (1983M 13).

¹³ This translation covers ff. 31b, 5-34a, 1 of the DS in the SSBB, vol. 5. pp. 297. 1.1-320.45 (=Na, ff. 1a-48b, 5). I have only very occasionally resorted to what are said to be Sa-pan's own (although controversial, see Jackson (1983: 13)) 'annotations' (*rang-mchan*) in the *Sdom gsum rang mchan 'khrul med* version ff. 54a, 1-57b, 5, to assist with my readings. The material follows my own paragraphing.

'crazy wisdom'.¹⁴ This method is propounded in the *Mahāyoga-tantras* [32a] and commentaries. Having understood practice such as this, one will become fully awakened in this very life.

Nowadays [here in Tibet] one observes [practitioners] feigning in the method of *mantra* without any knowledge of Secret *Mantra*. The Buddha did not teach of going to the thirty-seven great countries when one has not meditated on the two stages [of *'upattikrama* and *sampannakrama*]. Ascetics who do not cultivate the two stages, even good ones, will not surpass those ascetics who cultivate the *pāramitās* [and thus remain at the Māhayāna level]. There is no mention in the *sūtras* of the practice of going to those great countries. If those who have not cultivated Secret *Mantra*, and yet pride themselves on their understanding, go to those countries obstacles will arise for them. Also when visited by 'meditators on nothing whatsoever' [i.e. nihilists] there is no profit or loss whatever [for them]. Just because Oḍḍiyana, Jālandhara and Himavat (Gangs-can), Devikōṭa, and so on, are full of barbarians, fools, heretics and nomads, do they attain realisations? Those possessing an understanding of the cultivation of Secret *Mantra* and who have the fortune to understand the meaning of the signs, they are blessed by the *ḍākinīs* who abide in those countries. Consider well the truth of this in the *Mahāyoga-tantras*! Consequently, if one does not cultivate Secret *Mantra* going to those great countries is useless.

The snow mountain which is mentioned in the texts of the *Abhi[dharmakośa]* and the *Śrī-Kālacakra[-tantra]* as the place where the five hundred Arhats dwelt, which is encircled by the golden bird shelter, the Jambu tree, and Raivata and five hundred elephants; that Himavat is not the Ti-se [in present-day Tibet], and the Anavatapta ocean is not the Mapham [lake]. Neither are the elephants found in that place, and where are the Jambu tree and the golden bird shelter to be found?

The evidence for that is as follows: There are statements in the *Śrī-Kālacakra[-tantra]* [to the effect that] [32b] : It is said there is a Ri-bo Gangs-can to the north of the Sitā river. The nine hundred and sixty million towns of Śambhala are near there. The excellent palace of the King, which is

¹⁴ For *riigpai brtul-zhugs kyi spyod-pa*, Tsepak Rigzin, *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology*, Dharamasala, 1986, p. 396 has 'vidyāvṛtcārya/Crazy Wisdom', to be understood here as a *caryā* phase of the *sampannakrama* stage in Tantric practice.

known as Kalāpa, is in that place. The kings who manifest there preach the Dharma for hundreds upon hundreds of years. There are various forests and many orchards in that place. In the Age of Degeneration the land of India will become filled with the doctrines of the Barbarians, then the Barbarians will lead an army by magical means to Śambhala. When that happens, after the conquest of all the Barbarians by the king known as Rudra[cakrin], a manifestation of Vajrapāni, the teachings of the Buddha will be spread once again in the midst of the land of India.

As a consequence, one will not be able to go to Ri-bo Gangs-can without magical powers.

In these words also from the *Abhi[dharmakośa]*, "North from here [i.e. Magadha], there is a snow mountain beyond the nine black mountains." And following that, [in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣa*], its characteristics are described extensively, such as, "A lake which has a length and breadth of fifty [*yojanas*] on the near side of the Gandhamādana mountain (sPos[-ri] Ngadldan)." [Also] it is said, "It is impossible to reach for those who do not possess magic powers." As for the present- :6j3 day Ti-se, it does not have any of these qualities.

Also according to a text of the Hindus, it is explained that Himavat occupies the space which is between the oceans that are both to the east and west, [and] they say the one small piece of the snow mountain which was propelled [through the air] by Hanuman [in the *Rāmāyana*] is Ti-se; so it is said by [the sage] Vālmīki. As a consequence, the dwelling of Māheśvara, the place where Raivata stayed and the abode of the five hundred Arhats is not this present-day Ti-se.

Also in the *Māhamayūri-sūtra* it states that Himavat and Ti-se are different. Also in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* there are statements [to the effect that]: The dimensions of Anavatapta are fifty by fifty *yojanas*. Its bed is covered with jewel pebbles, [33a] and to the sides are walls of jewelled tiles. Four rivers flow from there: the Gaṅgā from an elephant's mouth, flowing and bearing silver sands; the Sitā from a lion's mouth, flowing and bearing diamond sands; the Sindhu from an ox's mouth, flowing and bearing golden sands; and the Pakṣī from a horse's mouth, flowing and bearing sands of blue Beryl. The breadth of each and every one is a *yojana*. Having each circled clockwise seven times around Anavatapta, the four rivers are said to descend in the four cardinal directions. As for all the areas between them, they have an abundance

of various species of flowers, such as the blue and the pink lotus, and various jewelled trees.

The detailed qualities such as these can be investigated in the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. As for the present-day Ma-pham [lake] it does not have any of these qualities.

With regard to that some people say even the hill of Vulture Peak is nowadays not as it is [described] in the *Ratnakūṭa*. And they say that by force of time all lands appear to have changed. This matter is analysed and explained [herein] therefore listen:

There are two types [of descriptions]; explanations of how things really are and, amplifications of virtues and defects. In accord with the style of poets, when they amplify the virtuous qualities and defects, even the hill of Vulture Peak is described as being lofty, rounded, and so forth, 'It is a great mountain of India, as high as the great plateau of Tibet'. No fault at all is attached to the poets in this type of description.

When exaggerations and distortions arise in explanations of how things really are, scholars regard that as a fault. For example, when praising an ox [as being like] a mass of snow mountains able to move or a chunk broken off a cloud, and [with] horn tips [33b] like diamonds, and hoofs like sapphire, and a tail like the wishing-fulfilling tree, and so on; alternatively, when praising people [as having] for a face the moon or sun, for teeth a range of snow mountains, and so on; for vastness the simile of the sky, for smallness applying the simile of a dust speck, and Sumeru as a simile of roughness, and for [the size of] rats the simile of elephants; Vaiśravaṇa [as a simile] for the rich, even for a princeling the simile of Indra, [and] praising as if they were the Buddha even an ordinary teacher (*kalyāṇamitra*). [All these examples] are unobjectionable for [use by] poets. [But] When explaining how things really are, or when defining their qualities, scholars could hardly be satisfied with descriptions that are not in accord with reality.

Therefore to praise Vulture Peak, and so on, is in accord with the way of poets. When explaining how things really are, such as [describing] Himavat, Anavatapta, and so on, if one is mistaken with regard to that, one is hardly omniscient.[!] Due to the strong force of the Age of Degeneration it is possible to be a little bit wrong, but can it be possible to be totally mistaken [like those who equate Himavat and Anavatapta with Ti-se and Ma-pham]?

The country known as Caritra (Tsa-ri-tra), is situated to the south [of India] on an ocean shore; Tsa-ri Tsa-gong [in Tibet] is not that. One other Place of Devikota is said by some to be Tsa-ri. According to the *Vajradaka-tantra*, "Bhadra abides in Devikota". Furthermore, according to that same [text], "The sahaja of Tibet lives and dwells in a stone cave. The goddess who abides in that country stays at the tree of Bhadra". [Therefore] if there is a tree of Bhadra in the direction of that [country, i.e. Tibet], there is no contradicting that country [is Devikota].

Even if Ti-se and Tsa-ri, and so on, were the great places [in the teachings of the Buddha], because the persons who go to those lands have obtained initiations and hold vows, know the [secret] signs and their responses, and firmly understand the two stages [of meditation] it is stated that they wander [there] for the sake of the *carya* [phase] [34a], and persons who are not like that are forbidden to travel to those countries according to the *tantras*.

I have quoted this section at length as not only is it the source that provoked the sacred geography controversy which has remained topical in Tibetan commentarial literature right up to the present century, but also much of the argumentation of later texts that I will only briefly mention relates closely to these passages by Sa-pan. It seems that Sa-pan is attacking these pilgrimage traditions on two fronts: One of doctrinal concern for the way that Buddhist Tantra is interpreted and practiced; and the other aimed at demonstrating the falsehood of the specific sacred geographical claims about these Tibetan holy places. Thus, I feel his conclusions are that while there is a need to be a legitimate Tantric practitioner who has reached the *carya* phase to visit and benefit from bona-fide Indian *pīṭha* sites as a Buddhist, not only do Ti-se and Tsa-ri fail to qualify as such sites, but there is nothing whatever to be gained by Buddhists performing pilgrimage to them. Of course, from a 20th century Western point of view it is very difficult to make an exact interpretation of these passages. But, however one may view them today, as we shall see below it is clear from the responses written to them by Sa-pan's later Tibetan critics that they were interpreted in much the same way from within the tradition itself.

I will deal below with some of the details of Sa-pan's, at times, rather biting criticisms, but here I would like to comment briefly on his general motivation and concerns in writing this passage. It has been suggested by M. Broido in relation to Sa-pan's critique of the *dkar-po chig-thub* notion in the DS, which follows after the above quoted section, that his attacks may have been motivated by sectarian animosity towards certain masters of

the bKa'-brgyud-pa, such as Phag-mo Grupa and 'Jig-rten mGon-po.¹⁵ It is tempting to speculate that as the same bKa'-brgyud-pa figures were prominent in developing the traditions at Ti-se, Tsa-ri and other sites this was also the case here, however I do not think this was Sa-pan's main motivation. This is apparent from his approach in the DS as a whole, and from certain of his other works that make clear his concern to 'explain the teachings in accord with proper scripture (*āgama*) and reasoning (*ytukti*)'.¹⁶ Claiming a Tantric or cosmological identity for Tibetan holy mountains and performing pilgrimage to them was for him a violation of the criterion for a genuine Buddhism according to proper scripture and reason (*lung rigs rnam dag*). One can also conceive of Sa-pan's concern in this section about the coming together of a specialised and esoteric type of Indian pilgrimage practice with what we assume was essentially a 'public' and popular one to the ancient cult sites of the Tibetan mountain deities such as the bsTan-ma bcu-gnyis, Tshe-ring mChed-Inga, and others. With regard to this 'concern' we can consider other views about Sa-pan's 'project'; that he was making an effort to keep Tantric teachings restricted to the monastic context. This helps to explain his, Chag Lo-tsa-ba's and other's hostility towards systems like the *Ras chung snyan rgyud* and to lay religious movements in general. This did not necessarily mean that he denied the possibility for Tantric realisation outside of the monastic context, just that it was improbable and dangerous.¹⁷

Sa-pan's DS is also important in that it tells us something about the development of this cult of Buddhist pilgrimage in Tibet by the early 13th century. He probably would have been responding to claims and practices which must have already enjoyed fairly wide currency amongst Buddhists in Tibet at the time of his writing. Of particular interest is his reference to specific passages from the *Vajradāka-tantra* in relation to claims about Tsa-ri, which is an issue I will discuss the significance of later in the paper.

In terms of the dynamics of Tibetan cultural history I think we can consider these claims about sacred geography and Sa-pan's reaction to them as representing two very different forces which were in operation over the period of the second diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet. The intentions of Buddha-isation to introduce and to adapt Indian cult practices to existing Tibetan ones, and the concern to establish Buddhism following strict rational criteria were necessarily going to conflict with each other. If one follows through the later literature on Tibetan sacred geography, and in other areas as well, it is observed that these

¹⁵ See Broido (1987: 34 and notes). This may also be the case for 'Jig-rten mGonpo's successor dBon Shes-rab'Byung-gnas whom Sa-pan met, and who was active at the holy places.

¹⁶ See the translation and comments on Sa-pan's short work *Lungs rigs rnam dag dang mthun par 'chad dgos tshul* in Schoening and Sørensen (1988: 35-49).

¹⁷ Dan Martin, Personal communication, 23/9/90.

forces continued to operate in Tibetan cultural history and that there was a lasting tension between the intentions of Buddha-isation and the concerns of scripture and reason reflected in the works, and the minds, of later Tibetan scholars up to the Ris-med period.

The DS itself was a highly controversial work which inspired many commentaries amongst the Sa-skya-pa,¹⁸ and also replies from other Tibetan schools. But this short section alone on sacred geography and pilgrimage generated its own literature consisting of further Saska-pa commentaries elaborating the points initially raised by Sa-pan, and a series of critical responses from the pens of certain bKa'-brgyud-pa masters who sought to refute Sa-pan's statements by way of counter claims and scholarly argumentation.

The later Sa-skya-pa works included specific commentaries on the DS, such as the *sDom gsum rnam bshad* (DSN)¹⁹ by the influential writer Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa bSod-nams Seng-ge (Go-rams-pa) (14-29- 1489), which sought to clarify and augment in places the original passages by Sa-pan. Other commentators addressed their writings specifically to the arguments about the locations of either Ti-se or Tsari, such as the short text by Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams lHun-grub (14-56-1532) on Tsa-ri and Devikoṭa.²⁰ While following Sa-pan's original criticisms such authors introduce new, but often minor, points of argumentation to add force to their cases. There is also a distinct tendency in them to dwell more on specific details of geography and cosmography than on the doctrinal concerns about the legitimacy of proper Tantric pilgrimages originally expressed by Sa-pan. Another related, although much less polemical, work has come down to us from the 'Great Reviser' Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims Rin-chen (1700-1769?) who composed a short treatise on the sacred geography of the Buddhist tantric *piṭha* sites.²¹ This interesting little text is certainly worthy of further scholarly attention by those concerned with the subject. Apart from these brief observations, in the present context there is little to be gained from presenting in detail the contents of any of these works here.

¹⁸ See Jackson (1983: 12-18).

¹⁹ For the relevant section of Go-rams-pa's DSN (written in 1463) see ff. 135a, 6-138b, 2 in SSBB, vol. 14. pp. 119.1.1-199.3.6 (=Ta, 1a-161a).

²⁰ See Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams lHun-grub (n.d.). I am not aware of any published versions of this text.

²¹ See Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims Rin-chen (1973), ff. 433-461. There is a work of similar content, with the title *Dpal sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi nying klu 'khor lo sdom pa'i dam pa'i chos 'byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa bde mchog chos kun dpal ba'i nyin byed* (Dehra Dun, 1985?), composed by sNgags-'chang Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' bSod-nams Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan (1597-1659), although I have to date been unable to obtain this.

ii. bKa'-brgyud-pa Responses

There have been various bKa'-brgyud-pa replies to the issues raised by Sa-pan and his followers, with some written as recently as this century. The earlier works, such as those by the 4th Zhwa-dmar-pa Chos-grags Ye-shes (1453-1524)²², the 4th 'Brug-chen Padma dKar-po (1527-1592)²³ the 'Bri-gung Zhabs-drung Chos-kyi Grags-pa (1595-1661), 'Brug-pa mKhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje (1569-1645)²⁴ and Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las (17th cent.)²⁵ need to be considered at least partly in the context of a more general bKa'-brgyud-pa scholarly response to the contents of the DS and its later conunentors. This arose particularly in the 15th-16th centuries when the various bKa'-brgyud-pa lineages had established strong positions of temporal power in Tibet and begun to seek a greater doctrinal influence and maturity. While this is so, on another level the issues at stake in this debate were very sensitive ones for the bKa'-brgyud-pa schools from both a religious and a historico-political point of view. The different branches of the tradition, such as the 'Bri-gung-pa and the 'Brug-pa had not only established their interests at the holy mountain sites at a very early stage, but continued to develop them in these areas; the case of Padma dKar-po's activities concerning Tsa-ri and adjacent sites in Bya-yul being a typical example of this sustained interest.²⁶ There was, therefore, a very real need on the part of these scholars to counter the acute criticisms of the Sa-skyapa which seriously called into question the 'genuine' identity of and legitimacy of pilgrimage to their most important holy places.

²² See Chos-grags Ye-shes (1979), ff. 465-538. It is notable that this work was composed at the behest of Glo-bo Chos-mdzad Chos-dpal bZang-po (see the letter immediately following the text in the above cited work, fol. 528 ff.), a member of the royal house of Mustang, and close relative of the local Sa-skyapa scholar Glo-bo mKhan-chen who vigourously refuted the Tsa-ri/Devikōṭa traditions of the bKa'-brgyudpas (see n. 20 above).

²³ See PK = Padma dKar-po (1973a), ff. 207-74.

²⁴ 'Bri-gung Chos-kyi Grags-pa (n.d.), several cursive manuscript copies of the text by 'Bri-gung Dharmakīrti, rGol ngan 'jom pai legs bshad lung rigs smra ba'i mgul rgyan exist in India and Tibet in surviving versions of his Collected Works. I am grateful to the present 'Bri-gung Khyab-dgon Che-tshang Rin-po-che for supplying me with a copy of this work; see also Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje (1985), ff. 327-463. There may well be many more such sources still to be located.

²⁵ See Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las (1985), ff. 139-202. Interestingly, according to the colophon he composed his text at Kojarnāth, the well known Sa-skyapa monastery at sPu-rang near Mt. Kailāsa.

²⁶ See for instance his autobiography, Padma dKar-po (1982), ff. 435-6 & 596-7; and Martin (1988: 349-63).

While some of the replies were of the nature of more general defences against these criticisms in the DS and its commentaries, others, like the works by Padma dKar-po and later by the 34th 'Bri-gung gDan-rabs bsTan-'dzin Chos-kyi Blo-gros (1869-1906) addressed the criticisms related to individual holy places. Both of these authors included chapters of this material in their pilgrimage guide-books to Tsa-ri, and to Ti-se and Ma-pham-mtsho respectively, a fact which perhaps makes their contributions to the 'controversy' even more important due to the popularity and wider circulation of this genre of religious literature in Tibet.²⁷ I will now present extracts from these sources as examples of specific bKa'-brgyud-pa replies concerning each of these important holy places.

Firstly, following the order in which the sites are dealt with by Sa-pan in the DS, let us investigate the tract on Ti-se and Ma-pham-mtsho forming the 3rd chapter of the '*Bri-gung gDan-rabs Ti se gnas bshad* (TSN). I quote this source in full here as in summarising both important points from the previous Sa-skyapa criticisms and the replies of earlier bKa'-brgyud-pa scholars also it gives a good overview of the whole 'controversy' with regard to Ti-se, and the style and content of bKa'-brgyud-pa argumentation:²⁸

[19b]...Chapter Three. How this place itself was identified as Ti-se.

Eulogies are frequently uttered in the *sūtras*, such as the *Avatāmsaka* and *Smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra*, that Ti-se has the shape of a five-pronged *vajra* mountain, with an altitude of five hundred *yojanas*, and so forth. [20a] And in the *Arya-Nandimitrāvadana* it states, "The *mahāsthavira* Aṅgaja stayed at the Ti-se snow mountain together with a retinue of one thousand three hundred Arhats".

But, if one wonders, 'In what quarter of India is there a snow mountain like that?', it states in the *Abhidharmakośa*, "Northward from this, [there is] a snow mountain beyond the nine black mountains",²⁹ The significance of that statement is glossed in the [*Abhidharma*]kośabhaṣa as,

Here in the north of this Jambudvīpa itself there is a snow mountain on the far side beyond the nine black mountains. On the far side of that snow

²⁷ See the comments in Huber (1991).

²⁸ This translation is based on my own edition of ff. 19b-29b of TSN. The material has been very briefly referred to by Karmay (1972: xxix, n.2); and carelessly edited with brief English summary of contents by Filibeck (1988b: 19-24 & 70-72).

²⁹ On this important cosmography see Macdonald (1962: 531-48); and Dietz (1988: 113-4).

mountain, (20b) and on the near side of the Gandhamādana mountain, there is a lake known as Anavatapta, from which flow four great rivers, the Gangā, the Sindhu, the Sita and the Paksu (=Vakṣu). That (lake) has a length of fifty *yojanas*, a breadth of fifty *yojanas*, and is filled with waters endowed with the eight good qualities. It is difficult to reach for those who do not possess magic powers. By the side of that very lake there grows a tree known as the jambu which has sweet fruits, and it is by virtue of that that this jambudvīpa is so known.³⁰

(22b) This (mountain) in Tibet has been identified with Ti-se by all the great scholars and sages of India, such as the glorious Lord Atīśa, whō, when proceeding to the plain in front of Ti-se, on the occasion of being invited to Gu-ge by the king of mNga-ris IHa-btsun Byang-chub-'od (23a) said, "O *sthaviras* from the snows of Ti-se, make your mid-day meal when the *ganṭi* sounds at noon".

In adherence with that, the Master Mar-pa said to Mi-la (Ras-pa), "Beuase Ti-se snow mountain is the Ri-bo Gangs-can prophesied by the Buddha, meditate there!" And by the Master (Mi-la) it was also said,

That one we all call Gangs-dkar Ti-se,
Is known (in the scriptures) as Ri-bo Gangs-can,
The abode of the five hundred Arhats.
That one we call Ma-pham g. Yu-mtsho,
Is known (in the scriptures) as Lake Anavatapta.

[23b] The 'Bri-gung *sPyan-snga* Shes-rab 'Byung-gnas and the *siddha* Seng-ge Ye-shes perceived this Ti-se snow mountain in the state of the clear light as the palace of the sixty two deities of the Samvara *maṇḍala* complete with gates. Also, the glorious, incomparable Lamp of the Doctrine of the Ri-bo dGa'-ldan-pas, the omniscient *Pan-chen* (Lama I) Blo-bzang Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan perceived this snow mountain as the palace of Cakrasaṃvara, and in this and many other instances it has been stated unanimously with one voice by all the competent scholars of India and Tibet that the snow mountain Ti-se is none other than this one in Tibet. But, the Master Sa-skya Paṇḍita said, "That Himavat is not Ti-se. The Anavatapta Ocean is not Ma-pham.' (24a) This snow mountain which is identified as the Ri-bo Gangs-can by you bKa'-brgyud-pas is not the great snow (mountain of the *sūtras*), because this one does not possess the qualities of that one explained in the *sūtras*.' And,

³⁰ On this important cosmography see Macdonald (1962: 531-48); and Dietz (1988: 113-4).

"Neither is this Ti-se, because this one in Tibet does not possess the qualities of the Ti-se which is mentioned in the *sūtras*, such as the statement that it has (a height of) five hundred *yojanas*." And, "Nor is Lake Ma-pham Anavatapta, because this (lake) does not possess the stated qualities of the Anavatapta mentioned in the *sūtras*, such as (a breadth of) fifty *yojanas*. And, "Neither is this Ti-se, because this one in Tibet does not possess the qualities of the Ti-se which is mentioned in the *sūtras*, such as the statement that it has [a height of] five hundred *yojanas*." "This is because the position of the mountain and lake which is asserted by you bKa'-brgyud-pas [24b] contradicts the explanations given in scriptural authorities, such as the (*Abhidharma*) *kośabhaṣa*."

And, certain dialecticians who were followers of the Sa-skyapa (master) said, "The (argument that this place in Tibet is the one mentioned in the scriptures) falls down because the subject, being that (river) named Gaṅgā which flows from Lake Ma-pham, is not the real Gaṅgā which is one of the 'four rivers', because it and the other three rivers which issue from the flowing waters of one lake cannot be seen. If the other three rivers, having become altered due to the force of time, do not flow from Ma-pham, then it follows that the Gaṅgā too, at this time, did not flow from that lake. And there is no apprehendable trace of the supposed flow of the other three rivers from former times."

So saying, they provided a persistent refutation (of the bKa'-brgyud-pa position).

In reply to that bKa'-brgyud-pa Lamas said (25a): "The significance of the statement,

That one we call Gangs-dkar Ti-se,
Is the one known as Ri-bo Gangs-can
Which was prophesied previously by the Blessed One.
That one we call Ma-pham g. Yu-mtsho,
Is the one known as the Anavatapta ocean.

by the Great Vehicle of Our Doctrine, the Glorious, Incomparable bZhad-pa rDo-rje (i.e. Mi-la RAs-pa), is that this mountain in Tibet called Ti-se became our meditation place. It is not simply designed so by ordinary people. The reason being that this is the one called Ti-se, the great snow mountain which was prophesied previously by the teacher Buddha." It is accepted as Ti-se, but is not accepted as the one mentioned as, "Also, the Ri-bo Gangs-can which arose is this," in the preface to Jīvakakumārabhaṣa's (story) in the section on robes in the *Vinaya*. (25b) The reason is on account

of Ti-se and Himavat being accepted as different according to the statement by the master Mi-la [Ras-pa],

Among the list of names for regal mountains,
Enumerated in the *Sangs rgyas bka" yi tog bzungs*,
There are both 'Himavat' and 'Ti-se'
As for the Noble Ones who dwelt there,
There are also two Arhats who are distinct.

You (sa-skyapas) don't talk nonsense! Those qualities of Ti-se and Anavatapta which are explained in the *sūtras* will not be refuted solely by your denial that "This is not Ti-se and Anavatapta", having taken as proof that they were just not seen by your Sa-skyapaṇḍita. The reason is, according to the *Abhidharmakośa*, "A single substance gives rise to different states of mind." For example, it says (26a) three different ways of seeing even a single mundane element (such as) water, arise for people who have or have not purified their obscurations. When seen by the gods this water is something known as 'The River of the Elixir of Life', having a taste like honey, and possessing properties, such as the ability to cure illness, the ability of reviving the dead and the ability of mending what is broken. When looked at by human beings it is seen as just water which performs the function of quenching thirst and washing off impurities. When looked at by hungry ghosts it is seen as pus, matter and blood, excrement and urine and so on, which performs the function of stinking and burning. And in a similar way, with regard to this snow mountain Ti-se as well: To the sight of [26b] tenth stage bodhisattvas who are purified of obscurations it exists at present in accordance with the explanations in the *sūtras* i.e., it is made of precious substances, and has a height of five hundred *yojanas*, and a heavenly mansion of the gods inside it, etc.. To the sight of mediocre people it appears as a splendoured, massive mountain and the self-created body of a deity, and so forth, and it has a covering of rainbows, etc.. To the sight of inferior people it appears as nothing but just ordinary earth and rock. Because this is the nature of all things, consequently the (kind of) refutation which states "It does not have those qualities" to others, having taken as its proof something not even observed by oneself, is one in which there cannot be seen even the slightest purpose except only to reveal clearly the 'insides' [i.e. predispositions] of the refuters themselves.

Furthermore, [27a] it is a laughable assertion of you (Sa-skyapas) that, excluding the Gaṅgā, not even the beds of the other three rivers which flow

out from lake Ma-pham can be seen. Therefore, the proof of this is that the eastward flowing river Gaṅgā originally was a spring named mThong-ba Rangrol which flowed out of a valley that lay in an easterly direction from the lake itself. And later, it flowed westward from a mountain called sDul-chu, which resembles the mouth of an elephant, in the upper Gu-ge region in the west, after cutting through the middle of the lake itself. This is the Glang-chen Kha-'bab, universally known as the Indian river Gaṅgā. And as for the southward flowing river Sindhu, it flowed to the south from the north of the lake itself [27b]. As a result it originates from the mouth of the Peacock or 'Khyu-mchog' mountain in the upper part of Lang-ka Pu-rang. Therefore it is known as the rMa-bya Kha-babs or Sindhu river that flows to the land of Sindhu (i.e. Pakistan), after cutting through towards western India, and some minor districts of Nepal. And as for the westward flowing river Pakṣū, it flowed to the east from the west of the lake itself. As a result it originates from the mouth of the horse mountain at gTsang Bye-ma g.Yung-drung. Therefore it is known (variously) as the rTa-mchog Kha-babs, the Lohita river, or the upper waters of the gTsang-po, or the Pakṣū river that flows to the region of Kamarupa in eastern India after cutting through the middle of Tibet including [the districts of] gTsang, dBus and Kong-po. As for the northward flowing river Sita, it flowed to the north from the south of the lake itself. As a result it originates from a mountain which resembles the mouth of a lion behind Ti-se. Therefore it is known as the river of Seng-ge Kha-'bab or the Sita river which flows into the northern ocean after crossing the region of Hor [i.e. Turkistan] to the north and both La-dwags and Bhal-ti (stan).

In accordance with the existence of this established proof which is obvious to all the world, you (Sa-skyapa) monks must be talking nonsense in saying, "The former riverbeds can not even be seen at all" or, in general, also the sense of the word 'flowing' (*kha-babs*) is that they flow from mountains resembling four wild beasts to the east, south, west and north of the lake, and therefore it is not saying they flow (exactly) from the lake's own edge. But, if they flowed from the lake's own edge, it is apparent there would be no necessity at all to explain [28b] the character of the wild beasts, such as the elephant and horse.

And in general, although you (Sa-skyapas) have made refutations from many positions, after boasting of being endowed with a vision of knowledge which is not to be compared to anyone else at all, at present not only just Tibetans, but all Buddhists from China in the east up to Indian Mon in the south talk incessantly of "Going to visit the snow mountain Ti-se". And keeping this

continuously in mind, as a result they travel for many months with immense difficulty, and their assembly is innumerable like the geese on a lake of lotuses. It is like this, and consequently you little children who hope to catch hold of the sun in the sky have replied to them, [29a] saying such things as "You should abandon that manner of behaving which (only) brings fatigue to yourselves."

And in summary, explanations have been made in reply to the refutations of Sa-skyia Paṅ-chen and his followers on this subject. They have been elucidated in the informative texts: the *mKhas pa'i rnam rgyan* by the omniscient 4th Zhwa-dmar [Chos-grags Ye-shes], the *rGol ngan jom pa'i legs bshad lung rigs smra ba'i mgul rgyan* by the 'Bri-gung Zhabs-drung Chos-kyi Grags-pa and the *gNas gsum gsal byed legs bshad nor bu'i me long* by the glorious 'Brug-pa Ngag-dbang Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje. Therefore, those of you who have acquired perplexing and false views due to the grace of the glorious Sa-skyia-pa [29b] read these elegant sayings and become cleansed totally of falsehoods.

To the non-Tibetan reader some of the arguments found in the TNS seem rather attenuated when compared with the more decisive criticisms of the Sa-skyia-pas. However, in the Tibetan tradition arguments such as those found here defending the claim of Ti-se and Lake Ma-pham's cosmographical qualities by invoking the ability of highly realised Buddhist practitioners to perceive an 'underlying' splendoured, divine reality were generally accepted in relation to the specific debate about these sites. Here we can compare similar material on Ti-se and Ma-pham in the well-known *Dzam gling rgyas bshad* of the bTsan-po Nom-unqan³¹ reminding us of the relationship between karmic purity and the perception of geographical reality which Tibetan pilgrimage guides often refer to in relation to this type of holy place.³²

What is also evident in the TNS is the general bKa'-brgyud-pa 'bias' one finds towards dealing only with the geographical and cosmographical details³³ and claims, thus avoiding the important doctrinal concerns of Sa-paṅ about who should, and could, legitimately pilgrimage to and benefit from a site claimed to be a *Samvara pīṭha*. However, Padma dKar-po was one bKa'-brgyud-pa critic who addressed this important issue using a

³¹ See Wylie (1962: 56-9).

³² See Huber (1991).

³³ While these details are interesting they have been commented upon many times by other writers and they need not detain us here. For further material and references see Allen (1982), J.Snelling (1983), and Swami Pranavananda (1983), amongst others. For a recent Tibetan compilation on the area see Bod ljongs nang bstan vol. I, 1990.

rather different style of refutation of Sa-pan in his *Pad dkar legs bshad* (PK), a guide-book to the holy mountain of Tsa-ri in Southern Tibet³⁴:

Some [i.e. Sa-skya Paṇḍita] say, "Even if [Ti-se and Tsa ri, and so on], were the great places [in the teachings of the Buddha], because the persons who go to those lands have obtained initiations and hold vows, know the [secret] signs and their responses, and firmly understand the two stages [of meditation] it is stated that they wander [there] for the sake of the *caryā* [phase] [34-a], and persons who are not like that are forbidden to travel to those countries according to the *tantras*. " and, "If those who have not cultivated Secret *Mantra*, and yet pride themselves on their understanding, go to those countries obstacles will arise for them. Also when visited by 'meditators on nothing whatsoever' [i.e. nihilists] there is no profit or loss whatever [for them]." But, these claims are self contradictory in that they are a direct violation or an approximation of the Sugata's words, as how can one possibly say that 'Others can go there without profit or loss' if the *tantras* forbid access to persons who are other than those ready for the *caryā* [phase] ?

Also, his saying "They are forbidden according to the *tantras*..." is confusing, in that the '*Phags-pa* sphyan-ras-gzigs kyi *dri-med-'od* states, "In this way the dual union of *dākīñjalāsamvara* is described in terms of mundane geography for the sake of liberating uninitiated persons.", and also, "Commonly, the *pīṭha*, such as Jālandhara, are named in order that ordinary persons may wander to the [twenty-four] countries."³⁵ And it also mentions 'wander' in the Nā-ro '*grel-chen* as, "Generally, the *pīṭha*, such as Jālandhara, are named in order that ordinary persons can perform circumambulation [at them]."

We have already briefly mentioned some of Sa-pan's possible motives for discouraging ordinary Buddhist pilgrims from visiting Tantric *pīṭha* sites, but why did Padma dKar-po here, and elsewhere in his PK, support the practice as being acceptable? Having noted that this bKa'-brgyud-pa heirarch and his school had established interests at sites like Ti-se and Tsa-ri (see n.26), we must consider that requirements for sponsorship and pilgrimage revenue may have played some part in sanctioning and maintaining non-

³⁴ See PK, ff. 33A, 1-33b, 1.

³⁵ On this same sentence in a more negative context see Snellgrove (1959: 69, n. 2).

Tantric Buddhist pilgrimage to these sites.³⁶ However, regarding this issue it is perhaps more to the point to consider the distinctions made between Tantric and non-Tantric visits to *pīṭha* sites by Buddhists and what this meant in the Indian, and later the Tibetan contexts. In the texts visits to *pīṭha* by Tantric yogins who have 'entered into the caryā' (*spyod-pa la gshegs-pa*) phase of practice are described as 'wandering' (*rgyu-ba*) there to perform meditation³⁷, etc., whereas non-Tantric visits are described in terms of circumambulation (*skor-ba*) which is a common form of worship as Pilgrimage. In commenting on the *pīṭha* tradition on the basis of what he takes to be legitimate Indian Buddhism Sa-pan does not even mention circumambulatory visits. Padma dKar-po openly admits such visits, but his textual citations aside, I think his doing so reflects in part a collapsing together of the categories of Tantric 'wandering' and non-Tantric circumambulation in the Tibetan *pīṭha* tradition.

If we analyse the narratives describing the 'opening' of these holy places by the archetypal Tibetan yogins, such as Mi-la Ras-pa and gTsang-pa rGyas-ras, we find that while 'wandering' there during their own caryā phase they opened them up systematically in the form of circumambulation itineraries (if indeed they were not already in this form in the pre-Buddhist traditions, i.e. was there circumambulation in Tibet before Buddhism?). The individual 'power places' at which they performed their Tantric meditations and magical conquests are generally arranged around these circuits, which form the basis for the itineraries of visits by all later Tantric meditators and non-Tantric Pilgrims alike. In some instances, e.g. Mi-la Ras-pa at La-phyi³⁸, these 'opening' scenarios are also explicitly related to allowing access for ordinary folk to these sites. This is how the texts presented these sites to Tibetans, and how they in fact were approached. In later times these narratives themselves served to popularise the sites widely among all sections of Tibetan Buddhists. There is no doubt that Tantric and non-Tantric visits to these sites have always been made for distinctly different purposes, but as yogins and uninitiated pilgrims came to share the same sites their different types of practice became interrelated in ways for which there appear to be no precedents in the Indian Buddhist *pīṭha* traditions. Ordinary Tibetans ('circumambulators') visit the spots, caves and so forth, where yogins performed their meditations in order to benefit from the sanctification (*byin-brlabs*) accumulated at those places by the activities of these elite Tantra practitioners ('wanderers'). They also support the

³⁶ In the case of the Bhutanese 'Brug-pa at Kailāsa, who controlled most of the religious estates and shrines in the area, Kawaguchi (1909: 168) gives us some more recent evidence indicating the importance of pilgrimage revenue at such a site. All this is not to say that the Sa-skyapas did not also have mundane motive that need to be considered.

³⁷ Stein (1988: 38-43) has recently made some interesting references to aspects of the practice of Tantic meditation at Tsa-ri using the PK and other Tibetan sources.

³⁸ See Huber (1991).

yogins and their communities through making offerings, another form of worship. The extent to which such interrelations between Tantric and non-Tantric visits to the Tibetan *pīṭha* had developed by Sa-pan's time cannot be known, but they must certainly be counted as a factor influencing later Tibetan sources on the tradition.

In the 2nd chapter of his PK, Padma dKar-po had this to say about the issue of sacred geography³⁹:

[6b]...Consequently, with regard to the statement of others [i.e. Sa-skyā Paṇḍita],

That [country] which is called Cāritra,
Is situated to the south on the shore of the ocean:
Tsa-ri rTswa-gong is not that.

There is no fault in merely stating "It is situated to the south", because Kāñcī, which is like the Suvarṇadvīpa renowned as the country of Dharmakīrti to the south of India, and the best of the [places] near-by the city, with regard to that characteristic also it is said to be Tsa-ri. Therefore one knows there is no reason whatsoever in [Sa-pan] saying "It is situated on the shore of the ocean". And [concerning the statement] ,'

The saḥajā of the country of Tibet
Lives and dwells in a stone cave.
The goddess who abides in that country [7a]
Stays at the tree of Bhadra.

The kṣetrapāla goddess dwelling in the rock cave and the one dwelling at the tree of Bhadra have different countries. It mentions Tibet as the first and Devīkota as the second in all [three texts of, the *Vajradāka* , *Dākārṇava* and *Mahākāla-siddhibhava* [tantras]. Therefore there is a contradiction with those. And because [Sa-pan] explains the location of Bhadra's tree as Devīkota with the words,

If there is a tree of Bhadra in the direction of that
[country],
There is no contradicting that country [is Devīkota].

³⁹ See PK, ff. 6b, 1-7b, 1.

[then] the statement "There is no contradicting that country [is Devīkoṭa] " is confusing, and that tree needs to be designated by itself [with no other referent]. And consequently, because it is accepted as Devīkoṭa, and if that tree is not in this [place] his own proof is not established. Therefore he has fallen to a position of defeat.

If one thinks that we do not say it is Devīkota, since we take the first line [of the following verse of Śa-pan's] as our own position,

One other place of Devīkoṭa,
Is said by some to be Tsa-ri.
According to the *Vajradāka-tantra*,
"Bhadra abides in Devīkoṭa."

one should consider what there is in the remainder of the verse to refute that [place] is Tsa-ri. However, having [previously] taken the position which describes it as Kāñcī if we say "This is not that Tsa-ri", we have understood a little ourselves [i.e. it is reasonable]. But refuting that it is Tsa-ri after speaking of it as Devīkoṭa [as Sa-pan has] [7b] is itself a gesture of insanity.

In that way, if we follow [the issue] through the logic of argument, in this position the attack of [Sa-pan's] dispute is quickly mitigated. Therefore the 'tongue-punishment'⁴⁰ of dialectics, called Cāritra, has been applied.

Curiously, in these passages Padma dKar-po, while quoting the DS to make his point, never refers to either that work or Sa-pan⁴¹ Padma dKar-po is very careful not to undercut his own position that Cāritra and Devīkoṭa are both associated, and both located in Southern Tibet. His formal, and at times, rather opaque refutation restricts itself for the most part to seeking internal contradictions and inadequacies in Sa-pan's brief remarks on Tsa-ri. When considered in isolation, this material is indeed difficult to decipher. However, I hope that the substance of Padma dKar-po's refutation will be somewhat clarified below in an investigation of the details of the actual claims and counter-claims made. The role of

⁴⁰ ICe-chad > Ice-chod = the old traditional practice of cutting out an offender's tongue, see Zhang Yisun, et al (eds.), *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, (Zang-Han Dacidian) vol. 1, Beijing, 1985, p. 768.

⁴¹ This appears to have been a hall-mark of his deliveries against the Sa-skyapa master, c.f. Broido (1987:37).

such claims about Tsa-ri, Cāritra and Devīkoṭa was of fundamental importance to the process of development of a Tibetan Tantric geography.

The Cāritra/Devīkoṭa Complex and the Further Development of a Tibetan Tantric Geography

In the ancient geography of India the sites of Cāritra, a southern port city on the Orissan (Uḍra) coast⁴², and Devīkoṭa, a place in the Dinājpur district of North Bengal⁴³ were real places which contained Tantric *pīṭha* sites patronised by Buddhist Siddhas, and most probably various sects of Hindu Tantrikas as well⁴⁴ Tibetan Buddhist scholars, at least since Sa-pan's time, have certainly been aware of the actual Indian locations of these places.⁴⁵ Their significance as points on the internal yogic and external geographic *vajra-kāya* was also well known to Tibetans from the lists of these sites found in the Tantras themselves.⁴⁶

However, despite this knowledge of the traditional Indian locations and significances of these sites, certain sections of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy were determined that they be relocated on Tibetan soil. As a result of this determination to 'Buddha-ise' the Tibetan landscape since the *phyi-dar* two major Tibetan holy places were established as Cāritras and

⁴² See Beal (1969:Book X, 205-6).

⁴³ See Baruā (1969: 163) and Das Gupta (1976: 12) on it as a Buddhist temple site; and Sircar (1973: 83) on it as an important śākta pīṭha location.

⁴⁴ For instance see the many references of visits there by the Indian Siddha Kṛṣṇācārya and his disciples in Templeman (1989: 21, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 40, 46).

⁴⁵ For example see the above quoted lines in the DS referring to Tsa-ri; Tāranātha's writings on Kānha (note above); an interesting entry in Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims Rin-chen (1973), f. 447, 1: "Devīkoṭa is the citadel or fortress of the goddess. That is, due south of the reddish-gray (*gro-mo*) region of Nalendra in the east (of India) there is found a temple of Devīkoṭa in a place which is four calls distance outside of the town known as Vañcapa (?). And in the country, it is said that great place exists there."; and also in the TNS, f. 8b, 4, apparently quoting an earlier source on the submission of Maheśvara, "The place known as Devīkoṭa, which is the country of Varindra in Eastern India, was seized by the gandharva Vajraprabha." On Varindra/Varendra being an ancient kingdom situated in present-day Bangladesh, see Templeman (1989: n. 110).

⁴⁶ For a convenient collection of this material from the Hevajra, Saṃvarodaya and Vajradāka cycles see Tsuda (1978: 215-226).

four major sites were claimed as Devīkoṭas in Tibet. There may also be other minor, local Tibetan Cāritras and Devīkoṭas for which we do not yet have textual evidence.⁴⁷

We are fortunate to have enough surviving literary sources to be able to discern the outline of the rather complicated process of assimilations which lead to the proliferation of these sites in Tibet and hence, the resultant development of a pilgrimage network dedicated to Samvara Tantrism. This is what I will now try to piece together by considering each of the major sites in the probable sequence of their historical development.

i. The Cāritra and Devīkoṭa at Tsa-ri

It is clear from the DS that already by Sa-pan's time claims were being made for assimilating both Cāritra and Devīkoṭa to the holy mountain sanctuary of Tsa-ri (Tsa-ri Tswa-gong) in Southern Tibet, and that in the case of Devīkoṭa some passages from the text of the *Vajradāka-tantra* (VDT) were being invoked in order to justify this. Go-rams-pa's DSN commentary on this passage in the DS clarifies things somewhat,⁴⁸

As for Cāritra, a division of *pīlava* site [in the *Hevajra-tantra*], because it is mentioned as "Situated to the south on the shore of the ocean" [by Sa-pan], the Tsā-ri Tsā-gong of Kongyul [in Tibet] is not that. As for the statement by some that, "For Devīkoṭa, a division of *kṣetra* site [in the *Hevajra-tantra*] there exist two, of which the principal exists in India to the south, and another minor one is the Tsa-ri of Kong-yul", if the tree of Bhadra is found in the direction of that [country], there is no fault in that country being Devīkoṭa [according to Sapaṇ's statement]. [As for the verses] beginning with "According to the *Vajradāka-tantra*", furthermore, in the *tantra* it states [etc]...

At this point Go-rams-pa, in order to show what Sa-pan was referring to somewhat obscurely (for the uninitiated reader) in his criticisms, quotes in full two short verse sections

⁴⁷ In the present context we might note that some literary references to other Cāritras and Devīkoṭas appear to be hyperbolic, such as the title of a manuscript guide to the shrine of sTag-tshang in sPa-gro, *Tsa-ri-tra gnyis-pa gnas-chen stag-tshang-gyi gnas-yig ngo-mshar 'phrul-gyi sgo brgya-pa*, see Aris (1979: 278). See also the comments on Chu-mo-phug (Chumphu) at sPa-gro and Brag-dkar sPrel-rdzong in Amdo in Stein (1988: 13 & 29).

⁴⁸ See DSN, f. 138a-b.

relating to aspects of the *pīṭha* cult from the VDT⁴⁹ The first of these verses describes a violent (drag-chen-mo) kṣetrapāla goddess called 'rNa-mo-che' who dwells at Bhadra's tree⁵⁰ in Devikoṭa. The second describes another kṣetrāpla, known as 'rNa-chen', as a sahaḥā ('innate woman')⁵¹ in Tibet (*body-yul*)⁵² who dwells in a rock house or rock cave in that country. Some Tibetan commentators take these two kṣetrapāla goddesses to be one and the same. What the argument of Sa-pan and Go-rams-pa is leading to is that although Tibet is mentioned in the Tantra it is only Devikoṭa which has the tree of Bhadra as a dwelling, while Tibet has only a rock house or cave as the dwelling. Therefore the two places cannot be equated on the basis of what is stated in the scripture.

We have already seen how Padma dKar-po has rejected this argument as being self contradictory and invalid in his PK. Elsewhere in that same work he uses the second of these passages, and other short sections from the VDT, to claim how Tibet and the main holy mountain of Dag-pa Shel-ri at Tsa-ri are the sites mentioned in this Tantra. And furthermore, on the basis of these quotes he make a most important equation of these deities and their abodes from the *pīṭha* cult with those ones that are central to the autochthonic cult at Tsa-ri. For example he states⁵³,

From amongst the twenty-four countries of Jambudvīpa this *upachandoha* Himālaya, called Kha-ba-can or Gangs-can in Tibetan, is that Tibet mentioned

⁴⁹ Because of their importance in all the subsequent guide-book literature on this subject I have provided the full texts here: For the first passage see Śrī-vajradāka-nāma-mahātantrarāja (Derge: 370), f. 49a, 1-2: /gyen du 'bar skra zhes bya ba // kṣe tra pāla gtsigs pa che // de bī ko ṭar rna mo che // stobs po che yi skye gnas 'byung // Iha mo lag na mdung can te // rnal 'byor dbang phyug kun gyi mchog // gnas der Iha mo drag chen mo // bha dra'i shing la brten to gnas /; and the second, f. 50a, 7: / bod yul du ni Ihan skyes te // rang byung gi ni skye gnas byung // cnu srin rgyal mtshan lag na thogs // zhizhing gsal ba'i gzugs can te // yul der gnas pa'i Iha mo te // brag gi khyim la brag gi khyim la brten te gnas /.

⁵⁰ For the story of Bhadra's tree in Devikoṭa see Templeman (1983: 44), and (1989: 30 & 46).

⁵¹ Tib. = *Ihan-cig skyes-ma*; The 'innate women' are the ḍākinīs or yoginīs who reside at each of the 24 Tantric pīṭha and who are involved in the yoga performed at these palces, see Tsuda's *Saṃvarodaya-Tantra*, (1974: 9:12) In terms of the internal pīṭha they represent an internal psychic force at points in the yogin's meditational body, see Das Gupta (1976: 99-109).

⁵² It would be interesting to know what the original Indian mss. of the VDT read where '*bod-yul*' is found in the Tibetan translations. What appears to be a Bengali or Nepali mss. of VDT is in the Tokyo University Library collection, cat. no. 343. The relevant section occurs on ff. 42b-43a. I am indebted to Shin'ichi Tsuda for helping me locate this reference.

⁵³ See PK, ff. 4b, 5-5b, 1.

in the *Vajradāka-tantra* as, "The land of Tibet, and such like, Mālava and Pulli[ramalaya], etc., are the twenty-four countries."

Furthermore, it is called Gangs-can if we take as primary [the mountain] Dag-pa Shel-ri, [5a] and it is called Tibet if we take as primary the place of abode of the kṣetrapāla. Therefore there are different names referring to one meaning. The kṣetrapāla in that (*Vajradāka-*) *tantra* mentioned as, "[She] is the saḥajā in the country of Tibet." is the saḥajā holding the name g-Yu'i-sgron-ma. She is visualised as, "Holding a makara banner in hand, and possessing a body which is calm and lucid." [And it further states:] "That goddess who abides in that country, lives and dwells in a rock house."

According to some translations [this last line reads], "[She] lives and dwells in a rock cave.", therefore her abodes or receptacles are the rDo'i-sNying-phug of upper Cig-car and the sMyug-ri sMyug-khang [both of which are at Tsa-ri]...

....It states that the male ('father') kṣetrapāla, "The *mahāvīra* known as Longs-spyod is the kṣetrapāla Thub-dka'."⁵⁴ This is Longs-spyod Thub-dka'. And it is the place where Sengge gDong-pa-can lives also because it mentions [5b] "A dwelling in the heaped-up rock mountains" in that *tantra*, it is dPal-ri Zlum-can in upper Cig-car, and thus is this [place] located on the great face of the Dag-pa Shel-ri [massif at Tsa-ri].

The goddess equated with the Tantric saḥajā, g.Yu-sgron-ma ('Turquoise Lamp Lady'), is one of the leading brTan-ma (or bsTanma) bcu-gnyis deities associated with important mountains and lakes in Tibet. She has the titles 'Bod-skyong brtan-ma'i gtso-bo g.Yu-yi-sgron' and 'Zhing-skyong dbang-mo rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma'⁵⁵ and is obviously a protective deity of 'national' significance for Tibetans. Also, the male deity from the Tantric cult is equated with Seng-ge'i gDong-can, a member of the retinue of the leading goddess of the cult of Tibetan protective deities dPal-ldan lHa-mo.⁵⁶ Not only are passages such as these of fundamental importance to our understanding of the pilgrimage cult at Tsa-ri, but they are also excellent examples of Buddhisation in action in the traditions of the Tibetan holy places.

⁵⁴ This verse, VDT, f. 50b, 1: *llongs spyod zhes bya'i dpa'bo che ll kṣe tra pāla thub dka' ba'o l*, follows immediately on from the second of the 2 above quoted passages in the Tantra (see n. 49 above).

⁵⁵ On this goddess see the numerous refs. in Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: esp. 190-93).

⁵⁶ See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 25, 29).

From amongst the impressive collection of materials Padma dKarmo brings together in the 2nd chapter of his PK to demonstrate that Tsa-ri is Cāritra, mention must be made of one other citation from the Tantras⁵⁷,

In this [*Vajradāka*-] *tantra*, that which is mentioned as, "The place of the *karāñja*, Cāritra"⁵⁸ is Kāñcī which formerly was counted in the twenty-four [countries of the *vajra-kāya*].

This equation allows us to better understand Padma dKar-po's mention of Kāñcī in his refutation of Sa-pan quoted previously. But, more importantly, by relating Kāñcī to Cāritra and Tsa-ri he makes it possible for Tibetans to postulate a correspondence between Tsāri/Cāritra and Devikoṭa⁵⁹ by way of the logic of the *vajra-kāya* doctrine, and this is a relationship they certainly have made as we shall see below in the case of Ts-'dra Rin-chen-brag. According to the theory of the internal *pīṭha* (*adhyātma-pīṭha*) of the *vajra-kāya* certain places correspond to certain parts of the body which are connected by a network of internal psychic channels or veins (*nāḍī*). The *Saṃvarodaya-tantra* lists, "A vein existing in Devikoṭa (that is,) the eyes flows through the liver."⁶⁰ and "In Kāñcī, the abode of the heart..."⁶¹ Some Tibetan commentators considered that a *nāḍī* connected the eyes and the heart in the *vajra-kāya* during meditation, thus 'joining' the external Kāñcī/Cāritra with Devikoṭa as I will detail later.

ii. The lHa-mo mKhar-chen Devikoṭa at mKhar-chu

The later Tibetan writers on sacred geography made use of the aspects of the internal *pīṭha* theory explained above in order to justify claims for, and relate together, the Tantric *pīṭha* they were establishing in Tibet. Padma dKar-po appears to have been an exponent of these Tantric geographical theories, as can be seen from his short guide-book entitled *Bod yul lho de wi ko ṭa'i gnas bshad*. As we have already noted, by the 15th century we find the Sa-skyapa scholar Go-rams-pa criticising a Tibetan tradition that there are two *kṣetra* sites of Devikoṭa, one in India and one at Tsa-ri in Tibet. In his little text Padma dKar-po uses

⁵⁷ See PK, f. 5b, 2.

⁵⁸ Note that VDT, f. 49, 7 here reads: //tsa ri tra yi yul di nil/ ka ran dza gnas zhes bya ba //.

⁵⁹ See Roerich (1979: 729, n.2): 'Present day Tibetan bla-mas maintain that Tsa-ri in S.E. Tibet is the ancient Devikoṭī.'

⁶⁰ See Tsuda (1974: 261), noting the confusion here between the Skt. 'bukka' for 'heart', and the Tib. 'mchin-pa' for 'liver'.

⁶¹ Tsuda (1974: 262).

the Tantric theory of *pīṭha* correspondences to advance a claim that the site known as lHa-mo mKhar-chen (Skt.= 'Mahādevikota') at mKhar-chu in the lHo-brag district of Southern Tibet was one of these two Devikōṭas. For example he states⁶²

According to reality, and in the infinite, incomparable Tantric texts, such as the *Vajradāka* and the *Dākārṇava*, the explanations state, "The eyes [of the *Vajrakāya*] are Devikōṭa." Because there are two internal eyes, there are two [external] places of Devikōṭa, of which that one connected with the right [eye] exists in that country of the *dharmarāja* Aśoka called Pāṭaliputra in Eastern India, and that place which is connected with the left [eye] is this one [in southern Tibet].

Whether Padma dKar-po was the first to claim this site as a Devikōṭa in Tibet is uncertain⁶³ although whatever the exact history of the claims the mKhar-chu Devikōṭa retained its fame as a Saṃvara site for many centuries in Tibet⁶⁴

iii. The 'Second Devikōṭa' at Pha-bong-kha

Considering all the Tibetan claims we have cited so far it might appear that the bKa'-brgyud-pa schools were the only major lineage tradition to engage in relocating and duplicating the *pīṭha* sites in Tibet. While this perhaps reflects the situation up to the time of Padma dKarmo, from then on the dGe-lugs-pa school, and later the Ris-med movement, were instrumental in establishing other Devikōṭas and Cāritras in Tibet.

Right from the beginning of its formation the 'reformed' dGelugs-pa order and its members took up the study and practice of the cult of Saṃvara Tantrism with zeal. Great practitioners of that school, such as Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) himself and the 1st Paṅ-chen Blo bzang Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan (1567-1662) performed pilgrimages to Tsa-ri and Ti-

⁶² See Padma-dkar-po (1973b), f. 1a.

⁶³ In this context we should note the propensity of 'Brug-pa Lamas of the period for such activities. A disciple of Padma dKar-po's, a certain 'Bla-ma bKra-shi-dbang', was responsible for 'opening' the Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage to the 'false' Kuśinagara at the hajo temple near Gauhati in Assam to the south of Tsa-ri, see Aris (1986: 71-3, 77); Aris (1979: 112-14). This site was later assimilated to the Devikōṭa at Pha-bongkha, on which see n. 73 below.

⁶⁴ See mKhyen-brtse dBang-po's comments in Ferrari (1958: 57).

se"⁶⁵ in order to practice the Samvara meditations and rituals there, and in their wake various other 'dGe-lugs Siddhas' followed suit".⁶⁶

In their devotion to the performance of Samvara tantrism certain dGe-lugs-pa Lamas established the so-called 'second Devikota' (de-d'iko-ta gnyis-pa)⁶⁷ at the site of the ancient holy place of Pha-bong-kha near Se-ra monastery on the out-skirts of Lhasa city. The earliest reference to Pha-bong-kha being claimed as Devikota is found in the 5th Dalai Lama's *Bod kyi deb ther*, written in 1643.⁶⁸ The guide-book for the 'second Devikota', probably written sometime during the 19th century⁶⁹ was composed by a little-known dGe-lugs-pa scholar associated with the rGyud-stod college in Lhasa and with Se-ra-smad. In setting out his claims this author uses what seems to have developed into a 'formula' for establishing Tibetan sites as Tantric *piṭha*. Firstly he invokes exactly the same passages from the VDT as used previously by Padma dKar-po to demonstrate that Tibet, and more specifically Pha-bong-kha, are the places of the *vajra-kāya* mentioned in the Tantras⁷⁰ As well as giving a brief account of the narrative of the submission of Rudra/Mahēśvara, he employs citations from Tsong-khapa and 'Jam-dbyangs bZhad-pa (1648-1721) amongst others, all of which are intended to demonstrate that,⁷¹

This very Pha-bong-kha is the Devikota from amongst the four [Tantric] *upapiṭha* because it was unanimously accepted [as such] by all those accomplished in wisdom who went there previously. Because it is established [as such] by way of those proofs above it is established as a place possessing empowerments.

In much the same way as the 'Bri-gung gDan-rabs claims about Ti-se use the 'scriptural authority' of the statements of great past masters of the bKa'-brgyud-pa, so too does this author place great emphasis throughout his text on the statements of the saints and

⁶⁵ On Tsong-kha-pa at Tsa-ri see Kaschwsky (1971: 131); and on the 1st Paṅchen at Ti-se see Petech (1976: 322).

⁶⁶ See for example Filibeck (1988a: 96); and Willis (1985: 314-18).

⁶⁷ See for example Ferrari (1958: 42)

⁶⁸ See Roerich (1979: 79, n.2).

⁶⁹ See dByangs-can dGyes-pa'i-blo-gros (nd.). This approximate dating is likely since the author cites the Rwa-sgreng *sprul-sku* Blo-bzang Ye-shes bsTan-pa Rab-rgyas on f. 32a. Also, we find an author by this name who was the biographer of dByangs-can Grub-pa'i rDo-rje (1809-1887), the nephew of dNgul-chu Dharmabhadra (1772-1851).

⁷⁰ See dByangs-can dGyes-pa'i blo-gros (n.d.), ff. 9a, 4-10a, 1. noting that there is some confusion about the arrangement and attribution of the verses here.

⁷¹ Ibid, f. 11a, 4.

scholars of his own sect to establish the validity of his claims. By the 18th-19th century the *pīṭha* traditions had already gained enough 'momentum' in dGe-lugs circles for appropriate spiritual authority regarding them to have been generated. What seems important here is not just whether this is the 'true' location, but that it is possible to attain the proper benefits of pilgrimage and practice at Tibetan Saṃvara sites as other Worthy Ones have claimed to have done in the past. Later in the work, in a further claim the author's words reveal an aspect of the relocating of Indian meditation sites that practitioners of his day were conscious of, that is, that famous sites like Devikōṭa did exist in India, but this fact did not diminish the sanctity and the potency as places of practice of those claimed to exist in Tibet⁷²:

[With regard] to this [place] which is established as the *pīṭha* of the two eyes when we relate it internally to the *nāḍī* ('spokes') of the body cakra of the Saṃvara [*maṇḍala*], even though there clearly exists a *mahāpīṭha* known as such in India as well, that does not mean that this [place] is not a place for practice, or is unfit to be Devikōṭa. [And] not only that, it need hardly be said that as regards Tibet itself it is certainly the case that this place has been repeatedly established through teachings by the many Wise Ones who performed meditation at that *mahāpīṭha*.

The Pha-bong-kha Devikōṭa has remained a well-known Cakrasaṃvara *pīṭha* for Tibetans up to the present day.⁷³ It is perhaps because of its already established sanctity as an 'equivalent' East Indian holy place that it also became one of the sites in Tibet to which the 'false' Kuśinagara in Assam was assimilated by Tibetans.⁷⁴

iv. The 'Third Devikōṭa' at Tsā-'dra Rin-chen-brag

The Ris-med movement, that most important of developments in 19th century Tibet, was a testimony to the great vitality and creativity inherent in Tibetan religious culture. The

⁷² Ibid, f, 33a, 6-33b, 1.

⁷³ When I visited Se-ra Pha-bong-kha in July 1987 the Devikōṭa identity of the site was well known to local Tibetans; see also Bärlocher (1982: 498); and the comments of a Western Buddhist who made a pilgrimage to the site with an exiled Tibetan Lama, "Rinpoche said this region has the eight auspicious signs and is one of the 24 places of Chakrasambhava (sic.). He told us that the mountains of Chakrasambhava (sic.) are similar in shape.", see Ani Thubten Dayton (1988: 8).

⁷⁴ On this matter see Waddell (1934: 307-14, esp. 310); and my n63 above. Ferrari (1958: 102, n. 87) also discusses this matter, identifying the site of Devikōṭa with Kāmākhyā, another important śākta *pīṭha*, in order to account for this double assimilation. See also Stein (1988: 18, n. 46).

most recent development of the Tantric *pīṭha* cult in Tibet was born out of this movement sometime during the 1850's and 1860's with the establishment of the so-called 'third Devikota' at the site of Tsā-'dra Rin-chenbrag/Vajrakoṭi. This place was the location of the retreat centre of Kun-bzang bDe-chen 'Od-gsal-gling, connected with the dPal-spungs monastery in sDe-dge, and founded by the leading figure of Ris-med scholarship at the time, Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas (1813-1899) himself. Between 1842 and 1859 Kong-sprul composed a comprehensive and interesting guide-book for this place in which he claimed that it was not only the *pīṭha* site of Devikota but of Cāritra as well.

The time of his writing this guide-book coincided with the early years of what was to be one of the most fertile intellectual and spiritual relationships of the era. It was then that he worked together with both the gTer-ston mChog-'gyur Gling-pa (1829-1870), whom he first met in 1855, and the great Ris-med master 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyenbrtse'i-dbang-po. In the claims about Tsā-'dra Rin-chen-brag being Devikota and Cāritra the influences on Kong-sprul's formulations of both these other scholars is apparent,⁷⁵ and the whole 'third Devikota' tradition has to be seen as part of a larger synthesizing and revitalizing effort that these three great minds applied at the time to the sacred geography of Khams and Amdo,⁷⁶ amongst a host of other subjects.

The following passages selected from this long guide of Kongsprul's to the 'third Devikota' represent not only one further claim for the location of an Indian Tantric *pīṭha* in Tibet, but also reveal a developing sophistication in the manner in which the sacred geography and inter-relationships of these Saṃvara sites were presented by Tibetan authors:⁷⁷

[7b]...Firstly, if we consider what the nature of this place is: From among the fields of the *tri-kāya* it is part of the field of *nirmāna-kāya*... From among

⁷⁵ In 1859 or 1860 mChog-'gyur Gling-pa 'revealed' his own short guide-book for the site to Kong-sprul, who acted as the recorder of the *gter-ma* while they were both residing at Tsā-'dra Rin-chen-brag, mChog-'gyur-gling-pa (1977c), ff. 109-116; see mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1977), esp. ff. 103-6. who himself followed Padma dKar-po's line on Cāritra and Devikota.

⁷⁶ Concerning this see the important collection of guide-books in the *gSung-*'bum of mChog-'gyur Gling-pa, vol. 30 (E), the 'revelation' of many of which were recorded by both Kong-sprul and mKhyen-brtse. The pilgrimage traditions and sacred geography of Eastern Tibet in these texts is an important research priority for Tibetologists.

⁷⁷ My translation covers ff. 7b, 2-9b, 3 of his text, found in Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas (1975), ff. 490-494. This text was originally part of the *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod*, the 5th of the monumental 'Five Treasuries' (*mDzod-lnga*) which comprise the Collected Works of Kong-sprul.

the twenty-four places Vajrakotī is a division of Devikotī, an Upāpīṭha, the essence of which is the eye channel (*nāḍi*) [in the yogin's psychic body]. From among the thirty-two countries Tsā-'dra Rin-chen-brag is a branch of Cāritra, the essence of which is the [central] Avadhūtī channel. From among the three *cakras* of the pure triple-world [of the *maṇḍala*] it belongs to the *citta-cakra* [which is the sphere of] *ākāśa*. From among both great Places and minor places it is the supreme place of good quality mind among the twenty-five great places of mDo-khams⁷⁸...Because it is a division of the great places and countries its essence was perfected from the beginning. And because it is the great place of Gangs-can (Himavat) which was empowered by the primal forms of all the Jinas, beginning with that which is endowed with a garland of *vajra* skulls, its qualities have arisen accordingly. It is the palace of great liberation [8a]. It is a great, divine mansion of all the Buddhas.

Secondly, if we consider the etymology of its names: It is stated that it is an *upāpīṭha* because, internally, the white part occasionally abides in the *sgam-pa-mo* channel which descends to the region of the liver, and externally also, because *dākinī* occasionally abide there. Because one drinks the *sahajānanda* which arises through the mixing of the red and white [*bindu*] in the Avadhūtī channel, and because all obscurations are cut off, externally also it is called a *pīlava* ('*thung-gcod*) through having a function which is like that. And Devikotī is a citadel of the goddess, that is, there are many citadels which are [shaped] like a heart, and *añjali* shaped [i.e. like female genitals] *yonī* in the rock mountains. Consequently in impure existences one is shown [these] magical deceptions by the *Iha-'dre* of the Mother Tantras and one's defiled attachments increase, but when one is at the path [stage], [seeing" the" after] having activated the four *mudrās* the cognition of blissful means and emptiness wisdom is generated, and during the fruition [stage] it is ensured that one establishes the emptiness which is endowed with the best of all modes as the foundation of all *dharmas*.

According to the *Gnas-yig gter-byon rtsa-ba*, "The one called Vajracittakotī is the citadel of *vajra* mind, a division of Devikotī, that is, it has become the palace which accommodates in particular the Blessed One whose mind is the essence of *vajra*, Vajrasattva, in beneficent and wrathful [manifestations], and the *Vajra* lineage of Herukas with their retinues, beginning with Śrī-Cakrasmvara. [8b] Because the one called Ts-'dra Rin chen-brag is included in

⁷⁸ On this scheme see mChog-'gyur Gling-pa (1977b), ff. 41-67.

the entire collection of Cāritras it is a branch of Śrī-Cāritra which is internally the central channel and externally the great southern place. Therefore it has an arrangement which is the same as that place...

.....That Devīkoṭī and Tsā'dra [Rin-chen-brag] are two is not contradicted. That is, because it is the central [Avadīṭī] channel which penetrates the twenty-four channels [of the Psychic body], Cāritra penetrates all the *pīṭha* as well. And because both of them are the pure ones whose channel is between the eye and the heart, consequently the heart and the eye also have a conjunction. Also that the Devīkoṭī which exists at mKhar-chu in IHo-brag is a branch of Cāritra is in accord with the former explanations of those with wisdom insight.

The statement by the 'Jam-mgon bla-ma mKhyen-brtse dBang-po that "This place is the essence of the middle eye of cognition" is also from the origination of insight. That is, the middle eye is the purity of the wisdom of emptiness which is [a spot] above the nose in the head. And therefore that very [spot] becomes a door which radiates the wisdom from the centre of the heart. [All this] agrees completely with the true instruction [of mChog-'gyur Gling-pa] which states, "Devīkoṭī is Tsā'dra Rin-chen-brag." ⁷⁹

[9a]... Fourthly, also the marks of credibility that it exists in this way: In a previous era it was seized by Rudra and Kalī [who] were subjugated by Heruka, and thus, as for its having all the marks of means and wisdom which were empowered into those *pīṭha*, which are the most excellent, they are like the generally known marks which are the particular characteristics of the [twenty-four] great places. As for possessing the symbols of the self-manifest *liṅga* and *yonī*,...[9b] and the Secret Cave like the heart-shaped, self-manifest citadel of stone [i.e. *dharmodaya*] which supports the Tibetan protector [goddess], the *sahajā* which is mentioned in the (*Vajradāka*)-*tantra* as, "The goddess who abides in that country lives and dwells in a rock house." These are the symbols which establish it as the place of Devīkoṭī. And as for the persons in Cāritra and the mighty mKhar-chu valley, and the persons in the centre of the 'trunkabode' of Bhadrā's tree which is exactly equal in colour and shape [to the one at Devīkoṭī], they are clear evidence of it being Cāritra. And the sacred marks of body, speech and mind visible in the sphere of activity of

⁷⁹ See mChog-'gyur Gling-pa (1977a), f. 14b, 6.

the Mighty One, such as hand and foot imprints, are proof of its manifest perfection.

In this remarkable example of sacred geographical literature we find the Tantric theory of the internal-psychic and external-physical geography of the *vajra-kāya* employed to establish a set of correspondences which are intended to validate the claims of identity and sanctity made for the site. But, rather than claim this site as the 'one-and-only' Devikota and Cāritra in Tibet, or even as the specific ones mentioned in the Tantras as earlier Tibetan authors did, Kongsprul is careful to make it clear that while Ts-'dra Rin-chen-brag/Vajrakoṭī is entirely equivalent in all details to these great *pīṭha* of the Tantras it has a type of derivative status by being a 'branch' (*yan-lag*) or 'division' (*bye-brag*) of them. In this we find an expression of the *modus operandi* of the Ris-med itself, that is, in establishing a 'second generation' of assimilated *pīṭha* site in Tibet while not directly violating the original Indian geographical schema, and also harmonizing its existence with those already 'founded' elsewhere by earlier generations of Tibetan clerics.

While Tsā-'dra Rin-chen-brag was a site of great importance to the Ris-med and the meditators of dPal-spungs,⁸⁰ we do not yet know whether it ever became a popular place of pilgrimage in the way that other Tantric *Pīṭha* sites of Samvara did in Tibet.

Concluding Remarks

By the late 19th to early 20th century the sacred geography controversy appears to have come to a sort of ironic conclusion in the hands of the Ris-med. One can only be impressed by the 'impartial' and syntheicising forces at work in a movement in which, not long after they had established the 'third Devikoṭa', a leading *sprul-sku* of mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po himself can openly state that, "The Sa-skyā Pandita who was the crown ornament of the world, is the only man renowned for having refuted the arguments of heretics in Tibet."⁸¹

⁸⁰ Aside from the Tibetan sources there are few references to this site near sDedge. A brief description is found in the life story of the late Kalu Rinpoche who acted as retreat director for the hermitages there before his exile, see MacLeod (1985: 40). However, one only has to scan through the colophons of the works of Kong-sprul, mKhyen-brtse, and other Ris-med masters to see just how much of the movements's prodigious literary output was composed in the caves and hermitages of this holy place.

⁸¹ See Aris (1977:217).

If there was ever any contest between the influences of scripture and reason and Buddha-isation in the history of Tibetan Buddhist Pilgrimage traditions it would appear that the former was bound to loose out in the long run. Despite the continued duplication of Indian Tantric *piṭha* sites on Tibetan soil, Sa-pan's original criticisms and concerns did not go completely unheeded in Tibet. While tens of thousands of pious Tibetans, both Tantric yogins and lay people alike, traveled far and wide to visit 'their' Saṃvara sites the followers of the Sa-skyapa, especially the educated elite, would have nothing to do with such pilgrimages to Ti-se, Tsa-ri, and so on⁸²

In the present context it is appropriate to recall a recent observation by anthropologist G. Bowman that, "An historical investigation of the evolution of pilgrimage networks would show that popular pilgrimages now closely integrated with the social practices of their cultural environments were not spontaneously generated out of those milieus but were imposed upon local populations through the agency of 'universal religions!'"⁸³ What is of interest about this process as it has occurred in Tibet and the Himalayas with the Saṃvara cult is the very long period of its on-going development, and the extent of its pervasion into local traditions, such as sacred geography.⁸⁴ It seems to me that the more one hears descriptions of local Tibetan environments while in the field, the more one encounters references to other 'minor' Saṃvara sites couched in the phraseology, and replete with the cliches now familiar to us from the Tibetan Buddhist guides to Ti-se, Tsa-ri, La-phyi, and other 'major' sites.

Textual and historical studies can inform us much about Pilgrimage and cult networks developed by way of the forces of 'universal religions'. However, it is now the further task of careful field investigations to elucidate the dynamics of the 'accommodations' which have operated in this development process between the indigenous Tibetan and the Buddhist elements at individual locations.

⁸² The Sa-skyapas did of course go on pilgrimages, esp. to places connected with the founders of their tradition, and other great saints. I am indebted to David Jackson for this information on Sa-skyapa pilgrimage trends. My informant, the former 'Brug-pa meditation master at Tsa-ri, Cig-car dBu-mdzad Shes-rab rGya-mtsho, states, "Sa-pan never experienced it [i.e. Tsa-ri] for himself, he just read about it. In my day, ordinary Sa-skyapas, lay people, they only came to Tsa-ri on pilgrimage occationally, but never the lineage holders and scholars. The only famous student of the Sa-skya lineage who visited Tsa-ri was Blo--bzang Grags-pa, Tsong-kha-pa, and look what happened to him (referring to a well known Tibetan anecdote about his visit, ess PK, fol. 19a.)"

⁸³ See Bowman (185: 6-7).

⁸⁴ For some published examples see Tsnoawa (1983: 45) on Yabphu; Aris (1975: 78) on Manaslu and Kailash; and Snellgrove (1979: 107) on Muktiñāth.

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Abbreviations

- DNS Go-rams-pa bSod-nams Seng-ge, *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad rgyal ba'i gsung rab kyi dgongs pa gsal ba*.
- DS Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos*.
- PK Padma dKar-po, *Gnas chen tsa ri tra'i ngo mtshar snang pad dkar legs bshad*.
- SSBB *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, sDe-dge edition plus supplementary texts, (comp.) bSo-nams rGya-mtsho, 15 vols., Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko. 1968-1969.
- TNS bsTan-'dzin Chos-kyi Blo-gros, *Gangs ri chen po ti se dang mtsho chen ma dros pa bcas kyi sngon byung gi lo rgyus mdor bsdu su brjod pa'i rab byed shel dkar me long*.

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THE BADI: PROSTITUTION AS A SOCIAL NORM AMONG AN UNTOUCHABLE CASTE OF WEST NEPAL

THOMAS COX

Introduction

Badi are an untouchable Hindu caste, with a total population of approximately 7,000, who inhabit scattered settlements in the Salyan, Rolpa, Rukum, Dailekh, Seti, Jajarkot, Dang-Dekhuri, Banke and Bardiya Districts of west Nepal. Badi men fish (keeping most of the catch for their own family's consumption) and make drums and pipes, which they sell to Nepalese in neighboring communities. Badi women prostitute themselves, beginning at puberty and continuing until they become too old to attract any more customers, or get married. This article focuses on Badi prostitution, its practice, and social, economic, historical and cultural dimensions. The conclusions presented here are based on women, in the Districts of Bardiya, Banke and Dang-Dekhuri, between May, 1990 and May, 1992.

The first section of the paper gives a short history of prostitution in Badi society. The second section describes the socialization and day-to-day practice of prostitution. The third section focuses on the economics of prostitution. The fourth section looks at the relationship between Badi women and men from other castes. The fifth section examines Badi social organization, family structure and marriage patterns. The sixth section concentrates on prostitute castes in India, and a possible historical connection between one of them and the Badi. The seventh section looks at the current status of prostitution in Badi society. The eighth section discusses the implications in Badi society. The eighth section discusses the implications of this study for understanding the emotional consequences of prostitution.

A short History of Badi Prostitution

Badi originally came to west Nepal from India back in the fourteenth century, first settling in Salyan, and later in Rolpa, Rukum and Jajarkot. From the time of their settlement in Nepal, until the 1950's, Badi made their living as entertainers, travelling-in groups consisting of three or more families- from one community to the next, staging song and dance performances and telling stories from the great Hindu epics of the Mahabharat and Ramayana.¹ The Badi's travels often took them out of their home Districts, and as far east as Palpa, Baglung, Pokhara, Gorkha and Bandipur (see also Gurung 1982)².

Until the 1950's Badi were primarily supported by rulers of three principalities: Jajarkot, Salyan and Musikot,³ and to a lesser extent by some wealthy high caste landlords (see Regmi 1978 for a good description of the rulers and landlords who lived in west Nepal in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). These patrons provided Badi with basic needs; housing, land, clothing and food. In return Badi provided them with entertainment and sex. At this time, however, Badi women limited their prostitution to patrons and some of their male relatives.⁴

After the overthrow of the Rana regime, in 1950, and subsequent establishment of King Mahendra's *panchayat* government, rulers and landlords in west Nepal were stripped of much of their previous authority, and lost the right to tax subjects and exact unpaid labor and rent (on agricultural land) from them. As a result they lost much of their economic clout, and were unable to continue their patronage of Badi.

Badi women, in an effort to make up their lost income, began prostituting themselves with an increasing number of men. This growing reliance on prostitution was encouraged, in the mid 1960's, by new accessibility (facilitated by a malaria eradication program) to Tulsipur, Ghorahi, Rajapur, Nepalgunj and other growing, populous *terai* (plains) towns with a large, expanding market for prostitutes. At the same time that the

¹ The Badi sang and danced at festivals, weddings and private parties.

² The Badi also used to go to India. Some of my informants used to go annually (in November) to the Indian town of sunpur, where they would dance and sing at a religious festival. My informants also said that a little over one hundred years ago, there was a king in the Indian town of Isanagar who had a Badi wife (who eventually left him and returned to her home district of Salyan).

³ Musikot lies in Rukum District.

⁴ My informants claimed that the ruler's generous remuneration-for singing, dancing and sexual favors-had spoiled the Badi, enabled them to lead a luxurious without having to work very hard. As a result, when Badi lost the ruler's patronage, they found themselves unable to give up prostitution for more arduous, lower paying work.

market for prostitutes was expanding, demand for singing and dancing was shrinking (as a result of the radios, movies and tape players which became increasingly available throughout the 1960's and 1970's), making Badi even more dependent on prostitution as a source of income.

The Socialization and Day-to-Day Practice of Badi Prostitution

Badi girls, from early childhood on, know, and generally accept the fact, that a life of prostitution awaits them. Their parents, and other Badi, tell them that prostitution is, and always has been, the work of women in the Badi caste, and that to aspire to any other profession would be unrealistic. Badi girls see all the young women around them, and often their own mothers and sisters, prostitute themselves on a daily basis. Indeed, they virtually never see any Badi women engaging in any profession but prostitution. Badi girls also usually do not go to school, have little contact with outsiders, and, thus, are not exposed to many ideas, values or beliefs that counter those in their own society. Girls also learn early on that prostitution is the only means of support available to most Badi families.

As Badi girls grow up they learn, from their mothers, sexually mature sisters (if they have any) and other Badi women, all about sex and how to dress and act in such a way as to attract men. Within a few months after reaching menarche (at an average age of thirteen) Badi girls begin prostituting themselves. Some girls start on their own, but most are prompted to begin by their parents.

A Badi girl's first episode of sexual intercourse is accompanied by a ceremony known as *nathiya kholne*. During *nathiya kholne* the man gives the Badi girl new clothes, jewelry (which usually includes an earring that is worn on the nose) and a sum of money, which ranges between 1,000 and 5,000 rupees. Then the girl rubs a streak of vermilion powder (known as *sindur*) onto the man's head, and he does the same to her (see Gurung 1982:7). Then the man and Badi girl go off by themselves and he deflowers her.

The *nathiya kholne* ceremony is similar to Nepalese Hindu weddings, where the groom bestows clothes and jewelry on the bride, and exchanges *sindur* with her, before eventually consummating the marriage. And in traditional Nepalese Hindu marriages, as in *nathiya kholne* the girl is supposed to be a virgin (see Bennett 1982 for a comprehensive discussion of Hindu weddings in Nepal). The major difference between *nathiya kholne* and a Hindu marriage ceremony, is that the latter is meant to mark the beginning of a lifelong relationship, while in the former the couple usually separates after having sexual intercourse, with the Badi girl going on to prostitute herself with other men.

Mothers play a major role in initiating their daughters into prostitution. In the beginning, mothers often offer the services of their own daughters to prospective clients, and personally handle the bargaining. After a few months the girl usually feels confident enough to approach clients and bargain on her own⁵. But even at this stage Badi prostitution is still a "family affair," with girls continuing to prostitute themselves in their parent's home. When a client arrives he will sometimes sit, and, over a glass of *rakshi* (homemade liquor), talk with the Badi girl and her parents. After awhile he will then take the girl to some other room in the house and have sex with her.

Since Badi prostitutes work openly, and congregate in specific wards, they are easily found. Some men stay with a Badi girl for only an hour or so, while others remain with her for up to three days.

Men from all walks of life come to Badi prostitutes as clients. They include engineers, truck drivers, teachers, policemen, farmers, students, contractors, agricultural technicians, shopkeepers and hotel owners. They may be local residents or come from India or Kathmandu.⁶

Badi girls from Bardiya, Dang, Seti, Salyan, Dailekh, Rolpa and Rukum often go to Nepalgunj for several months out of the year to prostitute themselves. While working here some girls rent rooms, while others stay with relatives or in their own second houses (which they usually rent out while not around).⁷ Badi prostitutes are often accompanied on

⁵ My informants told me that Badi men usually do not approach prospective clients or become involved in bargaining. This is almost always the mother's (and other women's) or prostitute daughter's responsibility. This was backed up by my own experiences. There were several times when I walked into a Badi community and was approached by women offering me the services of their daughters (or the daughters of relatives or neighbors). But I was never approached by men. The offers of girls were usually made during my first visits to Badi communities, before they knew me. When the Badi discovered I was conducting research (and not looking for sex with Badi girls) the offers usually stopped.

⁶ In Nepalgunj the majority of Badi clients are Indian men; and in both Nepalgunj and Tulsipur Indian clients come from as far away as Bombay.

⁷ Over the last three years many Badi families have come from Bagar (a small village in a remote part of the Dang Valley), Pyuthan and Salyan, and settled in Tulsipur (a bazaar town in the Dang Valley) because of the good market for prostitutes there (due to Tulsipur's large population of merchants, drivers, civil servants and other single men "inclined" to look for female companionship). Most of these recently settled Badi families have been able to buy land and build houses in the Tulsipur area (primarily with income generated from prostitution). Many Badi families have two houses, one usually in some remote area (often where they were born) and another in a urban setting, like Nepalgunj, where there is a good market for prostitutes. I met one

these trips by their parents, who cook, clean and do all the domestic chores to give their daughters the most time possible for prostitution.

The Economics of Prostitution

Badi girls usually charge their clients between 30 and 60 rupees for a single session of intercourse, and between 250 and 300 rupees for the whole night. They make anywhere between 3,000 to 7,000 rupees a month.

Badi girls retain control over most of their earnings from prostitution. When Badi parents (or other family members) need to buy food, clothing or anything else, they ask their prostitute daughters for money. But they rarely ask for all their earnings. Badi parents told me they were afraid to ask daughters for all their income, as they might become dissatisfied and run away.

Income from prostitution is the Badi's primary source of support.⁸ The money which Badi men make from selling drums or pipes is negligible. For this reason Badi prefer to have daughters and not sons. Some of my informants even told me about Badi women who had cried with disappointment after giving birth to a son.

Badi parents, in an effort to maintain their income from prostitution, often try to prevent their daughters from getting married. As a result, many Badi women who want to get married are forced to elope. In other cases Badi parents will let their daughters marry, but only after the man has agreed to compensate them for their lost income. If Badi parents have three or more prostitute daughters, they will sometimes allow one to marry, if income from the remaining girls is sufficient. In still other cases Badi parents with land, or other resources, are not so dependent on their daughter's income, and thus will let them marry.

Badi man who owned three houses, one in Bagar, another in Tulsipur and yet another in Nepalgunj. He had four daughters, all in their teens and twenties, who were prostituting themselves, thus generating enough income for him to acquire such a substantial amount of property.

⁸ When a Badi girl begins prostituting herself, her mother will often stop, secure in the knowledge that she will now be supported by her daughter. Badi women also cease prostituting themselves if they get married, and, of course, when they can no longer attract customers (because of age or other factors).

The following case study shows how the members of one Badi family have had their lives shaped by various economic forces.⁹

Janak was born and raised in Salyan, the son of a Badi prostitute, Shova, and a high-caste (Chetri) Nepalese man named Durga. Durga had come to Shova as a client, and visited her regularly for almost a year, before leaving for good. When Janak was only 16 he married Sita, a Badi girl (who was not a prostitute) from Musikot (Musikot has the only Badi community where the women do not prostitute themselves. This is because Musikot Badi have developed alternative means of generating income. Most Musikot Badi families have a substantial amount of land, on which they grow a variety of crops. They also raise and sell horses, and-in the case of men-usually work for part of the year at wage labor jobs in India). After Janak and Sita got married they went to India, where Janak worked as a laborer on road construction crews. While in Indian, Janak and Sita had a daughter and three sons. After 12 years in India Janka and Sita finally decided to move back to Nepal. By this time their daughter was almost old enough to start prostituting herself, and they knew that she could make a substantial income, much more than the 20 rupees a day Janka had made in India. Janak and Sita decided to move to Tulsipur, because land was still fairly cheap there, and they knew that the town had a good market for prostitutes. When they first moved to Tulsipur, Janak rented a house for his family, and opened a small store (selling spices, tea, soap and food) with money he had saved from India. The shop folded due to a lack of business, but Janak's daughter made 5,000 rupees a month prostituting herself, and within two years Janak had enough money to buy land and build a house. The land cost 20,000 rupees and the house cost 25,000 to build. Janak built his house right on the main road leading into the Tulsipur bazaar, as that was the place frequented by the most potential customers for his daughter. Janak said that he lets his daughter control most of her earnings from prostitution. He does not want to ask for too much money, for fear that she would get upset and elope with one of her clients, thus cutting off Janak's only source of income.

The Badi Argot

Badi have an argot, which they use to talk about prostitution in the presence of outsiders without being understood (see appendix one). A Badi girl will often use the argot to confer with her parents, or others, about whether to sleep with a particular man or what she should charge him. Badi also use their argot to talk about prostitution in buses, bazaars, shops, offices and other areas where there are people who might be able to overhear what they are talking about.

⁹ The names of case study subjects have been changed to protect their identities.

Relations Between Badi Women and Men From Other Castes.

Relations with High Caste Men

Badi are the lowest ranking untouchable caste in the districts where they live. It is primarily because of their prostitution that Badi have so little status. Members of Nepal's highest (twice-born) castes (which include Brahmans, Chetris and Thakuris), in accordance with the rules of orthodox Hinduism, are not supposed to allow Badi into their homes, or accept a meal of cooked rice or a glass of water from them. Marriage with Badi is also strictly forbidden. A Brahman, Chetri or Thankuri (either a man or woman) who marries a Badi, stands to be disowned by their family and ostracized by other members of their caste.

Despite the restrictions of orthodox Hinduism, many high caste Nepalese men have sex with Badi prostitutes. Most of the time relations between a Badi woman and her high caste client will begin and end with the sex act. I have, however, encountered many cases of high caste men who ended up marrying, or otherwise developing long-term, live-in relationships with, Badi prostitutes. In the majority of these cases the man ended up leaving his Badi wife (or lover), because of opposition from his parents. I did, however, collect some cases of marriages between Badi women and high caste men that have lasted. I saw still other instances where a high caste man had a Badi woman, with whom he had been having social and sexual relations with on a regular basis for several years. In other cases that I was familiar with, a Badi woman was living (without being formally married) with a high caste man, but had doubts as to whether the relationship would last, because of opposition from the man's parents (and/or other problems). What follows are case studies which illustrate the four kinds of relationships between high caste men and Badi women outlined above.

Susila, Age; 22. Home: Rajapur (a hamlet just outside Tulsipur).

When Susila was 13 (and had only been prostituting herself for a couple months) she became involved with Mohan, a Chetri engineer who was working and living in Tulsipur. Mohan first came to Susila as a client, and soon began visiting her regularly. After a few months he proposed marriage, and Susila accepted. Susila's parents, however, objected to the marriage, as they did not want to lose the income from her prostitution. Susila and Mohan eventually eloped, marrying in a private ceremony at a local temple and subsequently settling into Mohan's rented house. Mohan and Susila lived together in Tulsipur for five years, and had two sons, Shyam and Durga. At the end of this time Mohan's project (which involved putting in drinking water systems) came to an end. But Mohan's plans to return home to Janakpur were ruined when his parents refused to accept Susila, or Shyam and Durga. Mohan, after remaining in Tulsipur for two more months, eventually abandoned Susila and his two sons, and returned to Janakpur alone. After Mohan

left, Susila took Shyam and Durga, moved back into her parent's home and began prostituting herself again.

Shanti, Age; 21. Home: Rajapur.

Shanti was fourteen, and had been prostituting herself for five months, when she met Sanjiv, an Indian Chetri man who was working as a mechanic in Tulsipur. Sanjiv came to Shanti as a client, and soon began seeing her on a regular basis. After they had known each other for about six weeks, Sanjiv and Shanti began living together in his rented house. In moving in with Sanjiv, Shanti, initially, faced considerable opposition from her parents, who knew that if Shanti got married it would stop her prostitution and, thus, cut off their income. The opposition from Shanti's parents was eventually defused when Sanjiv began giving them money on a regular basis. Shanti and Sanjiv have been living together, without getting married, for six years. During that period of time Shanti has had three children (two sons and a daughter) by Sanjiv. Sanjiv wants to move back to his home in India, but is sure that his parents would never accept Shanti or his children. Sanjiv's parents (not knowing about his relationship with Shanti) keep sending him letters saying that he should come back to India and marry a girl of their choice. Shanti is very concerned that in the end Sanjiv will succumb to his parent's wishes and abandon her.

Pravina, Age; 29. Home: Bungusri.

Sunil (a Chetri) came to Pravina as a client when she was 15, and had been prostituting herself for a little over a year. After seeing each other for about three months, Sunil and Pravina decided to get married. After the marriage Sunil resigned from his job (with the police force in Nepalgunj) and moved into Pravina's home in the village of Bungusri. Sunil and Pravina have now been married for fourteen years, and have three sons, aged 13, 11 and 8. They make their living from farming Pravina's land, and both expressed satisfaction with their marriage, claiming that they had no serious problems. Sunil did not have to worry about parental opposition to his marriage, because his father and mother had both died long before he met Pravina. Sunil's two brothers, and other relatives, are upset about his marriage. But Sunil was not that close to them to begin with, and is not concerned about what they think. Sunil claims to have been completely accepted by the other Badi, Tharu¹⁰ and Muslim villagers in Bungusri, and has no desire to go anywhere else.

¹⁰ The Tharu are a "low-caste" tribe, with their own Indo-European language, who live throughout Nepal's southern terai belt.

Jamuna, Age; 25. Home: Bagar (a village in the Dang Valley).

Jamuna was 21, and had been prostituting herself for about eight years, when she first met Prakash, who came to her as a client. Prakash Budhatoki is a 26 year old Chetri man who manages his family farm in the Dang Valley, and lives with his mother and sister. In the four years since their initial meeting Jamuna and Prakash have been seeing each other, on average, several times a week. They have also taken several extended trips together to Kathmandu, India, Pokhara and other places. During this period Jamuna has not prostituted herself with any other man, as she receives enough money from Prakash for herself and her parents. Prakash really wants to marry Jamuna, but says he probably never will, as he knows the union would never be accepted by his mother.¹¹ While Jamuna is disappointed that Prakash will not marry her, she has continued to see him. Jamuna does not have any children, and has regular depo provero injections to prevent conception by Prakash.

An Analysis of Case Studies of Relationships Between Badi Women and High Caste Men

During my research I collected a total of three case studies of Badi women who (as in Susila's case) had either married or (in the other two cases) lived with a high caste man for several years, and had children by him, only to be abandoned as a result of oppositions from his parents. I collected another two case studies (and this includes Shanti) of Badi women who were currently living with a high caste man, but doubted whether the relationship could last in the face of opposition from his parents. I collected another three case studies of Badi women (including Jamuna) who had high caste lovers, who they saw on a regular basis, and who wanted to marry them, but would not as a result of parental opposition. I collected a total of two case studies (which Pravina is one) of Badi women who had seemingly "successful," stable marriages with high caste men. Significantly, in both of these cases, the man did not have any parents. It was precisely this lack of parental opposition that enabled the marriages to work. In all the other cases it was disapproval from the man's parents that ended, or threatened to end, the marital (or long-term, live-in) relationships. The presence, or lack thereof, of a high caste man's parents, seems to be the crucial factor which determines whether or not he will be able to successfully marry a Badi woman.

¹¹ I was fortunate enough to be able to talk at length with both Jamuna and Prakash, and Sunil and Pravina. In most other cases, of relations between Badi women and high caste men, I was only able to get the woman's description of the relationship.

Relations with Low Caste Men

During my research I also collected two case studies of marriages between Badi women and Kami (an untouchable blacksmith caste) men, and another of marriage between a Badi woman and a Tharu man. The Kami men and their Badi wives have been married for eight and eleven years respectively. The Tharu man has been married to his Badi wife for seven years. None of these marriages were opposed by the man's parents.

There are two major reasons why Kami and Tharu seem to be more willing, than Brahmans, Thakuris or Chetris, to let their sons marry Badi women. (1) Tharu and Kami are closer in caste status to Badi than Brahmans, Thakuris or Chetris are. (2) There is a certain sense of unity and solidarity between Kami, Tharu and Badi, deriving from their common oppression at the hands of high caste Nepalese.

The following case study describes the household (mentioned above) of a Tharu man, Mahesh, and Urmila, his Badi wife.

Urmila was born and raised in the village of Bagar (in the Dang Valley). When she was 20, Urmila moved with her parents to the village of Bungusri in Bardiya District. Urmila worked as a prostitute until she was 26, at which time she began living with a Chetri school teacher. After four years (without having any children) they separated, and Urmila subsequently began prostituting herself again. But after three years she married Mahesh Chaudhary, a Bungusri Tharu man eight years her junior. After their marriage Mahesh moved into Urmila's house (which she had built on two acres of land). They say that their marriage has been accepted by Mahesh's parents, as well as by Bungusri's other Tharu, Badi and Muslim residents. Mahesh and Urmila grow wheat, corn and potatoes on their land, and work as laborers on local construction crews, and at a nearby tile factory. They have two children, a son of five and a daughter of three. Urmila speaks fluent Tharu, and her children are growing up bilingually in both Tharu and Nepali, Urmila also says that she follows many Tharu beliefs, values and customs and expects that her children will do the same.

Badi Family Structure, Marriage Patterns and Social Organization Family Structure and Marriage Patterns

Badi women, generally, do not use birth control, and, thus, usually have children by their clients.¹² Indeed, out of a sample of sixteen women, who had been prostituting

¹² Apart from Jamuna (Prakash's lover) I only met one other Badi woman who had used birth control. She had herself sterilized following the birth of her third child.

themselves for 4 years or longer, fourteen had given birth to children by their clients. Of these, four women had one child each, six had two children apiece and four had three children each.¹³ Out of these fourteen women three eventually married, while eleven others are currently raising their children alone.¹⁴

The children of Badi mothers and high caste (Brahman, Chetri or Thakuri) clients are generally considered -by other Nepalese to be Badi, even though descent in Nepal is patrilineal. For the children of high caste men and Badi women to be accorded a higher caste status, the father would have to admit paternity. But in the vast majority of cases high caste men, even when they know they have fathered a Badi women's child, will not admit it. Badi women's attempts to bring paternity suits against high caste men are generally unsuccessful, for the judge usually says that since the woman is a prostitute, she has no way of knowing who the father of her child is.

The majority of Badi prostitutes (whether they have children by their clients or not) are not able to get married. Men from other castes usually shun them, and even most Badi men will not marry them. Indeed, there is a rule in Badi society that men cannot marry prostitute girls who are the sole source of support for their families, as that would stop their prostitution and the income that it generates. Thus, Badi men who marry women from their own caste, are usually only able to take spouses from families that have three or more daughters (so that the income from one will not be missed) and/or other resources (such as land, a profitable business or a well-paying job).¹⁵ Approximately two-thirds of Badi men end up marrying women from (Shoemaker), or Kami-or Tharu women.¹⁶ These women generally live (patrilocally) in their husband's home; and their children are raised as Badi, with the daughters usually prostituting themselves to the same extent as those who are offspring of Badi parents, in either one or two parent households. Since the income

¹³ One possible reason why so many Badi women have only one or two children, is that scar tissue from sexually transmitted diseases builds up in their fallopian tubes, preventing further conception.

¹⁴ Several of these women have parents, or brothers and sisters, who have also helped look after the children.

¹⁵ Matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (i.e. when a man marries his mother's brother's daughter) is the norm for Badi men who marry women from their own caste. Matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is also found among some other untouchable castes-including Damai, Kami and Sunar (Goldsmith) in west Nepal.

¹⁶ I also encountered a case of a Badi man with a Magar wife (the Magar being a Tibeto-Burman tribe who live in the middle hills of west Nepal).

generated from Badi men is so minimal, two parent Badi families usually depend on the earnings of prostitute daughters to the same extent as single, unmarried mothers.

Social Organization

Badi are organized into eight exogamous patrilineal clans. My informants claimed that these clans represent the descendants of Badi who came from specific districts. The presence of the words Kami and Damai in two Badi clan names however, suggests that the origin of some Badi clans may lie in intermarriages between Badi and members of other castes (or other factors). Badi clans include: Pyuthani, Rolpani, Kami Badi, Salyani, Sankoti, Chinal Damai, Purbiya Badi and Multami.

Prostitute Castes in India And a Possible Historical Connection Between One of Them the Badi

In India there are at least three castes; Nat, Beriya and Kolhant, in which prostitution has existed as a social norm (see Baines 1912; Blunt 1969; Crooke 1974; Sherring 1974).¹⁷ These castes, in many respects, are very similar to the Badi. They all lead a mostly transient life, wandering from one town to the next putting on song, dance and/or acrobatic performances, and, in the women's case, prostituting themselves. Nat, Beriya and Kokhant also each have their own argot, which they use to discuss prostitution (and other matters) without being understood by outsiders (see Blunt 1969).

Beriya men, generally, do not marry women from their own caste as that would stop their prostitution and the income that it generates. In Farrukhabad, Beriya men who marry women from their own caste are expelled from the community. In Etiway they are heavily fined. Beriya men, in most cases, marry women from other castes of equal status (Blunt 1969; 153).

In India there is a sub-caste of the Nat known as the Badi whose way of life is (or at least was until recently) almost identical to Badi in Nepal (Baines 1912: 108). Is it possible Badi in Nepal originally came from this group? If so, how many years ago did the two groups split up? To what extent have the two groups changed over the years? To what extent have they remained the same? These are important ethnographic questions.

¹⁷ The available data on Beriya and Kolhant is rather old. It is possible that prostitution in these two societies has decreased in recent years, or that the societies have changed in other ways.

Unfortunately, the available data on the Nat, Beriya and Kolhant is very sketchy. The above questions will have to be answered through future research.

The Current Status of Badi Prostitution

The Nepalese government has always considered Badi to be an embarrassment to the country.¹⁸ Indeed, in an effort to end their prostitution, the government has given several Badi families agricultural land, and established a school for them in Nepalgunj.¹⁹ There are currently seventy-three Badi students in the Nepalgunj school, forty-eight boys and twenty-five girls. The school currently goes up to the fourth grade but there are plans to add more grades in the coming years.²⁰

However, most Badi girls in Nepalgunj who attend school eventually drop out and prostitute themselves. They see almost all other Badi girls around them working as prostitutes. Their parents, and other Badi, generally, still expect them to prostitute themselves, and they usually do not have many other options for generating income.

Even when other jobs do become available they are usually rejected, because they do not pay as much as prostitution. For example, officials from the National AIDS Prevention and Control Program attempted to hire several Badi girls to work as peer counsellors, to teach Badi prostitutes about the dangers presented by AIDS, and measures they could take to protect themselves against the disease. The peer counsellors were also supposed to encourage Badi girls to give up prostitution, by informing them about training and education programs, and employment opportunities (such as clothing and handicrafts production). But the officials were unable to find anyone to fill the positions. All the Badi girls said that the positions did not pay enough, and that they could make much more money by prostituting themselves.

¹⁸ Periodically the police in Nepalgunj crack-down on Badi prostitution, raiding Gogangunj (the area of Nepalgunj where Badi prostitutes live and work) on a daily basis to arrest clients (only occasionally do they arrest Badi prostitutes). The crack-downs last up to two months, during which time clients often stop coming to Gogangunj, thus forcing the Badi to live off their savings and/or sell their possessions. The sporadic crack-downs have thus far not decreased the number of Badi prostitutes working in Gogangunj.

¹⁹ The Badi who received agricultural land have continued to prostitute themselves to the same extent as before.

²⁰ This school was established as part of a joint agreement between the Nepali government and Danish Volunteer Service.

Badi girls are also generally given little encouragement, from high caste Nepalese society, to enter professions other than prostitution, or even pursue their education. Badi girls who pass through their private school, and pursue their studies at public schools, are often severely harassed by high caste students. There was also a case, in the Dang Valley, of a high caste headmaster who refused to admit Badi girls to his school, saying that they would corrupt the other students.²¹

The prevailing orthodox high caste Nepalese attitude towards Badi women manifested itself in an incident which occurred during my fieldwork. I had just finished interviewing a group of Badi women in the (exclusively Badi) hamlet of Rajpur (which lies in the Dang Valley), when I was approached by a Brahman landlord who lived nearby. The landlord began to yell at me angrily; "If you came to have sex with Badi women that would be acceptable. That is the only reason why other men come here. But you come here day after day and do nothing but talk and take notes. You actually seem to have a friendship with these women. What is wrong with you? Don't you have any respect for yourself?" The orthodox high caste Nepalese attitude is (generally) that untouchables are nothing but service castes. The Kami exist to make metalware. The Damai live to sew clothes. The Sarki's sole purpose on earth is to make shoes, and the only reason the Badi are around is to provide sex. To treat Badi women as anything but sex objects, to have a close, platonic friendship with them-and to treat them as equals- is, to many orthodox Brahmans, Chetris and Thakuris in Nepal, a gross violation of caste boundaries.²² And yet, as has already been discussed, many high caste Nepalese men who come to Badi prostitutes as clients, end up having long-term serious relationships (or even marriages) with them. The reality of relationships between high caste men and Badi women often differs from the norms defined by orthodox Hinduism.

²¹ In Nepalgunj there are four teenage Badi girls (from a total of thirty-five households) who are currently studying in local schools and not prostituting themselves. In Tulsipur there are only two teenage Badi girls (from a total of 15 surveyed households) who are currently studying in local schools and not prostituting themselves.

²² The prevailing orthodox high caste attitude-that Badi women exist only to provide an essential biological need (i.e. sex)-is reflected in the way Brahman, Chetri and Thakuri men interact with Badi prostitutes. High caste clients often (but certainly not always) go in a group to a Badi prostitute and take turns having intercourse with her. In other words they don't usually "romance" Badi prostitutes, but interact with them only to the extent needed to satisfy their sexual urges. Another reason why high caste clients often take turns with a single girl is to save money, since Badi prostitutes often charge for a fixed period of time rather than on a per client basis.

The Threat of AIDS

The majority of Badi women in Bardiya, Nepalgunj and Dang now know about AIDS, having been informed by doctors, social workers, public health officials and one anthropologist (i.e. myself). While Badi women claim to be concerned about AIDS, they have not generally decreased their prostitution, or taken any other precautionary measures (such as requiring clients to wear condoms).²³

In February and March of 1991 a team from the National AIDS Prevention and Control Program (NAPCP) tested 228 Badi prostitutes, in Nepalgunj and Dang, for the HIV-1 (AIDS) virus. They all tested negative.²⁴ However, the prevalence of AIDS in India (approximately a third of Bombay prostitutes are HIV positive), combined with the large number of Indian men who come, as clients, to Badi prostitutes, almost ensures that it will be just a matter of time before HIV enters the Badi community.²⁵ When it comes HIV will probably spread rapidly through Badi prostitutes, primarily because of their high rate of infection by sexually transmitted diseases (70 percent of the Badi women tested by the NAPCP team tested positive for sexually transmitted diseases other than AIDS).²⁶ These diseases cause genital sores through which HIV can easily enter the body.

AIDS threatens to devastate the Badi. In Tanzania there is an ethnic group known as the Bahaya, who have a population that is 50 percent HIV positive, one of the highest infection rates in the world (Serrill 1990: 44). And then there is the Badi, where the vast majority of sexually mature women prostitute themselves almost daily, and usually have children by their clients. It is not difficult to see that the Badi could go the same way as the Bahaya, and, indeed, reach even higher HIV infection rates, unless preventative measures are taken.

²³ In Nepalgunj about 50 percent of Badi prostitute clients use condoms, while in Tulsipur the rate is less than ten percent. When I asked men in Tulsipur why they did not wear condoms the usual answer was; "this town is too small. If I buy condoms the shopkeeper will tell other people; everyone in Tulsipur will know I am consorting with prostitutes, and my reputation will be ruined". Nepalgunj, on the other hand, is a larger more populous city where men can buy condoms anonymously. Thus, condom use among Badi prostitute clients in Nepalgunj is more prevalent.

²⁴ Eugene Vadies (World Health Organization, Global Program on AIDS) and Dr. Puspa Bhatta, Medical Officer, National AIDS Prevention and Control Program, personal communication.

²⁵ Statistics on HIV positive cases in Bombay come from Dr. Jacob John, a WHO consultant.

²⁶ Dr. Pushpa Bhatta and Eugene Vadies, personal communication.

The Emotional Impact of Prostitution

In the Philippines and Thailand there are programs that have been established to rehabilitate child prostitutes (i.e. girls who have prostituted themselves from the age of twelve or thirteen). These programs, for the most part, have met with little success.

The girls are usually so emotionally traumatized that they never completely recover, and continuously suffer from low self-esteem, depression and a sense of hopelessness concerning the future.

Badi girls, on the other hand, are not usually emotionally traumatized by prostitution, They are no less (or more) happy than the rest of us. They accept prostitution as their fate, the only way of life open to them.

This suggests that what is so emotionally traumatic for some prostitutes-in the Philippines, Thailand and elsewhere-is not the physical act of prostitution, but the stigma that society places on it. There is no stigma on prostitution in Badi society; on the contrary, it is the norm. It is precisely because Badi prostitutes receive emotional support from other members of their community, that they are not traumatized, as some prostitutes in other societies are.

APPENDIX ONE: BADI ARGOT

The Badi argot is, for the most part, Nepali that has been changed by the addition of a variety of syllables (including wa, ma, mi and suru) which are used as prefixes, suffixes and/or infixes. There are also, however, some words in the Badi argot that are completely different from their Nepali equivalents. For example, the word for good in the Badi argot is *chido*, whereas in Nepali it is *ramro*. Similarly, The word for cooked rice in the Badi argot is *suwal*, whereas in Nepali it is *bhat*. The word for drum in the Badi argot is *goodol*, whereas in Nepali it is *madal*. What follows is a list of words and phrases from the Badi argot and their Nepali and English translations.

Badi	Nepali	English
Kamaka	Kaka	Paternal Uncle
Mamaka	Mama	Maternal Uncle
Hamsure	Hammi	We
Bawamzee	Banzee	Niece
Gumtiyar	Natidar	Relative
Aimamai	Aimai	Woman
Lamagni Mamanchis	Logni Manchis	Man
Bombain	Baini	Younger Sister
Sumangat	Satti	Friend
Suwal	Bhat	Cooked Rice
Kaksila	Rakshi	Liquor
Namatchu	Natchchu	Dance
Kimelchi	Khelchu	Play
Amaza	Aja	Today
Himija	Hijo	Yesterday
Amasti	Austi	Day Before Yesterday
Boongoli	Boli	Tomorrow
Yumo Sal	Yo Sal	This Year
Pamiley	Pahile	Before
Pumachey	Pacti	After
Ma Goodol	Ma madal	I Play the
Bazhmachu	Bazshaunchu	Drum
Jai Gu, Tu La Bo	Aunus, Wahha	Come Here,
Ley Guney	Ley Janus	Take Him and Go
Dimeri	Deri	A Lot
Lumamo	Lamo	Long

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Tumaoco
Hamat
Kumata
Bimey
Pumardchu
Samanchey
Bimamarey
Gimit

Taoco
Hat
Kuta
Bihey
Pardchu
Sanchi
Birarme
Git

Head
Hand
Foot
Marriage
Read
Well
Sick
Song

APPENDIX TWO: BADI RELIGION

One of the most important things that ethnographic research has taught us about Nepal, is that there is no uniform, pristine version of Hinduism which exists throughout the country. Every Hindu community selects some elements from the orthodox tradition, but rejects others, has local deities which are not worshipped elsewhere, and, in many cases, follows certain Animist traditions as well. Every Hindu community in Nepal has their own unique version of Hinduism.

Badi Hinduism is no exception. For example, Badi worship several gods, some local and others from the main Hindu pantheon. One of the most important Badi deities is Bageshwori, the Hindu goddess of speech. Badi from Bardiya and Dang-Dekhuri often go to worship Bageshwori at a local temple in Nepalgunj, as well as in their own communities and homes.²⁷

The local gods worshipped by the Badi include Kalimati, Kairibang, Pane Khola and Bagpati. All of these gods are believed to live in particular locations in the hills above the Dang Valley.²⁸

Once every three years Badi (both men and women) from the Dang Valley go to Kalimati and sacrifice a *boca* (uncastrated male goat) to the god who resides there.

Every year, in March, many Badi also attend a religious festival, the *Patan mella*, in the town of Krishnanagar on the Nepal-India border. The primary purpose of this festival is to pay homage to Bageshwori (through worship and offerings of money, flowers, vermilion powder and/or milk).²⁹

²⁷ The fact that the Badi's patron deity, Bageshwori, is a goddess of speech, could be connected to the fact that Badi originally made their living as singers, story-tellers and dancers.

²⁸ My informants told me that Jajarkot Badi have their own patron deity, a local god known as Barma, which is worshipped only by them and not by Badi from other places.

²⁹ My informants told me that until five years ago the Patan Mella was a relatively peaceful, crime-free event, but that now it is plagued by pickpockets and armed robbers. As a result the number of Badi attending the festival has declined significantly.

Badi Origin Myths

During the course of my research I was told two different Badi origin myths by my informants. I will relate and discuss them here, as they constitute a valuable symbolic lens through which we can better understand how Badi view themselves and the Hindu caste system.

Origin Myth One: The Curse of Mahadev

Badi used to work as servants for the god Mahadev, cooking his food and serving it to him. But instead of working they would spend much of their time in the kitchen dancing and singing. During the course of such merry-making they would often forget about the rice being cooked. As a result the rice was often burnt. Finally, Mahadev became so angry at being fed burnt rice that he kicked the Badi out of his home, and threw a curse on them. "If you like to dance and sing so much from now on that is all you will do," said Mahadev. From that time on all the Badi have done is sing and dance.

Origin Myth Two: The Two Brahman Brothers

Once there were two Brahman brothers who were very different from one another. The older brother studied hard in school and went on to become a successful priest and scholar. The younger brother was lazy and irresponsible. As a child he never went to school, choosing, instead, to spend all his time wandering through the forest shooting birds with his slingshot. Eventually the younger brother got married and had three daughters. But he was too poor to build a house, and thus slept under trees and wandered from village to village with his family, begging for food. Finally, when his daughters got big, they began dancing and singing for a living. The descendants of the younger Brahman brother became known as Badi, and have continued to dance and sing for a living.

Discussion

Some Badi believe that their current way of life is the result of Mahadev's curse. Because Mahadev is a god his curse is not to be questioned. The way of life that he has established for the Badi must be accepted. That, essentially, is the fatalistic attitude. Only some Badi, however, believe this myth. Many others do not.

The second origin myth is accepted by more Badi than the first. This myth is seen, by many Badi, as proof that they were originally Brahmans, and thus deserve higher status than that which the wider Hindu caste Nepalese society accords them today. I did not meet one other Nepalese (from any other caste) however, who believed the Badi claim that they were originally Brahmans.

The caste system in west Nepal is stronger than in many other parts of the country. Many, if not most Hindu Nepalese in west Nepal, including Badi, accept the caste system, accept the theory that certain occupations can only be performed by certain groups of people, and that all people should be ranked along an axiom of purity and pollution. Through the myth of the two Brahman brothers, Badi have attempted to raise their status within the caste system. They have not, however, rejected the system itself.³⁰

³⁰ The caste system defines a particular social identity and way of life for the Badi (as well as for members of all other castes). In the West however, individuals must search for and create their own social identity, a process which can bring with it a profound sense of insecurity and uncertainty that is not found-to the same extent-in Hindu caste societies.

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LINKED WITH THE WORLD MARKET – THE CASE OF TIBETAN REFUGEES’ COMMUNITY IN NEPAL¹

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1. The Refugee Syndrome

In the anthropological literature of the late 1970s dealing with Tibetans in Indian exile, some authors (Miller 1978, Goldstein 1978) came to the conclusion that, after over ten years of being without a country of their own, these refugees were characterized by their homogeneity, altruism, we-identity, corporate kin groups, etc., even though they had undergone rehabilitation in their host land. The typical ‘refugee syndrome’ (Goldstein 1978), or a stage that might be called ‘after the disaster’ (Wallace 1978), characterized by a breakdown of homogeneity, loss of personal and group identity, individualistic and prestige-oriented modes of conduct, quarrelling, etc., it was argued, does not apply to them, in spite of the fact that many have given up all hope of returning to their homeland. As reasons for this, endogenous factors specific to the culture, on the one hand (Miller), and exogenous factors arising from refugee policy in India, on the other hand (Goldstein), have been offered by these authors as explanations. The endogenous factors are specified as the Tibetan tradition of Buddhism, interpreting the present political situation of Tibet as ‘nation’s karma’, and the exogenous factors of refugee policy in the ‘attitude of passive integration’ (Lichten 1972) assumed both by the host land and by the immigrants.

¹ Research was carried out during 1983 in ‘Tashi Ling’ Camp, Pokhara, Nepal. I am grateful to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for financial support. When I returned to Tashi Ling in 1985/86 and 1992, some conditions had changed which I will refer to in the paper.

In exile, then, the following facts have come to pertain:

- an ethnic segmentation has come about, manifested intra-ethnically according to the region of origin and interethnically between immigrants and host land.
- The interethnic contacts are restricted almost entirely to the economic sphere.
- The 'legitimate political authority' of the Dalai Lama has remained unquestioned.

Whereas the endogenous factors specific to the culture are independent of the region of exile Tibetans have settled down in, the exogenous influences dealt with in the above mentioned studies are restricted almost entirely to the refugee policies pursued, with the socioeconomic influences being neglected. The question thereby arises whether it is not precisely these later factors and their endogenous feedback upon the community which dissolve the homogeneity.

As this study takes as its reference a Tibetan refugee camp in Nepal, the starting point was the investigation of the internal and external relationships of the community in exile: structures within the refugee camp, relations to Nepalis, to the Government of Nepal (GoN) and to the Dalai Lama Government (DLG). These structures, of course, need not be identical in the economic and social sphere. It therefore became imperative to investigate further the extent to which economic structures overlie social and cultural ones and lead to changes in values and to segmentation of the community, and to find out what economic and social security is offered by the camp arisen in the wake of resettlement measures and by the 'closed' camp as an organizational unit.

These questions came together in the following hypothesis: The exogenous socioeconomic conditions of a modern environment and their endogenous feedback upon the traditional norm and value structure - the guarantor of economic and social security - specific to the culture of a refugee community may lead to internal segmentation and a linking up with the world market.

2. Refugee Policy in Nepal

The Nepal government under King Mahendra granted the Tibetans asylum after the exodus in the late 1950s, irrespective of quota restrictions in spite of strong protest from Beijing. In 1960 large-scale resettlement into the infrastructurally developed Nepalese midlands commenced with the aid of the International Red Cross. At the same time, commercial projects like production of handicrafts, which to a certain extent find their way into international trade, were initiated to help rehabilitate the refugees. The Tibetans took an active part in planning and construction (Hagen 1980: 239). The projects were later turned over to the refugees.

The refugee policy practiced in Nepal for rehabilitation purposes - the foundation of self-help organizations - has as its goal, from the point of view of the GoN, keeping its native developing economy from being overburdened, and, from the point of view of the DLG, preserving and furthering the Tibetan cultural heritage as well as maintaining political pressure on Beijing with the help of world public opinion. Integration and assimilation was in our opinion from the very beginning something not sought after, since the exile was not viewed as a permanent state. To this extent the interests of the two governments coincide.

The result of such a policy is that the refugee economy is cut off from the structure of the Nepalese economy. This tendency is reinforced by the status of the refugees. They have no rights to get access to own land, to choose their vocation freely, etc., as the 1962 Constitution, Arts. 10-15, implicitly regulates. Since the early 1980s, however, many Tibetans have taken on Nepalese citizenship and have been able to establish themselves successfully in businesses like carpet industries, tourist accommodation, trekking etc., while many other Tibetans have rejected this possibility and maintained their Tibetan refugee status.

3. The Study

3.1. The Setting

The Tibetan refugee camp 'Tashi Ling' (tib.: place of great fortune) is one of four open camps in Pokhara and was constructed in 1966 by the U.N. refugee organization in accordance with plans drawn by the first Tibetan camp chief-in-charge. Nowadays, these four camps, with about 2,000 inhabitants, are able to various degrees to profit from tourism. Thus a differential exists between the camps with respect to income, whereas, in our opinion, Tashi Ling holds down thirds place with respect to an average level of income. The four camps are not organizationally connected with one another, but they do maintain informal contacts by kinship relations, feasts, etc..

The families in Tashi Ling, principally having migrated from Northeast Tibet, had for the most part formerly been engaged in stockbreeding in their homeland before fleeing in the years 1959/60 across the Nepal border along the traditional salt trade routes north of Pokhara, and it was in this region that they subsisted for a number of years as a work force in the service of native Bothiya groups. In 1962 the resettlement program brought the refugees together in Pokhara. Here they stayed in tents for up to four years until the different camps were set up. Before the economic rehabilitation programs were put into force, they were employed by the GoN as wage-labourers in road construction. Various refugee organizations provided financial aid on the side. Since 1970 no more formal help from foreign organizations has come to Tashi Ling.

The camp consists of approximately 80 housing units as well as two buildings for a handicraft center and an office, all laid out in a quadratic configuration with space in the middle for small gardens for subsistence production. A chorten and mani walls form the center of this mandala-like architectural layout. During our research approximately 320 persons in 75 families lived in the housing units. The average size of a family was 4.4 persons. This figure, however, is skewed by the many single older persons and childless couples.

The housing units, settled according to Tibetan standard by the nuclear families, are of varying size depending upon the family size. A family of five persons (four adults, one child) has a combined living and bedroom (about 12 sq.m), a house entrance (6 sq.m) and an unconnected kitchen, like the flat roofs of the stone houses constructed from corrugated iron. At the time of our research the condition of these roofs was very poor, since they had not been renewed and repairs, for financial reasons, were undertaken by the families with the lowest outlay possible. During monsoon time water invariably leaked through into the living quarter. During our last visit in 1992, many houses, however, had new roofs, paid for by the families themselves. Like in a standard Nepalese rural house, the windows have no glass.

Each housing unit possesses a small plot of land for subsistence cultivation (approx. 38 sq.m). The meager harvest is often destroyed by intruding animals.

Animal breeding, one main traditional income source (cash or in kind) of Tibetans, occurs only on a small scale (small livestock like chickens) and only produces some subsistence 'Income'.

In 1983 the sanitary facilities were insufficient by Western standards. Not a single toilet existed as yet for the approximately 320 persons, and one responded to the call of nature by going out into the field. While it must be pointed out that Tibetans have traditionally made no use of toilets, the congested nature of the camp required such an improvement of infrastructure, which took place in the mid-1980s.

No provisions are made for medical care in the camp. The chief-in-charge, though having had no medical training, treats minor injuries. More serious cases are handled by the hospitals, about one hour away from the camp by bus. Apart from the state-run hospital with fixed rates, the Tibetans prefer a missionary hospital with flexible rates which, however, is allowed only to provide outpatient care. They motivate their preference by a better treatment and, because their economic situation is taken into account. According to statements by the doctors, main complaints of the Tibetans are tuberculosis, as rJ resistance is built up by high altitude dwellers, typhoid, diseases of the intestinal tract and

collapse. Recovery by the patients is hindered by climate, psychological state (refugee status, unfamiliar way of life, stress, etc.), irregular taking of pills due to high costs, and consulting of lamas and 'witch doctors' (not to be confused with Tibetan homeopaths), who, normally approached before going to a regular doctor, attempt a cure by means of rituals. Retarded also by the camp's sanitary conditions, the treatment consequently often stretches out over years of job disability. Often, too, the illnesses lead to death.

Along with the state-run primary school education Tibetan children enjoy a camp-based Tibetan education, with a curriculum devised by the DLG to pass on the cultural heritage of Tibet. This school is free of charge. From the age of fifteen, to the extent that their financial situation allows, children may enroll in Tibetan boarding schools in India or Nepal. According to statements by Tibetans, a good Buddhist is obliged for the sake of his karma to provide his eldest child, no matter of which sex, with the best possible school education. Many families seek out Western sponsors for this purpose.

Since the Tibetans in Nepalese exile have refugee status, the camp's official connections to the outside are determined by this status. Since 1970 the camp is self-responsible for the internal organization and has not received any directives from the GoN, though it does submit running reports to Kathmandu. This connection is assured by the secondary chief-in-charge, a Nepali. The DLG is the corporation which issues instructions concerning official policy in the camp. It does not, to be sure, provide any financial aid, but it does maintain close contact with the chief-in-charge, appoint and pay administrative personnel and the camp teachers and set guidelines for education, culture and politics.

Internal camp organization, with the exception of administration, is planned by the camp people themselves. At the top of the hierarchy is the Tibetan chief-in-charge with the tasks of official contacts, finances, control of the handicraft center, seeking out retail outlets and guaranteeing internal order. The Nepalese chief-in-charge has only representative functions and lives outside the camp. Functioning as liaison between the administrative level and the camp level are three group leaders who are elected annually. They solve problems internal to the camp and execute official directives. This position is related to high prestige. During our period of stay these group leaders proved to be identical with those in the camp belonging to the highest income hierarchy level. Further outstanding positions are the two teachers, the administrative secretary, the manager of the handicraft center and shop as well as religious personages (lamas, monks).

In studying the refugee economy, one must give due consideration to the legal status of Tibetans in Nepal who can make their living, with few exceptions, only by the production and sale of so-called 'handicraft articles'. Production (e.g. of carpets) occurs either in handicraft centers or at home. Some items (ornaments with Tibetan design, ritual

objects) are imported from India. Retailing is done through officially organized channels like handicraft shops or export companies or via the open market by peddling in the tourist spots or selling to tourists at home.

The handicraft center (HC) is a creation of the Nepal Red Cross and various refugee committees, and was originally planned as a nonprofit means of occupational rehabilitation. Small articles such as purses and clothing were produced, but this project failed due to mismanagement. As enjoined by the DLG, the production of carpets was started up, and in 1980 the chief-in-charge established connections with the 'Himalayan Carpet Trade and Export Center' (HTC), an enterprise centered in Bodnath and organized by the DLG for handling shipments to Europe and the U.S.A. Large profits have been tallied since then, with fifty percent going to the Nepal Red Cross. The money accruing to the camp in part benefits 'unproductive' workers like elderly persons engaged in performing simple chores for a small wage, sick people, etc., and in part is used for the yearly camp festival.

The HC produces according to order placed by the HTC which also provides the raw materials. The finished products that measure up to standard are sent to the HTC. Accounts between HTC and HC are settled yearly by deducting the cost of raw materials from the purchasing price. The HC bears the cost of paying the wages of employees and house workers as well as the rent to the Nepal Red Cross (1,200 Rs per annum). The profit left over is not subjected to taxation. No data, however, were made accessible to us concerning the actual profits. The HC has approximately 100 positions with differential wages to fill:

Table: Employment and Wages of Handicraft Center

Type of employment	Weaving	Spinning	Shearing	Drying Washing	chore labour
Employees	60	20 together approximately 20			
Type of wages		Piecework			regular salary
Average wage p.m.	per m 360 Rs	per kg 230 Rs	per m 425 Rs.	per kg 120 Rs	220 Rs

Health insurance does not exist, and sick-allowances from the profit fund are not paid out in a uniform manner. Where the need is especially great, the disbursement lies between 40 and 60 Rs per month, an amount far from sufficient. Wages of home production are in line with what is paid in the HC if the product may be channeled into the HTC. Otherwise the end product is sold in the open market or on consignment to a Tibetan shop, which will have pro-forma a Nepalese owner.

In making a breakdown of the HC's labour force, one notices that not only Tibetans but also Nepalis are employed. The same tendency is found also in Tibetans private carpet industries. In many cases only the owner and foreman are Tibetans. The official answer to explain this phenomenon was that the HC has to fulfill an important task in the local labour market. Further interviews, however, brought out that it is impossible to fill the vacant positions with Tibetans alone, since the latter can make significantly more income by trading independently on the open market. The precondition for this is command of the English language in order to be able to come in contact with tourists. These reasons lead to the following breakdown of the labour force of the HC:

- for the most part, men and women who were born in Tibet before 1950 and have not attended any Nepalese school and speak neither English nor Nepali.
- so-called supplemental wage earner, women tied down to the camp by their small children.
- elderly and infirm persons of either sex engaged in performing light chores.

The handicraft shop in Tashi Ling is attached to the HC and sells items either produced by the camp or exported to Nepal by Tibetans living in India, to tourists visiting the camp. The prices are fixed, and, although higher than the minimum prices on the open markets, the customer enjoys the advantage of being assured of quality and genuineness.

Other projects started up with official sanction (land cultivation, chicken farming) have failed, in part due to a lack of profits and in part to lack of cooperation among the camp people (organization of labour inputs and distribution of outputs). The SOS-Kinderdorf next to the camp is administered and financed independently. Its day care center for children is open without fees for children of Tashi Ling with working parents.

3.2. The Target Unit of the Investigation, the Family

The structure of the Tibetan nuclear family in exile may comprise three to four generations living together under one roof, with primacy being accorded to the eldest members. Polyandry no longer exists. One of the children, usually a son, remains in the parents' home and takes care of the retiring parents with financial support of his brothers and sisters. When the family income, however, falls under the minimum of existence, the elders often continue to work in order to supplement the income. Attention should be drawn to the fact that women enjoy fairly equal status with men when it comes to making family decisions. A sexual division of labour, however, exists similar to the West.

The unit for computational purposes is generally the number of members living under the same roof. Deviations can nowadays arise due to children in boarding schools or close single relatives who share the same home because of the crowded camp conditions.

Whereas Tibet of old days made use of a form of 'natural birth control': one or two children per family entered upon the monastic way of life, for which, depending upon the particular tradition, celibacy might be imposed, the conditions in exile, however, in addition to decreasing children mortality due to medical conditions, made the population increase.

The furnishings of household units are for the most part very simple, consisting of the basic essentials. It was only by a few criteria that we were able to make out differences in respect to the wealth of the families.

- substance of the tableware (tin, ceramic, Chinese porcelain)
- the family altar (type of thankas, prayer flags or butter lamps)
- possession of 'luxury goods' such as radios, recorders, alarm clocks etc.
- number of light bulbs installed (electric bill is determined by this number)
- quality and number of women's ornaments
- quality and number of wrist watches worn in the family.

No firm conclusions can be drawn on the basis of clothing, since donations from the West are in many cases the source of this item.

To test the hypothesis of the refugee syndrome, our investigations within the family units were carried out on the basis of standardized interviews with a sample survey of 25 percent of the number of camp families. In order to obtain a representative cross section, their selection was made on the basis of family size, occupations and family income, foreign language background and location of the house unit within the camp, since families living at the camp entrance have trading advantages. Observations and supplementary conversations with officials and persons on the outside were added. The range of topics included:

- breakdown of camp population, family structures and the families' economic activities
- a cross-family comparison of the raising and disposal of income
- cooperation between the families and interethnic integration
- religion and everyday life in respect to conflicts in between.

3.3. Socioeconomic Conditions

A categorization of occupational types may be drawn according to place of work:

Fig. 1: Occupational Types in the Refugee Economy

in the camp		Occupation					outside Treks
		HC incl Works in home	Prod. in the home f. private sale	Est. busi- ness	Ped- ling	Private shops	
Principally elderly persons and women							Principally young men, partly young childless women with knowledge of the English language

The activities of officials as well as work done in the HC or in the home for the HC have already been described. Production in the home for private sale we regard in the following as a form of self-employment. Within the camp trade with tourists occurs to a limited extent. The households, adhering to a self-imposed trading discipline not to undersell each other as long as one deal works, try to sell carpets and souvenirs at the camp entrance on the ground, or invite people into their homes for a cup of Tibetan tea; a new sponsor might sometimes emerge on such occasions.

The bulk of tourist trade is done by peddling in tourist spots in and around Pokhara, either by public bus or bicycle. They either spread their wares out on the ground and wait for customers, or they directly address tourists in restaurants. The Tibetans' approach is generally very polite: They ask the tourist almost timidly whether he is interested in souvenir, a strong contrast to Indian peddlars. If he shows no interest he will not be pressed; if he does, they try to push home the sale. In some cases profits of even 500 percent are not an exception, since imported manufactured articles are sometimes sold as antiques. While transactions are in progress, the same discipline like within the camp is held up, although others do look on. If such a transaction is carried out successfully in a restaurant, the Tibetans must pass on 10 percent of the sale price to the restaurant owner - an agreement of informal nature.

In recent years some Tibetans have opened up private shops outside the camp. We shall go into this matter later. Other not strictly lawful forms of livelihood are that of hotel

employee (fixed income) or trekking guide (seasonal income). These pursuits, under conditions, impinge on the Nepalese economy.

As it is apparent from the description of the various kinds of activities, one may further classify the latter on the basis of how they generate income:

Figure 2: Sources of Income

Income per economic unit							
Inside camp	HC	Off. work	Subs. prod	Barter	Prop. as pot. income	Tourist trade	Sale of animals
Outside camp	Hotel empl.					Tourist trade	Trekking
External	Ext. fin. aid	External non-fin. aid					
	Income from salar. employment ext. aid	Rise in inc. by	Rise in income by decreasing expenditure		Income from self-employment		

The income of the economic units comes together from these sources.

Results of income side of the sampling, indicative of trends:

- 1) Income from salaried employment (per economic unit)
- HC, including produce in the home for the HC

The average monthly income per family derived from the HC is around Rs. 339 with three quarters of the families in the sample and one to three persons per family being engaged in such employment. Deviations are small. To the extent that the household income is dependent on earnings from the HC (old married couples, single elderly persons), it is hardly enough to live on.

- Employment in an official capacity
Only two families of the sample with one to two persons per families participate from that income source with an average income of Rs 1125 and high deviation.

- Hotel employment
One fourth of the families in the sample have an average monthly income of Rs 330 with low deviations. Income earnings, however, are by far increased by tips.

All together, all except two families of the sample, draw income from salaried employment. If we do not take into account the officials, deviations are rather small. 50 percent of these families derive no further income from independent ventures. The types of work in the area of salaried employment are evenly distributed between the sexes.

- 2) Income from external financial aid
 - Sponsorships come to around Rs 125 per month with low deviations to three families of the sample.

- 3) Income from self-employment
 - The tourist trade
Under the category of tourist trade we include income from private shops and trading in and outside the camp. One fourth of the families in the sample derive an average monthly income per family of Rs 678 with large deviations. Income depends on the season. One to two persons per family may be engaged in this trade, outside the camp mainly conducted by males.

- Trekking
Trekking is a purely male, seasonal occupation. The average income of one fifth of the families in the sample is Rs 1560 in the top season with large deviations.

- Income from animal sale
This may be only considered an additional one.
50 percent of the families draw income from self-employment, 25 percent exclusively. Deviations among the incomes are very large. Moreover, we may assume that the actual incomes are greater than figured out by the families. In following comparisons, incomes from self-employment were seasonally adjusted.

- 4) Raising income by reducing expenditure
12 percent of the sample enjoy clothing sponsorships and the same number is engaged in subsistence production. 10 percent breed animals for subsistence consumption.

All in all, one economic unit (EU) has an average monthly, seasonally adjusted income that adds up to Rs 1003, with large deviations, covering an average family size of 4.6 persons. Of course, we compared the given data for each family with the assumed families' property along the earlier mentioned visible criteria in furnishing. In the case of 10 percent of the families in the sample we suspected a de facto smaller income, in that of 50 percent a larger one. For that reason we assume the average income to be higher.

On the basis of the breakdown of total income into salaried income and that derived from self-employment, and from the unequal income distribution between those who draw it exclusively from wage earnings and specially the families with exclusively private ventures, we came to suspect the existence of social tension within the community. This supposition was later confirmed.

The expenditure side of the sample figure out to the following hierarchy:

- Most of the income (on the average 50 percent) is used for comestibles (rice, seasonal vegetables, noodles, tsampa, butter tea, etc.). Only the families with high incomes can afford 'luxury' foods (meat, fruits, Coca Cola etc.). The deviation is very large for these outlays.
- Fuel is named as the second highest expense factor from the average of the families. Here, too, there is a large deviation between these who have income enough to use kerosene, and these who use firewood.
- For water fixed rates are charged per person.
Other expenses do not arise on a monthly basis:
- Whatever money is spent for religious purposes is determined by the individual family and depends on the family income (large deviation).
- Clothes are generally purchased only on the occasion of the Tibetan New Year (lossar).
- expenses for education are small as long as there is no child attending a boarding school, and so hardly a matter of concern. Eleven percent of the families in the sample sent their children to boarding schools with average costs of Rs 225 per month; one family had a school sponsor.
- Specific costs are the rent incurred only by shop owners (large deviation).

Taken together, the seasonally adjusted average figure for total outlays amounts to Rs 871, with a large deviation dependent on the family size and income. In our opinion, the individual figures prove in more cases to be too high rather than too low.

A study of the difference between income and expenditure shows:

For 10 percent of the sample the figures coincided, for 45 percent there was a positive balance, and for 45 percent the balance was adverse, in most cases very much so. We suspect that in these latter instances false statements were made regarding income. Particularly in the case of self-employed persons the income is presumably higher. Our interpretation was confirmed by outsiders.

A comparative formulation regarding the incomes of Tibetans and nationals is, according to informants' statements, difficult to make:

The financial situation of Tibetans who have established themselves in tourist trade as compared to that of Nepali businessmen is not unfavorable. Still, we must keep in mind that the income of the latter is in the rarest cases limited to monetary earnings from a single occupation. Generally land ownerships, subsistence production, barter, but also lettings and farming out, also enter the picture. The monetary income of the rural Nepalese population in particular, may be expected to be far below that of self-employed, established, and even below the-average-Tibetan families. The Tibetan families, however, that make their income exclusively by salaried employment, with the exception of the officials, live on the edge of poverty. We are of the opinion that, with the exception of a few Tibetans who have established themselves as shop owners and enjoy a large turnover, the situation of the Tashi Ling refugees is, taken as a whole, poor, and it is aggravated by their psychological condition; for the majority, income is just enough to meet their basic needs, and other families (a total of three percent of the whole camp according to the chief-in-charge) must rely on outside help. Since 1983, however, the living conditions of most families in the camp steadily have improved. Many have been able to profit from the constantly growing tourism. The average income and the number of sponsorships have risen, and absolute poverty has fallen off, but income inequality among the Tibetans has increased.

3.4. The Practice of Religion

Religion and every-day-life represented a unity in the Tibet of former times. What is the state of religion today in exile?

According to the Nepalese constitution freedom of religion exists within the territory of Nepal; the state religion is Hinduism. Tibetans can celebrate their religious festivals and rites freely.

To what extent have exogenous influences (altering living conditions in exile) or endogenous ones (changes in attitudes toward religion) affected the established place of

religion among Tibetans? We carried out studies of the sacerdotal and mundane aspects of the problem.

While the daily routine of monks is no different that what it was in Tibet, the external living conditions have completely changed. The monks who, in the monastery cities of Tibet, controlled their own means of production now depend exclusively upon financial support from donations. Moreover, up to 1984, there was no monastery in Tashi Ling. The monks were house in normal dwellings, and the spatial separation of 'sacred' and 'profane' could not be accommodated; involvement in the every-day-life did not foster quietude. Furthermore, the priestly order was not able to see to its educational duties (recruitment and training of young Tibetans as monks) to the extent like in former Tibet.

We noticed that, due to the economic changes in the monk's everyday-life, monks who ranked low in the priestly hierarchy, are, though on a smaller degree, engaged in individual business like laymen for individual profits. The 'Great Tradition' rule of poverty and austerity with regard to material property is made to appear absurd, at least, on this hierarchy level.

Functioning as the connecting link between 'sacred' and 'profane', the lama's and monk's integration into family life remains like in old days very strong. The lama is consulted for all important decisions and affairs. Within the rituals he attempts to recognize the causes of events and to turn their effects to the good. A strong belief in spirits and spirit possessions is manifested due to Bon influences in Mahayana Buddhism. The family does not take part in the sacral ceremonies, made by lama and monks, for the sake of the families in their home. Family life follows the same pattern with undiminished noise, and we conducted an interview during an exorcism. Laymen rely on these religious specialists. They do not feel to be in a position to confront powers they are no match for.

As regards the relations of the sacerdotal order and the family, one may note that these ceremonies cost a good deal of money: Apart from the paraphernalia necessary for the sacral acts, the monks and the lama must be attended to, and at end of the ceremony, which may last up to a week, a contribution for monastery-building, and now maintenance, or another donation is often made. Donations and ceremonies form the basis of livelihood for the exiled priestly order.

Along with these specific family ceremonies there are many religious and folk (likewise celebrated religiously) holidays. These festivals are attended ideally by everyone, so that, during this period, even the vital business generally comes to a halt. The festivals are celebrated in a mixture of religion (processions and teachings), tradition (folk dances and songs) and conviviality (banquets).

In the daily family life, religions practice finds expression in the continuous recitation of mantras ('Om mani padme hum') during the day while fingering malas as well as prayer wheels and holy texts hours on end before breakfast. The question, though, occurs to the observer as to whether the real meaning of the mantra to which spiritual power is attributed is in fact cultivated on the family level, or whether recitation has degenerated into prayer, with the discharging of the duty of reciting the mantra as often as possible being uppermost in the mind of practitioner. For every 1,000 and 10,000 revolutions of the mala of 108 pearls he may add an extra pearl on sideway cords, being visible for every neighbour and improving his 'cultural capital'. In answer to the question of whether he made other forms of meditations, one Tibetan answered: "That's much too dangerous! we leave that to the lama".

In the interviews all those questioned described themselves as deeply religious; the role of the Dalai Lama as their charismatic religious and political leader was uncontested. Tensions between Hindus and Tibetans due to their different religions and, partly controversial, rituals (f.l. animal sacrifice) is said not to exist.

3.5. Interethnic Relations

The question of the extent of the Tibetans' social integration cannot be answered in a straightforward manner. Due to the segregated nature of the refugee economy, the contact adults have with the outside world is almost exclusively limited to the area of consumption and the tourist trade.

In the street scene, we noticed mainly male Tibetans who were engaged in peddling, usually in groups or pairs. Contacts with nationals were seldom observed in this context.

Most Nepalis professed either to have no contact with Tibetans or (hotel owners) to have a good relationship with them on commercial basis. The Tibetans answered the question about their social integration in various ways. They may be encompassed within three groups:

- The first group is composed of the elderly, who perform exclusively salaried labour within the ghetto-like camp, which they leave, if at all, only for shopping or to see a doctor. This group generally has no external contact whatsoever with nationals. People belonging to this group speak normally exclusively Tibetan, even though they have been living over twenty years in their host country. The urge to become integrated does not appear to exist. Most important to them, rather, seems to be social cohesion within the

camp and the hope of repatriation, though many elderly persons know very well that they will never see Tibet again, but this is also true for many Nepalis.

- The second group is composed of aged persons employed in the camp, generally women, who, though they leave the camp, like the first group, only for the above mentioned purposes, are able to speak Nepali and some English as a result of having attended school in their host country or because they want to become integrated. To a certain extent they have kept alive contacts from their school days, but, due to the difficult lives led, the older they get, the less frequent these become.

- The third group is composed of those either employed outside the camp or self-employed; for the most part young men. They all speak Nepali, and most of them English as well. They all have contact with the native population, but the meaning of 'friendship', often used to characterize their relationship to Nepalis, is business related. Emotional friendship is found in the rarest cases.

All those questioned expressed the desire to return to Tibet, although some of the younger persons confessed, however, that they would not mind going to Europe or the U.S.A.

At this point we would like to refer once more to the 'attitude of passive integration' common to both sides. On the one hand, barriers are set to integration by the host land (asylum law), and, on the other, the directives coming from the DLG and the way they are internalized (fixation upon the return to Tibet) also contribute to non-integration.

3.6. Innerethnic Relations

We studied the internal relations of the Tibetans with the object of determining the degree of cooperation exhibited among themselves and with other camps, and the degree of cognitive dissonance. In our opinion, such forms taken by relationships can only be rudimentarily brought to light within an interview. There exists among those interviewed a large discrepancy between 'altruistic, paradigmatic behavior', the ideal behavior resulting from the Great Tradition (particular socio-religious collective norm and values) and realistic, commonplace behavior. In the case at hand, the answers may be expected rather to have tapped this ideal picture of the collective Buddhist '*bermensch*', a construct of Buddhist philosophy by which egoisms are transformed, that the real, every-day-life behavior of common man, who is molded by his ego and external influences, and who, on the side, happens to believe in Buddhism.

Of course, this problem is not exceptional for researchers. However, in the case of the Tibetans one should constantly keep in mind the fact that ever since the Dalai Lama himself and the DG started making trips abroad, and a number of Western authors started publishing information concerning the fate and tragedy of the Tibetan nation, making good what the U.N. and, above all, India had neglected to do in the beginning 1960s, the Tibetan refugees have cherished the image of an intact 'community', high in ideals, which, though struck hard by fate, has held firm to its tradition and nationalism. And it is precisely this image which brings in contributions, sponsorships and buying zeal on the part of tourists who come into contact with Tibetans - a contact which comes about, according to one outsider, from the 'apparently selfless Tibetan hospitality and is triggered by an invitation for some butter tea in the wretched hut, in which the wealth is hidden under the pillow.'

For this reason, in this part of the study we rely heavily on statements of outsiders as well as on those of camp officials, who are naturally always careful to paint a picture for the outside world of a community intact, but who, on the other hand, readily admit when questioned point blank, that at least the danger of cognitive dissonance does exist.

We shall present the results separately, according to source:

a) Results of the interviews with families

Our questions made reference to the cooperation among families within the camp and between camps as well as to the possibility of envy arising due to differences in income and external aid. The questions were formulated in such a way that those questioned assumed a fixed role (f.i. to have received a sponsorship) and were asked to judge the behavior of their neighbors. As for envy, the majority expressed the opinion that such did not exist. Here it should be mentioned that, in Buddhism, envy is one of the eight egoistic properties to be transmuted. In the same manner differences in income were justified by referring to individual karma.

As for mutual cooperation, it is evident that such internal aid does in general exist, though principally within kin groups, which often reach across into other camps. Families with large incomes boasted of the good works undertaken by them for their karma, whereas those with lesser incomes viewed it as matter of great shame that they were not in a financial position to help others. While these responses reflect Buddhist reasoning, economic arguments also came up, as, for example, the preference of a constant low income in comparison with a seasonal high income.

During the course of our investigations, however, we came to realize that there are families within the camp whose income just meets or even fails their basic needs, but who receive no cooperative help. This applies mainly to single old persons or couples without relatives.

We came across certain indications of cognitive dissonance in the reactions of individuals outside the framework of interviews (envy expressed during purchasing or receiving presents, competition to invite us to lunch and so to put us under obligation to care for a sponsorship, etc.).

b) Results of interviews with outsiders and officials

Completely different were these results:

Outsiders reported that a tendency towards cognitive dissonance has appeared since 1981. In this year all the Tibetans, as a result of Beijing's new policy after the end of the Mao era, for the first time began to get ready to pull up stakes, and awaited only word from Dharmasala. The DLG, however, did not think the time to be ripe yet. The Tibetans resignedly began to prepare themselves for, and in some cases to commit themselves to, a prolongation of their stay in Nepal, and talked in terms of then at least ten years. In contrast to a two-class system existing previously among the exile Tibetans - an upper class which was able to establish itself immediately after the exodus with the help of the belongings they brought along with them, and which is well off in comparison to average Nepalis; and a lower class whose income is small - now a new middle class, borne particularly on the shoulders of young persons, is beginning to emerge. One might term them risk-taking 'young entrepreneurs'; they set up shops outside the camp, employing native 'straw men' as owners in order to get around the law. This new middle class is at present under particularly severe financial strain due to high investments. Tensions imperceptible on the surface have arisen between upper and middle classes due to this newly evolved mobility and the shifts in power and income resulting from it, within the middle class due to an emerging income differentiation, and between the middle and low classes, between whom there is no vertical mobility as long as the language prerequisites and/or venture capital is missing. All over the camp, to go by outsiders, unseen conflicts crop up; no firm structures (class consciousness), however, have developed. Possible interest groups fall apart after a short time from quarrels. The common image of the tourist (source of capital) produces, on the one hand, cohesion, but from individual success in business there results, on the other, envy of neighbor.

Asked specifically about this phenomenon of new enterprise, the chief-in-charge admitted the existence of the described tendencies. On account of the prolonged exile everyone in the camp wishes, if possible, to become independent. Resulting therefrom are the tensions between salaried and self-employed. Income inequality is also exacerbated by unjustified sponsorships, as those with knowledge of the English language have an easier access to business as well as sponsorships.

3.7. Value Shift: Capitalism Instead of Buddhism?

The trend just described - the enterprising spirit - is forwarded above all by that portion of the young generation which has become attached in Tibetan boarding schools in Kathmandu or India to Western ideas and the Western way of life. This living-style is opposed to the old Tibeto-Buddhist ethic in which social and economic status do not necessarily coincide. The patterns of behavior resulting from this ethic formed the basis of social stability in the Tibet of former times. Due to the change in environment and the influences of the modern world, this ethic is now beginning to totter. Socio-religious paradigms of behavior are now being overlaid, or even suppressed, by economically and rationally based ones. To put it in simple terms: If the slogan formerly was to 'love the neighbour for the sake of karma', now the individual 'battle for survival and profit' is taking place.

While the religious framework is still existent (and is supported by the DLG and the officials) and each Tibetan has internalized the socio-religious paradigms of behavior, the majority of the young generation confronted with Western values, acts according to patterns based on economic and rational considerations. The social fabric is slowly dissolving.

The uncertainty regarding the future will, in our opinion, accelerate this process. Return to Tibet is projected at the earliest for 1990. Camp officials, too reckon with a fairly long further stay in Nepal and making plans for the future there. There planning that was directed in 1983 towards better sanitary conditions, education, revival of cultural aspects and religion, has partly been realized. Investments in camp hygiene (toilets, water taps) have been made, a new chorten and a gompa (monastery) have been built at the camp entrance, and the lama is nowadays able to recruit young Tibetans to start a monastic life.

3.8. The New Tibet

The Tibetans expect domestic political problems whenever a return to Tibet becomes possible:

- Whereas the living conditions concerning economic and infrastructural development in Tibet have remained rather unchanged outside Lhasa, the structured complex of vocations found among the exiled Tibetans no longer conforms to the situation in their homeland but is geared to the conditions of their host country. Thus it is clear both to camp dwellers and officials that the new Tibet will no longer correspond to the old one:

The new Tibet will be modernized to a significantly greater extent in the areas of technology and infrastructure, and will be open in regard both to tourism and to foreign policy. The old theocratic system will be replaced by a parliamentary democracy under the leadership of the Dalai Lama. Secular affairs will acquire significantly greater importance within the state.

- When the approximately 100,000 exiled Tibetans return to their homeland, it may be presumed that claims to power and control of government will be made both by the Tibetans who remained in Tibet (at least the opposition) and by the exile Tibetans, as both regard themselves as defenders and preservers of Tibetans culture. It might be imaginable that some Tibetans having remained in Tibet consider the exile governmental to be opportunists.

Result

We shall now summarize the result of this study:

1. The social integration of those refugees who have remained with their refugee status within their host land has been shown to be minimal, this as a result both of the 'attitude of passive integration' on the part of the host country and their guests, and of the economic non-integration. Taking the recent democratization of Nepal into consideration, Tibetans in the camp maintain that their status before and after the introduction of parliamentary democracy has remained unchanged. Considered as a whole Tibetans in Nepal are unpolitical with regard to Nepali domestic policy. They consider, however, the growth of communist support with suspicion.
2. Constitutional barriers have been placed in the way of economic integration. Because of the segregated nature of the refugee economy in the production and marketing sectors, interethnic economic relations exist mainly in the area of consumption.

The segregated refugee economy is tailored exclusively to tourism and export. The income of self-employed persons is dependent upon season, whereas this is not the case with salaried laborers. For neither type of income, is there any formal social security. The enmeshment within the world economy is apparent from the dependence of the segregated refugee economy on export and tourism. The recession of tourism during the Indian blockade and the following period of political change have severely struck all Tibetans and Nepalis who in one or another form depend on tourism.

The intraethnic segmentation arising from the different types and levels of income leads to social tensions.

3. When we assume that the Buddhist ethnic formerly governed day-to-day affairs in Tibet and implied a particular social behavior, now this has been overlaid, or even suppressed, by external capitalist influences and the economically and rationally based action deriving from it. This shift of values is the cause for conflict potential within the community, though up to now, in our opinion, no such conflict has broken out against the religion and Dalai Lama. Nevertheless, the gap between religion and every-day-life is widening.

The homogeneity of the Tibetan community (which Miller and Goldstein in their studies recognized) is breaking up. Group-oriented behavior and collectivity is being supplanted by individual economizing.

If this tendency has in fact been in existence only since 1981, one might come to suspect that the Tibetans' disillusionment at the Dalai Lama's refusal to return in this year produced a shock which brought to them the reality of their situation - they became fully aware of the long-term effects of personal and cultural loss (Wallace 1970: 202) - and catapulted them into the 'refugee syndrome' (Goldstein 1978). The results of Miller (1978) and Goldstein (1978) do not contradict our own, once the supposition is made that the reaction of the DLG to the new Beijing policy gave rise to the same tendencies among the refugees in India. Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the reasons given in these studies (endogenous values specific to the culture, Miller; refugee policy, Goldstein) are an oversimplification. It may be true that these factors for a long time postponed the onset of the 'refugee syndrome', but, in the end, we see the new socioeconomic exogenous influences (capitalism) and their endogenous effects (income differential, segmentation, non-integration, role change, etc.) as being the harbingers of the behavior sequences described by Wallace which occur, in our opinion, not abruptly but smoothly.

One must constantly bear in mind, however, that the Tibetans are careful to present a picture of homogeneous community to the outside world, this image being the precondition for the functioning of the entire refugee economy, be it from orders received by the HTC from Europe or the business carried on by the self-employed with tourists. Miller in her study justifiably points to the resemblance that the answers she received from her informants have to public pronouncements by the Government of India and the DLG (391). This explains why it was possible for the communities to preserve their image so long, even though, in the last analysis, the homogeneity no longer exists at all. We, too, would have been left with the impression of homogeneity, were it not for the information from outsiders.

In the final analysis, we are not able to provide any definite answer to these questions. It merely appears to us probable that the 'refugee syndrome' has affixed itself to the object of our study. We cannot, however, make generalizations covering all refugee camps, since in each camp different exogenous conditions and influences prevail.

In any case, it seems to us probable that the economic programs called into being by the refugee policy, together with the consequence of an increasingly segmented refugee economy alongside that of the host land (Nepal and India), bring about a hookup not with the host country but with international economic structures. These have a feedback effect upon the endogenous structure and appear to open the way for the decay of community solidarity.

How far along this process of dissolution is depends, in our opinion, upon the given endogenous structures in the particular case:

- To what extent is a segmentation into self-employed and salaried workers and a potential for conflict, due to difference in income in general, possible? Camps far from tourist centers do exist in the mountain region of Nepal, being geared exclusively to the production by salaried laborers of articles meant for export.
- To what extent may intraethnic contacts with other camps call forth cognitive dissonances?
- To what extent is the marketing system of the HTC and similar organizations, organized by the DLG and integrated into the world economy, able to shield the individual camps from the influences, inherent in this very marketing system, which tend to corrode traditional structures?
- To what extent, by means of culture and educational policies, are the strategic institutions of the DLG (camp administration, camp-internal education-system, religion, etc.) able in fact to resist the decay brought on by the 'import' of structures incorporating capitalist values?

We must leave these and many more questions open at the end of this study, as an answer to them presupposes a comparative study of camps with different relations to the outside world.

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