

Conformity & Self-expression:
a study of the Lohorung
Rai of East Nepal

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Abstract

The thesis is an anthropological study of the Lohorung Rai tribe of East Nepal, based on twenty months of fieldwork. Its major theme is their conceptual system and in particular their religious and psychological concepts. The intention throughout has been to look at concepts, both verbal and non-verbal, in the light of my own developing knowledge of the Lohorung conceptual framework. The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The introductory chapter provides a background description, including an account of first impressions and fieldwork experiences, as well as the theoretical perspective of the thesis, a delineation of Lohorung households, and the significance of the domestic group. Since the superhuman beings permeate Lohorung everyday life, and provide them with a theory of causation, chapter two describes Lohorung relations with the superhuman world. For the Lohorung it is only by ritual action that they can retain the original order of their society which is constantly in need of renewal. Chapter three, therefore, looks at the Lohorung 'charter for living', the *pe-lam* or *mundum*, a body of oral literature that includes the mythico-historical stories and ritual texts that can bring back order and reinvigorate both their society and individuals. One of the most important rituals for achieving this renewal is *nuagi*. This ritual is described in detail in chapter four. Chapter four also investigates the religious and psychological significance of the house, the main ritual unit in Lohorung culture and begins to throw light on the complex concept of *saya*, that is essential to an understanding of Lohorung ideas about the nature of Man and personhood. In chapter five the most important concepts relating to the Lohorung understanding of personhood, namely *niwa*, *saya* and *lawa*, are examined in terms of their significance in the cycle of life. This chapter underlines one of the main conclusions of the thesis: that an understanding of Lohorung religious and psychological concepts are essential to a wider appreciation of Lohorung society, such as their types of marriage and indigenous political system. Lohorung understanding of emotions and inner states are described in the final ethnographic chapter, chapter six. The final chapter examines the implications of the Lohorung knowledge gained in the previous chapters in terms of Lohorung ethno-psychology and concludes that Lohorung psychology may be characterised as being one that stresses both conformity and self-expression.

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PRBFACE

Before leaving for the field in 1976, I gathered as much information as I could from the existing literature available on the 'Rai'. Some general accounts of the 'Rai' as a whole existed (for example, Bista, 1967, a Ministry of Defence manual on Nepal and the Gurkhas, or Rana & Malla (1973)). Several books and articles I found mentioned the 'Rai' in cross-reference to their discussion of other hill-tribes of Nepal (Waddel, 1899; Pignède, 1966; Oppitz, 1968; Caplan, 1970; Sagant, 1973; Fournier, 1974;). The only authors who had dedicated their attention exclusively to specific sub-tribes of the 'Rai' were McDougal 1973 and Allen 1972, 1973, the former to the Kulung Rai and the latter to the Thulung Rai.

I decided to work with the Lohorung Rai after I had made a survey of 'Rai' villages in the Solu area and in an area from Aisyalukharka to the Upper Arun, investigating both the Rawa Khola and Tap Khola valleys. 'Rai' is the common nomenclature for about twelve different mongoloid tribal groups, living in various valleys in the middle and Northern parts of East Nepal. Each of these tribal groups, *thar* or sub-tribes of the 'Rai', has clearly distinct cultural and linguistic features, to an extent that the collective heading 'Rai' is almost misleading. In fact, the term 'Rai' in itself is a superimposed denomination and not an indigenous one. It came into use after Prithvi Narayan Shah's

conquest of central and eastern Nepal, denominating then the headmen of the native people of Majh Kirant. Later the honorific title changed into a tribal name. Before that time the various ethnic groups of of the 'Rai', together with the large population of the Limbu, were collectively called 'Kiranti'. Even though the different Kiranti people still claim a common origin and regard one another as kinsmen, who may freely interdine and intermarry, the cultural and linguistic unit which an anthropologist would call a tribe, are not the 'Rai' as a whole but the local *thar* or sub-tribe. The various groups of 'Rai' visited were the Khaling, Thulung, Kulung (Dudh Kosi); the Dumi, Koi, Sampang (Rawa and Tap Khola); and the Yakha and Lohorung (Arun Kosi). Between March 1976 and March 1979 I spent some twenty months with the Lohorung Rai.

The Lohorung Rai are a Mongoloid tribe of some 3000 people living in the Arun valley in about twenty-five village clusters. Though a small society it seems that their notion of the 'person', as we shall see in this thesis, may well be shared with the much wider population of the Kiranti.

The thesis began with a wish to give a translation and an interpretation of the world of the Lohorung. I am here influenced by my teachers David Pocock and Evans-Pritchard who both emphasised the importance of interpretation:

"social anthropology studies societies as moral, or symbolic systems and not as natural systems, ...seeks patterns and not laws, demonstrates consistency and not necessary relations between social activities, and interprets rather than explains" (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:62).

The wish to interpret the world of the Lohorung was combined with a realisation in the field that in order to understand how the Lohorung talk about and organise their experiences I would have to understand their relations with the numerous superhuman beings. The most important superhuman beings are the ancestors, with whom the Lohorung relate almost as if they were still part of their living society. The predominance of the ancestors and the superhuman world was clear from the beginning: I found myself constantly watching rituals and listening to explanations of illness, behaviour, the past, house structure, motivation, all couched in terms that related to one of the categories of superhuman beings. In chapter two I therefore look at the Lohorung pantheon and describe the relationship of trust that exists between the living and the dead.

The ancestors are part of a much wider philosophy, a charter for living, described in chapter three, which sees the mythical past as upholding their society. The past has to be re-created, by ritual words and repetition of myth to maintain the power and order of Lohorung life and institutions. One of the main rituals performing this function is *nuagi*. Just as the power of society as a whole has to be renewed to regain protection from hostile outside forces so does the house and the individual. Without renewal, the individual becomes vulnerable to insult, and the 'ancestors within a person' (*saya*) falls, leaving the person depressed, lifeless, anti-social and the person and the house open to attack from evil spirits. Chapter four looks at the ritual of

nuagi, the concept of *saya* and the significant unit of the house in the relations with the superhuman beings.

Central to the Lohorung notion of the 'person' is the concept of *saya* and two other concepts, *niwa* and *lawa*. These terms were used in ritual and everyday life and I have tried to appreciate them without imposing my own theoretical ideas. They emerge as being central to Lohorung ways of thinking, their conception of being, of consciousness and their understanding of the relations between humans and superhumans. Chapter five looks at these concepts of *niwa*, *saya* and *lawa* in the cycle of life and how they help us to understand the Lohorung concept of the person.

Lohorung relations with the superhuman beings involve talk about such emotions as 'anger', 'fear', 'depression', and 'jealousy'. Emotions are part of what it means to be a Lohorung. In describing emotions, people make statements about the nature of the human person, and his relations with the world and about how the person is controlled. These statements are important if, as I think, human nature is constituted by how people conceive of themselves. Hampshire cogently argues this point in *Thought and Action* (1959).

"To learn to speak and understand a language, as a child, is to enter into a set of social relationships in which my own intentions are continually understood and fulfilled by others and in which I encounter their corresponding intentions. I learn to describe and to think about things, and to think about my own actions, only because of this interchange and through the social conventions that constitute the use of a language" (1959:89).

In chapter six I, therefore, look at Lohorung statements about the various emotions that are significant for understanding Lohorung

actions and their ideas about the ideal nature of man. The implications of this knowledge is discussed in the concluding chapter seven.

The research for this thesis began with the help of Professor Fürer-Haimendorf, my initial supervisor at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and the Social Science Research Council, who financed the project. I should like to thank them both for their support. I am also grateful to the British Federation of University women, whose award helped me finance the writing up of the thesis. The collaboration of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu made fieldwork possible.

It was only with the help of the Lohorung of the villages of Pangma that I could write this thesis and I shall always be grateful to them for their help, their hospitality and their patience. My warmest thanks go to Hari Bahadur Rai, Nanda and Rudra Bahadur, and the families of Sher Bahadur and Prithivi Bahadur who gave me so much help in every way. I owe deep thanks to Mark Oppitz who kept me going from afar. I am also very grateful to Richard Burkhart, Paul Harris, Paul Heelas and Lionel Caplan for their comments and help.

Glossary

The following is a short glossary of the Lohorung terms most frequently used in the thesis . More detailed discussions of the main concepts are to be found in the text.

bung	flower, vital essence, menstruation.
chap	ghosts; souls or spirits of persons when finally separated from their bodies at death.
chawa	ritual term for those springs that are identified by clans as belonging to them, and their ancestors, see appendix 2
hang	king.
hingchame	alive and flourishing
hongsiu	inside of a house; innermost part of a person.
kamnuk	beautiful; attractive; nice; good;
khim	house
lawa	1. spirit or soul, animating the body and giving it consciousness of life that at times is separated from the person. The male <i>lawa</i> is likened to an arrow, compared to the forefinger and personified as being "crafty, skilfull, intelligent, tricky". The female <i>lawa</i> is likened to a bee and characterised as being supple and pliant, easily persuaded to leave its host. An internal life-giving force, with a consciousness and will of its own, it is what we might call the "subconscious" element of man. The essence of life. 2. The shadow of a person.
mang	spirit
mangpa	shaman. An individual who becomes possessed by spirits of the dead, and communicates with them in what is perceived as an altered state of consciousness, thereby enabling him to diagnose and deal with disease and misfortune.
mangsuk	the household shrine.
nabak we-langme	to 'throw away the nose of someone', to shame.

niwa mind, conscience, personality, memory, impulse, will and determination. Ways of behaving, thoughts and opinions are ordered and controlled by its powers of reference. Located in the stomach, and in the head, it is slowly acquired, similar to some Western notions concerning the development of cognitive processes.

pe-lam corpus of myths, rites, knowledge, and traditions relating to their ancestors, and origins.

pheguang assistant to the ritual officiant, the local priest.

phenni forbidden; restricted behaviour; rules that prohibit behaviour based on the belief that it would interfere with a desired effect or lead to an undesired effect, such as sickness or death.

sammang spirits of powerful ancestors, ancestors

samek

saya 1. 'ancestor within'; a psychophysical force that links a person with ancestors and those forbears who established and still maintain the power of their traditions and sacred words. Traditional ways are thought as having a power of great strength. Located in the head, *saya* is as potent as our notion of "genes" or "stock", even more so perhaps since whereas our notions tend to emphasise the invariant, durable characteristics of an individual, *saya* is variable and its state is a symptom of the state of this sacred power within them.
2. 'outer soul' of *khammang* and *yimi*, or lineage ancestors residing within objects and individuals.

tangpam niwa own mind, wishes, desires.

tapnam yapmi 'forest people'; the original people.

tukka in pain, hurting.

tukmawa sick person.

tumgongpa important person; head of the household.

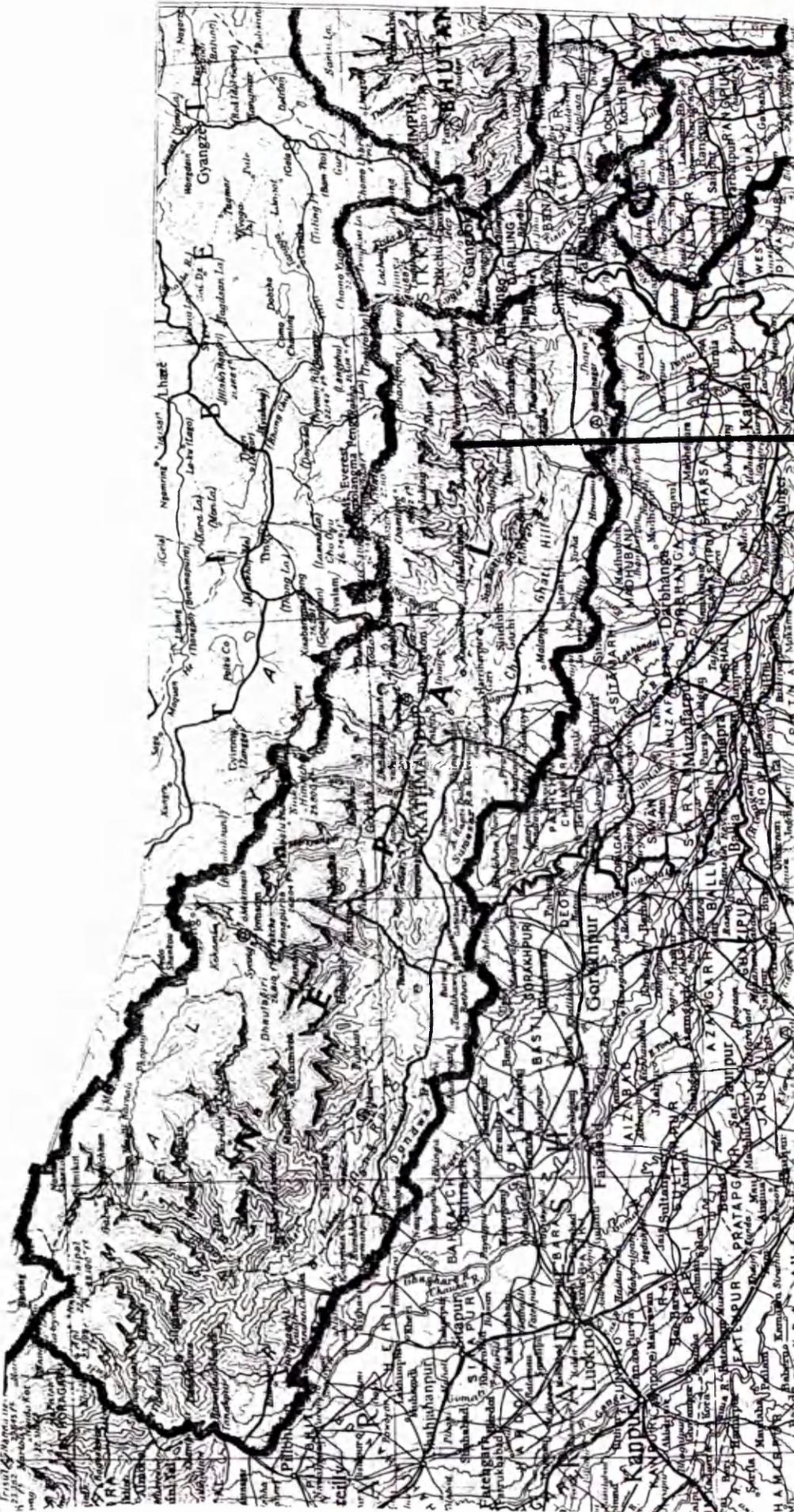
upmalitham yepmalitham/ heaven; the abode of the ancestors.
yepmalitham hamalitham

wairang lower section of the household shrine, esp. located in the homes of old 'Rai' (old chiefs) and ritual officiants, the *mangpa* and *yatangpa*.

yatangpa

local priest, who travels on journeys to meet the ancestors, the well integrated dead, and thereby diagnose disease and misfortune.

For emotion terms see chapter six.



MAP 2

KOSI ZONE &
Location of
Lohorung



LOHORUNG
RAI (see Map 3)

LEGEND

- International Boundary
- |—|— Zonal Boundary
- |—|— District Boundary
- Zonal Head Quarter
- △ District Head Quarter
- Nagar Panchayat
- Villages
- Contour in feet
- ▲ 4567 Spot Heights in feet
- ~ Rivers
-) (Passes
- - - Trails
- == Fair Weather Road
- === All Weather Road
- ✈ Airport & Stool field
- + Indian Rail Head
- Development Centre



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

First impressions

After days of walking through "Rai" country to the West of the Arun, what struck me first about the Lohorung was how rugged and how varied was their location in contrast to the more rounded hills and softer hues to which I had become used. One side of the Arun valley is totally isolated from the other by the turbulent and wide river, older than the Himalayas themselves, whilst tributaries flowing into it create their own smaller valleys, deep gorges and countless ridges. From the trail leading from the river up the Khandbari, the major bazaar town of the upper Arun, lying at about 4,000 ft., and then higher up to the first Lohorung villages at about 4,500 ft., the views constantly changed. But my first overall impressions were dominated by the sight of the endless cold, grey river, by the patches of sienna clay earth, rugged grey rocks and huge boulders, sculptured forms changing shape with the play of light, at times emerging dark and stark against the lush shades of green ranging from the verdant paddy-green of the flat terraced fields out out of the gentler slopes to the dark black purplish green of the jungle, the greenery of the primeval forest. There too, was the sub-tropical, dense vegetation of the lower slopes thinning out to reveal the cool blowing leaves of the plaintain trees, the

gentle sway of the slender bamboo, their tall growing stems bending against a vista of crag and snow-peaked mountain.

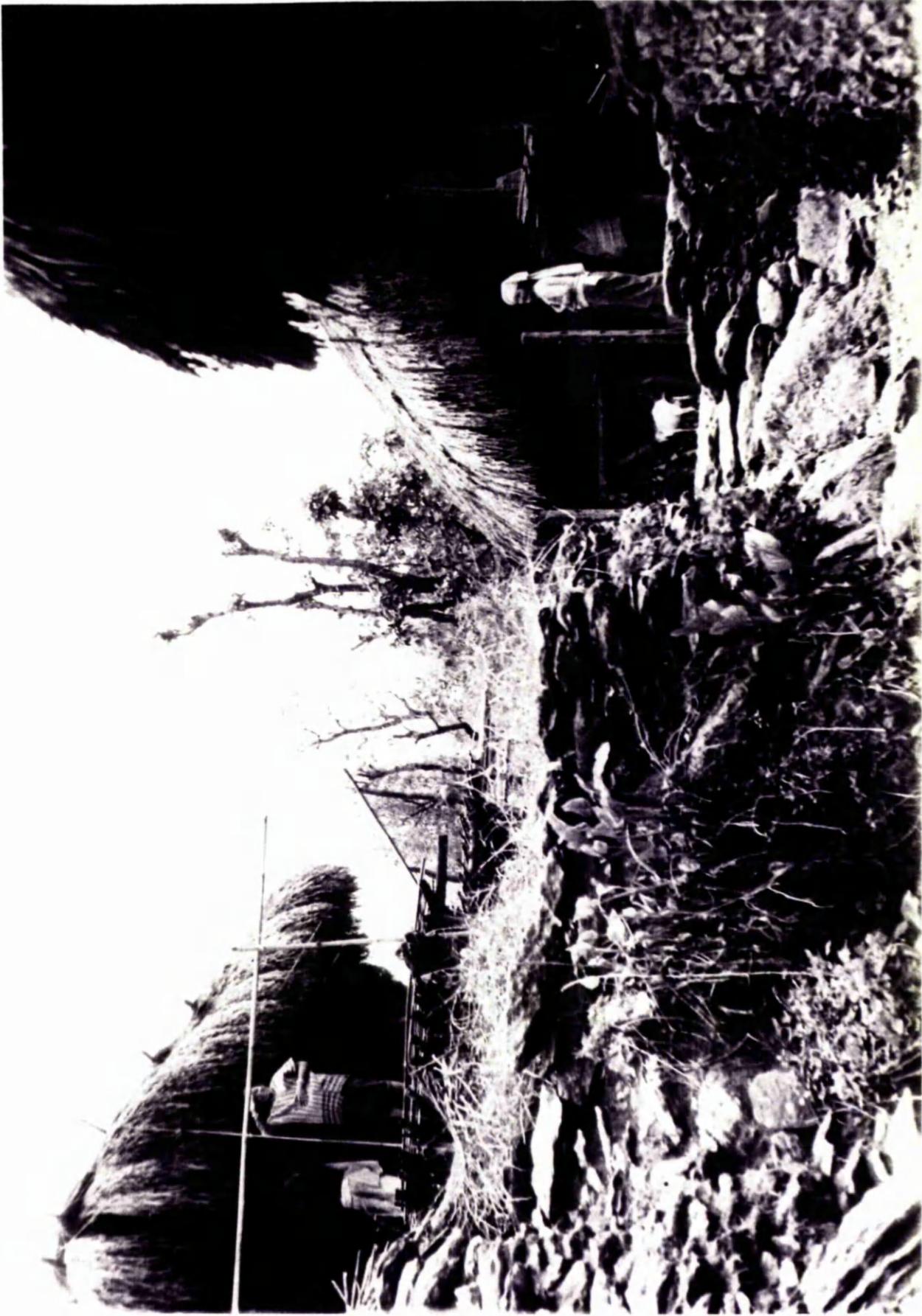
It is hardly surprising that the topography of Lohorung country presents to the eye such varied forms. In an ascending sweep the terrain visible begins at the bed of the Arun river with 1,968 ft. (600m) and ends with the peak of Mount Makalu at 27,378 ft. (8,345m.) Situated between the culminating heights of the Himalayas and the middle hills of the Mahabharat range, the Lohorung, who number some 3,500 people, are scattered over a complex of interlocking hills and narrow valleys within a small area bounded to the West by the rivers Arun and Sankhuwa, to the east by the Sabhaya river, and to the north by the westward swing of the Arun and an uncultivateable region of rugged hills.

Rain and snow, the main sources of drainage to the area, can transform the landscape within a few hours. In the Himalayas in general, changes in weather (rain, hailstorms, fierce wind) are dramatic and often violent. In Lohorung country rainfall reaches an annual average of about 2,600 mm., and most of this falls during the months from June to September, with some pre-monsoon rain falling between March and April. The rain in the upper Arun valley is so heavy that the area is often referred to as the 'wettest place in Nepal'. The eastern part of Nepal in general receives more rainfall than the rest of the country since the summer monsoon travels from east to west. But in the area in which the Lohorung live, the moist monsoon air from the plains

drifts into the big open valley of the Arun until it is forced to rise as it meets the steep gorges and mountainous area. The torrential rains that fall make many rivers and streams impossible to cross as bridges are swamped and waterways flooded. Daily downpours continue for three or four months, the skies and hills constantly shrouded in cloud.

Lohorung houses stand clustered together in close-knit villages as though sheltering themselves from these outside forces of nature. This is in striking contrast to the Rai villages to the west of the Arun. There, houses are located singly or sometimes two or three together, separated from others by stretches of field. The density of housing in Lohorung villages is such that fields and house-gardens must lie on the outskirts. All there is room for in front of each house is a small courtyard whose stone walls form the sides of the rocky paths which wind through the village (see photograph taken in Gairi Pangma). The paths extend outwards from the central nucleus of houses, the oldest in the village, which sometimes seem to act as the general social meeting place .

Lohorung villages are striking too for their particular house-style. Unlike any other hill tribal people in Nepal, the Lohorung, and those who live to the north of them, build their houses on wooden stilts. The stilts lift the living quarters off the rocky ground, which is at times awash from the monsoon rains, and at the same time creates a covered open space, in which



PI.1 STONE WALLS & ROCKY PATHS

animals can be housed. Where land is so highly valued for agricultural purposes, stilts also enable the Lohorung to make use of otherwise useless rocky areas. Lohorung villages are characterised by the abundant use of stone and the presence of enormous rocks scattered amongst the houses. Fierce winds may disturb the house on piles more than the house built more solidly on the ground, rarely does it cause great damage for the stilt house sways with the wind. When earth tremors occur, however, the stilt-house certainly has an advantage.

It was this style of stilt-house which so struck Fürer-Haimendorf in his travels to the area, finding it "barely distinguishable from the raised bamboo and timber structures of the Assam Himalayas" (1975:108). This led him to suggest that "at one time Mongoloid tribal populations of relatively primitive culture occupied many of the forested hill regions south of the Himalayan range" (ibid). Significantly the Lohorung themselves, as I later found out, closely identify with the Mishmi in Arunachal Pradesh. Many Lohorung migrate to live with them for several years and feel at home with the style of life, find similarities in some rituals (such as that concerned with the snake deity - the house ancestor), and the kind of communal living in long houses built on stilts.

Whatever the link might once have been between the Lohorung and tribes of the Indo-Tibetan borderlands as far afield as Assam (and the fact that their Tibeto-Burman languages are related

supports this) it is clear that after the dispersal of groups in the early centuries AD, rugged topography plus a strong tendency towards local endogamy has isolated these different groups, leading to linguistic and cultural differences.

It was the maintenance of cultural isolation, in spite of present day proximity to other tribal groups, which struck me so forcefully on my first trip to Lohorung country. As I wrote then:

"Strange, only a few hours walk away from the Newar bazaar town of Khandbari here is a village with a totally different feeling, with a self-maintained world of its own. Everyone seems to communicate in a language of which I understand nothing. Somehow the place feels old, untouched. Surely that goes against the sociological expectation that cultural isolation, independence goes along with physical geographical isolation. What isolates these people? What keeps them so inward-looking? Their houses, all on stilts, thatched and with lattice-work bamboo sides huddle together, looking one over the other and not towards the fields, which are so completely the main concern of the other hill peoples. Why don't they live in their fields, like the Rai to the West? What are the things that motivate them? I've never seen a village with so many pigs - black pigs - roaming around as if unowned. Why pigs?..."

With thoughts and impressions such as these the first trip to Lohorung country took me from Pangma village, the first Lohorung village on the trail from Khandbari to explore the country higher up. Not far from Pangma the houses reverted to ground level, sheep and goats took over from pigs: I had reached the Gurung village of Sekaya. Further on there was nothing but steep, rocky paths, forest and the occasional wide-open spaces and Bhotia village. Scorched trunks of trees, twisted branches and limbs in

areas often separated off from the rest of the forest by rough tree fences indicated that slash and burn cultivation still continued. After hours of walking through almost uninhabited country the houses of Num, another Lohorung village, suddenly appeared. On the maidan above, schoolchildren were playing in front of the school, a long tin-roofed building.

The screams of a pig drew attention to something that was going on in the fields below the maidan. Looking down from the fields above what lay in view was like something from Thailand or Burma. In a sub-tropical setting of huge bamboo groves and plantain trees three shrines had been constructed from trees, leaves and bamboo. Plantain leaves formed the base of two of the altars whilst bamboo poles had been used to create a house-like construction of the third. The shrines seemed as if they were mere extensions of the forest, distinguishable from it only by the patterns and constructions - combinations of the elements of the forest, made by human order and design not natural ones. At once part of and yet separate from the forest the focal point of each shrine was however clear. The central one was laid out as an inviting feast. It seemed as though the Lohorung were offering what they themselves valued most to those who could no longer obtain them, eggs, fish, chickens, drinking vessels and the pig they were about to slaughter. In the centre of the field a large pot of rice was cooking. Amidst the green of the surroundings the constructed 'natural' shrines and the food laid out "for the ancestors" as they told me, struck forcefully as

'culture'. And the 'culture' that I saw could only be epitomised as 'Green' and 'Human'. There were no obvious constructed images of something superhuman, some distant alien being. The scene was more like a forest picnic waiting in hospitality for some respected guests. The atmosphere was very informal. Though one man was standing alone chanting and shaking gently at the knees, and another couple struggling with the squealing pig, most of the group of men and children clustered around two women, who were making leaf plates some distance away from the shrines. None of them paid much attention to what was happening below them. They all stopped momentarily to watch the slaughter of the pig completed quickly by ramming a bamboo rod into its heart. They were soon joined by the man who had been chanting, the one they called the *yatangpa* or priest, who now fondles his son and explained that they were making offerings to their ancestors, asking them for good crops. What struck me, apart from the strangeness of the sub-tropical atmosphere in the Himalayas, was the way the proceedings seemed like a matter of everyday life, no fuss or ceremony, no particular animation in spite of the fact that it was called a "puja ritual". And there was nothing particularly striking about the priest. He seemed if anything to be rather more shy than the other men, an affectionate father, an easy, friendly man.

During the next three days I stumbled over two other 'pujā' on the path, each one performed as if it was a daily event. Both struck me in a similar way to the first. There was the same

sense of watching communication with invisible beings as an everyday event without aura, the same vitalisation of a part of the shrubbery, the same atmosphere of hospitality.

The old man performing the second 'pujā' was accompanied only by his young grandson and was totally uninterested in his unexpected audience, except to gesture with a wave of the hand for us to be quiet. He went through the actions with the assurance of someone who has performed them all many times before.

"His focus of attention is a flat stone, tucked into the side of a hill amongst the roots of a Chilaune tree. Leaves and branches bunched together seem to grow behind the stone with thread intertwined between them. He selects flowers from a bundle he has previously collected and places them between sprays of leaves on the stone. He examines and chooses each one with the care of an artist for the right colour. He takes a piece of wood from a fire kept alight by the young boy and places it on one of the bundles of leaves. He sprinkles water from a brass pot over the branches, leaf and flower shrine, and washes his hands, with deliberation. Orange paint is daubed on selected areas of the rocks and tree, and two live chickens are held over the shrine whilst he chants, shaking the croaking chickens in rhythm, occasionally punctuating his chant by spreading his arms wide as though ending a verse. One by one he slits the throats of the chickens and sprinkles their blood over the shrine chanting all the time. He cracks an egg into a leaf and puts it into the fire along with the chicken livers he has removed. To the side of the stone slab some incense is burning. The egg and the liver is skilfully cooked and turned in the flames with a pair of bamboo tongs. Without any further communication he has gone. And what pathos. Looking at the arrangement that he had prepared so carefully, and which seemed so alive and elaborate in his presence, it now looks pathetic, neglected, dead and ancient. It has no further significance. In spite of the remaining egg-shell still placed in the leaves tied with thread everything now looks bedraggled and weeks old. The old man's presence and concentration drew me into something that was very much alive and important. Now only the smoking fire reminds me that something has really just taken place. (Diary 1976).

To me these rituals were not ordinary events and it was perplexing to see the nonchalance with which they were performed. Or was this a misinterpretation of behaviour? I had felt pathos, but what was the outcome for them? What had been the experience that the man had created for himself? What was the reality to which he had been addressing himself? Later I came to learn that many of my misconceptions and the perplexities that arose, derived from my application of false categories. In this instance part of my mistake was to expect a distinction between the sacred and profane. It took me time to understand such activities as the one described above as everyday events. Another part of my mistake was to ignore the Lohorung's own theories, their ethno-theories, such as their theory of emotions, which, for example, tells them "not to show fear" when communicating with the superhuman world. We shall see, as the thesis proceeds, it was from how the Lohorung talked about such ritual events and about themselves that I was gradually able to understand how they organised and conceived their experiences.

Theoretical Perspectives

During the first few months of fieldwork it became clear that any close understanding of the meanings in terms of which the Lohorung interpreted their experiences and guided their actions would entail grasping their notion of *sammang* (which I here gloss as 'ancestors') and another more abstract notion *saya* which may be translated for the moment as 'the ancestral spirit within a

person' (1). From the moment I began to understand these notions I was inevitably led into other Lohorung notions about the mind, consciousness, the essential life-giving force of a person and to what 'self' itself means to a Lohorung. Only by appreciating the complex workings and interconnections of these notions could I begin to make sense of such diverse things as child development, their conception of space and time, their houses, pigs, rituals, odd statements about flowers, trees and crops, their attitude to the sexes and sense of appropriate conduct. By looking at the Lohorung from the point of view of their indigenous psychology (2) I was led to appreciate the interconnections of their experiences in a way that I suspect an analysis within more standard categories would not have made possible. Certainly some anthropologists take the position that social interaction, visible strategies and disputes are the substance of fieldwork, assuming as they do that the verbal and mental framework within which that social interaction takes place is an epiphenomenon of that interaction rather than a determinant. In contrast I have seen in conflicts, in social interaction of an everyday kind, and in apparently arbitrary practices instances of the expression of cultural meaning, as understood from the way they talk about it. Throughout this research I have attempted to interpret these moments in the light of my own developing knowledge of the society's conceptual framework, a knowledge which depended on a gradual understanding of the inter-connected network of concepts, verbal and non-verbal of the society in question. If the "constitutive" position, (see Hampshire 1959) that conceptual

systems are a determinant, is too extreme, ignoring the interplay between mental frameworks and the sociocultural, we can at least say that verbal and mental frameworks, what people think and believe about their actions and what they do, are worth studying since we can see that they relate to beliefs and action in a logical manner, and they provide philosophies of life and a way of sustaining the self with respect to the sociocultural (See Heelas, 1981:13-17)

Gradual understanding of Lohorung concepts came about as a matter of learning the language, grasping the semantic fields of concepts, looking at their use in various contexts, their metaphorical extension, if any, and in what types of discourse they were acceptable, and finding out their significance from the people themselves. I talk more about this part of the language-learning process in the section later on fieldwork experiences. What I want to explain further here is how understanding was not only obtained by seeing how concepts and cultural meaning emerged in rituals, but also how assumptions fundamental to Lohorung indigenous psychology and talked about and accepted in everyday discussions, helped to explain Lohorung motivations in diverse activities. For example, one of the motivations for women to brew beer was that as a traditional activity of the ancestors any beer-brewing was seen as a repetition of the ancestral activity and pleased them. Moreover, by a complex process to do with raising the *saya* (the ancestors within a person) of the ancestors

and of the woman's household she could bring prosperity and well-being to the family.

As though underlying their world view, their ideological frame of reference and their conception of the nature of reality, Lohorung psychological notions, their concepts of self and emotions, seemed to shape their values and codes of behaviour, the frames of meaning within which they move, and explain them in a way which some anthropologists look to subsurface or deep structure to explain. Their concepts of self and emotion fit with the kind of life they live, their experiences and social relations.

Though some of these Lohorung psychological concepts are not easy to grasp, they are, however, current in everyday discourse; they are common-place Lohorung assumptions about what it means to be a person. Not suprisingly, both the concepts and the assumptions feature predominantly in ritual, their complex meanings symbolised in objects and images throughout the ceremonies, and their affective significance reflected in the behaviour of participants. What I hope to convey however, is that what characterizes these psychological concepts has ramifications in all kinds of areas of life, and not just rituals, and this helps to explain coherence and continuity as well as moments of conflict in Lohorung life.

To give a brief example, the Lohorung view the person as being essentially vulnerable, but as being protected so long as he or

she retains a strong bond with their ancestors, a bond which is internally represented in a person by *saya* (ancestral soul within a person). If a person's *saya* is in its correct position and condition in the body she/he can be strong. The home is an extension of the person, a macrocosm of the male and female unit and is conceived of as being as vulnerable as the human beings who live in it. Various parts of the house have *saya* just as people do. To experience and represent the protection that both need, the bond with the ancestors, there is a house shrine in every house which is a microcosm of the ancestral universe. This represents the presence of the past living members in the present. The temporal orientation of the Lohorung in this respect is to represent the nowness of ancestors. Real time and space is collapsed. As Lohorung say, "the way to keep *saya* high is to show interest in the ancestors". The power of the emotion is believed to be such that it has to be managed, through rituals and through correct behaviour in certain everyday life situations. By simply being aware of the ancestors, however, brings them into the now of everyday life; thus the importance of simply telling brief stories about them. The Lohorung are very clear that, unfortunately, everyday life does not allow the respect they need "we cannot see them, so we can't avoid bumping into them, flicking ash over them." Lohorung rituals can, however, compensate for everyday behaviour. They restore the link between ancestors, their traditions and everyday life, thereby raising *saya* and protecting the person. To some extent, the person's *saya* can also be protected by what the Lohorung consider

to be correct behaviour. Respectful behaviour reduces the extent to which people's vulnerabilities are attacked. Insult or anger on the other hand can lower someone's *saya* which can ultimately be fatal. Lohorung thus place great emphasis on developing in their children the *niwa* 'mind, source of knowledge' that knows ancestral ways. Even *niwa*, however, cannot always control such things as *kisime* 'fear' although they do talk about the ways of living in which it can be reduced. "We live close together so as not to 'fear' *kisime* : to live in the fields alone away from the village is *kisimalu* 'frightening'", and so on. We can begin to see here how the Lohorung notion of *saya* and the person as essentially vulnerable shapes experiences, activities, and concepts in other areas of their life.

The approach of interpreting a culture through their own self-conceptions owes much to people like Hallowell, Geertz, Rosaldo, Harris, Lutz, who have shown how effective it can be. Geertz, for example, in his article 'Person, time and conduct in Bali' (1973) shows how the Balinese notion of the person, which accentuates anonymity or depersonalisation, is linked to their symbolic structures for characterising time and for organising social conduct.

"As the various symbolic orders of person-definition conceal the biological, psychological, and historical foundation of that changing patterns of gifts and inclinations we call personality behind a dense screen of ready-made identities, iconic selves, so the calendar, blunts the sense of dissolving days and evaporating years that those foundations and that pattern inevitably suggest by pulverising the flow of time into disconnected, dimensionless, motionless particles...." (so too)

"To maintain the (relative) anonymization of individuals with whom one is in daily contact, to dampen the intimacy implicit in face-to-face relationships...it is necessary to formalize relations with them to a fairly high degree, to confront them in a sociological middle distance where they are close enough to be identified but not so close as to be grasped". (1973:399).

Indigenous psychological notions, as Geertz views them, are part of the cultural system and as such are analytically distinct from the social structure and individual psychology. As part of the cultural system they contribute to the fabric of meanings in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their actions, whilst social structure is the form those actions take. "Culture patterns provide a template or blueprint for the organization of social and psychological processes, much as genetic systems provide such a template for the organisation of organic processes." (1973:216)

As we can see from Geertz's article, indigenous psychological notions may be used to explore and analyse cultural patterns, symbolic structures, that is, the cultural system. As other anthropologists have shown, they may also be used to make sense of two other distinct domains:

- 1) that of social institutions, marriage, ritual, socialization, social life, age-sets; and
- 2) the domain of individual motivation, individual psychology and experience. In this thesis, I shall be looking at how Lohorung indigenous psychological notions and theories help us to understand phenomena in all three domains.

Other anthropologists' use of indigenous psychologies to understand social institutions can be seen, for example, in the works of Michelle Rosaldo and Grace Harris. In her book *Knowledge and Passion* Rosaldo shows how the institutions of marriage and headhunting, amongst others, become comprehensible through language of the heart, and in particular the notion of *liget* 'anger, energy, passion', which develops in complementarity with *beya* 'knowledge'. "Neither good nor evil in itself, *liget* suggests the passionate energy that leads young men to labor hard, to marry, to kill, and reproduce; but also if ungoverned by the 'knowledge' of mature adults, to engage in wild violence" (1980:27). Ilongot youths seek the *liget* which can be achieved in headhunting exploits in order to gain social and psychological maturity. The *liget* of headhunting stands "as a symbol of his autonomy and freedom from constraint, his ability to engage in

the cooperative enterprises of adults without fear of a humiliating domination" (ibid: 230), whereas the youth who has not tossed a head is said to be like "the ~~ba~~achelor, physically deformed, whose body shows the signs of weakness that will inhibit him from marriage; incomplete, ashamed and silent, he cannot enjoy the confident sense of pride that comes of having proved his 'angry' heart" (ibid: 175). Thus youths who have not yet taken heads want to prove themselves as 'men' before they think of courtship. But beheading is only a prior stage to what marriage too offers youths:

"Both marriage and beheading are named as moments that transform the heart and silence youthful longings; both prove one's *liget* and guarantee that the youth attains the material dependence (assured through wives and private gardens) and unchallengeable presence (won through killing) of competent and respectable adults. In both, youths' 'passion' must be shaped by an adult's less energetic 'knowledge'. . . . Thus young men, as we have seen, declare themselves reluctant to enter marriage while still 'in search' and 'empty-handed'. And young girls themselves sing songs that voice intentions to 'stay young' until mere boys have 'reached their manhood' and by decorating ornaments and weapons, they encourage youths to turn their thoughts to raids". (ibid: 163).

Throughout the book Rosaldo shows how the Ilongots' views of experience, knowledge, emotions and actions (their indigenous psychology) provide the images, dynamics and patterns for a way of organising their responses and, giving meaning to the things they do and think, finds the significance and rules of activities such as marriage and tossing heads.

Rosaldo also looks at the third domain mentioned above: that of individual motivations and individual psychology and experiences, as they are seen by the Ilongot and as they are bound up with the social world. She looks at how their indigenous psychology provides models for the self, and interpretations of action:

"I believe that folk notions of 'person' and 'society', 'individual action' and 'social form' will always be related, each illuminating the other in a way that guarantees 'strategic' import to investigations of cultural constructs concerning 'personhood', 'human motivation', or the 'self'. To say this is not in any sense to claim that all individuals within a culture are the same, all 'socialised' to be the ideal 'persons' of their society. It is rather to insist that the reproduction of a given form of life demands such continuities in discourse as would permit a shared and sensible frame for the interpretation of daily practice, so that the way that individuals construe their actions shows some relation to the orders that they recognise in the world". (ibid:223).

Examining the emotional language used by Ilongots in explaining how and why, for example, headhunting interests them, she found their reasons were inseparable from their ideas of 'heart' and 'anger', words which suggest both psychic states and a range of contexts in which they are conventionally applied.

Rosaldo emphasises that she concentrates on an emic approach, a culture-specific analysis. She questions the tendency of anthropologists "to assume that underneath a culture's nets of problematic and distinctive rituals, rules and myths [there is] our homely, but in some sense universal, next-door neighbours" (ibid:22).

In continued criticism of anthropologists' interested in symbols, she argues the case that the "symbolic" has been misjudged:

"Having distinguished what appear to be symbolic terms from the transparent commonsense on which to found translation, such analysts prove incapable of appreciating the ways in which apparently foreign and peculiar deeds may by themselves have commonsense interpretations, and at the same time, their approach ignores the fact that common sense in other cultures is ultimately as demanding of interpretation as is apparently obscure "symbolic form". (ibid:22)

Her own approach is to look at words, sentences and styles of speech, at images, social processes and activities to grasp cultural "connotation" and come to grips with motivational patterns. Though Rosaldo is impressively consistent in her emic approach, there are moments when a more etic interpretation takes over. For example, she seems to be applying the Eastern hydraulic model of emotions when she talks about men being able to indulge in heavy emotions because they can vent them (ibid: 130).

Although influenced by Rosaldo's emic approach, her emphasis on translation and the importance of interpreting the common sense, I tend to be more cautious when it comes to her view of culture. She expresses her views most succinctly in a recently published article *Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling* (1984). She here rejects the view that culture provides the content that is processed by a universal mind. The 'form' of mental processes in her view may be affected by the contents. As she says,

"just as thought does not exist in isolation from affective life, so affect is culturally ordered and does not exist apart from thought. Instead of seeing culture as an "arbitrary" source of "contents" that are processed by our universal minds, it becomes

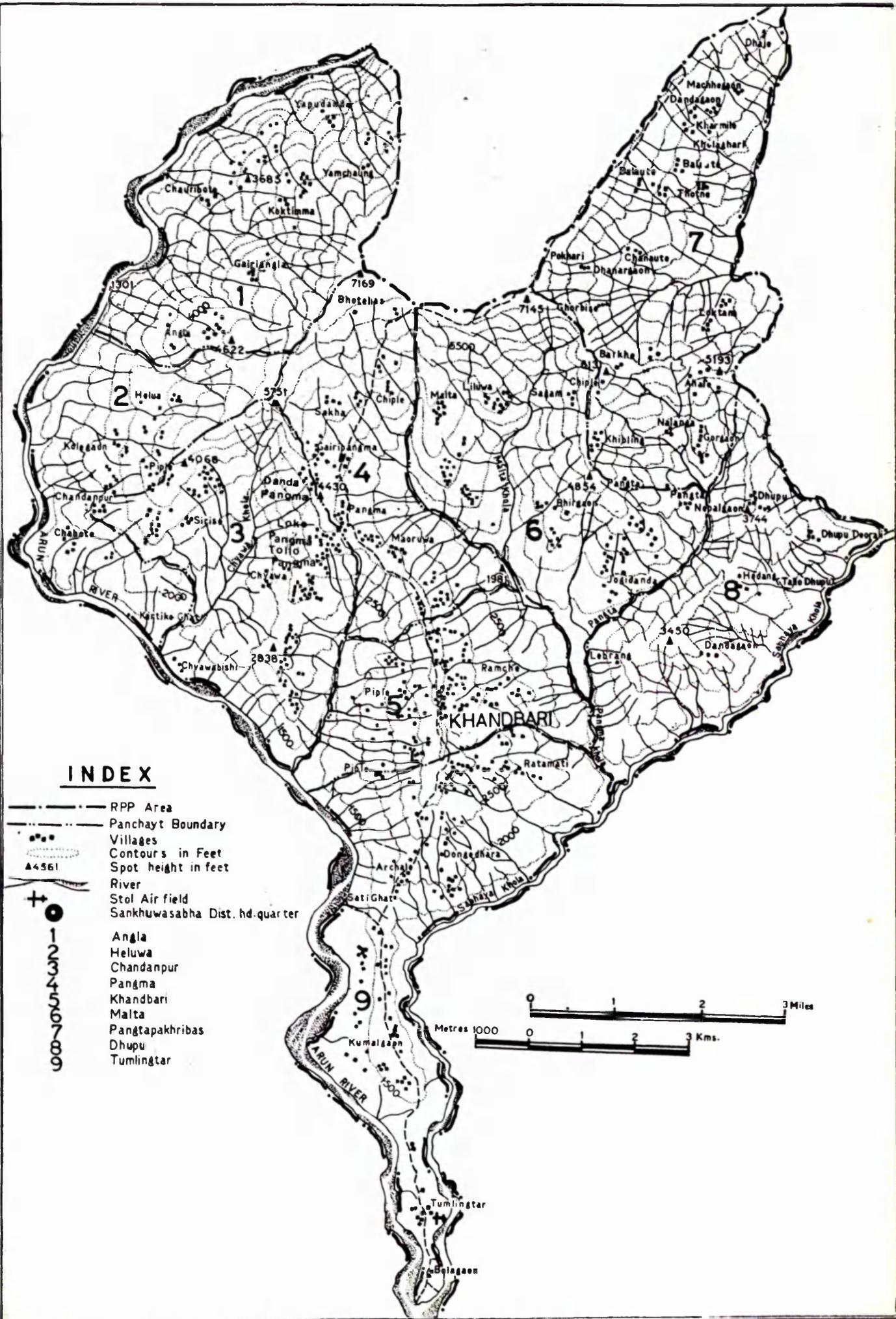
necessary to see how "contents" may themselves affect the "form" of mental process" (1984:137).

What is important in so far as this thesis is concerned is that Rosaldo has encouraged me to look closely at how people understand themselves and to see their actions as in some ways the creations of those understandings.

Doing Fieldwork Amongst the Lohorung

Setting up a base

Pangma, the Lohorung village in which I decided to carry out my fieldwork during 1976-1978 lies to the geographical centre of Lohorung territory at about 1,500 metres, straddling the higher stretches of the main ridge that slopes down to the broad valley of the river Arun on one side and the forested slopes of the Pangta river on the other (see Map showing locations of Lohorung villages). With 194 households and a population of some 900 it is the largest Lohorung village and is claimed by the people themselves to be the oldest, the longest established settlement in their sedentary existence, and the one speaking the most pure dialect. The village has expanded from what is called "Old Pangma" (*Purano Pangma*) or "Upper Pangma" (*Gairi Pangma*) to three other Pangma clusters, *Dara Pangma*, *Loke Pangma* and *Tollo Pangma*.



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- RPP Area
- Panchayat Boundary
- Villages
- Contours in Feet
- ▲ Spot height in feet
- River
- + Stol Air field
- Sankhuwasabha Dist. hd. quarter
- Angla
- Heluwa
- Chandanpur
- Pangma
- Khandbari
- Malta
- Pangtapakhribas
- Dhupu
- Tumlingtar



As the table below shows, there are a few non-Lohorung households in the village and the few Hindus who do live there in fact live somewhat separately from their Rai neighbours.

Table 1. Numbers of Lohorung & non-Lohorung Households in the four Pangma Villages

	<u>Lohorung</u>	<u>Non-Lohorung</u>	
Gairi Pangma	80	15	5 Brahmin, 2 Jogi, 3 Sarki, 3 Chhetri, 2 Tamang
Dara Pangma	53	-	-
Loke Pangma	29	1	1 Damai widow
Tollo Pangma	32	1	1 unnm. female Brahmin
	-----	-----	
	194	17	

(Sarki are the cobbler caste, and Damai the tailor caste. Kami mentioned in the table below are the blacksmiths.)

The density of the Lohorung population in Pangma was one of the main factors which led me to choose Pangma as the place in which to concentrate my study. This concentration is not reflected in the village district as a whole, the panchayat, which is the administrative and political unit that encompasses a number of villages over a much wider area than that inhabited by the Lohorung. In Pangma Panchayat there are more non-Lohorung than Lohorung, as the district records demonstrate below.

Table 2. Ethnic Composition of Households in Pangma Panchayat

Ward

	Loh'ung.	Gurung.	Chhetri.	Brahmin.	Damai.	Kami.	Sherpa.	Other.
1	75							1Jogi
2	27						18	
3	3	137			1	8		9Sunwar
4	(30)*	37						
5	27	22						4Newar
6	4	7		10	6			4Newar
7	28	5	14	1	2			2Tamang 2Magar 1Newar
8			47	2	2			12Sunwar 1Newar 1Bhujel
9		1	33	9	1			5Newar 5Tamang 1Bhujel
<hr/>								
Total	194	209	94	22	12	8	18	

* One cluster of 30 houses which falls within Ward No. 4 was somehow not in fact included in the panchayat records. There are no Sarki households according to these records.

As can be seen from the ward figures, however, the different ethnic populations do not significantly overlap except in wards number 4 and 5 and this is because the ward happens to encompass the northernmost houses of the Pangma village and the southern most ones of the Gurung village of Sekhaya. The activities of the Lohorung and Gurung do not overlap much except at market, held once a week in Khandbari, in the local school, and tiny tea-shop

centre and meeting point in Manebanjang to the south of Pangma, and on special holidays when they gather together on the hills and hilltops. The Lohorung do not travel north frequently now that they buy salt from the Terai and not Tibet, and when the Gurung travel south they stick to the main trail. Nevertheless, many Lohorung men have strong *mit* friendships with Gurung from Sekhaya.

Although I had chosen where to start doing fieldwork - in Gairi Pangma, the oldest of the Pangma villages - I still had to find somewhere to live and this proved harder than I had imagined. There were some empty houses in Gairi Pangma but none of them had been lived in for many years and a great amount of work was considered necessary to make them habitable. Unfortunately, at the time I was looking, which was at the end of May, everyone from the village was busy and in any case "this was not the time of year to repair houses". The high agricultural season had begun and everyone was occupied in the fields, mainly preparing the fields for transplanting the rice and weeding the maize. House repairs would not be carried out until after the paddy and the millet had been harvested in December and January. These available houses began to look less like a possibility.

Whilst trying to find another solution, I stayed in the nearby market town of Khandbari, only a few hours walk away, with one of the Newar merchant families. During the first two weeks I walked up to Pangma almost everyday. However, this was not satisfactory

either for me or for the Newar family. The Newar merchants look down upon the Lohorung as belonging to a class of "Alcohol Drinkers" (*matwāli* N.), which makes them ritually inferior. According to the first legal code (*muluki ain* N.), and indeed until 1861, the Rai as a whole were classed as "Enslavable Alcohol Drinkers", meaning that they could be punished by enslavement. Although this is no longer the case, the Lohorung are still stereotyped as *matwāli* (which is still legally correct) and as such are not permitted to enter Newar merchant kitchens. The Newar family with whom I was staying in Khandbari made it clear that they did not like the attention I was giving the Lohorung.

"They cannot understand why I persist in my visits to Pangma nor why I look for somewhere to live there. They talk of them as being boring, uneducated agriculturalists. Young Newar boys are known to join the Lohorung boys and girls who sit on the high ridges and sing to each other across the hills, but their parents disapprove. N's father this morning said, "If you must talk to them we can bring them here; they must come if I ask them to. You can't go and live there. Why not live here and do your work from here. " They think of them as being easily excited and often drunk, quick-tempered and sometimes violent. In some ways they seem frightened of them." (Diary 1976).

Within two weeks my habitation problem was solved. The Lohorung couple with whom I had been spending most of my time, began to build a small extra room onto their house and offered it to me in exchange for a monthly rent and I gratefully accepted. This household, where I first came to live in Gairi Pangma was in certain ways unlike any other Lohorung household. The father who had died a little less than a year before I arrived had built a

village shop. *Kāhīla*, the fourth son, now stocked paraffin, mustard oil, a few dried spices, salt, matches, local cigarettes (and sometimes Indian cigarettes if he had managed to buy them in the market), Indian boiled sweets and their own home-brewed beer and distilled liquor. In front of the house is a large flat open space, the first after a fairly steep climb from the fields. It is also the first house in the village coming up from the main trail and with the protective overhanging of the enormous Pipal trees, the house stands out as a spot of shelter from either sun or rain. There are several places in the village where people tend to gather and this is one of them. My new residence in the shop made it easy for me to get to know many of the villagers without intruding into their homes and, as I learnt the language, to pick up small pieces of information from casual conversations, or at least enough to ask further questions. When almost all the other houses in the village were empty, everyone having left for their daily chores, people still lingered around the shop.

Kāhīli, the wife of Rudra, the fourth son, became my first and most patient teacher, and interpreter. She spent more time at home than most other Lohorung, in part looking after her 'customers' and in part occupied with preparing the rice, maize and millet for food and drink for the family, the shop and the labourers she and her husband needed and could afford to hire. When her major tasks were husking, grinding, winnowing, preparing grain for fermentation or distilling it for liquor, or simply laying out the grain to dry and keeping off birds and animals, I

could help and at the same time learn more Lohorung language, as well as find out more from her about the people who had visited, and what had been discussed.

Working with her I began to appreciate one of the reasons why the Lohorung say that they value daughters as much as the sons (so long as there is one son). With only two small sons she had no-one she could regularly rely on to assist her in the numerous, time-consuming food processing tasks. The wives of the other five brothers lived with their husbands in the land they owned in the Terai and therefore not in Pangma. We spent so much time together in the very beginning that people teased us with comments ranging from the bawdy to friendly banter, about the size of her new daughter, about our difference in size, about the way she treated her guest/sister/ daughter. The bawdiest jokes were made behind our backs and filtered back. Many villagers began to refer to us as *Hikdingpa Napche'chi*. These are people who are so small that they cannot manage to pick the fruit off a *Hikdingpa* bush, and instead have to carry around with them long, thick bamboo poles in order to *napme* "knock down" the bitter fruit which makes a much coveted chutney. They live in villages *mimu* 'down below', and go to sleep when the Lohorung wake, and wake when the Lohorung sleep. "When the sun goes from here it goes there". I am tall and somewhat pole like and *Kāhīli* small and made to look even smaller next to me. Thus the common refrain, 'uh! *Hikdingpa Napche'chi ta'da*', "hey, look the little

folk from down under with their sticks have arrived", when people saw us together.

The more common name for me, the name that was given me by the first family I lived with, and used subsequently by all Lohorung, was *nana kanchi*, meaning 'elder sister, youngest member of the family, or simply *kanchi* 'the youngest' by those older than myself. Whilst adults with children are usually referred to by a teknonym - the name of the first child whether male or female - it is common throughout Nepal to address someone by their position in the family. (Once married a woman adopts the female version of her husband's position). Similarly the terms *nana* 'elder sister' and *bubu* elder brother are the Lohorung equivalents to the Nepali *didi* and *dajyu* and, like them, may be used irrespective of actual kinship.

Ten months after setting up a base in Gairi Pangma I moved to Loke Pangma, where I was 'adopted' by two families, one building me a house from what had previously been a cattle shelter, and the other, that of the man who became my assistant, becoming the people with whom I ate all my meals. My assistant, Sher Bahadur, had been in the British Army but was now retired and willing to spend some time working with me. One of my reasons for moving was to be situated closer to Sher Bahadur's house. The other was the wish to find out what it was like to live in a less unusual Lohorung household. Though the time in the shop in Gairi Pangma had allowed me an overall view of Lohorung life and an easy

introduction to many people, in a way that other households would not have been able to, I also realised that my identification with the wealthy *Kāhīla* made it harder for other Lohorung to accept me in their homes and talk to me openly and freely. It was only when I had a house of my own in Loke Pangma that I could offer hospitality and make it clear that I did not expect it to be reciprocated. This was alien to their own habits but soon they knew that in return for my tea or local beer what I wanted was words, information, to learn what was going on in their families, to discuss with them things that had happened, answers to my endless questions about the things they said and how they said them; they knew that I wanted to hear stories - stories of any kind. It became a joke with some of my neighbours that I didn't need to be fed rice, just words.

Lohorung Response to me and Mine to them

What seemed to puzzle the Lohorung most about me at first was how I could leave and remain away from my mother and father, brother and sister, and in particular my "husband". When I first went to Gairi Pangma I was taken aback by the frequency of certain questions. What kind of father and mother did I have, didn't they want to see me? How could they manage without me and, of course, how was I going to have children without being with my husband? The women in particular were concerned about my isolation from the rest of my family. Given the patrilocal pattern of residence among the Lohorung many of them had been born in neighbouring villages. They obviously and openly pitied me for my situation, which they recognised as being similar to their own when they had married. Whether for this reason or another the Lohorung treated me from the very beginning with warmth, compassion and kindness, encouraging me to join in with their everyday activities, offering me hospitality wherever I went. They quickly seemed to accept that I was there to learn their language and enjoyed testing my frustratingly slow improvements. It was noticeable that although at first they teased me for all my inadequacies, my inability to sit on my haunches, to plant rice or hoe, husk rice or carry a heavy basket on my head, and for my oddities, like my masculine dress and small breasts, the teasing was always tinged with affection and I felt as if I was being treated much as they treat their own

children. For example, they would work me hard in the fields for a short time and then prevent me from working any longer saying that the sun was too hot, or that my back would ache. It became known that I had a child's size appetite for rice and people often came to sell me eggs or offer them in exchange for medicines.

So, at first the Lohorung accepted me as a rather helpless child. Later, they had to tolerate me as a cognisant participator, someone who had begun to understand, who pursued questions, taped what they said and often wrote at the same time as talking and listening. And most of them did seem to tolerate me. When I walked around, villagers were always ready with teasing repartee, jokes or a friendly greeting, "*Namaste, Kānchi*". "Have you eaten rice yet?" "Come over here, *kānchi*, come and help us pull up the weeds; come and chat to us". When I visited people, the reception was generally warm and responsive. Occasionally when I asked questions they claimed ignorance and told me to see someone else 'wiser' or 'who knows a lot about it', and would change the subject to ask how long I was staying, about my mother and father, or people I had met, or talked to whoever I happened to be with, asking their latest news. At certain times of the year people frequently claimed that they had no time to talk and it was obvious that this was true. For the most part, the Lohorung wanted me to learn and write about them. They encouraged me with the language, to talk about their customs, present and old, and to find out more of their traditional stories. They were always

ready to talk about how their customs differed from those of the Khambu Rai or Limbu and could discuss their crops, seeds and knowledge of the land and forests for hours. They only became more dubious about me and what I was doing when I asked for figures of land ownership, production, income etc., or when I enquired about members of the family - children or adults who had died. "What do you want to know that for, *kānchi*?" When I tried to discuss rituals with them and in particular those connected to the ancestors called *sammang* I received the same cautious replies and reluctance to talk. Often I was warned not to raise such matters. In a few ritual situations some Lohorung obviously considered I was putting them in danger and I knew there was some opposition to my presence. Once, a Lohorung Gurkha on leave from the army became openly hostile when I tried to photograph him and several other men cutting up a water buffalo they had just slaughtered. It was explained to me later, when the explosion had died down; he did not want such a photograph to be taken, he did not want anyone to see a photograph of himself having something to do with slaughtering an animal. The fact that these moments stand out so clearly in my mind is an indication of the extent to which I think the Lohorung did accept and tolerate my presence in Pangma.

Lohorung women accepted me as a woman with male freedom. As one woman said "You are like a man, you go around wherever and whenever you want". My lack of domestic ties as a woman puzzled them but did not stop them from talking to me as another woman,

nor from wanting me to become more of a Lohorung woman by wearing a *lungi* (sarong-type skirt) and *chhalo* (bodice). However, I did not associate solely with Lohorung women and female shamans. I gradually relied on several close male informants (among these the local priest, my assistant, and my neighbour). This seemed to make it easier for men to take seriously what I was doing and hence more willing to be helpful. Far from the male models of Lohorung society being closer to my own, "offering a bounded model of society" attractive to me (Ardener 1972: 136), it was the women who seemed to have the answers to many of the questions I was asking. Men were often frustrated by my slow Lohorung and also with my interest in their understanding of their rituals and customs, emotions, ways of saying things, with tales, which a few of them referred to as either 'womens, or children's talk' or as 'talk of the local priest'. Many of them were disappointed that I did not show more interest and spend more time discussing local politics, or such issues as the recent changes in Khandbari, such as the opening of an agricultural bank. The fact that some well respected men in the community showed interest in what I was doing, encouraged other men to give attention to discussions and questions, whereas I am sure their inclination might otherwise have been to ignore them as unimportant.

I never felt that the Lohorung tried to impress, manipulate or influence what I was doing nor did they ignore me. Perhaps I was sometimes pestered for medicines and at the beginning there were attempts to secure loans by plying me with local beer. This



continued until it was evident I would only lend very small sums and clear that I was following the wide, experienced advice of fellow Lohorung, who warned that "if you give, they won't pay back, and if you give to one, they will all come", and he quoted a Nepali proverb, *tyo manche entay dengko mula* (those men are as alike as a row of radishes). And history has indeed shown that Lohorung (like the Limbu and other Rai tribes) find it hard to pay back loans, which has lost them the use of much of their own land to Brahmin and Chetri creditors. Caplan (1970) has written a detailed account of the relationship between the Limbu and Brahmins in East Nepal.

Rather than manipulate me, the Lohorung response to me was to draw me into their social world. It began with the primary protection of one household. I was then drawn into the main social contacts of that unit which consisted of several households in Gairi Pangma, and from those contacts I was taken beyond the village itself to the natal villages of the married women and the villages of married daughters or sisters, to the villages of lineages of the same clan. Gradually my network had, as its initial core, nine households, scattered over three villages, in which I was accepted and treated as one of the family. In those households they no longer bothered with all the formalities of traditional Lohorung hospitality.

There were numerous advantages to being drawn into the Lohorung household units and close-knit social world. There were also some

disadvantages to this friendly response. For a member of a Lohorung household to be anti-social and unavailable, to withdraw from company is an indication of ill-health. So too is to sleep later than 6 a.m., particularly if it is a woman, even if they have stayed up late the night before with visitors. The irritations of no privacy, lack of sleep, constant flea and mosquito bites, worms and other ills are well-known to anthropologists. This does not relieve the personal pressure at the time and I quote one passage from my diary which reminds me that I was not always enthusiastic about the Lohorung, full of patience, optimism, in tune with Lohorung ways and content with my own progress:

"...My mind doesn't work properly. I feel alone, tired, inadequate and miserable and I'm beginning to weary of the struggle to keep going. How can I ever understand these people? I've lost my patience and my sense of humour, let alone any hope of sociological insights. Everything to me is grey. I enjoy nothing and nobody. Early this morning *kāhīli* herself was feeling miserable and wanted to curl up beside me. I snapped at her and then felt even worse. I don't even know what to work on next, what to ask next, although I feel as though I've hardly begun. There's so much to do. Everything is tasteless and boring, both food for thought and food to eat. I'm hungry but I can hardly face another meal of rice and pumpkin, and all I can drink is *dibu* (local beer). If only I could boil a cup of tea without half the village clamouring for a cup too. I can't stand the endless talk about shortages and people's suffering....It's the practical details that make me so low, like the fuss over tea. At least I've now found out the reason for my difficulty over names and family trees; the fact that it's an insult to use someone's name unless they're still children. It's been dark for days. The mist never clears: it just moves around the houses. Now everyone has gone to the field. Maybe I should have gone with them again. No. At the moment I really can't face being with them. All they talk about at the moment is what job needs to be done next, how much they suffer *Dukka dukka!!* and how good life will be when food is plentiful again. They rarely leave the village these days. Can places like Hedangna, just a day's walk away really be such a mystery to so many of them?..."

Such moods came and went. A more consistent mood, and particularly as time progressed, was one of excitement, enthusiasm and at times amazement at how close and caring I felt about so many of them. Of course, my response to the Lohorung was not uniform. Some I warmed to, others I found more difficult. Increasingly I had the feeling that they were no different from ourselves, and it was only the persistent 'shocks of otherness' which reminded me of the gap between us, when I was rebuked for example for my own careless behaviour, for wearing a particular flower, for pouring out water backwards, or when I could not grasp a concept, try as I might, when I heard a woman refuse her mother a loan of rice or when a stone removed from a field started a village row, when I heard it said that an insult could be fatal, when struggling to understand ritual chants or saw Nanda, also known as *kāhŷli*, my first 'sister', suddenly possessed snatching fire and shoving handfuls of *titepāti* (*Artemisia vulgaris*) leaves into her mouth. The excitement of making sense of the many such moments as these would keep me going when nothing seemed to happen. At other times so many events or discussions took place that I had little time to digest or reflect on anything and amazed my Lohorung friends that I could remember so little of what they had told me only a few days before.

It would have been hard for me not to respond positively to the Lohorung. Although it is hard to generalise about a whole people, the general mood of the Lohorung is striking for its

sociability and good-humoured liveliness. 'Dignity' combined with honest 'humility' and 'modesty' as well as 'respect' both for self and others are important concepts and characteristics for the Lohorung themselves. The fact that many of them did have this combination of characteristics made them very easy people to be with.

My own first impressions of them at the market in Khandbari had been dominated by their appearance. It was impossible to overlook the colourful dress of the women and their displays of jewellery; they wore brightly coloured cotton *lungi* and jacket tops, often in black or red velvet, and thickly woven head scarves twisted around their heads. They all wore numerous bracelets, many colourful plastic ones but some large heavy silver ones and gold nose-rings, through the centre and left hand side, and gold earrings, some of them enormous round discs almost reaching their shoulders. Their necklaces, indicating marriage, also varied in the size of the twisted gold bar held around their necks by strings of green beads. Some of the older women wore heavy-looking silver bracelets on their ankles as well as their arms, a tradition which I was later told is dying out, like the gold bars on the upper front teeth of some of the women. In contrast to the women, the men were undistinguished in their traditional Nepali dress, differentiated from the Newars and Hindu groups only by their Monolid features, somewhat flattened noses and shorter, broader, stronger build. Only the women carried the huge baskets supported on their backs by a thong

going around their foreheads. What stood out about the women, in particular, but the men too, was how vivacious, excited and physically demonstrative they were amongst themselves. In part this was the atmosphere of the bazaar which the Lohorung celebrate with large quantities of a specially brewed alcoholic drink called *saruwa*, for which the Lohorung are renowned in the area. As I came to know the Lohorung better, however, this good-humour and readiness to enjoy life and a joke, I found to be very much a part of their general approach, their way of life, which as will be seen from the next section involves a great deal of hard labour as well as enjoyment.

Lohorung Households: The Domestic Group, Descent and Inheritance

In size and composition Lohorung households pass through a cycle: from an 'extended' family structure, they become nuclear for a time, and then again 'extended'. Parents with their children form a nuclear household, that becomes extended when the children marry and have children of their own. This household remains extended until the grandparents die and all the sons but the youngest son have left to form households of their own. Everyone expects that a man and his wife will want to split away from the main parental household, after the birth of their first or second child. The Lohorung say difficulties always start when there is more than one wife in the home and quarrels start between them. Each son, therefore, establishes a separate unit of consumption, production and decision-making whilst still maintaining close relations with the agnatic group.

Statistics collected on family structure, from a random sample of 35 households, support the impression that the majority of Lohorung (73% of the sample) live in nuclear families of one conjugal pair and their children, with perhaps the addition of one parent of the husband, usually the mother (women over 60 constitute 6.9%, and men over 60 2.9% of the sample). (3)

Traditionally, the eldest son and his wife build their house at the far end of the compound, or at least on available land furthest from the main house, while the middle sons choose plots

lying between their elder brother and the parents. The youngest son remains in the parental home to look after the parents. At their death he takes over that house. When independent households are set up, the family inheritance has to be shared out. Thus, the time when households are able to split tends to vary according to the wealth of the family. As we can see from the following Table, looking at a sample population by family structure and economic strata, the people in the bottom economic strata are the ones who predominantly live in nuclear households.

Econ. Strata	Family Structure			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
Top	42	0	5	47
Middle	54	33	13	100
Bottom	74	0	11	85
All Strata	170	33	29	232

When land, and therefore produce, is scarce there is increased concern about which couple and their children are eating most food and who is working hardest to produce it. The most common reason for splitting a household, and the land, is quarrels over rations and the ways they are shared.

The households in Lohorung villages, that are neither 'nuclear' nor 'extended' are mainly households in which one of the conjugal pair has died, has separated from the spouse or is absent. Absence is quite common in Lohorung villages since many men spend several years away from the village either in the army or working

in Assam. These households carry on with female household heads until the men return. The men who join the army may spend twenty years or more away from the village, returning only sporadically for brief visits of two to three months, during which time children are usually conceived. Separation of the conjugal pair is usually the result of the man bringing in a second wife. The first wife subsequently insists that she is given a separate, independent household. This is often created by dividing the single house into two. A thick bamboo wall coated with mud and plaster is built in the middle, and the rear end of the house is opened up to make a separate doorway. In general, however, each household occupies one single dwelling. As might be expected from the prevalence of 'nuclear' families, the size of the Lohorung household is rarely large. There are seldom fewer than three members, and rarely more than ten in any one household. (The average of the 35 sample households was 4.8 people per household). (4)

The assets of a Lohorung household are almost entirely bound up with their buildings and their land. Table IV shows the asset structure by economic strata based on income of the households in the sample (more than Rs. 1650 per year in the top, between 950 Rs. 1650 in the middle and below Rs. 950 in the bottom). As can be seen land and buildings are the most important item constituting nearly 80% of the total.

TABLE IV: ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA

*(In Rupees Value with Column %)

Number of Household Strata	Asset		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agricultural Equipment	Transport Vehicles	Gold and Silver	Other Assets	Total
	Economic Strata										
8	<u>TOP:</u>										
	Total Assets	285000 (23.9%)	39950 (54.3%)	4386 (19.7%)	44336 (46.2%)	2324 (21.2%)	0	23035 (33.9%)	37844 (26.8%)	392539 (26.0%)	
	Average Asset/ Household	35625 (2.9%)	4994 (6.8%)	548 (2.5%)	5542 (5.8%)	291 (2.7%)	0	2879 (4.2%)	4731 (3.3%)	49067 (3.3%)	
15	<u>MIDDLE:</u>										
	Total Assets	676895 (56.8%)	23745 (32.3%)	12788 (57.4%)	36533 (38.1%)	5608 (51.1%)	0	34949 (51.4%)	73030 (51.7%)	827015 (54.8%)	
	Average Asset/ Household	45126 (3.8%)	1583 (2.2%)	853 (3.8%)	2436 (2.5%)	374 (3.4%)	0	2330 (3.4%)	4869 (3.4%)	55134 (3.7%)	
12	<u>BOTTOM:</u>										
	Total Assets	230700 (19.3%)	9900 (13.5%)	5115 (22.9%)	15015 (15.7%)	3033 (27.7%)	0	9963 (14.7%)	30406 (21.5%)	289117 (19.2%)	
	Average Asset/ Household	19225 (1.6%)	825 (1.1%)	426 (1.9%)	1251 (1.3%)	253 (2.3%)	0	830 (1.2%)	2534 (1.8%)	24093 (1.6%)	
35	<u>ALL STRATA:</u>										
	Total Assets	1192595 (100%)	73595 (100%)	22289 (100%)	95884 (100%)	10965 (100%)	0	67947 (100%)	141280 (100%)	1508671 (100%)	
	Average Asset/ Household	34074	2103	637	2740	313	0	1941	4037	43105	

* In 1980, UK £1 = Rs. 24; US \$ = Rs. 11.20

In terms of descent and inheritance, Lohorung households have a strong male bias. The basic principle of inheritance is that each son inherits an equal share of the household estate. Daughters have no claim to the estate, unless they are still unmarried by the age of thirty-five and even then she would only gain usufruct rights. Whereas land is restricted to male inheritance, household utensils and livestock, the moveable property, is not only acquired or inherited entirely by the male line. In each generation some moveables are seen as being accumulated by the female line, an accumulation which is then divided between all sons and daughters, more going to daughters than sons. (For a full description of changes in land ownership in the Eastern hills, see Caplan, 1970).

In terms of descent, Lohorung households are organised into named *thar* (N.). The tradition in the literature on 'Rai' groups is to translate this as 'clan'. Certainly, amongst the Lohorung, all members of the same clan recognise descent from a common male ancestor, though his name is not known by everyone. The clans are localised and sometimes exclusive to one village: as, for example, the *chewa* clan of Khorunde. Sometimes a lineage branch of a clan forms a village of its own either nearby or somewhat distant from the other lineages, that remain in the original village. Dekhim clan households, for example, are to be found in Gairi Pangma, though Loke Pangma is said to be the original home of Dekhim and indeed consists purely of Dekhim households. Clans are often predominant in only one locality: the clans Lamsong,

Biwa, Lubmben and Dekhim are concentrated in Pangma, the Heluali and Themsong in Helua, the Angla Lamsong, Ketra, Tembura, and Khaisong in Angla. Each of these groups of clans are in fact 'brother clans' that have segmented and take on their own clan status (The process of clan fission is described in detail by McDougal, 1979). However, the segmentation of clans over time in order to keep marriage within the locality is one of the significant features of Rai society. As McDougal says,

"...Marriage alliances for the direct exchange of wives tend overwhelmingly to be between descent groups of the same branch (of closely related agnatic clans) and within the same locality..".

The paradox of Lohorung society, as it is of Kulunge society, as McDougal points out, is that marriage, which should unite, rather divides its component segments. Instead of intergrating the society, marriage reinforces the bonds within the particular segment, leaving the society split into a number of insulated local units of 'brother clan' households.

It is interesting to note that Etter, working on a Bhotiya group living to the North of the Lohorung in the Honggaon, Hatia, and Syaksila area, records that "one sPang dok clan, Lorunga, appears to be of Rai origin." (n.d.:53). Could it be one local isolated unit, that never united with other segments, a Lohorung clan that remained when as shifting agriculturalists others came South. In a footnote Etter adds,

"The source of my statement that Lorunge was a sPang dok clan was an informant's statement, subsequently seconded, that Lorungga had been present in sPang dok at an earlier time. I still have the suspicion that there may be some Lorungga around, though I can't locate them... I stand by my statement that it is old Rai country; though as I indicated, this is only an inference based

on stories about the distant past that lack any supporting detail" (ibid).

Etter also comments that the sPang dok say they cannot marry the Lohorung because at one time they were all brothers and all *jimi*, a term short for *jimidar*, meaning landowner and more locally 'original settlers', - a name the Lohorung used to call themselves, rather than *rai*, before about the 1960's to indicate their status on the land. The sPang dok explain their difference from their 'brothers' in physical appearance as due to the rough country they live in, adding that they too would be cleaner if they had gone south, and point out that their houses are alike, except for the fact that they use wood all over and not bamboo. These people are agriculturalists, *shing-sa-wa* (field-earth-people), like the Lohorung and unlike the other Tibetans who used to roam around the border area, who are nomadic herdsmen.

Clans are also adopted into a locality, as, for example, in the case of the Yangkhrung in Pangma. According to the Lohorung the *yangkhrung* once all lived in Dhupu, but there were many fights over land especially with the *sibok-wachi*, a Kulunge clan now living in Seduwa, so the Lohorung clans in Pangma called to the Yangkhrung who were good fighters to come and help them. As the story goes, in return for their help they were given land in Pangma. The Yangkhrung clan is nevertheless still identified as being somewhat different from other clans. Like the *heluali* clan, for example, they are particularly identified as being 'Tibetan', *tsampa*, that is as coming from territory now inhabited by

Tibetans, calling themselves 'Bhote', and as being characterised by the food they eat, namely *tsampa*. The *yangkhrung* are said to come from Honggaon and, the *heluali* from Syaksila. They are fully accepted as being original Lohorung. Their 'Tibetan' identification adds to Etter's hypothesis.

In terms of personhood, as understood by the Lohorung, a topic discussed particularly in chapter five, but also throughout the thesis, clan names are a significant aspect of the Lohorung person, male and female. The clan name is inherited from their paternal line. Lohorung clan names endow a person with a history, and an identity particularly with a certain territory. They carry social images and in conjunction with the geographical area they imply, they also suggest a particular dialect of Lohorung. Unlike a person's own personal name, which must never be used as a term of address, their clan identity and the image it carries is public knowledge. Let me give one detailed example concerning the *tengsa* and the *khimpule* clans, known for their antagonistic relationship. I shall tell the story using some of my own phrases to shorten the text, but will adhere in every other way to the story as told me first by a woman in Pangma:

"The *tengsa* clan was reduced to one or two lineages. One of the *tengsa*, who only had two daughters and no sons decided to try to persuade two *khimpule* brothers (not of the original 'ten brothers Lohorung') to become his married-in sons-in-law, *khim maksa*, a position similar to the Sherpa *maksu*, or the Hindu *ghar-juwain*. The two *khimpule* brothers happened upon the village of Malta after they had been hunting and shooting two wild boar in the surrounding forests. At night they came to the house of the *tengsa*, who had two daughters and no sons. After sharing the wild boar, the man persuaded them to stay as 'house sons-in-law' to marry his daughters and live on his land, thus adopting the *khimpule* as a new Lohorung clan. One of the brothers stayed, but

one gave up, departed and disappeared. Others of his *khimpule* relatives arrived looking for him and accused the *tengsa* of stealing and locking up their brother, which he denied and explained his lack of sons. More and more arrived and many of them stayed and were given land. But then later on the *khimpule*, who now had far more houses in Malta than the *tengsa*, chased away the *tengsa* from their own land so that now there are only one or two houses left of *tengsa* in Malta. The branch of the clan belonging to the man with two daughters was chased away. Now they have gone up to Yuba. They chased them away from Malta to Yuba, poor things. "That was what it was like at that time. Whoever could do things, did it like that".

Later, the *khimpule* began to use the *yatangpa* (local priest) from Pangma, and the *khimpule* brought to the village all the leaves for the *sammang* (ancestor) rituals, and took them to the priest's helpers who lived in Pangma. The playful, teasing children who saw them always carrying leaves since they began to use the priest so much, said the *khimpule* were the 'leaf-bringing people' (*singbak tekhuba*). Soon they were being called by the name *singbok'kriwa*, *kriwa*, *singbok'kripa*. *krikpa* is the common suffix to indicate the category of insects.

The Pangma people then made them marriage partners, even though they were not of the 'ten original brothers'. Now they have taken on all the Lohorung customs and so we say they are of the 'ten brothers', but first they had customs from the other side (of the Arun, ie West), but we are *Yakkaba rai*. They are like the *khambu*. They still quarrel and fight, the Pangma people and the Malta *khimpule*. "You *singbok'kriwa*, you *singbek'krewa*", the Pangma people shout at them, and they reply "You Pangma *bhegute* (Nepali for frog)". "You Malta *bayok* (Lohorung for frog)" they reply."

The ease with which some clans seem to have changed their identity from *Khambu* to *Lohorung*, or even perhaps *Lohorung* to *sPang dok*, is an illustration of how similar they are in values, form of livelihood and culture. Let me return to the *Lohorung* as I saw them.

The Daily Routine

The daily routine of *Lohorung* households is to a large extent dictated by their life as agriculturalists in a terrain which is hard to work. In spite of the long wet season, the little development of irrigations means that they rely on rivulets

TABLE V: ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION AND SALES BY ECONOMIC STRATA (With Row and Column %)

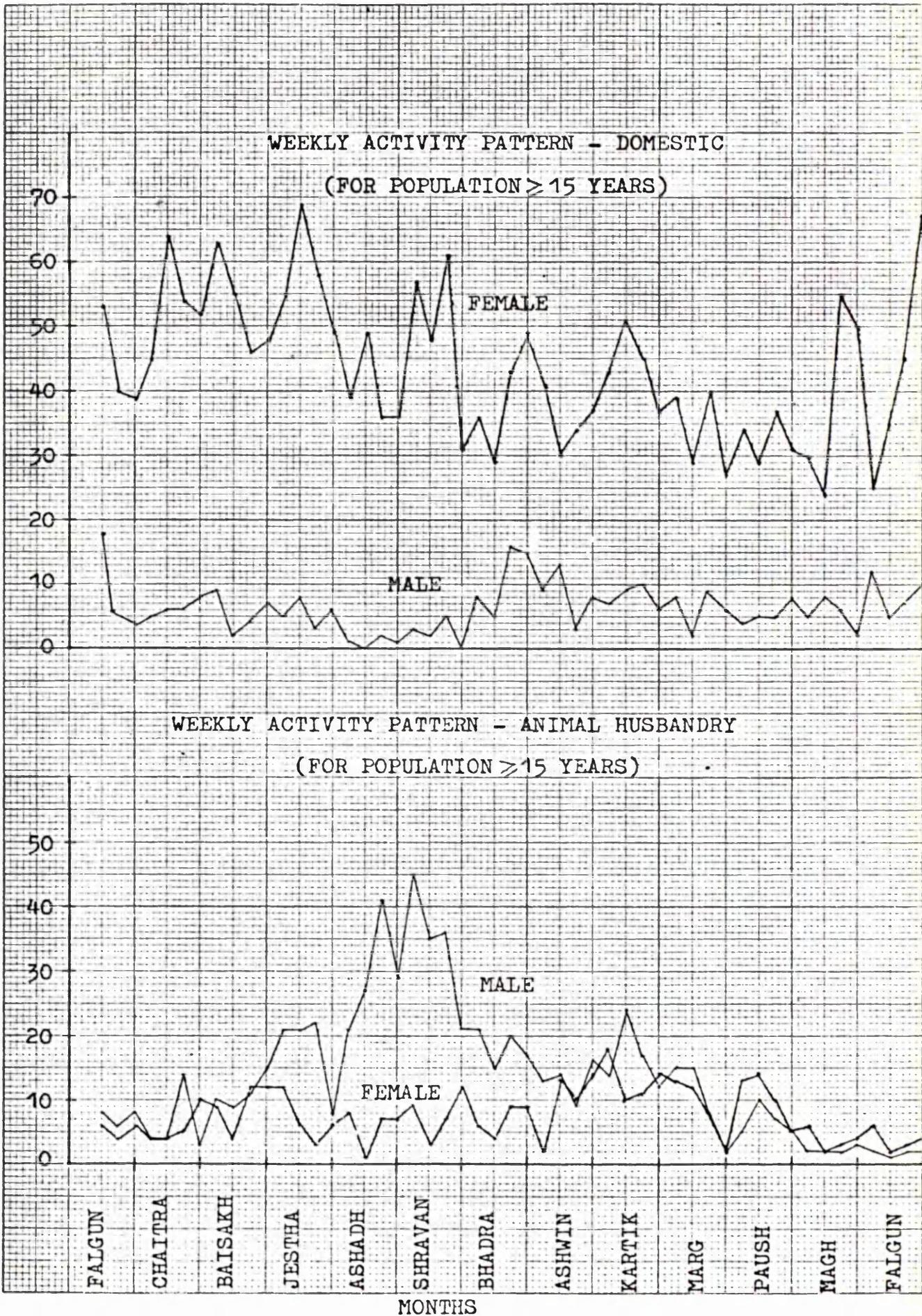
Eco. Strata	Production Sector	Agriculture Production	Kitchen Garden	Animal Husbandry & Poultry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufacturing	Food Processing	Total
TOP	Subsistence	47767 (49.6%) (94.5%)	3565 (3.7%) (77.5%)	8522 (8.8%) (99.9%)	3443 (3.6%) (58.9%)	859 (0.9%) (100%)	32146 (33.4%) (83.5%)	96302 (100%) (88.4%)
	Market	2800 (22.2%) (5.5%)	1033 (8.2%) (22.5%)	10 (0.1%) (0.1%)	2400 (19.1%) (41.1%)	0	6354 (50.4%) (16.5%)	12597 (100%) (11.6%)
	Total Production	50567 (46.4%) (100%)	4598 (4.2%) (100%)	8532 (7.8%) (100%)	5843 (5.4%) (100%)	859 (0.8%) (100%)	38500 (35.4%) (100%)	108899 (100%) (100%)
	Subsistence	83620 (54.5%) (97.7%)	5657 (3.7%) (93.5%)	12139 (7.9%) (98.9%)	7270 (4.7%) (99.9%)	3494 (2.3%) (97.3%)	41254 (26.9%) (86.7%)	153434 (100%) (94.5%)
MIDDLE	Market	1938 (21.7%) (3.3%)	393 (4.4%) (6.5%)	140 (1.6%) (1.1%)	6 (0.1%) (0.1%)	98 (1.1%) (2.7%)	6348 (71.1%) (13.3%)	8923 (100%) (5.5%)
	Total Production	85558 (52.7%) (100%)	6050 (3.7%) (100%)	12279 (7.6%) (100%)	7276 (4.5%) (100%)	3592 (2.2%) (100%)	47602 (29.3%) (100%)	162357 (100%) (100%)
	Subsistence	29703 (50.4%) (99.9%)	3263 (5.5%) (99.1%)	4046 (6.9%) (100%)	3553 (6.0%) (64.8%)	1629 (2.8%) (90.6%)	16733 (28.4%) (76.5%)	58927 (100%) (89.0%)
	Market	10 (0.1%) (0.1%)	30 (0.4%) (0.9%)	0	1927 (26.5%) (35.2%)	170 (2.3%) (9.4%)	5144 (70.6%) (23.5%)	7281 (100%) (11.0%)
BOTTOM	Total Production	29713 (44.9%) (100%)	3293 (5.0%) (100%)	4046 (6.1%) (100%)	5480 (8.3%) (100%)	1799 (2.7%) (100%)	21877 (33.0%) (100%)	66208 (100%) (100%)
	Subsistence	161090 (52.2%) (97.1%)	12485 (4.0%) (89.6%)	24707 (8.0%) (99.4%)	14266 (4.6%) (76.7%)	5982 (2.0%) (95.7%)	90133 (29.2%) (83.5%)	308663 (100%) (91.5%)
	Market	4748 (16.5%) (2.9%)	1456 (5.1%) (10.4%)	150 (0.5%) (0.6%)	4333 (15.0%) (23.3%)	268 (0.9%) (4.3%)	17846 (62.0%) (16.5%)	28801 (100%) (8.5%)
	Total Production	165838 (49.1%) (100%)	13941 (4.1%) (100%)	24857 (7.4%) (100%)	18599 (5.5%) (100%)	6250 (1.9%) (100%)	107979 (32.0%) (100%)	337464 (100%) (100%)
ALL STRATA	Subsistence	47767 (49.6%) (94.5%)	3565 (3.7%) (77.5%)	8522 (8.8%) (99.9%)	3443 (3.6%) (58.9%)	859 (0.9%) (100%)	32146 (33.4%) (83.5%)	96302 (100%) (88.4%)
	Market	2800 (22.2%) (5.5%)	1033 (8.2%) (22.5%)	10 (0.1%) (0.1%)	2400 (19.1%) (41.1%)	0	6354 (50.4%) (16.5%)	12597 (100%) (11.6%)
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	Market	10 (0.1%) (0.1%)	30 (0.4%) (0.9%)	0	1927 (26.5%) (35.2%)	170 (2.3%) (9.4%)	5144 (70.6%) (23.5%)	7281 (100%) (11.0%)
BOTTOM	Total Production	29713 (44.9%) (100%)	3293 (5.0%) (100%)	4046 (6.1%) (100%)	5480 (8.3%) (100%)	1799 (2.7%) (100%)	21877 (33.0%) (100%)	66208 (100%) (100%)
	Subsistence	161090 (52.2%) (97.1%)	12485 (4.0%) (89.6%)	24707 (8.0%) (99.4%)	14266 (4.6%) (76.7%)	5982 (2.0%) (95.7%)	90133 (29.2%) (83.5%)	308663 (100%) (91.5%)
	Market	4748 (16.5%) (2.9%)	1456 (5.1%) (10.4%)	150 (0.5%) (0.6%)	4333 (15.0%) (23.3%)	268 (0.9%) (4.3%)	17846 (62.0%) (16.5%)	28801 (100%) (8.5%)
	Total Production	165838 (49.1%) (100%)	13941 (4.1%) (100%)	24857 (7.4%) (100%)	18599 (5.5%) (100%)	6250 (1.9%) (100%)	107979 (32.0%) (100%)	337464 (100%) (100%)

running through the territory and these dry out in the summer so that second crops are ruled out. Other than rain, the main water supply to Lohorung country is created by the streams, swollen by melting snows and the perennial springs that dry up in the winter months. The people work hard most of the year on the mountainous and rocky slopes to produce enough grain for their own needs. The main cereal crops they produce are rice, maize and millet.

That I was often frustrated in my attempts to find men and women who had the time to stop work and talk for any length of time during the day is not surprising.

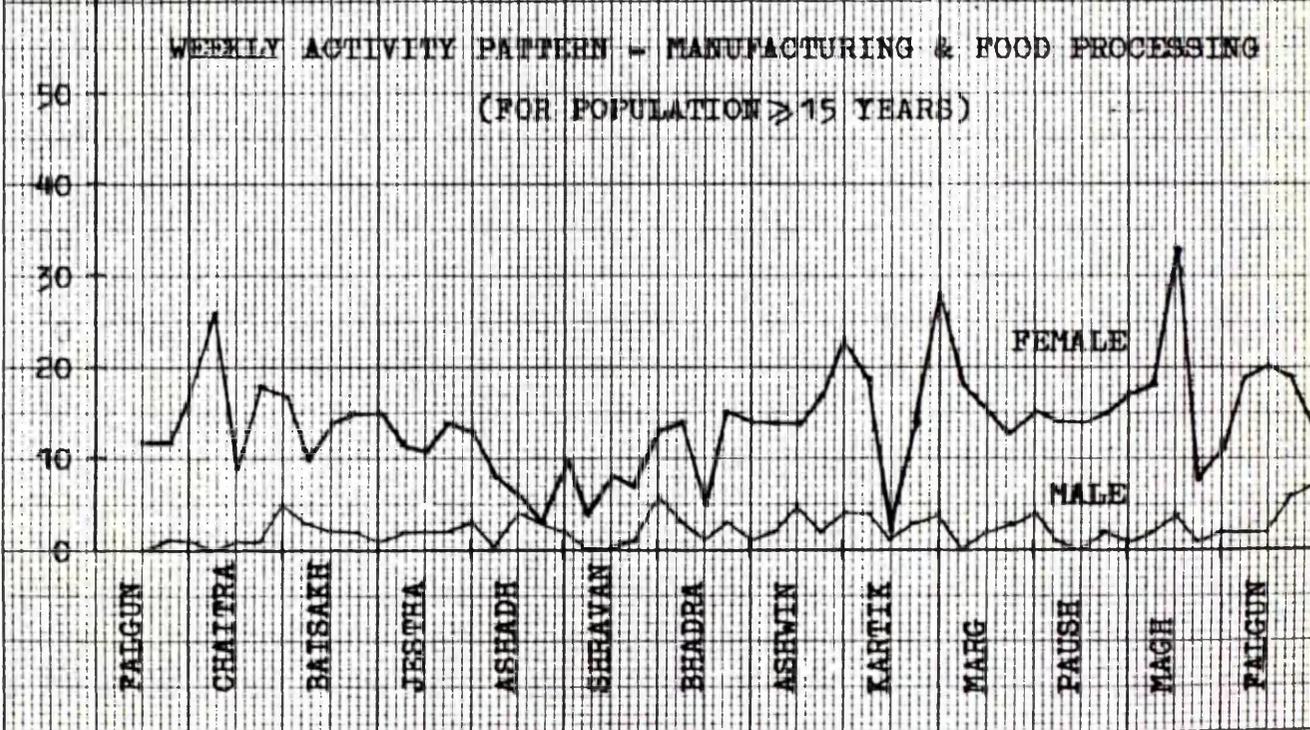
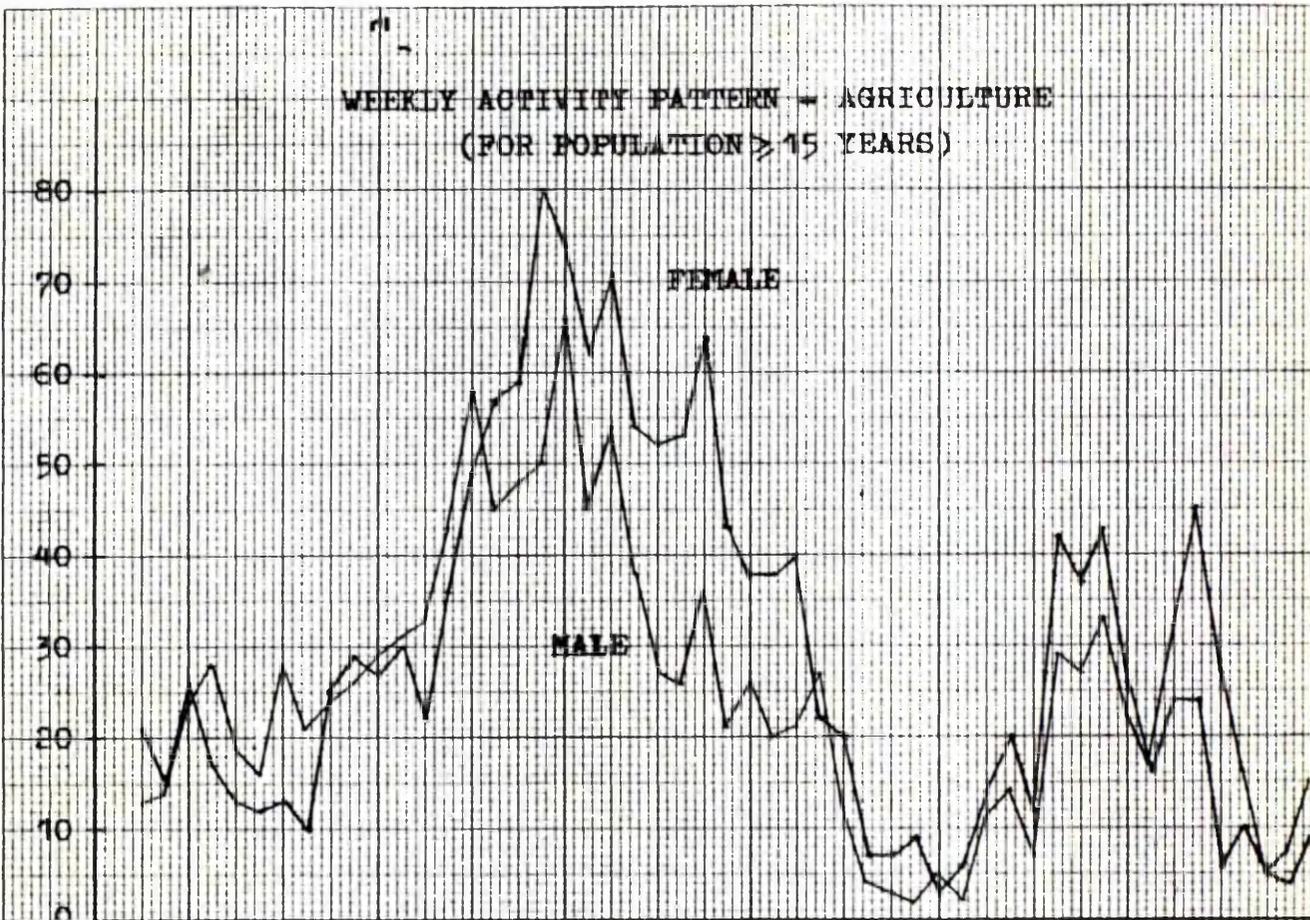
The Lohorung economy can be described as one of subsistence production. As Table V shows almost 90% of their total output is consumed by those who produce it. The significance of agriculture is also evident in the Table: grain products (rice, maize and millet) plus pulses constitute more than half of the subsistence output, with food processing amounting to rather less than a third and animal husbandry the only other economically significant item. The emphasis on agriculture is reflected in the fact that agriculture accounted for 92.4% of the female working days in the year sampled in Pangma. The seasonal fluctuation in the day to day activities, and the division of labour can perhaps be appreciated in the most simple way by a glance at Graphs 1 and 2 and Tables VI and VII. As can be seen, the work burden of the Lohorung is such that men spend about eight and a half hours of a 16 hour day at work and women twelve and a half. (5)

GRAPH 1



GRAPH 2

NUMBER OF OBSERVATION



MONTHS

Table VI. LABOUR PARTICIPATION

	15yrs +		10 - 14		5 - 9	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Animal Husbandry	2.08	0.90	3.37	1.91	1.97	1.28
Agriculture	3.93	3.57	1.10	1.91	0.45	0.52
Manufacturing	0.23	0.19	0.02	0.02	0	0
Outside Income	0.16	0.33	0.16	0.14	0.12	1.14
SUB TOTAL	6.40	4.99	4.67	3.98	2.94	2.30
Hunting & Gathering	0.24	0.10	0.08	0.06	0.03	0.02
Fuel Collection	0.28	0.35	0.16	0.38	0.09	0.31
Fetching Water	0.10	1.12	0.49	0.41	0.47	0.29
House Construction	0.35	0.07	0.04	0	0.01	0.06
Food Processing	0.14	1.56	0.20	0.46	0.16	0.16
SUB-TOTAL	1.11	3.20	0.98	2.31	0.76	0.84
Cooking	0.27	2.2	0.08	0.44	0.03	0.06
Serving						
Cleaning Dishes	0.02	0.50	0.02	0.32	0.03	0.08
House Cleaning	0.08	0.56	0.02	0.43	0.03	0.08
Laundry	0.05	0.10	0.02	0.03	0	0.04
Shopping	0.31	0.45	0.12	0.13	0.03	0.17
Other Domestic	0.05	0.23	0.07	0.14	0.08	0.05
Childcare	0.07	0.14	0.15	0.06	0.15	0.32
TOTAL	0.86	4.19	0.48	1.55	0.35	0.80
WORK BURDEN TOTAL	9.37	12.38	6.13	7.83	4.50	3.48
Education	0.02	0.33	2.43	0.65	1.15	0.17
Personal	1.17	0.76	1.46	1.37	1.48	1.42
Maintenance						
Social	0.50	0.17	0.21	0.21	0.09	0.09
Leisure	4.94	2.37	5.78	5.93	9.99	9.82
TOTAL	7.63	3.63	9.87	9.17	12.71	11.50

Table VII Cultivation Calendar

DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JNE	JLY	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PUS	MAGH	PHGUN	CHAIT	B'K	JETH	ASAR	SAUN	BHDU	ASOJ	KA'TK	MA'SIR	

>----->

High Agricultural Season

In kitchen garden

<----- maize----->

millet->

<---in maize--->-----millet----->

-----Mustard-----

-----Ginger-----

In the fields

<-seed-><-----Paddy----->
bed

<-----Maize----->

<-----Early Paddy----->

< Ploughing

Manuring <--weeding maize----->

Wood Collecting <--weeding paddy and millet----->

House

Construction

<-ploughing for ---->
paddy & millet

Household activities begin early amongst the Lohorung. Before dawn, two or more of the female members of the house start to complete some of the essential chores of the day, building a fire, fetching water from a spring, washing some clothes, and then husking rice at the *dhiki* 'footmill', or grinding maize or millet. Since there are no mills, all grain has to be husked and ground by hand. Once a week the floor is smoothed over with fresh

mud and several mornings a week most households make distilled liquor. Each morning beer and snacks are prepared to keep people going until the morning meal. Early in the morning before the first meal is the time when the local priest is called in, if someone is ill in the household. It is also a time (the other being at dusk before the evening meal) when households perform rituals. Daughters and daughters-in-law get up earlier than the men. Sons in their teens try to sleep on as long as possible, as do their fathers, in the slack agricultural season. During these months the menfolk do little before the first meal of the day except leisurely trips to the spring to wash and to streams in nearby wooded areas to defecate, stopping off to talk on the way back.

In the heavy agricultural season from May to the end of August, however, and again in December and January at harvest-time everyone rises early. The family eat warmed-up left-overs from the night before or drink some thick beer and leave the house to fit in some weeding or preparation of the terraces, manure collection, inspection of the irrigation canals, to fetch fodder or look after the sheep and goats before the heavy work period of the day after "rice". Much of the agricultural work is done by labour exchanges called *parma* (N.). These groups are not kin-based but organised usually by women from different households within the villages. *Parma* groups are usually made up of women, although at peak agricultural periods, such as transplanting rice or harvesting, men and women join together. All the work of

planting, carrying fertiliser, cutting and carrying wood and weeding is done by these labour exchange groups, first for one household and then for another.

The kind of work carried out by men and women during the day is for the most part not rigidly assigned to either sex. However, there is a strong association of certain work with men and other work with women. The only prohibitions are for women to plough, slaughter animals, weave with bamboo and cook food during rituals. Men are forbidden to weave cotton. The sex-typing of work amongst the Lohorung can be gathered from Table VI. In general it could be said that men do more high status work; they take on the traditional political roles and involve themselves in the newer district level politics, they tend to entertain guests while women cook the meals, they look after the cattle. Male heads of household are rarely seen carrying heavy loads. It is women who do the work that involves a great deal of carrying, collecting wood, fetching water, carrying manure, for example, and the lengthy arduous tasks such as weeding, husking, winnowing and grinding. As will be seen later in the thesis it is in part the involvement of men in more high status tasks which is considered to make them more vulnerable than women.

Work carries on until dusk, when everyone returns home to eat the second main meal. Members of the family talk about the day's happenings, receive visitors or visit neighbours, and plan the work of the next day. Children and teenagers rarely stay in their

own homes after eating. Sometimes they gather together in singing parties in the fields below or above the village or in the homes of one of them. Some parents try to restrain the nocturnal activities of their children by insisting that they sleep in their own homes. Many children, however, particularly boys, sleep curled up together wherever they happen to spend the evening.

Language

Since one of the main objects of study was to come to an understanding of Lohorung verbal categories, their forms of classification and key concepts, an understanding of their language became a methodological priority throughout the time spent in the field. From the very beginning a conscious effort was made to learn and use Lohorung rather than Nepali, the national language of the Indo-Aryans and now the *lingua franca* in Nepal. Inevitably this restricted the kind of conversation possible in the first few months of fieldwork, but I had additional motives for persevering with this as yet unrecorded language, apart from the main aim to understand key concepts. Firstly, my attempt to learn the language was very useful as a way of being accepted by the community. The villagers readily accepted an explanation of my presence amongst them in terms of a wish to learn and record their language, as well as the oral traditions that they themselves saw as fast disappearing. Later on, when my fluency was great enough to carry on conversations in Lohorung, both men and women seemed to find amusement in testing my abilities and a kind of pride in developing them. As I have said, the Lohorung have a great sense of humour - bawdy and witty - and not surprisingly therefore one of the ways in which they checked my progress was by confusing categories. They would ask "*cham ngidana?*" meaning "have you cooked the rice" but using a verb for cooking which is totally inapplicable for rice. The equivalent in English might be "Have you roasted the ice-cream?"

When I answered "yes" their peals of laughter ended only in yet more verbal jokes. The ease with which I was accepted may have something to do with entering the community in an idiom they respect, that is their own language and verbal skills. Within their own traditions, verbal wit is one way to win a woman and in general a means of communication between the two sexes.

A second reason for learning Lohorung and even seeking out words that the younger generation are forgetting in exchange for their Nepali counterparts is its apparent neutrality as a topic of conversation. As a means of developing friends and older informants, discussions about language was easy. Everyone became my teacher, both old and young, and since language inevitably leads to all areas of life there was no limit to what could be asked. When questions were ignored, it was usually an indication that here was a topic to pursue in more detail at another time, or with closer informants.

One practical reason for communicating in Lohorung rather than Nepali was that some Lohorung, especially older people and women, do not feel at ease in Nepali. For them its use is mainly in communication with outsiders, non-Lohorung speaking people. Lohorung is the language spoken in the village. Thus, quite apart from any philological interest, learning the language of daily exchange was almost a necessity for understanding what was going on in the village.

Lohorung is one of the *Kiranti* group of languages in the Tibeto-Burman family. The *Kiranti* group includes about twenty different Rai languages, Hayu, Sunuwar, and Limbu, all belonging to tribes in Nepal, and Lepcha a tribe of Sikkim. Although a handful of these have been studied, the majority remain unrecorded. Lohorung themselves use the term 'yakkaba khap' to refer to their language, a term meaning 'the language of the Yakka people', which includes the Lohorung and Yakka Rai and the Limbu, whose other name is Yakthumba, or Yakthungba. All other Rai languages are spoken of as being '*khambu khap*' the language of the Khambu people. The latter all live to the West of the Lohorung whereas the Limbu and Yakka live to the East. The boundary between the Khambu and Yakka is defined by the wide River Arun. No work has been done on the Yakka language but several people have written about the Limbu, including certain aspects of their language (e.g. Chemjong: 1961, 1967).

There are two dictionaries - one by Chemjong and one by a Gurkha officer called Senior. On my return I began to realise that the languages of the Lohorung and the Limbu are a little similar in terms of vocabulary, and phonology. Professor Sprigg from SOAS, who has worked on both Limbu and Lepcha was also struck by the phonological similarity of Lohorung to Limbu, when I played him some tapes. Both languages, for example, have frequent glottal stops after the first syllable, and similar complex verb formation.

Within the territory of the Lohorung there are now some local variations or dialects (6). Lohorung can immediately locate a person's village of birth from their accent and idiosyncrasies in their speech. The language of the Diding area, for example, has a much more lazy, lilting rhythm than the abrupt sound in Pangma. In Pangma "where have you come from?" is *ha'tlo ta-dane?* with a glottal stop in the middle of the first word. In Diding each vowel is stretched out and the words are not divided up into crisp syllables: so they say *"hābānā tādānā?"* with a rising tone at the end of each word. Their second person ending is always a long *ā* instead of the Pangma short *e*, as in *"malo kak'ne"* as opposed to the Diding *"mānā kasanāa"* for "what are you saying?", which sometimes becomes *"māntānāhi kāsānāa?"* for emphasis. The Pangma for 'I' is *ka*, *kanga* or *kange*, depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, whereas in Diding the words *kongenāahi* or *kongānaahi* are heard. The predominance of *ā* over a short *e* and *o* over an *a* significantly changes the sound of even very common words in Diding. The word "anne" which I had learnt in Pangma sounded like 'ohna' and the word for rice 'chohm' instead of 'cham'. Details of all these local variations are not necessary here, but I should like to emphasise the importance of the immediate local group amongst the Lohorung in terms of many traditions; and language is a good example of how a people can have variety, without really altering content. The same can be said of beliefs, rituals and myths too.

One of the main increasing influences on the language of the Lohorung as on their ideology and ritual practice is that of Nepali and Hindu ideas. As yet their influence did not seem as strong as elsewhere in certain areas of Lohorung life and this was one of the reasons for choosing Pangma as a suitable place to do fieldwork. The scarcity of native Nepali speakers in the Pangma village clusters made it seem likely that they would have kept more closely to their own traditions. In the case of language, as in many other areas, this certainly turned out to be the case. Whereas in Angla, Heluwa or Simle the villagers sometimes mix Nepali with their Lohorung, in Pangma this is far less frequent, even among the younger generation. To give a few examples, the Pangma Lohorung word for 'do it!' is "lete!" In Angla and Simle is heard "*banamuse!*", a combination of the Nepali word *banaunu* meaning 'to do' and the equivalent Lohorung word *mume*. Similarly in Diding the Nepali phrase *ke bhayo?* for 'what's happened?' has influenced the vernacular *mang lisa?* to *mang bhayota?*

Even in the Pangma area, the region recognised as speaking the most pure dialect of Lohorung, Nepali loan words creep into everyday conversations. There are three main reasons for this. The first and most obvious is that there is simply no native Lohorung equivalent; the second that the word or phrase is so frequently used in interaction with Nepali speakers that the Nepali word comes first to mind even amongst themselves. Good examples of this are numerals over three and measurements. The third reason is that Nepali is sometimes more precise. For

example, though the Lohorung have a phrase which corresponds to the Nepali word *chimeki*, meaning neighbour, it is rarely used since its meaning of 'own people' may be incorrect nowadays. Examples of the first reason proliferate in such topics as local politics, schooling, land and its sale, or Hindu festivals. The lack of native Lohorung words for recent innovations like the plough and other implements and activities associated with sedentary terraced agriculture is not surprising. What is more significant is the absence of native words for 'god' (deutā N.) and for 'worship' 'ritual' (pujā N). The nearest Lohorung equivalents necessarily involve reference to *sammang*, the divine ancestors.

Prior to my own research the only work available on the Lohorung language was a short word list collected by Hodgson in 1857. My own fieldwork provided a word list of 5,000 words or more and a basic Lohorung grammar.

Although this is not the place for a detailed description of the language, it is perhaps worthwhile indicating some of its characteristic features, its phonology, complex verbal morphology and pronominalisation, which I have done in Appendix 1.



MANGMANI OF PANGMA

Chapter Two

The Superhuman world: pantheon, ritual practice, and ritual practitioners.

Introduction

The Lohorung idea which lies at the core of their rituals and their understanding of themselves and their environment is the notion that every human being is closely bound to the natural world and to a world of spiritual beings. Explanations of events, of cultural and social phenomena, of mental and physical states are commonly expressed in terms of superhuman beings, or the natural world associated with them. This Lohorung attitude is based on certain premisses, which we shall try to understand and explain as the thesis progresses. Some of the most significant of these premisses concern the Lohorung conception of the physical and psychological constitution of man, their conception of death and their conception of the power, consciousness and psychological constitution of superhuman beings. In this chapter, I will be examining who these superhuman beings are, their power and constitution and the kind of relationship the human beings have with them. I shall also point out how we can begin to understand the Lohorung conception of the nature of self from their metaphysical outlook.

During the time I stayed with the Lohorung I felt my capacity to understand and explain statements, concepts, emotions and actions

to be most limited when it came to their relationship with the superhuman beings. From very early on, however, it was clear that this was an area that had to be understood if I wanted to grasp what life meant to a Lohorung, and what was for them most important in their lives. A word *sammang*, which I here gloss as 'ancestor', constantly occurred and I was reminded of Evans-Pritchard's experience with the term *mangu* (witchcraft) among the Azande and *kwoth* (Spirit) amongst the Nuer. The Lohorung word *sammang* seemed to be the "key to their philosophy" (Evans-Pritchard, 1977:vi) as these other concepts had been to the peoples he was studying. In fact, it turned out to be as much the closely related term *saya* (internal link with the ancestors) as *sammang* (ancestors), which led me to the core of Lohorung philosophy, - the almost mystic sense of identity with progenitors and nature. Certainly, however, it was the *sammang* that led me there and the *sammang* the Lohorung themselves seemed most concerned with.

I worked at understanding the concept of *sammang* until it almost became natural for me too to interpret events and behaviour in terms of *sammang* or *chap*, another category of superhuman being, and to find myself at times behaving as though I was attached to a reality far greater than the here and now, which included the ancestral beings. This often meant little more than adopting a Lohorung habit or gesture, but since the superhuman beings are so much a part of everyday life, not surprisingly Lohorung 'technique du corps' includes what we might consider 'religious'

or 'superstitious' gestures. One of these gestures consisted of flicking a few drops from any drink for the spirits of the dead who are excluded from the world of the ancestors.

The process of understanding the concept of *sammang* led me into Lohorung metaphysics. It helped me understand their lack of interest in origins, and to appreciate instead their focus on the unity of parts of nature, superhuman beings and humans, all sharing the same vital essence, and a consciousness of the ancestral time when there were no boundaries between the now separated worlds of nature, humans and superhumans. Through understanding the concept of *sammang* it became clear that Lohorung religion had mainly to do with a network of relationships with the ancestors and other superhuman beings based on trust and reciprocity. One could not talk about a system of 'beliefs'. The Lohorung relationship with the superhumans involves a system of trust that also provides the Lohorung with a theory of causality. The significance of 'trust' is reflected linguistically. The term the Lohorung use to say they put faith in something, their term closest to 'believe', is *niwa chuknga* 'mind is there', a term connected with their notion of 'trust' and 'responsibility'. To trust or be responsible is *ka chuknga* 'I am there'. To comprehend the relationship between the living and the superhuman beings also meant understanding Lohorung concepts of emotions, such as 'fear', 'anger', 'trust', and 'depression'.

The impact and significance of the superhuman world for the Lohorung can perhaps best be conveyed by beginning with some examples of situations involving the superhuman beings from my field notes written in Pangma, and showing the kinds of questions they raised and then going on to describe more systematically the various beings in the pantheon, the kinds of relationships with the human beings and how the humans are affected by them. The first episode occurred very early on in fieldwork.

"When I arrived I slipped on the wet stones by the house and broke three of the eggs I had bought. The house was unusually quiet. I took the eggs to the back store and then found Nanda. She started moaning as soon as I went near her. She seemed in agony. She said both her back and stomach ached. She moaned so much I was worried. She then started writhing in pain, clutching her belly. She said she had no diarrhoea, no sickness, no headache. She seemed to be suffering so much, I gave her some pain killers, but they didn't seem to make any difference. I sat with her for hours listening to her and wondering what it could be. I thought of appendicitis, 'flu, cholera, but she had no fever. She was totally absorbed in her moans, 'ai, aia, aiyaiya'. As time went on, I thought she would wear herself out and gave her some sleeping pills hoping that would give her some rest. They had absolutely no affect on her and she went on moaning, and she was even worse if I went away. I remembered what she had said about Hem's wife's illness yesterday. She simply said, 'women whose husbands have been away are ill for some time when their husbands return'. She said it as though the two simply went together, like I might say, people who go out in the rain come back wet'. I wondered if her pain had for her an equally simple explanation. It's hard to totally dismiss the psychological in this. She says it came on as I was leaving for market - my first absence since I arrived and today she's been insistent on my presence just as yesterday she wouldn't let me leave her side. I simply sat by her, fanning her. Everyone else was annoyingly noisy and apparently uninterested. They certainly didn't seem to think it important for her to try and sleep. It was obvious she was in great pain and yet no-one did anything for her. I was worried about her but couldn't understand what the matter was. After eating late I was exhausted and she let me go to sleep but I was soon woken by Rudra. She needed me again and now Rudra was worried too. I sat and fanned and soothed her head while R. went to find the *Yatanga* (priest). He arrived about an hour later. The *Yatanga* (priest) put six leaves on the ground in front of her mat. Nanda had to sit up and I had to come away from her

side. He put some uncooked rice and ginger on each leaf and spoke over them one after the other. Each one was apparently for a different *sammang*. It didn't take long. When he had finished, he said it was the *pappamamachi*, the 'grandfather-grandmother' ancestor. He said it would need one pig, six chickens and twelve eggs to satisfy the hunger of this ancestor. The leaves were carefully wrapped up by Rudra in a cloth. Nanda already seemed better. She had stopped moaning and could talk and drink a little *dibu* (millet beer).

In all seriousness they were talking about the ancestor's hunger and how bad the pain is until they are promised the ritual. Hem, the neighbour, dropped in and he says he must see if perhaps it's also *pappamamachi* who are making his wife so bad. He's been in the army and he told me that once he tried to give up believing in the *sammang* because he liked the idea of the goodness of the Christian God he had heard about in the camp. He never really trusted anyone not even his father, and he thought it would be wonderful if he could trust in this God. It didn't work. As soon as he was back in the village he suffered acute stomach ache. He took medicine he had brought back with him but, as with Nanda, nothing had worked. He was in such pain he decided he must call in the *Yatangba* (priest). Five minutes after the words had been spoken by the *Yatangba*, and he had been told that it was the *pappamammachi* ancestors, the pain went. He says he now knows that the ancestors do respond and that he can't avoid his relationship with them. He gave up all ideas of trying Christianity".

Kāhili, also called Nanda, was ill for another week and demanded my presence day and night. She avoided sleeping near her husband and quite often came to sleep by me. She revealed one evening in one of the many long talks we had that she had been 'in love' with her husband's brother. However, as Lohorung tradition goes, the elder brother had to marry first and she had finally been persuaded by her family to marry her present husband when his family desperately needed extra female help, the mother of the house being very ill. The priest who had diagnosed the *pappamamachi* came several times and found that the house ancestor (*khimpie*) was angry and was causing her pain as well as the 'grandfather-grandmother' ancestors. The *ojah* who deals with non-

Lohorung spiritual beings and witches (*bokshi* N.) also found a witch to be interfering with her and giving her cramps, particularly in the middle of the night when witches are known to be most active.

From this episode it was clear that the superhuman beings are closely associated with pain or 'illness' experienced by the Lohorung, though obviously not all ill health, for some, as Nanda pointed out, is merely connected to the return of a husband. It was unclear, however, what 'hunger' was for the ancestors, and what more exactly 'illness' was for the Lohorung. In fact, the semantic field of 'hunger', when referring to the superhuman beings, covers the same area as for human beings though with two extra dimensions. Firstly, their 'hunger' is not only for food, (the kind of it depends on the category of superhuman being), it is also for attention. Moreover since the 'hunger' cannot be satisfied by eating, the Lohorung say they 'eat' through their noses and eyes. That is, they smell and see what is offered. Secondly, the hunger is associated with anger; hunger being the outer symptom of the inner emotion.

'Illness' for the Lohorung emphasises a condition of pain, hurt, trouble and an eruption in the body. There is no abstract noun. The Lohorung describe the person. They are either 'alive and flourishing' (*hingchame*), blooming like a flower, or they are *tukka*, meaning literally 'in pain, hurting' or *tukpoka* 'pain erupted'. A 'sick person' is called *tukmawa*. The verb *tukchame* or

tukme covers both physical and mental hurt. Thus a person with acute anxiety whose *niwa* ('mind') *tuguk* ('hurts') is also in Lohorung terms *tukmawa*, suffering an illness, whereas for us the term tends to be restricted to a condition of the body. Although a Lohorung 'illness' is often an indication of the disruption of relations with the superhuman beings, the Lohorung had many other explanations, such as exposure to a human witch (*boksi*), to someone's jealousy, envy, to extremes of temperature or to bad water, to over-spicy food, or disruption of the planets.

Nanda's illness raised many questions. Why did the medicines not work? In what ways do they conceive of the superhuman beings having a hold over their bodies? I found it hard to understand the way the family ignored Nanda's pain. Was it because they had themselves decided her illness was a *sammang* and therefore an inevitable pain to be endured? Or was her pain almost irrelevant, merely a human means of communicating the pain and hunger of a superhuman being? Above all this episode made it clear to me that the Lohorung's indigenous psychology viewed human beings as having a very close relationship with their ancestors. Although from this episode I could not deduce that the Lohorung conceive of the ancestors controlling them, they certainly experience effects, some of which are similar to our understanding of physical pain and which the Lohorung identify as being sent by superhuman beings.

The second episode from my field notes also concerns Nanda, *kāhili*. The occasion, four months after her 'illness', was the family performance of a *khimpie sammang*, the house ancestor, who had given her some of her pain in the month of July.

"The main *khimpie* ceremony was over and we all sat eating our special ritual rice and bits of meat and sucking at our *tongba* (containers full of millet beer). Rudra was drunk and very loud and this new *Yatangba* so shy he was hard to talk to. I had hardly finished eating when I heard Nanda moaning loudly from the corner. I had given her some medicine to ease her stomach pain but this was a strange noise. It sounded different and I thought she must be suffering badly. Then I looked carefully and saw her with her back against the wall shaking and half singing in short phrases just like a *mangpa* [shaman]. After a while she got up and began moving around with the slow shaking step of a *mangpa*. She became wilder and then with a sudden sweep of her hand knocked over the *tongpas* near the fire, picked up the hot iron tripod covering the fire, threw it into the corner, and began stamping in the hot ashes as if in time with her chanting. She didn't appear to feel any pain from the hot pieces of wood she handled. No-one seemed to know what to do. *Antare*, *kānchha* and *mamma* had never seen Nanda like this before. The floor was now wet with beer and water. Nanda had made her way to the *Yatangpa* who was huddling in a corner with his *tongpa* beer. Nanda splashed water over herself and the priest, calling for more and more water and for *titepāti* (N.) leaves. Whereas she had been obsessed with the fire, now water was becoming more and more important. When she had used all there was in the house, she made her way to the spring. She shook in the water, first standing and then sitting and then rubbed herself with water as if she was washing, her face, her body and her hair. The shaking took her over and she sat cross-legged, now frequently mentioning *Satte Devi*. *Antare* (the one she had wanted to marry) was on his knees praying and asking forgiveness saying he would give whatever was needed to free her. Nanda suddenly seemed angry as she tore at the grass, threw away the bamboo channel for the water, started stuffing her mouth with *titepāti* leaves and ripped open her blouse, baring her breasts to the air as she stood there shaking....

"It was very strange for me. I half wanted to interrupt and comfort her, to tell her to cry on my shoulder or shout at me, to tell her to come inside and get dry. I saw Nanda in emotional distress, crying out for help. At the same time, I knew this was my own ethnocentric view, clouding the situation and completely misunderstanding that it was not a personal tantrum or fit of anger and sadness at her plight. She was not in control as far as everyone watching was concerned. This was not her but the

superhuman beings speaking and shouting in anger, directing her body and all her actions.

"This morning Nanda cried : unhappy with what she sees as her burden, 'work' of being a medium for the 'gods' a category which includes the ancestors. They urge her more and more frequently to serve them and perform the *sammang* and other rituals. She doesn't want to. She feels shy. On the other hand, she knows she may have to, since her grandfather, her mother's father was a *yatangba* and none of her brothers have so far shown any signs of being the ones who should take over. It's easy for a man, but much harder for a woman. People are scared of her and some people see *boksi* (witch) in her as well. It all began, she explained, when her head started to ache, and then her stomach around the heart and kidneys. The pain left as her shoulders and legs began shaking of their own accord. The *khimpie* talked through her, angry that another medium had been brought in. She is afraid they will go on making her suffer until she attends them"

Nanda told me about ways in which superhumans communicated with her, (other illnesses and dreams, for example), to persuade her to become a medium. How did the Lohorung themselves explain what had happened to Nanda?. The Lohorung talked about it as the gods and ancestors 'talking' and 'calling' her. Let me here give a brief idea of how the Lohorung understand their ritual officiants, which will give some indication of the pressure on Nanda. As she herself says, she knows she may have to become a medium.

The *yatangpa*, the local priest, is a very important person for the Lohorung . As one man said, "the *yatangpa* is 'big': if there is no *yatangpa* no Lohorung work can be done". By this he meant in part that they need a *yatangpa* to perform the rituals at all such occasions as birth, marriage, death, in pregnancy, in the annual renewal of the house shrine, or the harvesting of first crops. He also meant that they need a *yatangpa* to maintain order, the

correct state of life, health and relations with the superhumans and hence they must always have them:

"when one dies another one emerges. You don't have to teach them. There's usually one for every clan. When the *dekhim* clan one died, the *mangsuk* (house shrines) of that clan began to go wrong. With no *yatangpa* the house shrines go wrong, and then people go wrong; they become mad, become blind, deaf, dumb. When the old *yatangpa* died, his older brother began to go mad: he would laugh endlessly, and then stop and talk like you and me, then suddenly he would cry. There was nothing anyone could do. He knew he had his father's elder brother's son in Assam, in Lakinpur, and wanted to fetch him. People persuaded him not to go, but when the relation from Assam did come, he began to shake and become possessed with spirits. He is now the *yatangpa* for Gairi Pangma village and the elder brother got better. It was the same with another *yatangpa*. When he died one brother became blind, another had a terrible wound on his leg, another lost the bottom part of his leg and he died, and another clan member died after his wife took a thorn and popped a small growth he had on the top of his head."

The *yatangpa* has to be distinguished from the *mangpa*, the other Lohorung officiant, and from the *jhānkri*, the Nepali speaking shamans (1). The Lohorung collectively refer to them as *khangkhuba* 'those who can see'. In the initial period of apprenticeship when the superhuman beings are 'calling' someone, they may fly, shake, dance, run away to the forest or sit still on a banana tree. At this time the person often shakes (*yongukme*), as part of the body is invaded by one or many guru. Many say they particularly shook when someone died or if they ate the wrong food. The uncontrolled shaking persists over a year or more. Once they have accepted their 'calling', however, the techniques of the *yatangpa* and the *mangpa* differ. The *yatangpa* contact the superhuman world by going on journeys (see also Allen, 1973). We shall see more of how they do this in subsequent chapters. Whilst on the journey the priests sometimes seem to be in a slightly different state of

consciousness (see Jones 1976:1), though not always, and their body trembles rather than shakes and remains in the same position. They hold no plate or drum, only the particular leaves or branches required by the ritual. The *mangpa*, in contrast, is much more like the shaman described by Eliade (1964). They are possessed by tutelary spirits and capable of magical flights or journeys whilst in a trance. *Mangpa* have an elaborate equipment including drums, (*dhol* and *dhyāngro*) (see Macdonald 1962), and headdress. The *mangmani* in Pangma described her feeling of 'possession':

"My heart beats so much I begin to shake until I can hardly bear it, until I can't bear and the whole earth shakes, and when I touch a piece of cloth or a bit of rice the *deuta* (N. gods) will me to speak. When they come my heart shakes more and then I begin to travel, to go on journeys to wherever they call".

In terms of the Lohorung view of the person the notion that someone can be possessed or go on magical flights is not strange: it fits in with their understanding of a plurality of souls in which one soul is migrant and can leave the body and roam elsewhere, as in dreams for example; and in which another soul (*saya*) is a direct line of communication with the superhuman world. These souls are the parts of the human that the person is least in control of and that are most controlled by the superhuman beings.

In the two episodes I have described, Hem comments in one that he cannot give up his belief in the *sammang* and Nanda in the other is distressed that she may have to become a *mangmani*. These are expressions of the extent to which Lohorung interpretations of experience involve an acceptance of other powers as being stronger

than themselves. In spite of their own individual inclinations both find they are being called to trust and follow the superhuman beings. Both accepted that the superhuman beings were causing them distress because of their attempts to deviate from the traditional path. From my point of view, however, it seemed that Nanda's possession, or her illness, might also be means for expressing individuality, and an acceptable means of expressing otherwise unacceptable emotions and behaviour, such as extreme anger, frustration, and unconstrained physical movements. Several examples could be given of Lohorung women's illnesses in which they seemed, from my outsider's point of view, to take advantage of the freedom that 'illness' offered them. I found that my own view was also shared by some Lohorung. I quote one 'illness' in brief:

"Whilst I had been away Anu had run away with her married man from Dara Pangma. Anuma had been devastated and apparently ill ever since. I went to see her. She was lying on the floor outstretched, her husband fanning her from one side and her new son-in-law fanning her from the other. Her breasts were bare and her ribs sticking out showing how thin she had become. From her prone position she started shaking; her legs and stomach quaked in shaman fashion. She stretched out her hands tightening the muscles as if to try to stop the shaking, but maybe this was helping to create it. She had tears in her eyes. I felt tears in my own seeing her in this state and wanted to hold her hand but Anumpa stopped me saying that would only make her shake more. He said she had been like this for three months. It started with a fever, then headaches then lassitude and the shaking. She had no desire to eat or drink. For two weeks she had lost her hearing. They had done every *sammang* for her. The *mangmani* (female shaman) came every evening, when she could. She suddenly called for water to be poured over her head and chest, and Anumpa explained that she had frequent spasms of intense heat which she cannot bear without water.... On my way back to my house I talked to Dacheemma, who seemed matter of fact about her shaking, saying she always shakes when she is ill. She says Anuma is so ill because Anumpa's father used to do *chawatangma* inside the house to get better crops, whereas Anumpa won't do it. This is *chawatangma* taking her revenge. She therefore told Anuma not to try any Western medicines: they would only make *chawatangma* more angry. Kitna

ka⁴lli had a different explanation; she saw part of the illness as a reaction to Anu's sudden departure and marriage, that is, she suggested a psychological component to the physical display. She was venomous about Anu, furious that a girl should flee her parents' attempts to marry her well, and disgusted that she went to live with a man already married, who has two children from his other wife. More Hindu than anyone else in the village this attitude is expected. Dachema was far more tolerant saying lots of girls go off on their own..."

Anuma admitted to me a few days later that the three months after Anu left had been very difficult: her daughter gone and her husband away she had been left to do all the work of the house and farm on her own at the same time as bearing the sorrow. She saw her illness as a deep pain of sadness carried too long alone, which had made her so weak she had been vulnerable to the attack of *sammang*, which had then made her weaker. She had 'gone into herself' and had no wish to talk to anyone. For her, the psychological pain was 'an illness' that she likened to the pain she had felt after the death of one of her twin boy babies.

There are two possible ways of looking at the above episode. First is the 'official' Lohorung view, in which the superhuman beings take advantage of the humans when they are weak, making them 'ill' and hence the household performs rites to them in order to return their good health. This is the view of the *yatangpa* and most Lohorung if asked about their understanding of the above kind of 'illness'. The other view is to say that the human beings take advantage of the superhumans to express physically what they otherwise could not. Anuma was able to shake and bare her breasts and at last demonstrate the emotions she had kept to herself, explaining them as the *sammang*, who possessed her. If she had been

openly sad about her daughter she might have received some, but not much, sympathy. Again 'officially' the Lohorung say such emotions should not be felt for long. (I shall return to this later in Chapter six). What we can see here is that the remarks of the other women are examples of how the Lohorung are aware of these two different views, reflecting a certain self-consciousness about their own activities, their trust in their ancestors and their fear of them. It does not really matter to them in some situations whether the *sammang* are involved or not. They see the *sammang* as an acceptable explanation if a woman gives herself up to exhaustion and emotions. From the Lohorung point of view the superhuman beings are useful as well as sending them much trouble.

What struck me about this and the previous episode, (and other 'illnesses' I witnessed) was the similarity between the expression of illness in general and these 'possessions', in which men or more often women are in an apparently similar psychic state to the Lohorung healers known as *mangpa*, when they become 'possessed'. Very often the body movements and moaning or chanting are similar. In another case I saw, the Lohorung themselves were unsure whether a woman's shaking was caused by 'possession' (she had never been possessed before) or whether it could be put down to the pain given by the ancestor. In other words, there does seem to be a particular style of expressing pain, similar to the style of the healers. Certainly in both cases a freedom of movement and expression is allowed, which has no other outlet in their society. These last episodes also made me realise that the close Lohorung

relationship with spirits or ancestors, expressed in the form of possession, could have a sociological function other than that of explanation of illness and misfortune. It gave someone the power to communicate with the superhuman beings and was one of the few ways to achieve status amongst the Lohorung.

In all these cases involving the superhuman beings, the Lohorung saw the *sammang* as being responsible for a change in the person's physical or psychic state. But, in what sense are they 'responsible'? It seems the Lohorung do see the *sammang* as 'causing' illnesses. As we shall see in this chapter and others the Lohorung relationship with the superhumans is based on trust and reciprocity: if the relationship breaks down, the superhuman beings respond by sending illness. In the next sections we shall see how 'healing' has to do with restoring the relationship.

Here I have only shown some examples of the relations between the Lohorung and the superhuman beings - one in which the ancestors communicated their 'hunger' to the human beings by a stomach ache, another their 'anger' and power by apparently taking over the body of Nanda, the other their possible attack on Anuma when she was weak. The aim was to give a descriptive impression of the kind of experiences and situations I was trying to understand whilst amongst the Lohorung. What these examples cannot convey, however, is the frequency with which the Lohorung relate to the superhuman world and the complexity of the relations. The complexity of their

experience of the superhuman is similar to that of the Tibetan of

pre-Buddhist Tibet as described by Tucci in the following:

"The entire existence of the Tibetan, his knowledge and desires, his feeling and thinking, is suffused and coloured by his experience of the sacred. His folk religion is not restricted to myth, to liturgy, or to a reverent attitude towards the *numina*...; it is also the living interplay of traditions of cosmogony and cosmology, genealogical legends of particular groups and families, rituals of magic and atonement, proverbial folk wisdom... It is in short, an all-embracing heritage of the centuries" (1970:171).

The Lohorung's world is similarly affected by the superhuman beings. Their religion, as we shall see, is as pervasive.

So far I have talked very generally about the superhuman beings. I should now like to describe the pantheon of the Lohorung and the ways in which each category relates to the human beings; how they are thought to affect the consciousness, body and everyday life of the Lohorung.

The Pantheon

In the following description of the superhuman beings I shall use the classificatory categories of the Lohorung themselves for two main reasons. Firstly, these categories present the problem of having vague boundaries; categories overlap, and sometimes it is impossible to identify the one feature which defines it as a class in traditional Western philosophical terms. In one case it seems that the only common feature uniting the members is the fact that they belong to the same class. Moreover, each Lohorung category contains various beings or sub-groups of beings with different attributes and characteristics, to whom the Lohorung express different attitudes. Therefore rather than adopting some Western category distinctions, which might roughly correspond to those of the Lohorung, I shall retain the Lohorung term in the text, with brief glosses where the indigenous term alone may become too confusing for the reader.

The one Western term I use freely, the 'superhuman beings', I chose with care, avoiding 'the supernatural' or 'the dead'. 'The supernatural' implies that the beings are above nature, whereas for the Lohorung these beings are very much part of the natural world. At one time the world of nature, the world of humans and the world of the superhumans were united and parts of nature, such as certain animals, bamboo and creepers emerged from the primal lake as brothers of the original people (myth in

Chapter 3). Trees and most parts of the natural landscape are also conceived as belonging to one particular ancestor. Though the spiritual beings are above human beings, being more powerful and requiring most respect, they are not above nature; they are not thought of as agencies above the forces of something called 'nature'. I have also avoided the word 'the dead' as an overall term because it gives a false impression, ignoring the different Lohorung attitude to death and the dead. The Lohorung 'dead' are in some ways 'living' as much as the human beings, except in a different place: they marry, go on journeys - sometimes into the world of the living; become hungry, angry and jealous; moreover, some of the superhuman beings are thought to have just disappeared and never properly died. The Lohorung do have a word for 'dead people'- *sikhempa yapmichi*, or *singkrikpa*- to refer to those who have recently died. Unlike our dead, however, those of the Lohorung, as we shall see, continue to play a very important and active role in the world of the humans. The term 'superhuman beings' conveys far better the Lohorung pantheon of beings, which includes a wide spectrum of colourful characters, who have many human attributes, and are considered to be hierarchically higher in the scale of beings, with their greater power and capacities.

The second reason for adhering to the Lohorung's own terms is that Western terms, particularly in this area, tend to bring with them the complications of distortion, the inevitable preconceptions or hazy conceptions attached to such words as 'god' or even more 'God', 'spirit', 'ghost', 'deity', 'divinity'.

These words may well have strong connotations for the reader, so that their habitual attitude and assumptions will unavoidably colour what they read about the Lohorung. Hopefully, by using the Lohorung words gradually they will begin to take on their own more subtle meanings. This will be significant in terms of understanding the Lohorung's view of what they take themselves to be, how they view the previous generations, their dependency on them and their fear of them.

If we look at the superhuman beings in general, they have two main advantages over the human beings. Firstly, those who wish to interact with the human beings are not restricted by time or space. For example, they are able to relate to different humans at what seem to the humans like the same time and in totally different places, as if they could spread out their powers over a wide area - far wider than possible in any human interaction. At times this leads to great fear in the villages. The second advantage is that the superhuman beings can see the human beings whereas the humans cannot see them. The invisible nature of the superhuman beings is sometimes accounted for by the Lohorung in the following way:

"At one time the living and the dead could see each other; and they also used to inter-marry. I'll tell it quickly: one day one of the *hingrikpa* (living species), who were very tall, insulted his wife and her relatives, the *singrikpa* (having died species), who were much smaller. He had been hunting with his wife's brothers. At the end they shared out their game and all he was given by his brothers-in-law was the leg of a small bird. He was so angry when he arrived home, he threw the leg at his small wife. 'Here, look what your brothers catch!' 'Aiah!' cried his wife in pain when the leg hit her. *Hingrikpa* was surprised the leg was strong enough to hurt her. His wife complained to her brothers. They were so angry they said, "Don't go back". This

time the *singkrikpa* were not easily pacified, as they often were. Amongst themselves they said there should be no more marriages with the *hingrikpa* and to make certain, they wanted to put up a barrier. They tried to separate themselves with a black cloth. They couldn't see anything of what was going on. In the end, they covered themselves with a thin white veil".

Ever since it is said, the etherial veil has wafted between the humans and the superhuman beings: superhuman beings have become immaterial and invisible to humans, whilst the humans have remained both visible and material for the superhuman beings.

Let me now give an outline of the categories of superhuman beings and how the Lohorung relate to them.

The Sammang

The most prominent of the beings in the Lohorung pantheon are the *sammang*. It is in terms of *sammang* that the Lohorung most commonly explain or describe cultural, social and natural phenomenon as well as their own mental and physical states. Indeed, the trust in and dependence on *sammang* is so interwoven into Lohorung life that one might say it is the skeleton articulating Lohorung society. Such is the depth of the relationship with the *sammang* that the few Lohorung, who are known to have become sceptical about the *sammang*, like Hem mentioned earlier, were all soon drawn back into the traditional way of looking at the *sammang*, when they encountered some serious illness or misfortune in their lives.

Writers on the Limbu, the only other tribe as far as I know to share the concept of *sammang*, have introduced the notion of divinity or God and gods in their attempts to translate the term. The first to do so was Iman Sing Chemjong, himself a Limbu, who adopted Christianity. For him, there was one *sammang* he translated as "God, who is Omnipotent, Supreme and eternal" (1967:23). He considered this one *sammang* "to be the Supreme and the most powerful spirit of knowledge and wisdom and whom the Mundhum addresses by the name of Ningwaphuma" or when the same spirit comes down to earth "people regard him as their grandmother and call her Yuma Sammang" and it is "He, who created rest of spirits and other powers of fire, wind and water" (ibid:23). The other *sammang* he described as the Good or first class spirits and the Bad or second class spirits. According to Chemjong:

"the God Ningwaphuma loved human beings so much that he sent other good spirits to help them in their daily work. He sent Heem Sammang, a good spirit to look after the prosperity of the house of mankind; Thoklung Sammang to look after the health of mankind; Nehangma Sammang to give good energy and ambition to mankind; Theba Sammang to guide mankind at times of war; Pung Sammang to look after the good production of the field...The word Sammang means the spirit of god.

The second class spirit is the evil spirit which is less powerful than the good spirit of the God. The head of the evil spirits is called the Tamphung Sammang which means the spirit God of forest." (ibid:22-23).

Philippe Sagant also writing about the Limbu describes all the *sammang* as "divinité", with the land of the dead dominated by Theba sam, and Yuma, the most important as "dieu céleste créateur" (1969:107) . Rex and Shirley Jones, referring to the

sammang, write about the "high god" of the Limbu, and of their "gods and goddesses" (1976a:20) and Jones alone talks of Tamphungma Sammang as a "spirit" (1976b:33) . Almost all the descriptions of what Jones calls the "supernatural world" comes from Chemjong and therefore follows his translation of *sammang* as "god" or "deity" (1976b:40-42). Höfer, writing on the Tamang, who believe in *mang*, has avoided any gloss. He notes, however, that the Tamang *mang* has no equivalent in the Tibetan language, but that it is "etymologically related to Limbu *mang*, 'deutä', 'divine spirit' (Chemjong n.d.:205), Lepcha *mung*, 'devil', 'bhut' (Chemjong 2026:259) and Gurung *moh* or *mxo*, 'esprit', 'ghost' " (Höfer,1981:23).

My own understanding gained from the Lohorung is that, for them, most of the *sammang* are spirits of powerful ancestors - either their own or those of tribes with whom they were early on in contact ; mostly beings from the remote primeval past, from the time when civilisation (*pe-lam*) was being created and the strength of the natural order of the world prevailed. At that time human beings had abilities they later lost; for example, they could communicate with trees, rocks, animals, or they could break a stone with a feather. The 'shaman' (*mangpa*) at that time had wonderful magic and the spirits of those ancestors became clever *sammang*. All the *sammang*, however, are powerful coming as they do from the original order of things. Although there are *sammang* that affect the Lohorung as a whole, there are others that are localised. The *sammang* in Num village, for example, vary

slightly from those in the villages of Pangma, Heluwa and Angla. They all, however, give the same impression of being the spirits of worshipful ancestors rather than 'gods'.

As a way of understanding the Lohorung notion of *sammang*, Chemjong's Christian gloss for the Limbu version as 'spirit of god' with the idea of one God (also a *sammang*) behind it, is, as far as I can see, not very helpful. It fits neither the Lohorung attitude to the *sammang* nor the characteristics attributed to them. Although perhaps the word could be glossed as 'gods', without any connection to any other superior God, or god, with its simple sense of "What is worshipped by sacrifice; superhuman person, worshipped as having powers over..... the fortunes of mankind" (O.E.D.), it is still not very satisfactory. I have had to miss out some of the definition since as I explained the *sammang* do not have power over nature: they own it.

The Lohorung use the Nepali term for 'gods', *deutā*, to describe superhuman beings different from the *sammang*. On occasions, however, to confuse matters, they may use *deutā* to refer to the *sammang* if they are talking to non-Kiranti, simply to express the significance of the *sammang* to those for whom *deutā* is the most important category of superhuman being. For the Lohorung themselves, however, the *sammang* are more important and even more powerful than *deutā*. As one woman put it, "In the face of the *sammang* the gods, *deutā*, are afraid".

For us, the term 'gods' carries the sense of a non-mortal power, and not the notion that the beings were themselves once mortal and still share many of the characteristics of their mortal descendants. For the Lohorung the *sammang* are in many ways very human. Like human beings, they have *niwa* (mind, consciousness), and *saya* (sensitive link with protective ancestor/gods) which is affected like our 'hurt pride' or 'loss of face'; they manifest the emotions of jealousy, fear, anger; they become hungry, hot and cold, excited, proud; they can be clever, stupid, childlike, impatient, crafty, quick to understand, or bored. The Lohorung conceive of them as being like children and treat them in part as needing the same discipline and direction, and yet recognise too the need to give them the respect that their greater age requires. The Lohorung recognise their sensitivity to insult and disrespect which can lead to their 'hurt *niwa*', or 'lowered *saya*' and to a reaction causing disorder or misfortune in a family or community. The idea of the *sammang* as being closer to our 'ancestors' or 'ancestral heroes' than 'gods' is also emphasised by the Lohorung attitude that particular *sammang* 'belong' to particular clans or clan-groups or the tribe as a whole, even another tribe, so long as it is a Kiranti tribe. In part, some confusion about the meaning of the concept may arise from this fact that all the *sammang* are considered to be 'ancestors' yet not necessarily of any Lohorung clan, that is of the tribe (the *kul*); some are borrowed from the Limbu (*subba subbeni* for example), or from the Khambu Rai to the West (such as *ge'ereng*

me'ereng). All that is important is that they are ancestors of Kiranti.

The Christian concept of God includes attributes of omnipotence and of infinite goodness; God is almighty, omniscient and infinitely benevolent. None of the Lohorung *sammang* are like this. There is no one *sammang* that is consistently more powerful than the rest. The power shifts depending on the relationships between the *sammang* and between the *sammang* and the human beings. Whilst I was there it was being said that the *chawatangma sammang*, 'the forest *sammang*' had become very powerful over the past few years whereas previously the *pappamammachi* had always been dominant. None of the *sammang* are benevolent: some of them will bring good fortune and general prosperity or long life to a household and its members, but it is always and only in return for special treatment. The Lohorung talk about them as being 'eaters' (*cha'khuba*). Thus the term 'divinity' with its connotations of no negative attributes seems inappropriate. Given their lack of common features, it is, however, hard to generalise about the *sammang*. Some are most obviously 'ancestors'; others are attributed with so many capacities and noteworthy acts they seem more like 'herds'. A closer look at each of the *sammang* and their relations with the human beings will make clearer their significance in Lohorung indigenous psychology and in particular in their explanation of events and human behaviour, and the Lohorung's understanding of how people act and react, and their idea of what is healthy and unhealthy.

Pappammachi

Pappammachi literally means 'grandfathers-grandmothers'. The term clearly describes the worshipful ghosts of Lohorung's near and remote ancestors. It includes all those who have died natural, 'good' deaths. They have all the qualities of the wise and aged members of the community still living but deserve even more respect as the repositories of traditional wisdom. It includes the first powerful chiefs or kings, known as *hang*: *Paruhang*, for example, the very first, whom some say with *Nayuma* (also called *Narima*), as his wife, are the Lohorung equivalents of *Siva* and *Pārvati*. He is thought of as having the same powers as *Siva* to destroy and to create, though there are also stories about *Paruhang*'s attempts to create people and the world, in which he keeps making mistakes. First of all he made people out of gold, but found they couldn't speak: only when he tried with ash and chicken shit did they talk.

Paruhang is described as the first Lohorung to have performed certain actions, found they made him strong and thereby established them as 'custom'. One old man talked about *Paruhang* as follows:

"At his marriage *Paruhang* did it like that, raised his *saya* like that, first of all, and made him strong. So that's how we perform the action now as we plant the *waiphoo* tree. He gave us the words, so now at the house we call for his strength using his words, saying to the groom, "you oh, *Paruhang*'yo!" It's *Paruhang*'s talk that we speak at the marriage. We talk the *pe-lam*, (the story way). The Brahmin Chetri way is different - not the story, song way. We go the story way because *Paruhang*, the youngest, did it that way. *Paruhang* was our first king. The day of the wedding we must do it the right way. We call the kings. The king and the *hanglisa* (Sister's son, M.B's son) are one, that's why we call him *hanglisa* - our own *hang* (king) now. The

king, *hanglisa*, is needed at the wedding. It was so at first, so also now. We must make him like Paruhang. To invoke Paruhang we must kill a pig, and we must do the *sikla* offering. Before that we should not drink any water. "king respect, father respect, mother respect" it is called. That is the way of us ten Lohorung. Our king at first was Paruhang."

All the characters of the stories of the *pe-lam*, some of which are included in the next chapter, the 'culture heroes' as they might be called, are considered to be *pappamammachi*. The most important *pappamma* are called 'kings' (*hang*). Some of the earliest *hang* (kings) are the animals, who were man's brothers before divisions in nature occurred. *Tumnahang* is bear, *Paknahang* is tiger, whilst man at the time was *Pomnahang*, and woman *Narinihang*. Other *hang* included in the *pappamma* category are closely linked to specific clans, such as *Maruhang* to the *Biksik*, *Mirihang* to the *Dekhim*, *Sirihang* to the *Deksen*.

The *pappamammachi* are thought of as guarding and reigning over a place called *yepmalitham hamalitham*, also called *chaptempa*, which is situated in the West. Their world includes, some say consists of, the sun and moon. This is why those *pappamammachi* who are the culture heroes of the Lohorung myths are referred to as the 'sun and moon people' (*namnunglachi*), and why the Lohorung, as well as other Kiranti groups, carve a sun and moon into the resting places they build on paths in memory of a dead relative. It is the place to which those who die a natural death go, and forbidden to those whose form of death makes them unacceptable to the *pappamammachi*, who refuse them entry.

In what they call the "ascending" season from February to August the *pappamammachi* stay in their villages, but in the "descending" season from August to February they travel South. During the month of *sāun* (mid-July to mid- August) no *sammang* ritual takes place, for the Lohorung say that the ancestors are too busy with their own affairs and travelling to take notice of them and the rites would be ineffective. It is also true that the Lohorung themselves are journeying at such times to buy or barter salt and other provisions for the year. Nevertheless, as one Lohorung pointed out, you have to be particularly careful at this time since it is mostly in their travels North and South that the *sammang* become offended: "we cannot see them, we mistakenly tread on them, bump into them, sometimes even spit on them or drop ash on them; when they see we are not doing things the way we should traditionally they are jealous or angry. Although they are old, they are more like children and are upset by very little things."

Some of the *pappamammachi* are now so old, going back to the very first people, that they are conceived as being covered with moss and lichen. They are also thought of as bearing the signs of their 'good death', such as the silver thong or white cloth to hold up their chin, and the money (*Tikā* N.) on the forehead. Their head hair is very long and hair also grows all over their body. The oldest, who used to live in the forest, wear no clothes and are only covered by moss. Their appearance is so frightening that children under ten are forbidden to attend any

pappamma ritual in case they catch sight of one and are frightened into unconsciousness from the loss of their *lawa*.

Of all the *sammang*, the *pappamma* are known to be capable of the worst anger. There is a special word to describe their anger, that is only applied to them and to young children. The word is *yiktikheda* (or *yikbokheda*, indicating its association with the stomach [*bok*]). It is a verb similar to that for 'he has become angry' - *sintikheda*. The Lohorung explained it to me as being the kind of anger that is very hard to counteract; the child or *sammang* is unhappy and impatient as well as angry, displaying what we might call general discontent and irritability. "They cry as well as shout". Children have to be plied with something sweet or given the breast, whilst the *pappammachi* have to be pampered with ritual offerings to distract them from the mood or idea they have become locked into. If, in this mood the *pappamma* team up with another *sammang* in league against a household or one of its members, the Lohorung say they are *tokchoktikheda* (lit. 'intestines extended together') which they say is 'joining their intestines to make one' (*eko thok lechi*). They illustrate this by interlocking two fore-fingers together. When this happens it is said to be very difficult to appease either of the ancestors - as difficult as trying to separate two close friends or a man and wife who have joined together in the same kind of intricate relationship, also described by the Lohorung as *tokchoktikheda*. In this relationship, whatever one does, the other does too. They go everywhere and do everything together. Up to a point the

Lohorung see it as 'good', the sign of a real friendship, but they do try to separate the two knowing that if one died the other would die too. They have become as one. When it happens between a household and a *sammang*, however, the relationship they say has to persist: the bond cannot be broken and the household must continue with its commitments to serve the particular *sammang* in the way it has agreed. If they do not, the anger of the *sammang* is felt by the human beings in extreme ways. Misfortunes or severe illness are sometimes explained as the anger of a *sammang* whose close relationship has not been maintained. Such relationships never occur between a *sammang* and one individual, even though the ancestors may only display their anger by afflicting one person in the household. For the Lohorung it is households that relate to the ancestors, not individuals. We shall return to this point in chapter four.

Of all the *sammang*, the *pappammachi* are the ones who are considered to be the repositories of Lohorung lore and wisdom and what angers them most is when traditions are overtly flouted, particularly concerning ritual affairs. When the *pappammachi* are angered by careless behaviour of the human beings they inflict acute pain felt all over their victim's body, especially the stomach and head. Nanda's illness described earlier on in this chapter was a typical *pappammachi* attack. They might be 'angered', for example, by seeing someone smoking and drinking at the same time, or eating and drinking beer together. "the old ones say these should each be done separately otherwise they fight one another in the body, like people of different kinds fight; you should keep them separate". It is only if human beings are caught going against tradition in a serious way, that the *pappammachi* may try to affect their mind (*niwa*) so that they become as if 'mad', as we would say, walking and talking strangely. It is, however, usually another *sammang* who interferes directly with the workings of *niwa*. The *pappammachi* affect *niwa* more inadvertently. Human beings want to please these ancestors, whom they must respect (*hangmale*); the way to do this is to behave according to tradition, that is "making *niwa* remember what the *pappammachi* like". As watchdogs over Lohorung behaviour, inflicting pain when someone deviates from acceptable behaviour, the *pappammachi* might well be called the Lohorung equivalent to the super-ego.

Deviation from traditional ways can become costly: the ritual to appease the *pappamammachi* requires a very large pig. If the pig is not big enough to appease their hunger and anger, their anger (usually of the *sintikheda* kind) increases very quickly, much like a child's tantrum, and the person they have made sick becomes even sicker. They are said to check the size of the pig, measuring it with a piece of cloth! In spite of their extreme 'anger', the *pappamma* are also characterised as being pliable and easily persuaded, *okningbak*. Thus although they may become very quickly 'angry', they are also as quickly appeased. Again, much like children there is much drama and emotion because it is said they are really indecisive having lost the strength of *niwa* (mind, memory) that they had when they were younger. If they are content with the offerings made to them it is said they cluster round the roof of the house with their weapons, men with hammers and *kukuri* knives and women their loomsticks and sickles, brandishing them in the air, dancing and shouting to all the evil spirits lurking in every village to keep away and leave the house and its inhabitants in peace. On the other hand, if they are not satisfied, they are said to congregate around the top of the ladder up to the house and on the front verandah calling to the other *sammang* to come and join in their attacks on the house.

To avoid the 'jealousy' of other *sammang* when performing the *pappamma* ritual, the Lohorung say they must also make offerings to the most 'jealous', to *ge'ereng me'ereng*, to *chawatangma* and *kuma* and *yangli*. If they did not, these other *sammang* would begin

to demonstrate their own 'anger' and 'jealousy' by making the person sick in some other way.

The relationship of Lohorung to *pappamamma* is characterised by filial obligation with an element of compassion, and firm manipulation. The following words (*sikla*) spoken to them during certain rituals in which they are called to the house demonstrates well the attitude of the human beings to these superhumans:

"you dead grandmother, grandfather, maternal aunt, paternal aunt, elder brothers, younger brothers, elder sisters, younger sisters, all close relatives, from your place of origin rise and follow the sandy path, the desert path, the tree way, the stone way, along the windy way take a rest, protect your breath, do not wear yourselves out. Open your dreams, open your *lawa* and come to the vertical house pole... (long list of the parts of the house they should enter)..cross into the house, wash your feet and hands without embarrassment, don't be shy of the shrine, it is for you, we have called you. Now you have come, rest. If we have stepped over you without noticing, if we have stepped on you, even so do not now let it hurt, do not be worried. Do not be angry. We offer you to drink and eat the spoils of the harvest toiled by the ten fingers of all your children and grandchildren. We offer you the new rice... (list of offerings). Come now, drink and eat to your satisfaction but this is not a general invitation. Come when we call you but not at any other time. If you come at other times, the living will gossip about you. Did you know our troubles? Did you see our troubles? Do not let your *niwa* hurt, keep your *saya* an unbending *saya*, give us strong *lawa*, give us long breathe, give us strong *saya*. Keep away stomach pains, swellings, diarrhoea, (list of diseases), protect us from evil spirits... (list of pan-Nepal spirits as well as Lohorung ones). Come, whatever we have offered eat and drink. When you have finished, give up infatuation (for this place), wash your feet and hands and return to your place. Go and stay in your own place. Do not go astray".

I was very aware whilst I attended the *sammang* rituals that the particular offerings given to each ancestor conveyed to me a caring, and compassionate attitude on the part of the human beings towards their ancestors. This was in striking contrast to

the somewhat unsympathetic attitude towards the human sick. As the above chant shows, the *pappamammachi* are addressed with a combination of command, cajolery, injunctions and respect. When dealing with all the *sammang* the Lohorung say they must put on the face of strength. Just as another human may take advantage of another if they seem weak, so too it is believed will an ancestor. The Lohorung place great emphasis on the opposition strong/weak. I was told, "Whatever you are really feeling you must be strong in a *sammang* ritual".

To please the *pappamammachi* the Lohorung try to build their shrine with sticks from a kind of chestnut tree called *waiphu*, in Lohorung (*pātale katuj* in N.). Their house on earth would have been made out of this kind of wood. When not available they use *chigaphu*, another kind of chestnut (*Castanopsis tribuloides*). There are four pillars and five, seven or nine cross bars, the same numbers that are used when building a proper house. They place pieces of cloth on the platform; they are black and white which are the colours traditionally worn by men and women. The main item is the pig, but the offerings must also include a hen and a cock, a minimum of seven eggs, two containers of beer, as many *tongba* (a drink from a bamboo vessel) as possible - usually amounting the same number as the participants. ginger, and several leaf plates containing vegetables and chutneys. The *pappamammachi* are called with a small bamboo whistle. What the Lohorung have offered is what they themselves like most: beer from a *tongba*, meat, poultry, eggs, some relishes and new

clothes. It is a treat for them, so they know it will also be for the *pappammachi*. The Lohorung say they are so close to these ancestors that until recently, the elders (*pasingchi*) could perform the *pappamma* ritual without the help of the local priest (*yatangba*). Now, however, the men are less well acquainted with the ritual language, some of them totally unaware of the chants and each household has to rely increasingly on the priest to ensure their contacts with the *sammang* are carried out correctly. Moreover they say, the other *sammang* are becoming increasingly clever and unpredictable; in particular *chawatangma* and most people are afraid to take her on without the help of the priest.

Chawatangma

Chawatangma is the most fickle and creative of all the *sammang*. She has over twenty names each indicating an area of her powers, an attribute or role, such as *bakhatangma*, owner/woman of the soil, *tapnantangma*, (3) owner/woman of the forest, *serepmotangma*, youngest one, *singtowatangma*, owner/woman of the trees, *lungtongtangma*, owner/woman of stones and rocks, *lilaoti*, *goanleni*, village spirit, *dewatangma*, woman of the gods, or *yayangma*, her name. "If we call her *Yayangma* she takes it as an insult but if we call her *mamma songnima* 'grandmother songnima' she is happy: it is her kin term. Only children who still enjoy eating soya beans with a millet leaf should be called by their proper name". 'Chawa' refers to the special springs owned by each

clan and which they each claimed when they first moved on to the land in which it lies; "our first watering place" as some Lohorung put it (4). The name *chawatangma*, indicating her ownership of the *chawa*, points to one of her greatest powers over the human beings. The Lohorung conceive of this superhuman being as having direct access and control over one of the most valued places and resources of every clan, over the waters of the *chawa* springs which are thought to have special ritual powers.

Whereas the *pappamammachi* predominate in the superhuman world, over *yepmalitham hamalitham*, *chawatangma*, as can be seen above, is conceived as being the 'owner' of most of the human world, the earth itself, and all that lives or springs from it, plants, bamboos, fields, forests, springs, rivers and villages. Depending on her mood she lives in water, in the sky, in the jungle. She is referred to sometimes as the original creator of the earth, having taken over the task from her brother *paruhang*, one of the *pappamma* mentioned earlier, who was unable to do it. "She is the creator of everything: now too she creates radios and 'planes, those things you people have: like watches, camera". She can turn herself into a pig, a cat, many kinds of bird, and indeed almost any animal that suits her aim to tease, trick and frighten human beings. At night, Lohorung cry out against *chawatagma* when their bamboo torch is suddenly blown out, when someone loses their path, or boulders can be seen rolling down towards an unsuspecting traveller. If a buffalo blocks one's way, it is *chawatangma*. She lurks by the side of the road at night in

the form of a rat or mouse and throws dust or sand into people's eyes. In her trickster role she is known to bend down the top of a bamboo until it touches the ground, and as someone steps on it, she lets it free, sending her victim hurtling into the air as she runs away laughing. If angered they say she sends burning hot coals flying in all directions, like a chicken scattering earth when it scratches. Known to corrupt or damage the *niwa* (mind) of those who displease or neglect her, madness and anti-social behaviour, or even the adoption of unusual modes of dress or mannerisms are attributed to *chawatangma*. The *niwa* of children from age three to eight or nine are particularly vulnerable to the influence of this *sammang*. In her desire to play with them she lures them from their duties or play, out of the village and into the forest. She spoils their minds (*niwa*), it turns 'jungly' and their memory for duties and relatives begins to decline, and they start to wander off by themselves into the forest to follow her.

When *chawatangma* takes the guise of *yagangma*, the mother of the first people, her breasts are so long they fall down her legs to her feet. When she walks she has to throw them over her shoulders to keep them out of her way. The advice to those who think they are being followed by her is to head for the nearest and steepest slope. Whilst she struggles to keep her breasts from tripping her up, her victim can escape. It is interesting to note that Höfer mentions a similar spirit (*mang*) amongst the Tamang called 'Water/River Old Man Old Woman' about whom he writes,

"whoever comes into contact with the long emaciated breasts of the female Gemo is believed to lose his senses. If somebody feels persecuted by her, he can escape by running downhill, as her long breasts will hamper her in following him...Once captured, the victim - mostly a man who comes back from the fields after sunset - is dragged into a cave, and his limbs are severed from the trunk of his body" (1981:23).

The Lohorung say that *chawatangma* can become figures known by other groups by different names. The similarity of the Tamang and Lohorung story seems to indicate that indeed some of the numerous stories about *chawatangma* are borrowed from other tribal groups and attributed to the eclectic *chawatangma*. Though the descriptions of *yagangma* are many, few admit to having seen her, except in the form of an old lady carrying a sickle and a basket hung from her head, and a child tucked under her arm like a monkey. Some say she goes along cutting yams; she is so small she can't run. Others say that she is supposed to be treated like a mother and will beat those who do not treat her properly. Stories tell how her milk is not sweet but like the water from washed rice; how she only stays one day in one place; how she cuts stomachs, cleans the intestines and stitches them again. She is known to give rice from the back of her hand.

As the owner of the forest and all trees, *chawatangma* must be given offerings of beer before any tree is cut: "accidents" fall on those wood-cutters who omit them; splinters of wood fly into their faces and drive deep under their skin; they lose control of the axe and chop off fingers and toes. Everyone becomes so clumsy no work can be done properly. Hunters also perform a rite to *tapnamtangma* ('forest woman') as she is known in this role, for

she has powers to direct the animals of the forest in their favour, if she is pleased. For her, the deer, wild boar, birds, all the animals of the forest are as tame as domestic animals. If hunters offer her nothing, she simply keeps animals hidden from their sight.

The principle attribute of *chawatangma*, besides her bizarre behaviour and appearances, is her total rejection of traditional values and behaviour. She is the complete opposite of the *pappammachi*. She is amoral and isolated, apart from the *sikāri* (hunter) spirit she is attached to, from whom she must never be separated. Offerings are always made to him and her when a ritual is performed for *chawatangma*. Unlike the other *sammang*, *chawatangma* can be persuaded (we might say 'bribed') to bring favours upon a household. In return for regular and lavish offerings it is said she will give the household good crops of rice, maize and millet and they will become rich. Her ritual is normally performed outside in an isolated bamboo grove or in the forest. When households start performing *chawatangma* inside on their own, without the aid of a priest, people become suspicious. As Nanda said to me, "Those who want wealth do the *chawatangma* at home without *yatangba* (priest) or *mangba* (shaman) and they don't let anyone see the place or things offered; they don't offer the meat from the ritual to anyone else - they keep it all for the family. They do it at midnight when everyone is asleep". On another occasion a group were talking about Narbong whose grandparents used to do the secret rite to *chawatangma*:

"His grandmother used to do the rite in the store-room so no-one would know. Every time they had new (batch of) beer, and also new rice, they always offered to her before they ate or drank themselves. You get much prosperity, but it's very dangerous. If she gets angry, she makes the fire spark, the house shake. The old *yumpang deren* (clan) woman in Gairi Pangma used to do it too. The family (Narbong's) became very rich and always had much to eat and drink. Then she died and the family stopped doing it. They didn't offer any more and now the family has dwindled to only one grandchild. All their land is under mortgage. His parents just gave it up, stopped doing it in the house and now they are dead and there is nothing but trouble in the house. Narbong's *niwa* (mind) doesn't work properly either".

Chawatangma attacks other parts of the human beings apart from their *niwa* (mind). One of her most mischievous tricks is to entice away the *lawa* (essence of life, vital soul) of adults and children, putting her victims in danger of death unless the *lawa* is retrieved. Although *lawa*, as the 'soul' or 'essence of life' of a person, may wander from its owner of its own accord, as it does for example when a person dreams, no human can live without *lawa* for more than two or three weeks. Typically, *lawa* is lost through fright and this is what *chawatangma* plays on. She frightens a child, the *lawa* leaves and she hides it under a tree, stone, at the top of a bamboo, in the depths of water or under the wing of a chicken. The Lohorung call her *Pothre* when she does this, particularly if it is the *lawa* of a child. When she is simply 'angry' or hungry the symptoms the human beings suffer are sore eyes, nose, throat, or aching limbs and belly ache. During Dasain, a pan-Nepal festival the Lohorung make sure the *sammang* do not become hungry by putting four leaf plates aside for them.

When it came to performing the ritual for Nanda's stomach-ache both Nanda and her husband were insistent that I did not attend. They explained they were afraid that either *chawatangma* would be angered by the presence of a non-Lohorung and the ritual would be ineffective and Nanda would be given more aches or that this mischievous *sammang* would shift her focus of attention onto me and that my interference would bring upon me and possibly on the household or the society as a whole disease and misfortune. The only non-Lohorung who may attend are other Rai or Limbu and they did not know whether I had been accepted as a Lohorung, another Kiranti, or how the *sammang* would react to me. In fact, some time later an illness I experienced was diagnosed as one sent by the *sammang*, indicating that I had been acknowledged by them as a member of the community. From that time on, the Lohorung no longer refused my participation in the dangerous or vulnerable aspects of their lives and instead concentrated their efforts on instructing me in the correct ways of behaviour so that I would not anger the *sammang* too much. They still complained when I asked questions about the *sammang*, saying they would be angered and explained anything wrong with me in terms of "too many *sammang* questions".

Apart from all her other mischievous acts *chawatangma* is recognised as the teacher of human witches (*bokshi N.*).

Khimpie and Lataba

These *sammang* are especially connected with the house (*khim*) and in particular with the hearth and the household shrine. Though the shrine is not dedicated to them but to another couple, (not classified as *sammang*), who protect the household members, it is *khimpie* and *lataba* who protect the household shrine. If anyone abuses the shrine, such as a non-Lohorung by touching it, it is said that person will become deaf or blind: *khimpie's* punishment. These 'house ancestors' are considered to 'own' the houses and are known to be 'jealous' and possessive about them, their possessions, and inhabitants. Non-Kiranti are discouraged (but not forbidden) from entering Lohorung houses for fear that they will offend *khimpie* and then suffer from her 'anger'. The danger of entering houses of another tribe, and possibly offending the house ancestors (*kul pitra*) is well known in East Nepal. Thus, the common occurrence of being invited to sit on the verandah.

When children are born they are considered to be 'outsiders' until they have been introduced to the 'house *sammang*', boys to *lataba* six days after the birth and girls to *khimpie* five days after. Only then are they accepted into the family. *Khimpie* and *lataba* are considered to be the equivalent of the clan deities or *kuldevta* of the Brahmin-Chetri villages and yet it is not in worshipping these superhuman beings that the Lohorung clan joins together. Given the process of clan segmentation, the common ancestor is shared in many cases by more than one clan and a considerable number of people, making communal worship in one

house unfeasible. Close relatives of the patriline are invited to participate . The more distant *sammang* can be performed outside, like *chawatangma* and *pappamammachi*, who include the remotest ancestral beings, whereas *khimpie* and *lataba* are closely related and the rituals for them can only be performed in the house. The *khimpie* and *lataba* of most of the houses in the Pangma villages, are direct ancestors of the Lumben, Bi'wa, Lamsong, Dekhim brother clans. Until recently to prevent the hunger and anger of this ancestor the Dekhim clan, growing from the lineage group of the youngest son who lived in the 'big house' (*dya khim*), had to perform a *khimpie* ceremony once a year, whereas the other brothers of the other clans only had to do it when somebody was made ill by *khimpie*. The Dekhim used to offer an ox but in about 1972 they finally had to accept the government ruling about not eating beef and began offering a large pig instead.

The story about the Pangma *khimpie* and *lataba* goes as follows

"*Lataba* and *khimpie* were an old couple. *Lataba* was a hunter and one day he went off to catch some meat. He wandered and wandered and first reached *Rambeni*, a place in *Limbuan*. He went on and reached *Change* and then *Ameni*. He hunted on, killing and eating the game as he went and dropping the discarded bones on the ground until he reached *Tumling Pokari*, a pond in *Limbuan* near *Milke*. From there the game became more and more scarce as he went on to *Umling Pokari*, at that time a lake. There he was so tired he hung up his bow and arrow in a tree and leant over to take a drink. As he drank he fell into the lake and drowned. After many days had passed, his wife said to her mother-in-law, "mother, your son has not returned home. Many days have gone by and he has not come back. I'm going to look for him". Her mother-in-law replied, "Why do you go on your own? I'll go with you." So they went searching everywhere; here and there they found the thrown away bones of the hunter's kill, and then finally they came to *Umling Pokari*; they saw no more bones and they saw his bow and arrow hanging on the tree. "My husband is here", said the woman,

"lo, so if he is here, so I will be here too", and she jumped into the lake to join her husband and drowned."

Some say that he did not drown, but that after a while he realised he could hunt no longer, unable to kill any more game. Being a clever shaman (*mangba*), however, to survive he climbed into a tree and became a monkey, eating what monkeys eat. Other versions describe *khimpie* as being pulled into the lake by a big snake, rather than drowning herself. The ritual corresponds with the version in which *lataba* becomes a monkey for in the chant *khimpie* is addressed, amongst other things, as 'owner/woman of the snakes' (*sipumatangma*), and *lataba* as 'lord of the monkeys', 'mangba of the tree-tops', as well as 'eldest mangba' (*tumbumangpa*). Some informants said that *khimpie* was also known as *sâpdeu* (Nepali for snake god) and *lataba* as *bandar deu* (Nepali for monkey god). In agreement with the initial story above, both are now considered to live in the water.

Most Lohorung understand talk of people turning into animals or rocks without scepticism, particularly when those talked about are people from the remote past. Even in the recent past humans are thought to have had much greater powers than they are now endowed with. Every human being is thought to be closely bound to the natural world and some closer than others; shamans (*mangpa*), like *lataba*, are known to develop the ability to become attuned to various species. I heard many stories about very strong men, and about especially clever shamans. One story about a recently living relative who could turn into a tiger was met by most of

the audience without disbelief. They were sure it could happen if you were a clever enough *baidāngi* N., a term which Turner translates as 'physician' (1931:459). The idea of *khimpie* turning into a snake and *lataba* into a monkey is thus merely in keeping with the exceptional capacities/abilities of the beings from the remotest past. There is nothing totemic about it.

The connections of *khimpie* and *lataba* with the lake can be clearly seen in the ritual. Their recognised dislike of the cold water is said to be what prompts the Lohorung performing their ritual in a warm place near the fire of the house, which is cleaned with cowdung. In the lake the fish became their competitors and so it is said they delight in feeding on them. The Lohorung therefore give fish: a small kind of fish called *lichenga*; crabs, *khobek*; and small foul-smelling smoked and dried fish called *sidra*, brought especially from the South because they say the ancestors like the smell so very much! "It is their favourite chutney". In addition they give any other fish they can catch. No fish bought at market can be given, just as no eggs or chickens from market can be offered. None of the *sammang* will accept produce that is not raised or caught either by the household or another tribal member. What they want is some share of what belongs to the house. To *lataba* and *khimpie* the Lohorung also offer *kinnama* made of soya bean and ash from the fire and dried "until they putrify like dead bodies", and many different kinds of leaves as well as the more usual meat, eggs, and beer. When a large *khimpie* ritual is performed, the Lohorung make a

small effigy of her and hang it above the fire. To please her they hang around her neck a copy of the old kind of heavy necklace made of silver, which they make out of special leaves so thick that their inside is likened to flesh, and put flowers in her 'hair', made of bamboo leaves. These are in part to show it is a woman. For the Lohorung it is hard to conceive that somebody wearing no jewellery, or flowers as a substitute, is really a woman. When they saw photographs of my mother, who was wearing no jewellery it took time to convince them that it really was a woman - my mother. As with the other *sammang* the Lohorung try to give them what they are known to like best to appease either their 'anger', 'jealousy' or their 'hunger'.

Informants agreed that the old couple send people the same kind of troubles that they themselves suffer in the cold water: knee-ache, back-ache, swellings and loss of appetite. *Khimpie*, however, also communicates her pain, anger, hunger or jealousy with the human beings by making them want to run away to the jungle, to jump into rivers or off precipices, sometimes by making them blind, lame or mad, that is, by affecting one of their senses. Paralysis of the knee, leg or hand, or illnesses which come out in boils are also attributed to *khimpie*. She is considered to be dangerous, as dangerous as the *pappammachi*, if she is not given what she wants. Like them, she also sometimes requires a pig to satisfy her. Whereas rituals for her husband *lataba* can be done by the family alone without an officiant, this

has never been the case with *khimpie*. In both the house is closed off from the outside.

We can see clearly here the problem of translation that arises with *sammang*. *Khimpie* and *lataba*, for example, are conceived as being *kul pitra* (Nepali for family, clan or tribe ancestor) and sometimes the Lohorung call them 'deu'. Following from what was said earlier in this chapter, however, when the Lohorung do this I take them to mean 'ancestors as powerful as gods', 'people with power belonging to the other, sacred world of the *pe-lam*', the 'aerial world of those who receive the sacrifices' as opposed to the world of the performers of sacrifice.

So far we have seen the relations between the Lohorung and three of the most important *sammang* ancestor category. These three cover the three worlds that constitute the cosmos for the Lohorung. The *pappamammachi* reign over the upper world, and *khimpie* and *lataba* the watery lower world, whilst *chawatangma* presides over the world between with its forests and springs, though roaming as well into the other two worlds when she wants to try new tricks. All three have helped in some way to create or sustain Lohorung society. The *pappamammachi* gave the knowledge to build their culture, including how to build a house, how to brew beer, how to weave, and also the lore to keep order in that civilisation. *Chawatangma*, in spite of all her tricks has the ability to give abundant, fertile crops, and great strength to households, as well as being attributed with the role of chief

inventor in Lohorung culture. *Khimpie* and *lataba* are the guardian protectors of the health and prosperity of the house, the clan and every individual after they have been introduced several days after birth. We can see how the Lohorung depend on these *sammang*, and trust them to continue what they have started, even though each one is also seen as potential bearers of misery and pain if their *saya* falls in hunger or anger. In return, the living Lohorung fulfill their part of the relationship and feed them in the fashion that each one requires, so that the *saya* of each *sammang* remains high. The social world of the Lohorung thus extends beyond the living to include these ancestors with whom they must relate to maintain their own society.

Waya Warema

Some say that *waya warema* are not original Lohorung *sammang*, but came to them when they adopted the yangkhrung clan; that is, they are yangkhrung ancestors. *Waya* was the son of the family, *warema* the name for the seven daughters. The story behind these *sammang* goes as follows:

"The brother and all his sisters went for a picnic in the forest. Whilst the brother went to play in the trees, the sisters stayed together by the stream to cook little breads. One sister poured oil into the large pot but the pot was so hot that the oil exploded in the pot and went up in flames. One by one the sisters tried to stop the fire, and in turn instead burnt alive. Their burnt bodies disappeared upwards with the smoke of the fire, up to the sun. Because they were taken so far away by the smoke and were also made deaf by the burning, the priest or shaman has to shout to them when performing their ritual. The brother who could not find them on his return to the cooking spot and innocent of the fact that they had all been burnt alive, went in search of them; he wandered from river to river trying to follow the trace of where they had gone by looking at the flowers, becoming weaker and weaker he eventually drowned" .

Of all the *sammang* rituals this one is most like a re-enactment of the mythico-historical event, at least as performed amongst the Lohorung of the four Pangma villages. As I wrote after I had attended one *waya warema* rite,

"The atmosphere of the scene was like a re-living of the picnic in which the seven sisters and their brother died. As at the wedding I was kept to the female part of the affair. 'Women must stick together'. The men are the cooks for all the *sammang* performed outside and the women therefore lose one of their main roles and gather to one side with some other work to keep their hands busy. By the time we reached the clearing - a place specially kept for *waya warema* rites, the men had already started building the shrines. Two households, close lineage brothers were performing it together and there was the excitement of an outing, and the enjoyment of friends gathering together, but there was also a seriousness about the business. There was work to be done and it had to be done correctly; the shrines had to be finished and the meal cooked. There was some anxiety about my questions, particularly about all the flower names and I promised to keep them for later. Visually it was a perfect spot for the theatrical re-creation, and I was told that all *waya warema* take place there. It was hidden, tucked away in the forest with a stream running through it, with a wide stage area and hillocks on two sides on which we women sat, yet only a short distance from any of the four villages. The flowers had been collected earlier in the day. They are all flowers that at any other time cannot be picked, considered to belong to the ancestors and not to the human beings of the present. They were sorted into ten bundles, nine placed on the shrine, and one extra for the *mangmani* (female shaman) to hold."

The 'flowers' (*bung*), many of which looked to me more like 'leaves' and some of which never have flowers in our sense of the term, need further explanation for two separate reasons; firstly in what way they are central to *waya warema*'s ritual and secondly, how they relate to a complex metaphysical notion of the Lohorung. Looking at the first aspect of the 'flowers', they are for *waya warema* what particular trees or types of bamboo are for other *sammang*. They are their 'weapon' as the Lohorung say,

meaning also their source of strength. For the Lohorung every human being and therefore too every 'ancestor' (*sammang*) has some tool, which is for them the most useful and important thing they own, from which they thus gain both security and identity; it is something they are so familiar with they know all its uses, potentialities, and powers. Knowing more about it than others, it gives them power and therefore protection. A woman's 'weapon', for example, is her weaving shuttle and sickle, a man's his *kukuri* knife. They told me mine was my pen. For the 'house ancestor' *khimpie* it is the largest kind of bamboo called *sakba'phu* (*Tama bāns* in Nepali), one of the most important components of housebuilding; for *waya warema* it is flowers, all those 'flowers' which are chanted in pairs in the rite, and placed in bamboo containers on their shrine. One of the ways in which these *sammang* are angered is if their 'flowers' of the forest are picked.

Turning to the relationship between 'flowers' and a complex metaphysical notion the Lohorung conceive of each person as having a *lawa*, (gloss for the moment as 'spirit' or 'soul'), which relates to and identifies with particular flowers which are also said to 'have *lawa*' in the land of the ancestors. Some of these 'flowers' never die and it is with these ones that each person's *lawa* must identify. The *lawa*, however, tends to identify with and relate to the flowers with the same condition as their own human host. If their own host is psychologically and physically in a healthy state, the flower their *lawa* is attracted

to is blooming, or 'undying' as the Lohorung say, which we call evergreen. When the person is sick the flower their *lawa* is attracted to is one that is wilting or dying. It is also dangerous, however, if a *lawa* wanders to a weak flower for its host will soon manifest the same characteristics, if the *lawa* can even make it back, and if it cannot the person is in danger of his or her life. I shall be looking into this in more detail later in chapters five and six. All that need be noted now is the significance of the flowers for *waya warema* and for every person in that their vital aspect, that is their *lawa*, must remain with the strong 'flowers' protected by *waya warema*. The brother used flowers as a means to find the existence of his sisters, so too the priest can use flowers to find the whereabouts of a lost *lawa*.

It is from the flowers in the ritual that a priest can find a human *lawa* when it has been lost, for the ritual for *waya warema* includes a version of *bung chokme* 'flower extending/pushing', in which a person's life can be lengthened. For the full 'life extending' ritual the household has to offer a forest sheep and four chickens to *warema* and two to *waya*, and the priest has to remember a much longer list of strong, eternal flower names than he does for a normal *waya warema* rite in which the aim is either to retrieve a lost *lawa* or to strengthen the general health and prosperity of the local lineage group. The other full version of *bung chokme*, not involving *waya warema* is rarely performed because it is said to be difficult and fatal if incorrectly

performed. It is described by Chemjong as known by the Limbu as follows:

"an expert priestess sings or recites the whole of the creation of flower and its use and compares such inanimate object to human life in such a way that she particularises the mentality of a certain man to that of the stage of that particular flower. She then diverts the stage of that flower from freshness to withered condition. At the same time the particular man who was compared to that particular flower would also become slack and senseless. Now when the priestess refreshes the flower the man also would regain his energy and become fresh and active again" (1967:26).

The old priest Lale explained to me how he finds a lost *lawa* using *bung chokme* in the *waya warema* ritual:

"First I have to say all the flower names, without dropping any of them, in the right order and these take me in my mind (*niwa*) to an enormous forest, *Emalitham Demalitham*, in the North. Then I make myself wings with the flowers, the wind catches in the flowers and flies me to *cheksokhim*, a place like a boundary between earth and the place above called *Yepmalitham Hamalitham*, (where all the well-integrated ancestors live,). There is nothing in *cheksokhim* but when I reach *Yepmalitham Hamalitham*, I can see many people all the dead, the ancestors; the women on the left, below, on the lower side and all the men to the right on the upper side. They wear clothes, the traditional kind. The house is long, very long like your 'rel'. I go inside and ask the way but nobody speaks; they just signal to me where to go. I come out from the eastern door, where the sun rises. The house is with the sun in the west (*namkhe'ma khim*). When I come back I put the flowers back with words and in my *niwa* onto the shrine, saying the *samek* (ritual name) of the sick person without a *lawa* and the *samek* name of the flowers. As I say them the person's *lawa* comes back, and I put it back onto the flowers with a little water. (The *mangpa* blows it back, but he can see it whereas I can't; I know in my *niwa* that it's back and I place the water), and I show what we are offering to the *sammang*."

It is very important that the *yatangka* priest collects the correct 'flowers' and all of them for if he misses some out he is in danger of leaving behind the *lawa* he is seeking.

Waya warema is performed by some Lohorung once a year whether or not members of the household have suffered headaches or giddiness diagnosed as "*waya warema*". The ritual is conceived as being one of the best for maintaining a strong and healthy *lawa* and *saya*, for it directly handles the 'flowers' of those participating, which for the Lohorung is like the substance supporting the core, or the individual soul, of the human person, apart from the 'consciousness', the *niwa*.

Sammang Summary

From this description of not all, but each of the main *sammang*, we have been able to glimpse at the importance of the Lohorung conception of *sammang* in their understanding and interpretation of people's actions and behaviour.

Let me here, briefly, pull together what we have seen so far of the importance of Lohorung indigenous psychology in terms of understanding the *sammang*. Firstly, it is the Lohorung's collective understanding or representation of such factors as the *sammang*'s 'anger', 'jealousy', or the position of their *saya* that explains to the Lohorung the form and progress of their own illnesses, pain, misfortune and some of their emotional disturbances. Thus, the *sammang* largely explain negative states, though they also explain positive states that veer away from the normal, such as super-abundant crops or sudden wealth that are generally conceived as the result of motivating the *sammang* with promises of extra offerings of food in secret and dangerous rituals. The *sammang*'s response to broken promises is again explained in terms of 'anger'. Secondly, the general psychology and temperamental nature of the *sammang* are conceived as being essentially alike and comparable to that of certain traits of the very young and the very old mixed together. They conceive of their likes and dislikes, their 'anger', 'hunger', 'jealousy' and erratic volatile behaviour as being a combination of the domineering, blundering tyrⁿanny of the aged, who try to maintain the attention and control of those around them using the power of

their age, with the helplessness and wilful~~ness~~ness of young children, their need of constant attention, plus much of their playfulness. The illness or pain they suffer occurs when the pride, helplessness or playfulness suddenly takes over a *sammang* and they want attention to repair the pride or hurt or when they are driven by their own strong will or desires, so that their 'anger' or 'hunger' explodes into a kind of temper tantrum. Thirdly, the Lohorung appreciation of the psychology of their 'ancestors' makes more comprehensible their attitude of compassion towards the *sammang*, in spite of what they inflict. It also makes sense of the very 'human' rituals, in which the Lohorung cajole and tempt the *sammang* with food, drink and sometimes cloth or some other material object, whatever they like best. According to the Lohorung, just as the aged and the very young have to be pampered to gain their co-operation, so too do the *sammang*.

Fourthly, the Lohorung appreciation of the psychology of the *sammang* makes sense, too, of the focus of Lohorung attention when someone is sick. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, I was surprised how little attention Nanda was given when she was in pain. In general, Lohorung patients follow a tradition of making a great deal of noise to express their pain, whilst relatives and friends usually pay them scant attention. This attitude makes more sense when we appreciate that for the Lohorung the meaning of the moans is as much the 'ancestors' 'hunger' or 'anger' as the patient's actual pain. The Lohorung sometimes talk of the

sammang 'possessing' (*tumsikmi*) their victims, when they start shaking, as in the example, described earlier. More frequently, they say "it is " a particular *sammang*, for the Lohorung conceive of the *sammang* afflictions as attempts at communication, as manifestations of *sammang*. We might say the fever, pain, swelling or paralysis, and so on, manifested in the human being, is a 'sign' of a certain *sammang*. Many Lohorung say they can recognise which *sammang* it is from the kind of pain or effect on their body, without even calling in the specialist priest. On the other hand, the 'signs' are not so well defined that mistakes are not made. The paralysis may indicate that *khimpie* is responsible when, in fact, it is *chawatangma* playing tricks trying to look like a *khimpie* paralysis, just like a person playing at being ill to express individuality. Diagnosis goes wrong, but there is always a reason, whether based on the complicity of the *sammang* to mislead the priest, or the priest's inability that day to relate. When diagnosing they say, "It is *khimpie*" or "*chawatangma* is hungry" or "she is angry" or "the *niwa* of *pappammachi* hurt, we must raise their *saya*". They know the *sammang* have *niwa* from the evidence that they 'feel' and have 'wants', that require *niwa*. The word they use for the superhuman beings is *luchakmi*, meaning they have desires, feelings, and in particular wishes for the possession or presence of something or somebody, needs, or we might say 'wants' ('Desire for thing held necessary to life or happiness or success' OED). The human equivalent is '*minchakmi*' with much the same meaning: 'wanting to do/eat something, 'to feel like something', 'to feel...'. I shall

be dealing with this more in Chapter Six. One of the differences is that the *sammang* they say 'feel' and 'want' (*luchakmi*) in a more selfish, dramatic way than adult human beings and then have to communicate those feelings in some way. They compare the wants or possessiveness of the *sammang* with those of children in their sudden intensity, using this to explain the sudden onset of certain illnesses.

Lastly, the motivation for the communication, or the reason for the sudden arousal of emotion, in one of the *sammang* is not always clear: what is certain is that the relationship between the victim and one of the *sammang* has somehow gone wrong. The household inspects the actions of each member, looking at promises that might have been broken, or negligent immoral behaviour that might have offended. If the sickness or misfortune seems to involve *chawatangma* it may be that she is angry, but the Lohorung also recognise that she may be acting maliciously merely out of hunger, greed, playfulness or jealousy, and she will hold the household ransom until satisfied. If the other *sammang* are involved, they are not seen as attacking for their own needs or enjoyment: it is a matter of anger, *niwa* hurting and their *saya* falling. The delicate relationship of trust has been broken, the *sammang* is outraged, hurt and their way of communicating this is through a particular pain. The Lohorung appreciate that, unlike a human being, a *sammang* cannot express displeasure directly with someone; their feelings only show through some physical or mental manifestation in human beings, through aches and pains and

sometimes madness. The aches continue until the relationship and trust has been restored. (I deal further with the anger of the ancestors in chapter six). Depending on the cause of the anger it may only be manifest in one particular person or household, or it may manifest itself in several individuals in different households. The *sammang*, it should be remembered, have *niwa* and, therefore, what we would think of as will and determination. I think it is wrong to see the actions of the *sammang* as trying to 'punish'; mostly, as we have said, the pains associated with them are seen as the manifestations of their anger, low *saya*, and hurt feelings, which simultaneously put the human being into a state of low *saya*. The rituals pacify the anger of the *sammang*, restore the trusting relationship and raise the *saya* of superhuman and human being.

Now, let me pull together the importance so far of the *sammang* in understanding Lohorung indigenous psychology. The most striking feature is the way in which the *sammang* are held accountable for certain behaviour, mental states, and for pain and suffering in human beings. I shall be going into this in more depth in chapters six and seven. What we have seen here is the different ways in which the *sammang* are conceived as having the power to control either the onset of what we would call some 'illness', to inflict pain, to affect certain parts of their victim's body; to affect the *niwa* ('mind') of human beings which inevitably sometimes includes their behaviour. Potentially all of them can bring about the loss of a person's *lawa* (wandering soul), which

can be fatal. The main physical and mental symptoms and effects on human beings may be summarised as follows:

<i>pappamma</i>	Acute pain, dizziness, strong <i>lawa</i> and <i>saya</i> , long life, protection from other superhumans, good crops.
<i>chawatangma</i>	Burns, boils, paralysis, stomach pains, makes lame, blind, steals <i>lawa</i> , tampers with <i>niwa</i> to produce madness, anti-social behaviour, abundant crops and wealth with secret rites.
<i>khimpie, lataba</i>	Wounds, paralysis, debilitating and consumptive sicknesses, colds, rheumatism, protection.
<i>waya warema</i>	Fevers, dizziness, swellings, eye-ache, blood from nose or mouth, long life, strong <i>lawa</i> , <i>saya</i> , <i>niwa</i> .

By explaining illness and behaviour in terms of the 'anger' or 'hunger' of the *sammang*, 'responsibility' can be shifted from the self to the *sammang*. Human behaviour which is out of character, or for which there seems no obvious reason, may be explained as being "*sammang*". This is not to say that the Lohorung inevitably resort to the *sammang* or another superhuman being to explain everything unusual, incomprehensible, or even every physical affliction. The *sammang* are named to explain sudden and usually serious changes in a person's physical or mental state, or serious events, and in particular when a household know they have not paid attention to those particular *sammang* for some period of time. Each household expects to perform the ritual for each *sammang* at regular intervals, some like *chawatangma* very frequently, others annually, others every two years and others every five years. The Lohorung explain the fact that wealthier households perform more *sammang* than others by the fact that their way of life, such as frequency of

visitors, is more likely to anger or attract the notice of the ancestors.

It might be thought that 'preventive' rites could be performed, if a household knows that the time is due for a renewal of the relationship. And indeed, in the case of *waya warema*, this is done by some households. But in the case of the other *sammang* such a rite would be misinterpreted as being a bribe for favours, for plentiful crops for example; neighbours would talk and disapprove unless there was some visible reason for performing the rite. Whilst I was in Pangma one household was being talked about as one which performed *sammang* rituals "just to have forest meals", meaning just as an excuse to eat a lot of meat. Their son had suddenly 'lost his *niwa*', lost his sense of right and wrong, and had started eating his own faeces, for example, and then lost his senses, his sight and hearing. Everyone suspected *chawatangma's* anger. The boy's father had done a rite for her on his own, without the priest, to obtain good crops. The next day his son was in high fever and totally rigid, with his teeth clenched tight. The priest told the man he had done the ritual improperly. With the help of the priest, the family then performed rituals for *chawatangma* and for all the other *sammang*. "They performed *chawatangma* after *chawatangma*". There was general disapproval and agreement that there was no real reason to perform so many rites to *chawatangma* and that the household was just seeking excuses, as they had done in the past, to eat meat and obtain special favours from *chawatangma* for better crops. "If

they truly worry and care about him, why don't they take him to hospital in Daran?" The family was ignoring an important rule that the *sammang* must make the first move in their exchanges with each household, apart from rites to *waya warema* and to *khimpie* or *lataba*, the house ancestors, after a child is born. In the example given above, people said *chawatangma* had made no more moves by improving his condition or making him significantly worse to indicate she wanted to relate.

The *sammang* that I have not dealt with in depth, namely *ge-ereng* *me-ereng*, *subba subbeni*, *yangli*, *khuma*, *dechapa*, and *dhankutte* are those with whom the Lohorung have a less intense relationship, and whose rituals are performed at *iksammang*, an annual harvest-time rite, but less often on their own. The other ways in which the *sammang* contribute to the Lohorung indigenous psychology I shall discuss further in chapter ^{six} seven. Let me now turn to the *chap*, the other most important category in the Lohorung pantheon.

Chap

All the *sammang* are *chap*, but not all *chap* are *sammang*. *Chap* is a collective term referring to what we might call 'ghosts of the dead', or 'spirits of dead ancestors', whether they died a 'good' natural death or a 'bad' unnatural one, whether recently buried or far back in time. Interestingly, when asking a fellow Lohorung which clan he belongs to a man asks '*mang chap ro?*', that is, 'which are your dead ancestors?', and the man answers with the name of his clan. (A woman is asked 'who do you belong to?', 'whose are you? *mang mi' lo?* and the woman answers with the name of her father's clan, in accordance with the patrilineal, patrilocal emphasis of the society).

If a person is about to die, in the last few weeks and days their *lawa* goes to 'the *chap* side', increasingly following their path. In their dreams the person sees their dead relatives more than the living. Human beings are said to have died when the 'soul' (*lawa*) has left the body for too long for it to be returned, and the breath (*sokma*) has stopped. The *lawa* goes to the household shrine (*mangsuk*), wanders and meets other *chap*. Then the 'soul' of the person is thought of as *chap*. For three days after the breath has stopped and the person described as 'dead', their *chap* wanders freely and may 'attack/strike' (*tumsikme*) anyone before it is finally persuaded to join (*tongtimale*) the other *chap*. It may try to take the *lawa* of another person for a friend. Children are very frightened during the three days after someone has died.

The little boy in the house in Pangma I was staying in would not sleep. He had heard so many stories about what can happen.

The *chap* are only called to visit the living at funerals and at *nuagi*, the ceremony to renew the household shrine. Otherwise, the Lohorung's actions are to keep them away. At the funeral they are called to escort away the newly dead. They are tempted with food, offered to them by the grave and in the house. It is interesting to note that the *chap* are always given cooked meat or raw fruit and vegetables, never uncooked meat or the blood as the *sammang* are. The *sammang* are said to need the smell of the blood to know there has been a sacrifice made, to know that something special has been 'given' from the human household, whereas the *chap* are 'hungry' rather than 'angry' and want to eat the food they normally eat. To show that they respect their needs, Lohorung adults do not eat any new cucumber or pumpkin, rice or millet before offering them to the *chap*, a bit at *Saune Sagratti* (a Hindu rite) and then at *nuagi*, their own ritual. Whereas the blood is of use to the *sammang* who mostly died unnatural deaths and their bodies 'disappeared', blood is of no interest to those who have no body like the *chap* we are talking about here. The distinction also has the function of making clear which offerings are for whom. When offering food to the well integrated *chap* the Lohorung do not want to attract the *sammang*, which they do by avoiding blood. As we have seen above, these well-integrated *chap* are known to give no trouble to the human beings, and the Lohorung consider that they relate well (*tonguk*) with them. They

are called twice a year as *sikla* to be offered food and drink and that is considered to be sufficient to keep them 'happy', *chenchakmi*.

The problem for the human beings comes with the unintegrated *chap* whose form of death precludes them from entry into what is sometimes called *chaptempa*, the land/place of the *chap*, otherwise known as *yepmalitham hamalitham*. Their relationship with these *chap* is more complicated. The kind of death which is considered to form these *chap* is unnatural or premature, whether from childbirth, falling from a cliff or tree or other high point, from drowning, burns, attacked by dogs, cats or some other animal causing or immediately after their death, or suicide - usually hanging, each one a separate category with its own name. On the occasions dealing with these 'bad' deaths, the other *chap* are not called. The shaman, *mangpa*, is needed to keep the *lawa* away from family and protect the household. If the *mangpa* is not called, the fear is that a member of the household will fall sick very quickly and the *chap* will come at night as a *churenl(N.)*; that is, it will take the form of one of these fickle spirits who look female in front and are hollow in the back and who move at great speed. For twelve years it will disturb the household doing the worst it can. After twelve years it loses all its power and strength and never returns.

Forbidden to join the other *chap*, these *chap* are destined to roam forever. Inevitably they become hungry, thirsty, lonely, or

sometimes cold and it is their needs which the Lohorung see as forcing them to attack innocent people. In general, the Lohorung do not think of them as malevolent even though their 'attacks' have the effect of producing various kinds of physical symptoms, which may be summarised as follows:

<i>Harikmang</i> (<i>mammam lam</i>):	death in childbirth	:	stomache-ache, sweating, severe cramps
<i>Dinchaimpa</i>	: corpse touched by animal	:	head-ache, limbs & chest-ache
<i>Hongma yongpempa</i>	: drowning	:	cold body, stomach ache from navel up cramp
<i>Damsimpa</i>	: falling from cliff	:	body-aches esp. head & limbs
<i>Mie</i>	: burns	:	high fever, body v. hot
<i>Keng sikhempa</i>	: suicide	:	neck-ache, respiratory disease

When the 'soul of a woman who has died in childbirth' (*harikmang*) 'attacks/strikes' (*tumsiha*) they say someone has collided with *mammam lam*, 'the path of mothers'; when it is *dinchaimpa* that 'attacks', they have collided with *kaise lam* 'the bad, difficult path'; when it is any of the other four categories, it is 'the thin, dried up path', *sukha lam*. None of these *chap*, it is said, can follow the 'good, happy, easy nice' path of the well-integrated *chap*, for they do not get on with the *pappamammachi*. Although the Lohorung talk of themselves as being 'attacked' by

chap, their attitude towards them is, in general, compassionate. Though some are known to be malicious it is mainly in the form of wishing to tease, and when they themselves are thirsty and hungry. They conceive of only a few as being malevolent. This contrasts strongly with the Hindu *lagnu* spirits of the dead, who are generally accepted in the hills as being 'evil' and malicious. The compassion of the Lohorung is exemplified, for example, in women's relation to the *harikmang chap* 'women who have died from childbirth', who are destined always to roam alone unless they find another of their own kind. When women go to the spring to fetch water many of them flick some water into the air from the top of their water pots, as I have described myself learning to do, which they say is 'for *harikmang*' or other female *chap*, who cannot get water from the spring themselves to quench their thirst. Unable to drink from the spring they mainly take dew from the leaves. We can see the same compassion in the Lohorung customary habit of always flicking into the air some of the liquid from whatever they are drinking and some of the rice from their plate for the *chap*.

If the *chap* of one of the 'bad paths' does attack and a person falls sick, it can usually be dealt with by the person themselves or a relative, who burns a piece of cloth and calls to the offending *chap*, "You bad death person have attacked. We know you, and tell you to go away". Only if it becomes severe does a household call in a shaman or priest, who performs what is known as 'tse tse' with flowers and sometimes small elephants and

horses made of earth, different kinds of seed, rice, maize and millet on a leaf, which attracts the *chap*. The elephants and horses lure them into believing it is a place other than where they have been making trouble. The noses of *chap* are known to be very sensitive and smell the smoke from the burning rag. They also have *niwa* ('mind') and 'know' as well as 'feel' (*luchakmi*). The Lohorung say they know they have *niwa* because if they are near enough, they understand when they are told they must go away. The fact that they attack at all is also said to be an indication of their *niwa*.

Most *chap* tease. They are never encountered before sunset or after dawn. Lohorung sometimes describe them as being like leaves flapping in the wind, "First you hear them near, then far away. When you look where you thought you heard them, there's nothing there: the ear finds them; but the eye has nothing to see, like words". Sometimes they slam doors or blow out fires, or someone finds themselves standing in a pool of water. They try to take wood from people's fires, or strips of bamboo, especially the kind of bamboo called *yong baphu* which is used for carrying the dead. When fires suddenly fall into a new position it is said to be the *chap*. The following is typical of *chap* stories:

"Chitra was at home alone in their house up on the hill. Dhoje wasn't there so he made rice and lentils, ate his own share and put Dhoje's on one side. He tried to go to sleep. "As I lay there I heard children's feet going this way and that way, as if running between two houses, and they were crying. But there are no other houses nearby. I called out 'Who's there?' and went to look outside. There was nobody there so I went back and lay down. I heard it again, the hurrying feet and the crying, and again there was nobody there when I went to look. I lit a fire, then the wood ran out and I tried to sleep again. Sleep wouldn't come only

the teasing sounds. I was sweating, trying not to feel frightened." The next morning he found out from his sisters that a child had died on the path going past his house nearer the village that afternoon. The sounds he had heard that night were all the *chap* children going to meet the new one that had joined them in the afternoon."

After sunset and before dawn the Lohorung are very careful about moving around the village and usually carry a flaming torch, or a glowing piece of wood from the fire and if possible some *titepati* 'bitter leaves' (*Artemisia vulgaris* Turner, 1931:283) tucked somewhere into their clothes to keep away the *chap*. Almost nobody wanders outside the village after dark unless forced by circumstances, and then always with a companion and 'trying not to be afraid', the best form of protection.

There are individual *chap*, however, who do more than tease or attack from hunger and are certainly conceived as being malevolent and 'bad', and it is the stories circulating about them which make the Lohorung most fear the *chap*. One of them was called the Heluwali *chap*, named after the village of the dead man, but also known as Marga Devi. It used to wander around all the four Pangma villages as well as Heluwa, Angla, Malingtar, the main Lohorung villages in the area. It used to attack mainly women, cutting off their nipples, although it also attacked a man in Heluwa slashing him in many places without actually killing him. My next door neighbour's face in Gairi Pangma, badly disfigured by a large scar, was said to have been attacked by the Heluwali *chap*. It fought with another neighbour who says he saw it, a small being; they fought and both fell down the house

ladder to the ground. "Then it looked like a very tall and white person, as tall as if it reached the eaves". He also has a large scar on his face. The following is what I was told about this *chap* one evening by a boy called Harka and put in my diary :

"The *chap* is the spirit of a Heluwa man who went off hunting with only his gun as his companion. As he went off singing, his gun went off on its own killing him. His *chap* began troubling people soon after and none of the *mangpa* shamans could catch him. When it wanted to fight women it took the form of a woman, when attacking men it became a man, and it moved so quickly it was already attacking another person when a first victim started calling for help. The Tibetan *lama* eventually caught it with mantras and a small kind of prison. The *chap* cried and cried but it could not escape from the prison: it was trapped by the mantras. When they do a rite for Marga Devi to keep it quiet they cannot do it inside the *lama's* 'prison' only outside. It needs pigeons, chickens, goats, everything but nothing can be taken home to be eaten, it must be eaten there. It took off the ear of Dhan Bir too in Angla."

As I had been talking to Harka, the speaker above, Anuma said we should stop talking about it or it might hear and return tonight. She was genuinely a bit frightened, though she was trying to hide it for everyone says the only way to keep them away is 'not to be frightened'. People come with news of *chap* who have come to the locality, warning what their teasing tactics are, so that others can be prepared. In my first few months in Pangma someone came with news of a *chap* who calls out to people in the night. It was said to have reached Dara Pangma, and everyone was warned not to answer to anyone who calls in the night.

"If you answer you too will die. Two families have been finished in a village near to the Arun. It is possible to see her: she is a young girl, her front is normal but her back is hollow. If you answer she says, 'come to me after six hours'. We know its a *chap* because she doesn't make any sense, like human beings. Sometimes she comes to boys in their dreams and makes their semen flow. She comes night after night and the boy gets weaker and weaker until he dies. One has just died now she is maybe looking for another."

Nanda explained that in spite of stories such as these many Lohorung do not become too afraid if they know that they have kept good relations with the *sammang*. As a whole she said the Lohorung are well protected by their *sammang*, far better protected from the *chap* than the Chetri or Bahun. "The *chap* are afraid of the *sammang*. They say, 'those people (ie the Lohorung)

have so much -gods, lots of beer, *sammang*; those people can drink a lot of beer, they have *sammang* who look after them, we had better be careful, we must fear these ones".

We shall see more about the *chap* and the Lohorung concept of the person in chapter five. What we have seen here is that the *chap* solve many metaphysical questions for the Lohorung. They explain what happens to a person, to their *lawa* and their *niwa* when they die. The *chap* are 'hungry' rather than 'angry'. Again we see that the relationship between the living and these superhuman beings is based on trust. The *chap* trust the living to feed them and most of the *chap* in return keep away from the world of the living that they used to inhabit. It is only a few of the unintegrated *chap* that are troublesome.

Khammang and Yimi (Yumang, Yimang)

The superhuman beings of the previous two categories are represented as being very human, with fluctuating needs and emotions, and many of them, with colourful personalities. The Lohorung are forced into fairly constant consideration of the state of their relationship with them. In contrast, the couple khammang and yimi are almost entirely represented in abstract terms, with few human characteristics. They come across as being more distant than either the *sammang* or the *chap*. Yet, the relationship with this couple is of extreme importance to every household and is given particular attention at least once, and often twice a year in an annual ceremony called *nuagi*, which I describe in detail in chapter four.

The couple, who are most commonly known as *khammang* and *yimi*, are also known as *khammang* and *yimang* or *yumang* and are closely associated with the household shrine, *mangsuk*. The Lohorung emphasise that they are not *sammang* but form a category of their own. Obtaining information about these superhuman beings was always difficult and the information often vague. The most concrete and human of the information collected concerned their existence as a couple. Strangely, however, it seemed to me at first, although *khammang* and *yimi* were also always talked about as a complementary couple, the couple sometimes included a brother and a sister and sometimes a husband and wife.

One of the old men of the village tried to explain the confusion by telling me a brief story that involved several brothers and their sister. He said the ritual, *nuagi*, was for worshipping sisters of the house, "to bring back out-married sisters and to let them know that we do not want to lose them." The story behind it, he said, involved three brothers and their sister who had to cross a river, to take her to the man she was to marry. But, they did not know how to get their sister across the river. All the brothers loved her very much and they didn't know how to get her across safely. One brother suggested putting the sister into a basket as the way of carrying her across and this is what they did. Half way across, however, she fell out of the basket into the river and drowned. The brothers were thus left with no sister. The story did not seem to explain the discrepancy. Nanda, was talking to me one evening about the ritual *nuagi* and about *khammang* and *yimi*, and she mentioned in a lowered voice that, of course, they were also brother and sister, as well as being the husband and wife that they are presented as being in the rite. I immediately questioned her more and she patiently explained that they were the first incestuous couple. *Khammang* and *yimi* are the first couple to 'break the bones' *sekowa pokme*, which means to marry someone of the same clan as one's father before the prohibited time of seven generations. She said,

"Originally a brother and his younger sister became husband and wife; they had intercourse, but the wind blew violently, it began to hail and both of them became ill. They couldn't hear, see or speak. It was because of this that people knew brothers and sisters musn't have intercourse. A brother must have another woman apart from his sister. To make the brother and sister healthy again they had to place all the different kinds of food and drink that is given now at *nuagi*. After everything had been

offered the brother and sister could see, hear and speak again. Now if we sin, they make us deaf, dumb or blind or stop our minds working. That's why in *nuagi* we ask them 'don't stop our minds working properly; stay in your own place'".

Marriage with classificatory clan 'sisters' is prohibited. The intermittent transgression of it, however, is, in fact, an essential part of Lohorung social structure, as well as that of some other Kiranti groups, such as the Kulunge Rai. It is one of the identifying features of their culture. As Charles McDougal has pointed out, *hadphora*, 'breaking the bones' marriages are expected in order to maintain local endogamy. As he says, 'the Rais "want to have their cake and eat it too." Rather than give up a sister to another man in order to obtain a wife, the Rai solution is to marry the "sister" - i.e. clan woman'. (1979:155). And, though as Nanda said, "nobody wants to talk about it", it is, nevertheless, recognised that it is as a result of several incestuous marriages that many Lohorung clans have split and that Lohorung men have been able to carry on marrying, exchanging women within a small locality, very rarely marrying either across the river Arun, or with the Yamphu who live to the North or the Yakka and Limbu who live to the East. Four of the six main clans living in Pangma villages today, the Lamsong, Bi'wa, Dekhim and Lumben are 'brother' clans, having separated as the result of 'breaking the bones' marriages (4). And marriage within the Pangma locality is both preferred and a statistical fact (a high percentage of all current marriages in Pangma are with wives from the locality: Pangma, Helua, Angla, Dhupu, Chewa, Khorunde,

Malta, Apurdam, Malingtar or Diding.) The story of the three brothers and their sister begins to make sense. What it is saying amounts to, 'to marry sisters to someone across the river, to another tribe, is the same as seeing them drown. Either way you lose them'.

One of the significant aspects of Nanda's story (one that was later acknowledged by others) is that it represents *khammang* and *yimi* as being the innocent creators of an important structural feature of Lohorung life, and that their punishment affected their senses, which for the Lohorung are connected to their *niwa* (gloss 'mind', 'wisdom', 'thought'). Significantly, though *khammang* and *yimi* were transgressors of what is morally correct, they are now seen as being the guardians of spiritually and morally correct behaviour. *Niwa* learns what is 'correct', but *khammang* and *yimi* - both the terrestrial manifestations and the superhuman couple 'know' (*lekuchi*) what is morally correct. Unlike the *sammang* whose anger is made manifest to the living when they have been personally insulted or hurt, *khammang* and *yimi* rarely make themselves known to human beings and only if some important moral rule has been broken. Usually their relationship with human beings can be assessed by the amount of protection they are giving a particular household. If a household is healthy and prosperous their relationship with *khammang* and *yimi* must be good. Their *saya* must be high. We will see more of this aspect of *khammang* and *yimi* in chapter four.

Finally, it should be said that *khammang* and *yimmang* are connected to all three cosmic zones, the sky, the earth, and the watery subsoil, though their names identify them particularly with the earth. *Mang*, as we have seen, may be glossed as 'spirit'; *kham* is 'earth' or 'soil'. *Yumang* is less obviously an earth spirit. It seems very likely, however, that she is the Lohorung equivalent of the neighbouring Limbu spirit *Yuma*. Chemjong, a Limbu himself, writes about *Yuma* as being the earthly version of the Supreme Good spirit Ningwaphuma, "the most powerful spirit of knowledge and wisdom" (1967:22). *Yimi* or *yumang* is an authority on traditional lore and wisdom and closely connected to people's *niwa*: the Limbu *Yuma* is the "mine of knowledge and wisdom" whom "the Mundhum addresses by the name of Ningwaphuma" (ibid:22). The association of *khammang* and *yimi* with all three cosmic zones is clear in the representation of the Lohorung house shrine, as we shall see in chapter four. Rather than looking further here at these superhuman beings, their significance in Lohorung life will make more sense if considered alongside the ritual in which they are worshipped. We shall, therefore, discuss them in greater detail in chapter four on the house and the *nuagi* rite.

Conclusions

In conclusion, I should like to stress several features that have emerged from this overview of the Lohorung pantheon and the relationship of the Lohorung with the various categories of superhuman beings.

One of the most obvious features of the Lohorung pantheon is the lack of One God; The Creator and Almighty, who is personal, transcendent and holy. The Lohorung pantheon is polytheistic, not monotheistic. Even to enter into this terminology to describe their superhuman beings seems semantically incorrect for, as I have explained in this chapter, the Lohorung do not have any indigenous word for 'god'. If the Lohorung use the term *deutā*, what they mean is that the *sammang* are their nearest equivalent to the Hindu *deutā* and that they are as important as *deutā*. But this is not to say that they are the same. For them, the two concepts *sammang* and *deutā* are two different mental constructs with their own individual signification and intelligible properties. The *sammang*, the *chap*, and *khammang* and *yimi* are closest in signification to 'ancestors', perhaps 'divine ancestors', not 'gods', or deities.

Secondly, the Lohorung relationship with *sammang* is not so much based on 'belief' as 'trust' and reciprocity. The Lohorung respect them in much the same way as they respect the living elders, though with more fear and reverence. The system of trust links up with other Lohorung systems of reciprocity and trust in Lohorung life, such as the form of gift exchanges when visiting, called *huksok*, or the

availability of women for marriage in a system of reciprocity between villages. It is as if they extend the principles of social life outward to include relations with those superhuman beings (the 'first people' *yatliachi*) who lived on earth, made mistakes and created their present institutions and customs. And in return for respect shown to their traditions and their property those superhuman beings continue to offer prosperity, health and protection. If either side lets the other side down, the other side has to hurt and suffer pain. The ancestors usually hurt in their *niwa* or as a result of lowered *saya*, inflicted by the living, the living suffer sickness or pain, inflicted by the ancestors.

The third feature of significance that emerges from the chapter concerns the characteristics of the superhuman beings. We are used to the idea that the most important superhuman beings are noble, gentle and good and above all mysterious. The characteristics of the Lohorung superhuman beings, as we have seen, are in striking contrast. They are essentially 'human' and non-mysterious. There is a wide spectrum of colourful characters, authoritarian spirits of older ancestors, majestic spirits of past kings, fickle spirits, mournful desperate spirits of ancestors who died unnatural deaths, ones who protect, those who stand incarnate for the maternal and paternal line and most of them beings who have to be placated like children, so that the humans become 'fathers' to their ancestors. There is little that is inexplicable about them: their whims are well known. It would be hard for beings, who closely interconnect and penetrate Lohorung institutions and everyday life in the way they do, to remain

mysterious. This pervasiveness of the superhuman beings in Lohorung life constitutes for me another striking feature, and one I shall be looking at more closely in the next chapter.

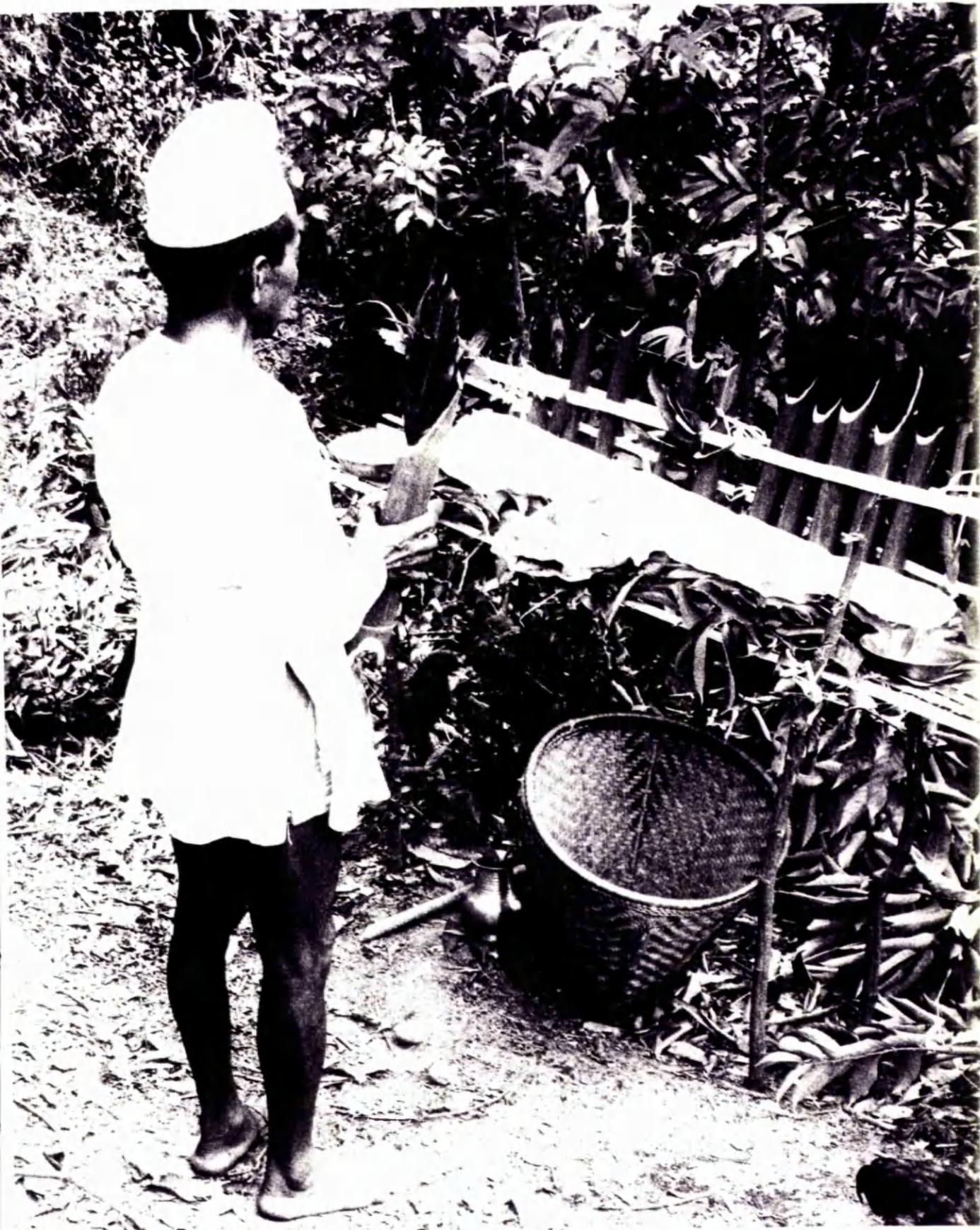
Lastly, I want to emphasise the Lohorung consciousness of their own faith and trust in their ancestors. Contrary to Horton's argument that people from a closed system cannot have consciousness of their own system (1967), many Lohorung have clear insights both into the 'Lohorung system' and what keeps people from giving up the trust in the ancestors. They sometimes describe themselves as having 'blind' trust. Explaining this, they recognise a trait in themselves: to be very ready to trust others, even to the extent of being naive, (and they quote how they were in their land transactions with the Brahmins and Chetris). They say that their trust in their traditions and the *sammang*, for example, or *khammang* and *yimi*, and in their priests (*yatangba*) and shamans (*mangba*) is often not based on knowledge for much of that knowledge has disappeared over time. Their great-grandparents 'knew', but because they are illiterate much of it has gone. So now they just 'blindly' trust. For the Lohorung trusting entails doing what and being where the mind trusts (*niwa chume*), or where the mind feels responsible. Since for them mind, *niwa*, is not or should not be altogether individually free, but directed by parents and the ancestral traditions, if their mind trusts they feel secure that their belief is well placed. It is in part 'our *niwa*' they say that will not allow them to escape from their own system.

As the Lohorung see it, it is not only the mind (*niwa*) which prevents Lohorung escaping their own system. It is also fear, conceived as part of *niwa* and their psycho-physical constitution, that is inevitably linked to the superhuman beings through *saya* once they have been introduced to the ancestors shortly after birth. Once the ancestors know of their existence, their anger or hurt *niwa* will inevitably manifest itself through individuals in the form of illness, or pains. The attraction of the Christian God is said to be that he does not get angry, and by Lohorung thinking one would therefore suffer fewer pains and sicknesses. Unfortunately, when the new convert becomes ill and cannot get better, the explanation is always in terms of angry *sammang*, for whom they perform a rite and get better. Their close relationship with the *sammang*, they say, means that they have no real freedom to change. Some may try, but the *sammang*, they say, are so powerful they are almost always drawn back. They mention examples of Lohorung who have tried to adopt new faiths. Hem was an example mentioned in this chapter of someone who wanted to become a Christian. As with Hem, it usually ends in misfortune, they say, or death in the family or severe illness. The *sammang* will not let them go. That is why, as I have explained already, they were worried about me. I had been claimed by the *sammang*- I must have been or *chawatangma's* anger would not have made me ill. What was I going to do in the West where there were no priests or shamans to deal with them? In Nepal they know how to pacify them, feed them and give them enough to drink. If necessary, who could contact them, who could go on the ritual journey to meet the *sammang* and pacify them, who could raise their *saya*?

The *chap* are different. No Lohorung is sceptical about these superhuman beings. They may be wrong about the power of the *sammang* and what they can do in their relationships with them, but there is nothing to discuss about *chap*. That has nothing to do with trust, as far as the Lohorung are concerned; those who think differently, such as the Tibetans who believe in re-incarnation, the Lohorung accept as just different people, with different and 'wrong' ideas. For many Lohorung, even some other Rai groups do not do things quite correctly. They are not 'wrong' but they have disgusting customs. For example, the Lohorung find the Khambu Rai custom of putting their dead in the field close by the house almost incomprehensible. The *chap* should be buried outside the village. They also consider disgusting their custom of feasting after a person has died : "how can you cry and eat at the same time? We Lohorung say the close family should eat only a little rice or some ghiu for three days". Thus, for the Lohorung it is for them a certainty that they will one day become *chap* and will be fed and given offerings by those still living. The implications of not having any children and in particular male children, who will look after the household shrine, *mangsuk*, to which they are called, are perhaps hard for us to appreciate. We can, however, see why a wife's barrenness is seen as the worst curse, depriving a man and his wife of being direct lineal ancestors.

Given the significance of the superhuman beings and the necessity to communicate with them, it makes sense that the role of the priest, *yatangpa*, is most important in Lohorung society. Let us now turn to

the oral traditions that lie behind the relations between the living
and their ancestors.



SHRINE FOR WAYA WAREMA ANCESTOR

Chapter Three

Pe-lam: The Present and the Past

Introduction

In the last chapter, I examined the nature of the Lohorung superhuman beings who lie at the core of their indigenous traditions and their understanding of illness and prosperity. The lore, language and special knowledge pertaining to these beings is the subject of this chapter. We shall see how the Lohorung conceive of the strength, support and protection of their society and the individuals within it, as coming from the primeval past, from the Original Beings and Ancestors, their lore and traditions and from the indeterminate power that was invested in the natural original order of the world. Those who do not have this strength behind them, though they may appear powerful, in fact have more to fear and are said to be turning towards the traditions of the Lohorung ancestors in order to overcome their vulnerability and face life as it is. The recent adoption by Brahmin and Chetri households of ritual sacrifice to Lohorung ancestors are explained in this way. The significance of the ancestral world to the Lohorung themselves is such that one of the first acts to be performed when a Lohorung has been absent some time from Lohorung society is to restore the connections of that individual with the ancestors. Knowledge about this ancestral past and the means to maintaining it in the present are contained in what the Lohorung

call *pe-lam* or sometimes *mundhum*. In this chapter, I convey what is meant by *pe-lam*, how the Lohorung view it and how it affects their lives.

As a phenomenon, the *pe-lam* clearly links to a wider tradition existing amongst several hill tribes of the Himalayas, as well as having similarities with the *sgrung* ceremonies of pre-Buddhist Tibet (see Tucci:1980). It is generally accepted that all the various Kiranti tribes have some form of *pe-lam*. The *mundhum* of the Limbu, for example, is said by the Lohorung to be partially 'compatible with' ("*tonguk*") their own *pe-lam*, which they also refer to as *mundhum*. The term *mundhum* is not to be found in Turner's Nepali-English dictionary, but as MacDonald notes (1975:159) it is explained by Kajiman Kangangba in his *Nepali-Jan-Sahitya* (Kathmandu 2020, B.S.:103) as containing "traditions about the creation of the world and that they are sung by *dhami*, *bijuwa*, *phedangma* and *baidanga*". The term is, however, most connected to the traditions of the Kiranti tribes of East Nepal and in particular to those which one Kiranti man has described as 'scriptures', dealing with Kiranti religion (Chemjong dictionary Limbu-English, 1961:126). In another book Chemjong gives a fuller explanation of the meaning of the word *mundhum* for the Kiranti people; "mundhum means the power of great strength and the Kirat people of east Nepal believe it to be true, holy and powerful scripture" (1967:21). Chemjong's work on the *mundhum* is based largely on manuscripts written in Limbu script, which is why he is able to use the term 'scripture'. This is, however, misleading,

for it is not a suitable translation for the *mundhum* of any of the other Kiranti tribes, since they are all essentially oral in nature. Whether the *mundham* or *pe-lam* can be considered as "holy" is a question I shall deal with shortly.

It is not only the Lohorung and the Limbu who possess a corpus of lore and knowledge similar to the Lohorung *pe-lam*. The Lohorung generally accept that every Rai tribe has myths, rites and traditions relating to their own ancestors and origins, and that some of these overlap with their own, especially relating to the story of the origin, the stories concerning the First People and the dispersal of tribes. For example, the story of how the Lohorung ancestors first came to live in the Arun valley is the same as that recounted by the Metlahang Rai, a 'brother' tribe of the Lohorung, living to the North. Unfortunately, however, since very little research has as yet been carried out amongst the twenty or more different Rai tribes, it is hard to assess the nature of the similarities and differences in their oral traditions. Nick Allen's work on the myths of the Thulung Rai (unpublished thesis) however, does reveal that there are strikingly similar themes, even similar stories, in the traditions of at least two Rai tribes - those of the Lohorung and the Thulung - which reaffirms the local view that there does exist a much wider proto-tradition linking together a large number of now dispersed and differentiated tribes in East Nepal.

Pe-lam, in terms of content, includes for the Lohorung those of their customs, habits, traditions, rituals and myths, which they conceive as belonging to their own ancestors. In this sense, *pe-lam* is what distinguishes them in their own eyes from other tribes. As one man put it, it is "*tangpam jat*" (our own tribe). Thus the *pe-lam* gives the Lohorung cultural identity and 'unity'. It is one of the key ways the Lohorung maintain their boundaries and express and experience their own distinctiveness in relation to other groups. It sets them particularly apart from the Hindu groups and binds them closer to the other neighbouring Kiranti, who are conceived as sharing many of the same traditions. The *pe-lam* is quintessentially 'tribal', much of it spoken in ritual language. Lohorung culture is inevitably involved in the complex process of Hinduisation but if we ask what is left of their own culture, undiluted by Hinduism, it is the stories, myths and rituals of the *pe-lam* that stand out.

The Lohorung sometimes refer to *pe-lam* synonymously as *riti'lam*, using the Nepali term *riti* meaning 'custom, ceremony, manner or way' (Turner 1931:537). And the term *pe-lam* does indeed incorporate the meaning of both the 'way' of performing a ceremony or ritual, the paraphernalia, the location, the form of the ritual chant, as well as referring to the ritual itself. In fact, *lam* in Lohorung means 'path' or 'way' in our sense of 'course of action or line of conduct' as well as 'footway'. Thus, *pe-lam* is the way of the *pe*. *Pe* has no separate meaning that I know of in Lohorung, except as linked to the verb *pe:me*, to speak, warn. More

obviously, however, one is drawn to the Tibetan *dpe*, meaning pattern or model; parable, example, or analogy; also symmetry, harmony, book (Jäschke, 1975: 327) for the *pe'lam* is precisely this: (the way of) patterns or examples to be repeated, the past acting as a template for the present. Stories and songs (*gtam-spe*) in pre-Buddhist Tibet seem to have had a significance similar to the *pe-lam* of the Lohorung, as we learn for example from Stein when he writes that:

"The stories and songs... were supposed to 'protect the kingdom', like the rites of Bon, through their religious powers. They express the wisdom of the elders and their trustworthy nature lends its sanction to the social and world order, the structure of the environment and that of the group inhabiting it...
...These accounts are frequently called *gtam-dpe*, a term whose second syllable combines the meanings of example, metaphor, maxim, tale and book. During the colloquies, 'sayings' (*dep*) of the elders are cited as authority. When describing the 'religion of men', the different parts of the lion's body are used as a pattern or metaphor (*dpe*) for different types of tradition. By conforming to the patterns and precedents laid down in the time when things originated, we take our place in the order of the world and thereby help to uphold it". (1972:192).

The idea of stories and songs (or ritual chants), associated with elders or ancestors, as being a form of protection, as ratifying and upholding the social and world order if one conforms to their example, is as familiar to the Lohorung as it appears to have been for the pre-Buddhist Tibetan.

The ancestral past for the Lohorung is neither myth nor history, that part of the past is an intrinsic and ever-living part of the present, acting as a constant reminder, an image or consciousness of the knowledge, morality, and correct order of nature and society, which has to be respected and maintained in order to

ensure the continued strength of their society. The 'consciousness' is altered by generations and brought alive and made present by those who speak the words of the *pe-lam* and perform the ritual acts they accompany. It is full of symbols that evoke life as it should be. To understand the full impact of the *pe-lam* it must be said that reality for the Lohorung is not necessarily what they can see, the world is not as presented to them by ordinary experience, it is not physical and material reality. Reality for them consists of what they know to have been the order in the past, in the world of their ancestors, and which still exists in the present. Things that are not part of the *pe-lam* lack ultimate reality. It exists in the present both in the separate world of the ancestors in *Hepmalitham Yepmalitham* and also in the world as known by the living. Its presence manifests itself everywhere, in any place, happening, and in all things possessing *saya* within them. Thus, for example, crops, springs and material objects possessing *saya* could, in the time of the ancestors, talk to ancestors who could understand them. Although at the present time men and women can no longer hear or understand the speech of these phenomena, many Lohorung believe they must act *as if* they did. The order of things at the time when they were heard is recorded in the lore and legends of the *pe-lam*, which acts as a model or template in terms of which Lohorung conceptions of the world, self and relations between them are given a definite form.

Although *pe-lam* functions as a charter, it should not be forgotten that its connection with the origin of things is predominant in its semantic range. This will become obvious as I describe the contents of the *pe-lam* in this chapter. The ancestral pattern, the template of the *pe-lam*, was laid down in the time when things originated and were established. Thus when attempting to explain the status of a particular activity the Lohorung might interchangeably describe it as being part of their *pe'lam* or as part of their *poktham-yeptham*, the place/time of rising, originating - the place/time of settlement, establishment. *Pokme* is the Lohorung verb with the most general meaning of 'to rise, to get up from a lying position' whilst *yepme* means 'to stand, remain standing, maintain a standing position' with a sense of 'standing firmly'. The Nepali term *utpatti* with the meaning of 'creation, production, origin, source, parentage, pedigree, beginning' (Turner, 1931:48) was used to explain to me their own notion *poktham-yeptham*.

The significance of the origins lies in the Lohorung belief that the repetition of the stories of origin, linked with the Original Beings and Ancestors, or the performance of rituals in their name, as well as the duplication of activities such as hunting, fishing, weaving, or house-building, which are considered 'civilising' (see *Mangsuk*, chap. four), act to commemorate and bring to life again the power of the primeval time. In particular, the recitation of any part of the *pe-lam* gives new strength to the society: the mention of the ritual name, the original named for things, raises

saya, thereby strengthening the tie between the living and the ancestors. The importance of maintaining connections with the origin of things seems to have been equally significant for the pre-Buddhist Tibetans.

"The recitation of a myth of origin has the meaning of a restoration of a primitive state; this evocation of the origins (even if it only lasted for a brief moment) gave new strength to society and to the family dominating it, through the function innate within the ritual of making a connection between the three worlds (the heavenly world, the intermediary world, and the world of men). The three worlds were brought together in the ritual in a unity which in daily life continually deteriorates and which is consequently always in need of renewal" Tucci, 1980:233)

For the Lohorung the three worlds whose unity should be maintained comprise the world of the living, the world of the ancestors above, and the world of the ancestors in the sub-soil. In primeval times these were as one, and it is these roots of existence which are the source of energy and identity. (Even the original trials of success and failure act as warnings to indicate correct behaviour and the right path to follow). If we think of the imaginary rope (See Chapter One) (figuring in the main house ritual) which connects the head of each Lohorung and their *niwa* to the ancestral worlds, we could say that the recitation of the *pe-lam* strengthens the rope, renewing the lines of communication between the separate worlds and allowing better understanding and mutual support. The repetition has the same kind of force as the renewal of an old memory - a memory which whether good or bad brings back into existence a moment of the past. Time past is vitalised and brought vividly into the present. Proust aptly

describes the force of this combination of past and present, which derives its strength in part from a realisation of an essence. In the recitation of the *pe-lam* it is the essence of things too that is recalled and recreated, given a new existence. Proust's description helps to appreciate this process:

"..the noise - to be mirrored at one and the same time in the past, so that my imagination was permitted to savour it, and in the present, where the actual shock to my senses of the noise..or whatever it might be, had added to the dreams of the imagination the concept of "existence" which they usually lack, and through the subterfuge had made it possible for my being to secure, to isolate, to immobilise ...what normally it never apprehends: a fragment of time in the pure stage..this being (reborn with a sudden shudder of happiness when I heard the noise) is nourished only by the essence of things, in these alone does it find sustenance and light. In the present it languishes" (1972:228).

As we shall see it is the essential identity of the Lohorung, the essence of man as a hunter, woman as a weaver, the relationship between man and nature, man and super human, for example, that is conveyed in the *pe-lam*. We also see described the shared essences deriving from the community of origin, and the ultimate nature of things.

It is because the *pe-lam* is so closely linked to the Lohorung sense of their own identity, their own cultural heritage, and their own ancestors that it is often understood as being "that which the *yatangba* (the local tribal priest) deals with" as opposed to the *mangba*, the shaman, whose guiding spirits and gods come from a variety of sources, rather than from the line of Lohorung heritage. (1)

The path of the *mangpa* is mixed with non-*pe-lam* elements. It is the *Yatangba*, as we have briefly seen in the last chapter, who deals with the well-established ancestors, following the *bongbi lam*, the path of the *kul* (N), the path of the lineage ancestors connected to the household shrine. To simplify a little, the main concern of the *yatangba* is to maintain the order of Lohorung society: he deals with the life-cycle rituals, rites concerning the fertility of the soil, the protection of the crops, the house, the village, the clan, he retrieves lost *lawa*, he propitiates the *sammang* ancestors and performs the rituals to them when he has diagnosed their anger or envy as the cause of a person's sickness. In contrast, the *mangpa*, who never performs during the day, in the strictly *mangpa* role, deals almost exclusively with the forces of disorder, with the spirits of those who have died unnatural deaths, when there is some misalignment between a person and the planets, when there is general misfortune or sickness within a particular household, there is lack of harmony between household members, or he may be called to kill the fire spirit thought to be threatening a house. It is the *Yatangba's* primary concern with order and the ancestors of their own lineage, as opposed to the *mangpa's* function to control disorder, which makes the *yatangba* so closely linked to the *pe-lam*, though the *mangpa's* performance does also include many references to the stories of the *pe-lam*. (2)

The different techniques of the two officiants, however, also reveals the more local tradition to which the *yatangba* belongs, and the wider shamanistic traditions to which the *mangpa* is a

part. Whilst the *mangpa* possesses an elaborate range of magical powers, including the shamanistic techniques of trance and possession, the powers of the *yatangba*, as his name suggests, "from mouth alone" derives largely from the power of the ritual words of the *pe-lam*, words that can only be understood by ancestors of the Lohorung heritage and not from any other heritage. As one Lohorung explained one particular ritual part of the *pe-lam*:

"The *sammang* ancestors have their *lam* (path) which is the one the *yatangpa* follows, and knows about, and which we don't know about. It's dangerous for us to know. It's dangerous for him too but he knows how to control it. He knows the weapons - the leaves and flowers, and the words - how they should be spoken".

Memory, action and performance are central to the *pe-lam*. Without some conscious memorisation and action, the *pe-lam* as the Lohorung know it, would die. And indeed, some of it is disappearing as the old people who knew it die and as the young lose interest in giving the myths the significance they used to hold. This is not true of the rites in general, except for one rite that I know of, in which exact memorisation or word for word reproduction was needed. This particular 'life prolonging' rite, in which the ritual term for numerous flower names had to be recited in exactly the correct order not to be fatal for the patient, is now no longer performed. It is merely part of the collective idea of what the priests used to be like not so long ago when they were more powerful. Perhaps it always had this status. Other rites requiring good memory still persist, such as the *chokho* or *waya warema* rite, mentioned in the previous chapter. It also requires a memory for

flower names; if one flower name is omitted, "people become frightened and there is a possibility someone will die". Most rites have a particular formula, or 'path', which fits the ancestor involved and clearly acts as a mnemonic device. The 'path' can be listed. The path of the *khimpie sammang* (house ancestor), for example, goes first to the *chawa* (the ceremonial spring of each clan) of the clan of the household, then to the *samek* (ritual name of the clan) and follows the 'Arun river path', Salpa Pokhari, Irkhuwa Chirkhuwa, Maha Kulung, Khempalung, Maha Chin (China Rajam country), Kumbu Karna country, Namdama lam ('setting sun path), Nam Ketam lam (rising sun path), Sunnaliyo lam, rupaliyo (the easy, pleasant path), and back to the *chawa* and the house and the parts of the house possessing *saya* and ritual names. This is the mountain path (*wasri-ma lam*), which is very difficult so many go the lower path, along the Sun Kosi, the Dudh Kosi, to Halesi, that is, the Chenge '*khasuk-ma khayama*' path. The route almost always starts and finishes in the house, and with a detailed listing of all the parts of the house that possess *saya*, and therefore need their *saya* raising. Apart from 'paths', there are other types of aids to performance, such as repetitions of phrases particular to each ritual; "sahel" constantly appearing in *waya warema*; or 'saying words' , that is, meaningless words, repeated after ritual phrases such as in the above *rupaliyo* to go with *sunnaliyo*. These 'saying words' proliferate in ritual chants. (3)

We can see, then, that each *yatangpa* has a kind of outline within which he can compose his own performance. In the recitation of the *pe-lam* he remakes the tradition and remakes it personally to some extent making additions and omissions and changes in order. Thus, although there is a continuity of tradition, there is also a wide variety which retains the pattern and essential meaning of the ritual or myth but each time alters the text. In the telling of the myths no-one complains about personal additions. There is stronger feeling amongst most Lohorung about the ritual chants. The *yatangpa* communicates with the superhuman world and the Lohorung express fear about how such communications are carried out. People complain about the way *yatangpa* priests have delivered their words, distressed that they did not know the words properly, or that they did not know enough of them so that the rite was rushed. There was a fear that the rite would anger the ancestor involved. Inevitably, certain *yatangpa* are favoured because the households say they can be trusted to perform the rites in the 'correct' fashion.

The ritual chants have survived better than the myths simply because people are more concerned that they are spoken, and spoken as properly as possible. The myths have no immediate prophylactic function in the same way as the rites, and are only of interest to those Lohorung who are concerned about their heritage. Let me now look more closely at the Lohorung dispositions towards the *pe-lam*.

Lohorung dispositions towards the *Pe-lam*

From what has been said so far about *pe-lam*, it is obviously of crucial significance to the Lohorung, their sense of identity, continuity, and their psychological and physical well-being: it acts to maintain the strength, support and protection of ancestral traditions and those who are their living executors. It provides them with the discord for their own identity, the categories through which they conceive of themselves and gives order and meaning to their universe. Men and women are destined to be linked with the condition founded in primeval time, when the world was taking shape and ancestral beings were making it habitable, humanized and civilized, when the relationship between man and nature, man and the natural species was established. The inevitable nature of the link is reflected in the Lohorung notion of *saya* which acts as a kind of sacred connection between the living and everything originating at the time of the Original Beings and Ancestors. Everything mentioned in *pe'lam*, including Man, has *saya*, an indestructible life-force, or ancestral substance.

Pe-lam as a concept, then, is all-pervasive, and this raises the issue of whether or not the Lohorung regard it as "sacred" or "holy". My hesitation in using the term lies in the separation of categories it tends to imply, (a "sacred" area as opposed to one that is "profane", a religious" perspective as opposed to common-sense, for example), whereas for the Lohorung these are almost

always inextricably intertwined. They do make a distinction between *lemmang*, the reality which is graspable and perceived by the waking consciousness, and *semmang*, the reality reached in dreams or trance, neither bound by space or time. But there is yet another reality which is the perception and meaning of things as derived from the *pe-lam* that overrides both of these. And certainly things that are *pe-lam* marked (sometimes ritually-marked, but not always) have a particular valency in Lohorung life owing to their connection with the ancestors, (some of whom are worshipped, whilst others are not). On the other hand, the orientation of the *pe-lam* is often far from being other-worldly. Therefore, rather than use the word "sacred" let me describe some of the dispositions, moods and motivations which the Lohorung express in relation to *pe-lam*, to better understand how the Lohorung view it.

The dispositions evoked at times of the more formal recitation of *pe-lam*, such as at the *sammang* ancestral rites, was explained as a combination of respect *hangmale*, fear (*kisimalu*) and excitement (*chenchame*). The fear, the Lohorung say, is because there is danger.

"The *sammang* ancestors come: they are called to the place. If they are angered by someone's behaviour that person may become ill, they may even die. Like Hem's mother who can hardly move. They were doing *khimpie* (the house ancestor), and they didn't use the good beer. It was a little sour. Before she was a bit stiff, now she can hardly move".

Women and children, spinning, or making leaf plates, or delousing each other sit in a group apart from the shrines, which are made

by the men. The men are the active participants in the rite, performing all the necessary functions such as cooking and aiding the *Yatangba* priest. It is said to be too dangerous for women and children to relate to the ancestors by taking an active role in the rites or even by sitting close to the shrines. Their *saya* is *michupa* 'small', *lulo* 'relaxed, bending, easily persuaded', or *niphero* 'weak, fragile', and cannot protect them against the possible anger, envy or jealousy of the ancestors. Some *sammang* ancestors, too, are said to like to tease and try to tempt away the *lawa* (the wandering spirit or soul) from women and children, not necessarily maliciously, but simply for want of a companion. The *saya* and *lawa* of men are *niThuri* (N.) 'cruel, ferocious, powerful'; they are *chenchen* 'firm, strong' and keep the *sammang* at a distance.

Although I have glossed *kisimalue* above as 'fear', a better interpretation of it, in the context of rituals, might be 'fearsome' or 'awesome', the propensity to evoke fear, rather than the emotion itself, for the Lohorung emphasise that during the *sammang* rituals "one should not feel fear" *kisima phenni*. "Even if you feel fear you must not show it". For someone to show fear would be to draw attention to their vulnerability and thereby invite the attack of one of the *sammang*. The emphasis in all behaviour throughout the ritual is control, in order to avert and control the danger. This is expressed in the number of *phenni* 'prohibition' rules which surround these occasions. *Phenni* has a general sense of "it is wrong, bad, worthless" as in "if you are

ill, to drink beer *phenni* - wounds appear", this water pot *phenni*, it leaks" or "to kick a cow or sister *phenni*, you will be cursed and develop wounds or die". In the context of the *sammang* rites the meaning is perhaps closer to "it is forbidden". It is *phenni*, for example, to eat or drink once the main leaf of the shrine has been laid down, and until the sacrifice has been performed and the offerings given to the ancestors. It is *phenni* to have any communication with any person other than those in the group performing the ritual. The special place for the ritual, whether in a secluded spot in the forest, or the garden behind the house, or in the house itself, is "shut off" from contact with the outside world. In the case of the house ritual the house is literally boarded up. This action of cloistering is classified as a *nepme* 'prohibition' or 'restriction', similar to the *phenni* rules. Some Lohorung 'restrict' Tuesdays: they go no-where, receive no guests, and exchange no goods. Certain rituals, such as *Iksammang* (also known as *bali puja* N.), require a 'prohibition' of work on the following day. If people work, they say, the crops fail. Those who are *yatangpa* have food 'prohibitions'. They cannot eat the category of food called *sung-sa*, including goat, and mountain sheep. (4)

The Lohorung take these *phenni* 'prohibition' rules seriously. Any breach of the rules is said to lead to chaos, failure of the ritual, and sickness amongst the participants, if not death. Either the ancestors become jealous of those taking food and drink, or they are enraged by acts which are interpreted as

demonstrating lack of respect. Such behaviour would obviously be counter-productive to rituals performed in part to assuage ancestral anger and to indicate that ancestors and ancestral ways are authority. Thus at one level, the rules are adhered to in order to convey to the ancestors that those who have called them, have the correct attitude towards them.

At another level, the *phenni* rules, and especially that of prohibiting contact with outsiders, reflect the extent to which the Lohorung regard the rituals of the *pe-lam* as being efficacious. They are effective not only in curing particular individuals, but also in transforming the state of all the participants and the objects involved. During the period of the ritual the participants are brought into contact with the ancestral world and become transitional beings, in much the same sense as neophytes do in the rites described by Turner (1977). As liminal persona they have no social reality - no property, no heirarchy and no social identity. For the rite to be effective the participants must maintain this non-social status. The Lohorung say that the most destructive form of contact with someone outside the ritual would be to be called by one's name, to be asked for a loan, or to be asked to join in some agricultural labour, ie to be recalled into one's status in the world of the living. Not only is the ordered, social everyday world of the living dangerous for the ritual group, the transitional state of the ritual group is also a danger to the outside, and therefore to be avoided. Other occasions when houses or villages are isolated,

such as times of epidemics or incest, are perhaps more obviously dangerous and polluting. But for the Lohorung the ritual group, taken back into Ancestral time by the recitation of the *pe-lam* words and the presence of ancestors at the shires, is just as dangerous. For the participants themselves, the liminal period - if conducted correctly and without interruption - results in the raised *saya* of all concerned as well as all ritual objects.

In contrast to the moods and attitudes considered appropriate at the *sammang* ancestral rituals, are those expressed in response to the stories about the *Namnunglachi*, the 'sun-moon people', the Original Beings. Few Lohorung now know these stories in any depth. There is none of the necessity for maintaining them as there is for the rituals. Mainly, I heard them from older women (three in particular), who had learnt them from other women when they were young. Snippets of the stories accompanied respite from labour in the fields. "As we sat to rest, we all used to gather round *mamma*, drinking out *dibu*, beer, and eating our snacks. She used to make us laugh. We used to say 'mammo, tell us some more about Yechakukpa and Chumling Chongma'. We didn't know they were our *uꞑpatti*, our origins".

The stories were also always repeated to me with considerable laughter and dramatisation, particularly of the tricks and misfortunes included in the recitation. Certainly there were no *phenni* restrictions on drinking or on any other behaviour. Just as

at all times when men were not present, the women were carefree with their dress, posture and comments.

Men rarely admitted that they knew these stories, though their evident embarrassment at the very mention of them indicated that many of them knew about them. They were ashamed, however, to admit or re-tell the stories, some of which in the eyes of the modern day Nepali seem childish. One woman explained the attitude of men, "men are ashamed (*ngesimalu*) of the stories. They pretend to be big and important and not to know. They want to talk about the *Panchayat* (local politics). But it is our *pe-lam*, we should respect it". From this, it should not be concluded, however, that men disregard the stories of the *pe-lam*. This is far from the case. Many men regarded the stories as essential for understanding who the Lohorung are, and even encouraged me to discover more particularly concerning the origins of tribes. The shyness and hesitation on the part of men had more to do with the ever-increasing pressures on the Lohorung society to devalue the tribal aspects of their society, such as their own language, the Rai headmen, the ownership of the jungle, their traditional dress and ornaments, their house style, their tradition of hunting and raising of pigs, and instead to adopt Hindu and pan-Nepal traditions. The young are more eager to learn Nepali songs than *pe-lam* stories, for example, and to go to school rather than hunt and weave.

Ironically, although the present social milieu detracts from the significance of the *pe-lam* stories in the lives of the Lohorung, (in the sense that the *pe-lam* has to compete with the modernising ways of Hinduism and increased travel), yet at the same time, the milieu creates an increased motivation for them to perform the ancestral rituals, for contact with the outside world merely emphasises the extent to which they are vulnerable. And the one way that the Lohorung know how to counteract their vulnerability is by raising their *saya*, by performing the rituals of the *pe-lam* and thereby strengthening their contact with the ancestors. *Pe-lam*, for the Lohorung, is one of the main ways of coping with the modern world. The imbalance of the present in terms of their own knowledge, status and prestige in relation to other groups can only be neutralised or defeated by the power of their own ancestral ties.

Pe-lam, Man and Nature

The *pe-lam* spells out the relationship between man and nature, between man and the natural species as being one in which man is regarded in many ways as part of nature, bound by psycho-physical ties and those of kinship. One of the most striking statements I kept hearing from the Lohorung was the assertion "We are the brothers of tiger and bamboo". I should like to look here at how this statement is embedded in the *pe-lam*, and to tease out exactly what it does mean to the Lohorung. One of the stories I heard that included the statement went as follows:

"First of all there was only water, rain and ponds, only water. Then a rainbow came and earth and sky men and earth became the mother and sky the father. The child's name was Ninimaremma. Ninimaremma was filled with, had intercourse with the wind, and Ninimaremma became pregnant. Niniyama was born. Niniyama asked her mother where she came from, and her mother told her "The wind came into me and I became pregnant". Having heard her mother's words, Niniyama went to the spring and called to the wind. But the wind indeed did not come. She called again and still nothing happened. Niniyama returned home; "Why didn't the wind come to me" she asked her mother. Her mother replied, "the wind is your father. You must look for a husband in the sky". Ninimaremma had heard about sukra (N.) (the planet Venus). She gave money and beer to two Jogio (*tse perekwa*) birds telling them to bring sukra. Off they went, but on arriving there they found that he was not there. Bryaspatti (N.) (Jupiter) was there. So the birds said to Bryaspatti, "you must come with us". "I won't go to that place: they don't like me." Bryaspatti you see had an ugly goitre. The birds insisted and they all went off to Niniama's. When she saw him she obviously didn't like him. He saw this and he became very angry and he decided to go back. Bryaspatti said (to himself), "When I get back I'll make the sun very strong. Everything will dry up, all the water will dry up. And when Niniama is thirsty the Jogio birds will give her my urine from a leaf. And some of the dried shit from the birds tails will fall on her mouth". He told the birds that when Niniama cried out in despair they should give her his urine. The birds dipped their tails into the urine put in the hollow of a tree and shook them over her mouth. The birds gave it to her and she became pregnant - all the species began to grow and from her was born the thorny creeper (*chiching*), bamboo (*baphu*), the tiny black fly,

(*bhusunna*), Bear (*maksa* or *Tumnahang*), monkey (*pubbang*), Tiger (*Kiba* or *Paknahang*), and Man (*Pomnahang*) - the Kiranti. We are all brothers, our mother the same."

There was some discussion amongst the listeners surrounding my informant, about whether it was a rainbow or thunder and lightning which had initially joined the earth and sky. Some people also talked of the initial creation as deriving from a great and circular motion, like weaving an enormous *pira* (N.), a round woven rush mat, or from the movement of leaves blown into a spiral by a strong gust of wind. They all, however, accepted the power of the elemental forces, like the rain, the wind, rainbows, and thunder and lightning. There was some talk too about the original plants, a few more being added, but there was always a clear progression from the simplest forms of life to mankind. Lohorung say that they have a reputation for looking like tigers because the brother closest to them - to the Kiranti - was a tiger. Another version of the creation story was given to me by a shaman.

"First from *Niniama* came the thorny creeper, the reed, the small cane, the large cane, and bamboo - all the different kinds. These were created, then Bear, then Tiger, then Man, a *Yakkaba* like us. You know him - *Yachakukpa*. For ten months he was in *Niniama*'s womb. With him a bow and arrow, a shield and sword. We are all descendants of that part of creation. Our rising place is the same, all of us brothers. The destination was not the same. Some of them went off into the forest: Tiger, Bear and Man remained in the same place as their mother. When they were grown up they began to quarrel. The place was not big enough for all of them. Tiger, the eldest son, went off to kill birds, the main source of food that was available. Bear tried to catch some in a trap. He was not very successful. *Yachakukpa* (Man) became important with his bow and arrow; he shot many birds and Tiger didn't like it. One day, Man and his bamboo bow and arrow went off with tiger into the jungle. Man had no clothes, at that time, you know, he had only strips made of pliable, dried grasses intertwined. Whilst hunting he notices Tiger looking at him "will my brother try to

eat me?" he asked himself. Next time, Yachakukpa went hunting on his own, leaving behind Tiger and Bear with their mother. Now, nothing that Tiger had hunted would he share with his mother. All the birds that he caught, he ate himself. And that was all the meat there was to eat. However much he caught, it was only enough for himself.....When Yachakukpa returned he found his mother dead. Tiger had starved her to death. He went to look for Tiger but looked in vain. Later he found Tiger and told him to go with Bear and bury their mother. But after some time he came across Tiger and Bear again, lying asleep by the pile of bones of their mother. They had eaten their mother. Yachakukpa sent them off into the jungle".

It is clear that one of the main themes of this part of the *pe-lam* is dispersal. First, some of them go off into the jungle, but even so the place is not big enough for the remaining few. This strikes a familiar key. Lohorung sons and their wives soon find the parental household 'not big enough' when they begin to have children and wish to make their own decisions. There is obvious rivalry in the story just as there often is in reality. In the end Yachakukpa separates himself from Tiger and Bear, once more dispersing the original brothers. It is pertinent that certain species are not mentioned as 'brothers'. It is as if birds, trees, stones, springs, fish, insects, and flowers always existed. There is no part of the *pe-lam* which deals with their origin as species and the Lohorung surprisingly seem uninterested in their origins. They are, however, much concerned with how particular types within these species came to look, smell, or act as they do now. Stories proliferate about why, for example, different birds cry out and behave as they do, why insects have different shaped bodies and wings, why some flowers of the same type have two colours, why one kind of frog is likened to a bird, why man cannot walk soon after

birth like other species with legs. Lohorung are thus here interested in how a type becomes differentiated within a species, defined by them as such. And this, I suggest, is also the concern of this section of the pe-lam. It is explaining how the original species dispersed, and how Lohorung man came to have different kinds of 'brothers'. Tiger or Bear represent one kind of brother and Bamboo another. Whilst still remaining 'brothers' Tiger and Bear must be somehow separated from Man and sent off into the wild. In contrast, Bamboo in the form of bow and arrow is the brother who cannot be set aside; the one who, transformed from a natural state, becomes in culture the brother accompanying man in his domestic space.

In the myth, the plants leave for their destination in the forest. The only one to figure later is Bamboo in the form of the bow and arrow. It is the destination of Bamboo to live alongside Man, in solidarity with him, just as do the brothers of his lineage, who fight with him and work in collaboration with him. In contrast, Tiger and Bear begin in the same place as Man, until he finds that between them they have killed and eaten their mother, then they are sent off to the jungle. It is significant that it is the two elder brothers who depart and the youngest who stays, a replica of the way in which brothers traditionally set up their individual households; all but the youngest leaving the parental home to build their own, the youngest remaining to look after the parents and inherit a home their house. The pe-lam acts as the template for the present.

Let me first look at the 'brother' role represented by Tiger and Bear and then that of Bamboo. Tiger and Bear must be seen, I suggest, in relation to a large number of tribes to whom the Lohorung consider themselves related and with whom they have apparently little in common except a vague notion of being 'brothers' (*dajyu-bhai*) - a Nepali term combining the respectful term 'elder brother' and the more general casual term 'younger brother' or 'brothers in general'. The Lohorung do not use their own language to describe these 'brothers' since the brother tribes all have a language of their own. The lingua franca, Nepali, is used instead. As mentioned earlier, 'brothers' for the Lohorung include all those they call *Khambu* living to the west of the Arun, all the *Yakthumba* (or *Limbu*), all the *Yakka* and those that call themselves *Jimi*, as well as the *Mech-Koch* and the *Dhimal* of the Terai. Lohorung also accept as 'brothers' a clan called *Lohorunge* of the Tibetan-speaking *Lhomi* of the upper Arun, whom they refer to as *Syamdangchi* after the village *Syamdang* or as *tsampachi* (that is, those Tibetans and Sherpa who eat a kind of porridge called *tsampa*). The latter term in particular has abusive connotations to infer a people who rarely wash their clothes and even less frequently their cooking vessels and plates, preferring to lick them clean after use, a people completely different from themselves. Nevertheless, they still refer to them as 'brother' clan.

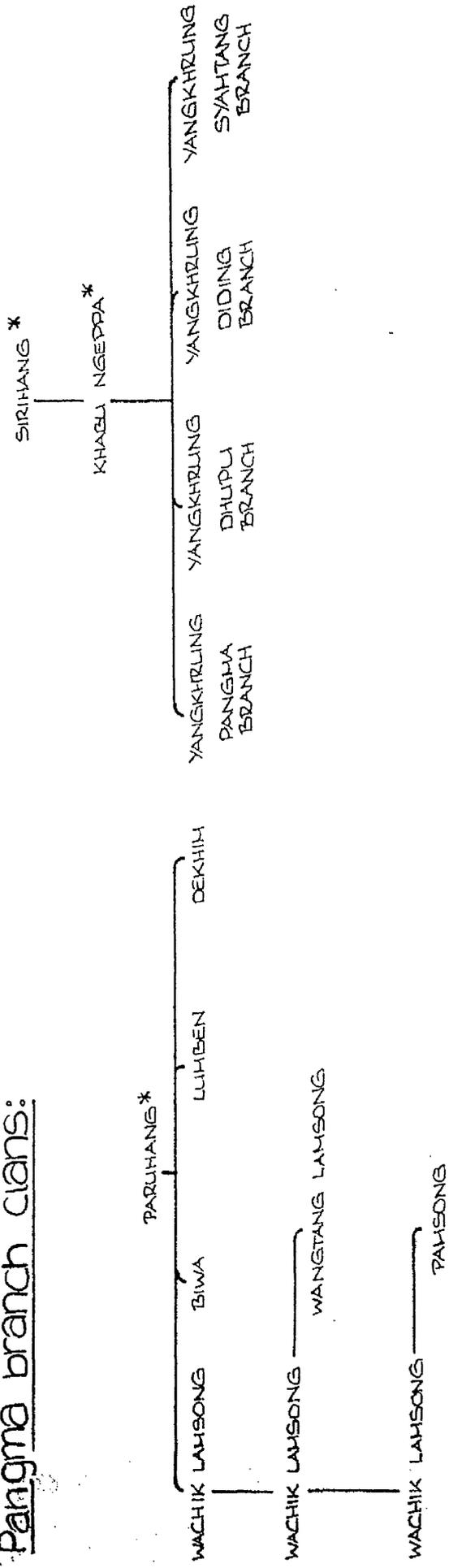
An appreciation of the meaning of 'brother', from the Lohorung point of view, must be seen in connection with their system of

descent. One of its most important features is a dual process of clan fission called *sekowa pokme* (breaking the bones) and clan separation due to migration. Although the Lohorung claim that originally there were 'ten Lohorung brothers' I was able to collect the names of thirty five clans. As figure 1 illustrates, the proliferation of clans within one branch is the result of either clan fission, or the adoption of a clan which has migrated from another locality. In the diagram some branches are shown as having sub-branches of three or four clans. This is the result of a series of fissions on two or three occasions but in which the sequence of separation has been forgotten. The *Yamdang* brother exemplifies the division of a tribal branch by the process of migration and physical separation, as the following brief story documents:

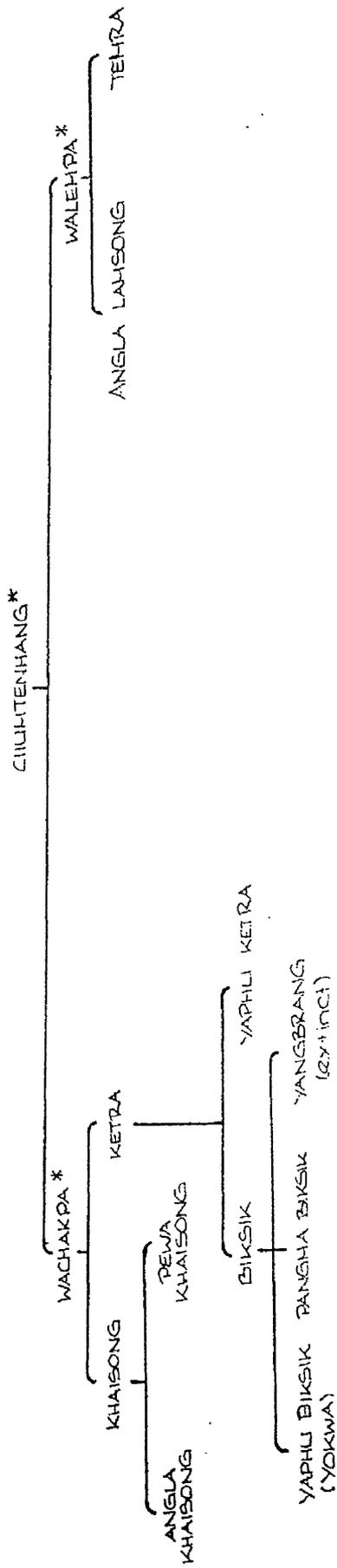
"Two brothers were travelling south and found good land in Syamgang. After some time one brother decided to leave. First he went to Dhupu...and (later) he stayed in Pangma. The other brother Lohorung stayed in Syamdang. Then the Lhomi came. And now his great grandchildren and his great-great grandchildren (i.e. his descendants) have become just like the Lhomi".

Lohorung say that they never marry with the Syamdang Lohorunge because "we are brothers", and the rule of clan exogamy is still applied by these two different sections of what was a clan unit. The Syamdang case helps to understand this part of the *pe-lam* by emphasising that differences in physical appearance customs and habits do not discount brother relations in Lohorung classification.

Pangma branch clans:



Angia branch clans:



* COMMON ANCESTOR

Fig. 1

I suggest that brothers Tiger and Bear of the *pe-lam* are not just representing the brothers who are physically unrecognisable as 'brothers'. They also stand for the brothers who caused the first clan fission. The *pe-lam* states that the brothers Tiger, Bear and Man all have the same mother. Even though the father is not expressly mentioned, they are of one clan. According to Lohorung tradition, segmentation of one clan into two separate clans is achieved by 'breaking the bones' of the clan (5). The patriline, 'the bones' is split by means of an incestuous marriage between members of one clan. Genealogically speaking, marriage within the clan is prohibited for seven generations. If in the eighth generation however, a union takes place between members of the same clan, the clan is broken into two, and rituals are performed to formalise the event. This form of division is not only accepted it is often encouraged so long as the requisite eight generations are thought to have lapsed. For Lohorung the idea of sharing is important. People should share what they have with others, and especially with brothers. Men or boys, for example, who go hunting or fishing are expected to share their spoils with their closest lineage brothers. Although in general sharing women within the clan is prohibited by the rule of clan exogamy, clan fission after eight generations makes it possible.

The three main components involved in 'breaking the bones' of a clan are an incestuous union, separation, and the ideal of sharing. All three components are present in this section of the *pe-lam*. Eating, *chame* in Lohorung has connotations of desire, and

especially of copulation (*hokchame*). *Chame* can also mean to defeat or overcome. When Man and Tiger go hunting together and Man wonders if Tiger will eat him, I have glossed *chame* as 'eat' because Tiger was obviously so hungry or greedy that not only did he refuse to share any of the hunting spoil with his mother, but also had eyes on Man. The 'sharing' component is clear. The sexual connotations in the myth are blatant when Tiger and Bear 'eat' the flesh of their mother (the matriline), leaving only a pile of bones (the patriline). The typical way for Lohorung to talk about the matriline or the patriline is in terms of flesh *sa* and bones, *sekowa*. It seems likely that this episode represents the incestuous union precipitating the fission of the clan. When Man finds Tiger and Bear licking their paws, he sends them off into different directions, thereby splitting up the group, and bringing to mind the separation of the clan. It may be more than just a coincidence that the Lohorung names for tiger *kiba* and bear *maksa* are similar to two kin terms. *Maksa* is the terms to refer to DH, BDH, yZH, yZDH, and *ki'bu* refers to eZH and his brothers, that is, men who may take or have taken women from ones own clan (see Appendix 3). It seems likely that what links *kiba* and *kibu* is that they both provoke fear *ki* (as in *ki'malu* I feel fear); *kiba*, fear from that one, *ki'bu* fear/frightening brother. And Lohorung do indeed treat both with awe and respect.

Bamboo contrasts with Tiger and Bear as a brother. In part, it is separated from Yechakukpa taking its place in the wild with the other plants. Yet its place in culture, as opposed to nature, is

élite. It stays alongside man as an indispensable tool. Most of Lohorung material culture comprises bamboo in one form or another. It provides the Lohorung with the material means for self-sufficiency. A study of its uses leads inevitably into almost every sphere of their lives. They know best, and use for various purposes, ten different varieties, ranging from the small *dingmik* (*Malingo N.*) which can be 1/4 inch in diameter to the giant *sakba* (*Tama Bans N.*), growing large enough to act as supporting poles of a house. Depending on how the ubiquitous bamboo is treated, it can be pliable or strong, flexible enough to weave baskets and mats, sharp enough to be an arrow. Watertight and hollow bamboo makes good water canals, drinking vessels or pipes. It is so elastic and yielding it makes a perfect natural swing and a bow. Shaved finely, bamboo can be used as a brush or a tooth pick. The young shoots of certain varieties can be eaten. It is the thin, supple exterior which is used for making baskets, if it has been soaked in water and put in the sun to dry; the strip between that and the interior is slightly thicker but even more flexible, and used for mats. The inner strip is wide, more resistant and used for fencing. Bamboo is the main material that accompanies a Lohorung man when he goes hunting or fishing, as he builds his house, protects his fields, or sits to talk in his house. Men spend long hours stripping, splitting and weaving bamboo (6).

Man is envisaged as being born with bamboo in his hand, reflecting the Lohorung view that they, and indeed other Rai, are archetypal bowmen, bowmen by tradition and by nature. Though now rarely

called upon to be bowmen, except for ritual purposes and small game, the Lohorung hold that men still inevitably possess the stereotypical qualities of the hunter. They are *ichhuba* mean, crafty and strong (i.e. both physically and mentally strong) and essentially excitable and vital *hacha'wa* as well as brave, *chake'le*. Hunting is said to bring out all these qualities and also increase them. Most men talk with enthusiasm of the time when they really could hunt, when the forests were full of game, they repeat the stories of Lohorung fights with neighbouring tribes, and of the long excursions into the jungle, followed by enormous feasts. Many Lohorung men have been to Assam, and they say "there, it's still like that - amongst the Mishmi", the people in Assam with whom they most associate, and identify. The Lohorung refer again to their hunting past in explanation of the tendency of Lohorung villages to be situated in rocky places; the rocks were important for hiding and stalking game. The Lohorung think of the bow and arrow as man's natural and most important weapon. Children know the meaning of a bow and arrow. To show off their virility young boys early on learn how to make them and can often be seen in small groups disappearing into the forest to shoot birds. It is widely known in Lohorung territory that the Rai are essentially bowmen and they are characterised as being aggressive, hot-tempered, violent, excitable and fierce. The image is so commonly held that until recently Brahmin and Chetri or Newars forced to walk through Lohorung territory or villages to go to market or making trips South for provisions, would take circuitous routes in the hope of avoiding a confrontation with a Lohorung. This was

particularly the case ten years ago when there was a violent feud between the Newars of Khandbari and the Lohorung of Pangma.

That the Rai in general have the reputation of being bowmen is reinforced by the versions of the myth collected by Nick Allen amongst the Thulung Rai. In some the conception of man as a bowman is very explicit. For example:

Ph. "mini Raid possessed magic powers, and was a skilled bowman... (Mini) made a slight movement. Down below, seeing the shadow of his younger brother, Tiger pounced. At that moment, Mini shot him".

On another telling Ph mentioned that Mini was born with a bow in his hand, and with the power to steer and call back arrows.

Mj. "Mini was armed with a bow, and later on he killed Tiger. That is why tigers are afraid of us" (n.d.:53-54).

The differences between the brothers in Allen's version are explicitly in terms of types of diet but also in terms of final location.

To sum up, then, the first man was born with a bow and arrow, indicating that man, just equipped with his natural disposition, could not survive, but that since he was essentially a skilful bowman he could survive. The bow provides the medium for man to gain protection and for him to attack. It is his weapon for survival. Lohorung conceive of the bow, and the hunting associated with it as representing these qualities which are valued in a man. Man should approach life ready for hunting and warring, for the protection of the lineage. Man should have the qualities which will ensure its continuation, and to achieve these aims he is aided by the bamboo bow in his hand.

The inner force and potential power of a bow is intrinsic to bamboo in general, the visual symbol of inner strength and vitality. In part because of this, and in part because of the link with the primeval age, bamboo is a natural medium between the world of the living and that of the ancestors. One obvious expression of this is reflected in the tradition that the dead must be carried to their graves or pyre on a bier (*sichiyongma* made of *yong baphu*). The name of the bamboo is derived from this function; *yongma* meaning to carry from one place to another. Owing to the association of *yong baphu* with death it is never used on shrines representing their ancestors of procreation, and the succession of generations that never dies.

The potential power of bamboo, derived from its links with the ancestors, can be illustrated by the following brief extract from a legend about rival neighbours.

"Dhupu *ngeppa* (chief) had the intention of plundering Yuba and of killing Thanaba and Thudak, the kings of two clans *Fakpusa* and *Rungbangsa*. The two kings agreed to assist the Yuba *ngeppa*. On their return from Yuba with their new ally they stopped to rest on Barboteni DänRa (N.). While they stopped Thanaba blew some grains of rice as offering onto the plant of a *dingmik* (malingo N.) bamboo. Immediately one shoot of the bush started shaking "tirriri" "tirriri". He picked that shoot and crushed it into a pulp on a stone, and thereby made himself a weapon and gave himself strength to fight. Thudak then said to him, "Your strength is now made, you have achieved strength, what can I do?"

The potential power of the varieties of bamboo can work both in one's favour and against it. The *Yankhrung* clan of the Lohorung are prohibited from using or eating the shoots of *dingmik* bamboo. Their ancestor, the Dhupu *ngeppa* (chief) was killed by the weapons of the above said Thanaba and Thudak.

The use made of bamboo in the making of shrines for the ancestors and in its use by Lohorung shamans clearly demonstrates that it is considered a means of communication between the living and the ancestors. For example, one of the most used objects of a mangpa shaman during night-long seances in which he acts out parts of the *pe'lam* is a pair of *gungring* (*phurke* N.), long bamboo wands with shaved frills, like fronds at each end. The *gungring* is a weapon for the shaman in the same sense that bow and arrow is for man. The performance of a seance for prophylactic reasons and for the diagnosis and cure of sick family members, which includes a scene

with the brothers Tiger and Bear, well illustrates the use of the bamboo *gungring*.

As the shaman became possessed by a sequence of ancestors appearing in their various forms, it was soon clear that he was dancing out the original story of the *pe-lam*. Brandishing the bamboo wands *gungring*, he became Bear scratching himself with the frills at the end of each stick, searching for fleas and lice on his body, catching and eating them. Then he was possessed by the *sangma* bird (binguma N.), the king of birds. Assisted by this bird he was able to fly to *Kemalung*, a sacred mountain, to fetch a special gluey substance, with magical curative powers. He twirled the substance into a fine thread with his wands, using them like a spindle to tease, twist and wind it out, and round the shrine as well as the sick members of the family. In another act the shaman scraped back his hair, combing it with the frills of his bamboo rods and the audience knew this was the ancestor *Chawatangma* who combed the magical gluey substance from her hair and gave it to the shaman to protect himself and to treat diseases sent by witches and evil spirits. The Tiger and Bear dance appeared near the end of the central part of the performance. The shaman leapt from place to place, springing with a light step, the bamboo wand clenched firmly between his teeth. This was Tiger who killed his mother. The shaman stopped, looked stealthily around and dropped the rod. Sitting on his haunches, he now started to make licking gestures over his hands, and cleaned his teeth with strips of

dried bamboo, used by Lohorng as tooth picks. This was Bear the second brother, who shared with Tiger the flesh of their mother.

I have not included all the actions with the *gungring* wands but I think the above indicates how the shaman uses them to direct the attention of his audience to the focal meaning of each mime. Empty of particular significance in themselves, except that of powers endowed by the ancestors, they can take on the meaning that is mimed into them, communicating the stories of the past, which the shaman can perform because he is in contact with this other world. By means of chants the shaman has obtained the cooperation of the ancestral beings, who are then attracted to the bamboo wands and especially the *fonds*. From our point of view it seems to be the skill of the shaman directing the wands, which do almost appear to have a life of their own. From one point of view of the Lohorng, the shaman is possessed with ancestral spirits and it is they who are directing the action, and they who animate the bamboo *gungring*. From another view, the audience is enjoying a performance which is at the same time full of humour and buffoonery and yet also has a prophylactic function. From whatever point of view it is seen, whether it is understood or not, what is important is that the *pe-lam* is repeated, for it is purely from the utterance or repetition of any part of the *pe-lam* that the social and world order is protected and upheld.

Chawa and samek

To conclude this section on the *pe-lam*, man and nature, I should like to clarify two concepts that bound Lohorung man to nature, namely *samek* and *chawa*.

The two 'names' are essential to the Lohorung notion of the person, in their relations with the superhuman world, the natural world and in certain specific cases with the human world. *Samek* is an original name, that identifies people and certain objects for the ancestors. *Chawa* may be briefly glossed as 'first clan watering place', or 'spring', and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, is conceived as being owned by *chawatangma*.

Let me begin with *samek*. No individual has their own *samek*: individuals adopt the *samek* name of their clan. When clans split and take on new independent clan names, they retain their original *samek* name. Thus, for example, as can be seen in Appendix 2, all the four 'brother' clans in Pangma have the *samek* name, *Dekhaba* for males of the clan and *Dekhama* for females. The *Yangkrung* clan has separate branches in Pangma village and Dhupu, but they are all identified for ritual purposes as *kechaba* or *kechama*.

Samek, however, does not only apply to clans. Many other phenomena also have a *samek* name. All of them are conceived as originating in primeval or ancestral time. The *samek* name is the ritual name, and everything that is mentioned in ritual must have a ritual name. One old man trying to explain *samek*, put it as follows:

"Everyone has a *samek*. We cannot do without it. At marriage time we ask, 'is it permitted? or is it forbidden?' If the *samek* name of the girl and the boy is different then we know it's alright, if it's the same then we must look more. We should keep the *samek* name of everything. Everything has some name - all trees, leaves, *singlung* 'nature' have a name. That is 'green grass', that is 'stone'. We are 'man' (*yapmi*). We became rich by grass and stone. Once it was free, freehold. But now that green grass also has *samek*. It is owned. Everything has a *samek*, making it a separate kind; fire has *samek*, door has *samek*, we call maize *lingkhama*, rice we call *rungkhama* and millet *wekhama*; money is *pekhama*."

My informant, Madhu Ram, was here trying to explain to me the classificatory aspect of *samek*, based on ownership by the ancestors, who discovered something and claimed it, and named it. The *samek* name makes it recognisable in the catalogue of the ancestral world and allows it to be named in ritual.

A female shaman (*mangmani*) added another aspect to the concept of

samek:

"If there was no *samek*, people could not say anything", (that is identify objects, and communicate with the ancestors). "With the *samek* we can call the ancestors, we can relate to the things in their time. *Samek* is the same as a name; without a name we wouldn't be able to experience anything or do things. Everything needs one name, doesn't it? If there's a name then 'mind' (*niwa*) can find it. Its *saya*, ('soul', 'vital force, link with the ancestors') can be raised and strengthened. If there is no name then nothing, indeed nothing at all is left".

Thus *samek* identifies and gives substance and existence to things for the ancestors and for those who wish to communicate with the ancestors.

The *samek* names are supposed to indicate something about seniority and the order of arrival in the tribe. As far as clans are concerned they should indicate who settled first. *Pekhama* denotes the eldest, *wekhama* the first settler, and *dekhama* the second,

yungkhama the one that was allowed to settle later. In general, for example, the Lohorung say millet is the oldest known crop, *pekhama*; rice was the first to be settled in this area and so *wekhama*; and maize is *dekhama*, the crop next planted. For some reason Madhu Ram makes money as the oldest. He did not explain why.

Samek names, then, are ritual names, all the paraphenalia, people and places mentioned in ritual must have a *samek* name, and also have *saya*. All the objects used in ritual and named by *samek* names are vehicles for the ancestors; they perpetuate and immortalise ancestral time; by repeating the *samek* name, the vitality (*saya*) of the objects is renewed, 'their *saya* is raised'. The objects are not personified, they are the homes or seats of ancestors. Pillars of the house, the stones of the hearth, particular plants, trees and bamboos, water pitchers, the ladder of the house are examples of the places to which the ancestors are called, the places where they come and sit, being places that are familiar to their world of the past. They are the continuation of ancestral time thereby ensuring its immortality. The fact that these objects have a 'vital ancestral link', a 'soul' (*saya*) might encourage us to consider that the Lohorung thereby endow them with personhood. For the Lohorung, however, *saya* indicates a present awareness of ancestors and a past of comprehension and communication with human beings. They say that at the time when they were still establishing clan territory trees, plants, water and all the other

things with *samek* used to speak and understand. But they soon lost these powers.

The concept of *samek* is revealing about the Lohorung view of personhood in relation to ancestors. The person in a ritual context is essentially part of the clan group and only individually recognised or differentiated by the addition of a piece of the person's clothing to the paraphernalia of the rite. It also sets the person closer to nature, closer to those aspects of the world which also have a *saya* and *samek*. The person is one amongst many other beings, plants, and parts of the house, all sharing a common element, namely *saya*, that is vulnerable to the anger of the ancestors, or the 'bad' acts of those dead not properly integrated into the ancestral world. We shall see more of this in the chapter that follows.

The second name *chawa*, like *samek*, links the 'person' through their identification with the clan, to a particular area of territory. *Chawa* is probably etymologically related to the Tibetan *chu* for 'water' and *wa* for 'water channel' (Jäschke, 1975:157 & 470). It identifies the spring to which the clan first spoke when they claimed the land. It is always a spring that never dries up and its name is often related to how it was found by the clan. Thus the Heluali and Themsong, two brother clans, have a *chawa* called *sing-bongma chawa*, 'tree fallen spring', so-named because the tree fell down and the spring rose from its roots; the special ritual spring of the Yangkhrung in Pangma is called *pi-tukma*

chawa, 'cattle squashed spring'. It is said it was when some cattle squashed it with its feet that water arose.

It is usually water from these springs that is used in ritual, and it is the name that always accompanies that of a *samek* name - so that, for example, any member of the Yangkhrung clan are known for ritual purposes as *kechaba* or *kechama* of the *pi-tukma chawa*.

From what we have seen here, it is clear that *samek* and *chawa* give the individual an important spiritual adherence to their clan group, giving him or her a line of continuity with ancestors. The names give a sense of solidarity with other living clan members, as well as with deceased clan members and those parts of nature they claimed as their own. They represent one of the significant ways in which Lohorung 'culture' is internalised by the individual. Lohorung respect *samek* and *chawa* (ritual names). They are indispensable to the living in their need to communicate with the superhuman powers, and in particular the ancestors (?).

Chumling Chongma and Yechakukpa

The following stories about *Chumling Chongma* and *Yechakukpa* are included in this description of the *pe-lam* for, of all the myths, they are the most well known amongst the Lohorung. They are, also, the ones to which some of their institutions relate and are clearly important for comparative purposes, since Khambu Rai, according to local sources, share similar myths. Nick Allen's work on the myths of the Thulung Rai (Allen, n.d.) supports the local statements about their prevalence. The Thulung versions relate to Jaw Khliw and Khacilik, the Lohorung to Chumling Chongma and Yechakukpa or to Tawama Khewama and Khakchurukpa. The first part of the myth, as told me by Dacheemma, goes as follows:

"Chumling Chongma and Yechakukpa were brother and two sisters. Their mother and father were angry with each other and always fighting. Their mother and father were hitting each other. One day their mother called out, "my husband has beaten me so heavily. Oh! Changlang! Come here. Come and take me away!" Changlang came and took her away: off they flew, the two of them. Changlang means perhaps *chap* (spirit of a dead ancestor). Anyway after they had left the three children decided to look for their mother. As they were searching they called out to their mother, "mother where have you gone to? Where are you? On their way they met a woman weaving at her loom. "Weaving woman, Oh elder sister, you haven't seen our mother have you?"

"Help me to finish weaving this and then I'll tell you where your mother is" said the woman.

"There, that's done, now tell us where our mother is. Where is she?"

"No, no, go down there to that spinning woman's house. The spinning woman will tell you." she said to them.

"Spinning woman, you haven't seen our mother, have you? Have you seen her or not?"

The spinning woman was making a round ball. "Look, you see this, roll it and follow it, Throw it and follow it wherever it goes", she said.

"Mother, mother," called out the brother and sisters, rolling the ball of thread.

"Hoi, hoi" cried out their mother, who very quickly then appeared. Her new husband Changlang was not there apparently. As quickly as possible their mother cooked rice and then closed them into a *bekbi* (a small round woven basket without a handle). "Stay there and be quiet" she said to them. A little later Changlang came home, and sure enough, he sniffed and called out, "I smell living, it stinks here of living man!"

"But there's no-one here. I'm the only living person here", his wife said to him.

A little later Chumling Chongma, the daughters I mean, cried out, "ouch! ouch! heh! Yechakukpa is pinching us. ouch! ouch!" Immediately their mother tap, tap, tapped the basket, tap, tap.

"What is it?" asked her husband.

"We have some mice here", she said, and quickly she added, "I dreamt a good dream today, you should go and hunt". And so truly, just like that, off he went.

The mother turned to her children Chumling Chongma and Yechakukpa. She cooked rice and a side dish as quickly as possible and gave it to them to eat. Then she said to them, "Now, children quickly, quickly you must leave. That Changlang, don't you see he is a *chap* (spirit of the dead) and he will catch and eat you. I ran off with Changlang so I must stay. You go. On your journey avoid the *siksikwara* paths, follow the *bekbekwara* paths. A *bekbekwara* path means the path is wide, easy and pleasant, *siksikwara* means a path through forests and over cliffs, an ugly path always to be avoided".

Off they went and of course Chumling Chongma set out leading Yechakukpa along a *siksikwara* path. "Mother told us to go on the *bekbekwara* paths, didn't she? Yagangma (mischievous female ancestor) will catch us and eat us if we go on this path. That's why she said to go on the *bekbekwara* path", said Yechakukpa.

"No, no, it was on the *siksikwara* path that mother told us we wouldn't meet Yagangma", replied Chumling Chongma. So on they went on the *siksikwara* path. Down below them Yagangma was in the midst of cleaning some intestines. Yechakukpa caught sight of her. "Oh no! Sisters, look, down there, that's Yagangma: it must be", he said to his sisters.

"There is an old woman, indeed," said his sisters, "Grandma, Yechakukpa says you are Yagangma, are you?" they asked.

"No, no, my child, I am your grandmother. Come down. Come down here, all of you," said Yagangma. And so they were led to Yagangma's house.

That night Yagangma's daughter asked Yechakukpa, "Where do you want to sleep?"

"I'll sleep in the attic under the beams, I'll sleep near the tray above the fire. I'll catch some sleep in the corner by the door," he said. She is preparing to kill me," he thought. He picked up a big wild potato (*khi-wa chabuk*), you know, the bitter kind, and then up in the attic he cut it into pieces and laid it out on the floor. Then, Yechakukpa went to sleep. Chumling Chongma slept alongside Grandma.

Later that night Yagangma and her daughter took out a metal rod and set about spearing Yechakukpa. Yechakukpa found it difficult to find a safe place. Finally they speared some wild potato,

speared it and then licked it, speared more and tasted it again. Of course it was very bitter. "Goodness! Yechakukpa is a bitter one. Well, we must eat Chumling Chongma then," they said. They speared them and ate them, the two of them, mother and daughter. The next morning Yechakukpa came down. "oh! people were saying Yechakukpa was dead, but it seems you are still alive," said the daughter. "Heh! Where are my sisters and where is your mother?" asked Yechakukpa.

"They've gone off to work." The daughter then gave Yechakukpa rice and a side dish made of the fingers and toes of his sisters Chumling Chongma. At the same time as he was weeping, Yechakukpa did as if to eat, putting the meat instead into a string bag. Like that he sat there crying and stayed sitting there.

Later when they found that whatever they did they couldn't kill him, Yagangma said, "let's go. I'm going anyway. You kill Yechakukpa and fill the container for pig food full of his blood." She said to her daughter, "look for his lice for him and as you look for the lice, kill him." But Yechakukpa heard this. The daughter heated the oil and began to delouse Yechakukpa. "What beautiful hair you have!" said the daughter to Yechakukpa. "I have heated the oil. I must pour some over your hair and then it will be very beautiful. That's what my mother told me" she told Yechakukpa. But when the oil was thoroughly heated Yechakukpa tipped it over her, and Yagangma's daughter died.

Yechakukpa then dressed up in Yagangma's daughter's clothes and pretended to be her. He put her blood into the container for pig food, and hung her intestines on the door to dry in the sun. Yagangma came home, talking to herself about how she would slowly eat and enjoy the blood of Yechakukpa and his intestines and so she came home. She ate the intestines slowly and she drank. She ate the guts and drank the blood and the blood made her drunk. Saying to herself she would roast the flesh, and how she would eat beans with it, and rice and maize and millet, and how nice everything was ready for her feast, she fell asleep. Upon which, Yechakukpa plastered her eyes with the sticky white of an egg and hid the rest of the egg.

Some time later on, Yagangma woke up. "Where is she? Where have they gone? Yechakukpa also isn't here. No-one is here," she thought to herself. Then she thought to herself "Goodness! he has killed my child, it seems." She scraped and scratched at her eyes, but whatever she did was to no avail, whatever she tried did nothing. She looked inside but there was no-one. "He has killed my child. I must catch that Yechakukpa. I won't miss any chance to kill him," she said, following him. Yagangma scraped at her eyes with a large sickle, and called out, "Oh! Grandson, come down here, come down here!!"

"Alright, alright, grandmother," he called, running away as she started to follow him.

She looked to select some rice: "So that Yechakukpa has stolen my rice, millet and even my store of *khausuk* (rice grains broken in husking). So that's how he can run so fast." And again she ran after him, and never ceasing to call out "hoi" she ran and she ran. As she drew close to him he threw a feather and a large, large mountain rose up in front of her.

"What kind of path are you going on, Yechakupo, Yechakukpo..." Looking for the path was now difficult, up the stoney mountain path, but she never ceased calling out "hoi!".....

Yechakukpa used all he was carrying to keep her away. In the end there was only the egg left. As she came close to him, he threw the egg and as it rolled, it burst and the outside became the hills and the white of the egg became a river, a big, wide river. Then Yagangma, still searching came to the river. "Grandson, what kind of path are you going? By this big river? Wait for me, Yechakukpo!" she cried.

"Grandmother, take off your waistband; I tied my legs and hands together, and then I just rolled across. You do the same," he said. And she did. The river took her away.

After the egg had broken, Yechakukpa went to his mother's brothers' house. His uncles were fishermen. It was as they were casting their nets that they caught Yagangma, that same grandmother in one of the nets. They took her home. She complained, "that Yechakukpa he took this and that, he did this and that, he killed my daughter, and all to kill me he did like this.." she was saying to his uncles, who then spoke, "there, there, we must make peace between you, you must stop quarrelling." They then wove two baskets. In the basket for grandmother Yagangma they put dog, tiger, cat, bear - these things they put in her basket. In Yechakukpa's they put cow's hair, ox hair, sheep's wool, goat's wool.

"Don't open them! Go off both of you. Only when you reach grandmother Yagangma's house should you open them," they said.

As grandmother Yagangma was carrying her basket tiger and bear jumped out and ate her. As for Yechakukpa, the hair and wool turned into cow, ox, sheep and goat.

This myth and the ones following cannot be analysed or compared here with those of the Thulung Rai, in any depth, but a few brief comments may be made.

There is some uncertainty as to whether Chumling Chongma is one sister or two. In some versions Chumling Chongma is clearly only one person and in terms of the action in the myth they always act together as one. Most narrators, however, and audience were insistant that there were two sisters. This agrees with the Thulung cycle involving the two sisters Jaw and Khlew.

There is a further uncertainty about the identity of the characters. From the phrase "off they flew" it sounds as if their mother and Changlang are birds. This fits in with the Lohorung love for stories about birds, with the importance of animal actors in oral literature and again with the Thulung version in which the sisters are conceived as birds. The Lohorung, too, conceive of birds as having performed the human tasks and roles before the world was inhabited by humans. Moreover, the Lohorung conceive of birds as mediators between heaven and earth, between the abode of the living and that of the dead. This interpretation, thus, accords with one theme of the myth, that is, relations between the living and the dead. The Lohorung find nothing strange about relationships between animals and humans; after all man is the brother of Tiger and Bear. As we explained in the previous section, the Lohorung conceive of themselves as being very much part of the natural world. There are, however, no further references to the characters as birds and the flying may equally be referring to the powers of the spirits of dead ancestors (*chap*) who can appear nearby and then far away the next minute, or transform themselves into other animals at will. The narrator tells us that Changlang is perhaps a *chap*, and later the mother warns the children that he is a *chap*. Shortly after, there are echoes of *Jack the Giant Killer's* "Fee, Faw, Fum, I smell the blood of an earthly man" (or "English man") as Changlang smells the three children and indicates a *chap*-like quality - a desire for living human flesh. At the time talked about in the myths, everyone had powers that they no longer have; they could, for

example, converse with springs, trees, flowers, and birds. Put in this context Changlang and his new woman can be bird, and human.

The myth is about the relations between the living and the dead, but particularly about Yagangma and Yechakukpa, both important figures for the Lohorung. Yagangma, the old woman, who is the weaving woman and the spinning woman, is the ancestor Chawatangma, the fickle, trickster ancestor. The story concentrates on her. Instead of the spirit of a dead ancestor, Changlang, eating the children, it is Yagangma who eats the two daughters and tries in every way possible to catch Yechakukpa too. This Grandmother ancestor, as we have seen in the previous chapter, continues to plague the Lohorung: they explain much sickness, pain and misfortune as being the hunger, anger or viciousness of this old woman, in different guises. Her powers are many: for example she teaches *boksi* ('witches') and she chooses many of the present-day shamans and gives them certain of their powers. Yechakukpa is generally accepted as the first shaman, the first of the Original Beings 'clever' (*ichhuba*) enough to outwit the trickery of the old woman ancestor. It is from Yagangma's own stores that he steals the equipment to overpower her, echoing the situation that shamans derive power from their 'guru', who are also amongst those they are called to control. Yechakukpa uses his cleverness and the material he steals, the feather, the egg, to alter the landscape and defeat Yagangma. Feathers and eggs are part of a shaman's standard equipment. Their headgear is made of feathers: in Pangma, the old woman's headdress had amongst others, feather's from a

peacock's tail (*Tara-wa* in L. *mujuur* in N.), pheasant feathers (*daphe* in N.), forest hen (*chi-wa* in L.), feathers of a bird called *sangma* or *binguma* in Lohorung and identified as being *Heterophasia capistrata* (Black-capped Sibia), feathers from *Marangma* in Lohorung (*kalchora* in N.), said to have been the *mangpa* (shaman) when there were no people, and robin feathers (*dhobi* in N.). The *dhobi* bird is said to have been the first *yatangpa* (local priest). Shamans are known to be able to 'throw' feathers as cutting instruments and, in general, they are also used as weapons against an enemy. They keep away spirits of the dead (*chap*). Wild chicken feathers (*wasang*) are used by both Lohorung shamans (*mangpa*) and local priests (*yatangpa*) to stop an enemy flying to attack them. It is said that if the feather *wasang* is used by one shaman, for example, to kill another, then the attacking shaman must die too.

Eggs are used in divination: the insides of patients can be examined by looking at the inside of an egg. If there is a dark brown or red spot, then the patient is healthy. If the spot is white and long, then the person will die. One informant said, "the spot is like the white flag that is carried after a dead body." The stickiness of the egg is like the *liso*, (?bird lime) a grey glutinous substance, made from pounded leaves (*kaulo N.*), used by shamans in their seances to attract the gods.

The mother's brother has a role in the myth similar to that in present Lohorung life - that of giving assistance to their sisters'

children and particularly to nephews, who are compensated for not being descended from one of the sons by a gift of goods, cattle, or even land on marriage. It is appropriate that Yechakukpa is given cattle and sheep and goats.

Before any further comments, let me add two other related narratives. The first is about Yechakukpa, given me by a male informant.

"Long ago there were two daughters in a certain family and one son. The oldest sisters names were Chumling, Chongma and the younger brother's name was Yechakukpa. Neither their mother nor their father was alive. While they grew up they stayed all together in the jungle. But one day when the two sisters had grown up and their brother was sleeping, the two girls ran away. The younger brother was left in the jungle, alone and helpless. But soon he made a small house for himself in the jungle and lived in that. Even so, now there was no provision for food for him as there had been before: now there was only yams and wild bananas, forest potatoes and so on. Then later he learnt how to make fire with one piece of wood and one piece of string. When he was a little older he knitted a fishing net for himself and began to fish and caught fish in the net for food. Then he became a hunter. He was not going to be (?ambitious to be) a hunter, but he had to become one because living in the jungle there was no other means of living. So that's why he became a hunter. With a bow and arrow he killed birds and other wild animals. So that was how he obtained his meat. He also caught fish in his net and thus obtained another food.

Then he began to slash and burn down some of the forest and made the land ready for planting. But there was no seed to sow in it. One day the young boy Yechakukpa killed a dove and in the dove's crop he found grains of rice and millet. Although he didn't realise what kinds of seed he had found - he knew neither rice nor millet - yet he planted them. People say he was the first one to grow our rice (*cham*) and our millet (*panke*). And thus Yechakukpa lived - in such a way.

One day Yechakukpa set out to fish with his net. Usually he caught many fish in his net. Compared to other ways of hunting catching fish was good: it was plentiful and easy. Day after day he had been able to kill fish, until this day he caught nothing. From the beginning of the day all that turned up was a small stone. He threw it away, but even when he threw the net into another place he caught the same stone instead of fish. He went to yet another river and cast his net. And again he caught the same small stone and no fish at all. He tried another river further away, but still he could catch no fish, only the same small stone. Sadly, he put

the stone in his bamboo woven basket for fish (*tutuk*). But before returning home, he cast his net once more. And this time he was able to catch fish, many fish.

Later that day he went back home to his house in the jungle and placed the stone he had caught in the basket hanging above the fire (called *makdang-ha* or *keng-kengma*).

The next day he went out hunting. In the evening when he returned home, he found all the food had been prepared and was ready for eating. He was surprised. But he divided it into two. And he called out. But nobody came.

The next day the same thing happened and he was cross thinking about it. He wanted to know who it was and why he did it. He tried everything but still he couldn't find out.

And so it came about that one day an old woman, or some say a *goanleni* (female ancestor), passed by. And Yechakukpa asked her. "Who is it who comes to me?"

"You must do as I say", said the old woman. "Hide the winnowing tray, hide the sieve (for sorting out the chaff), and hide yourself. If you do that, when she comes to find the winnowing tray and the sieve, you must hold onto her right hand and say three times, "I won't let you go!"

And he did just as the old woman told him. He hid himself behind the winnowing tray and the sieve. A moment later the stone dropped down from the basket above the fire, making the sound 'bung!' and it turned into a beautiful girl. She went to take the winnowing tray and the sieve, and he held her right hand, "who are you? Why have you come here? Why do you do this work for me?" he asked.

She said, "Don't hold me...I came into your net in so many different places, but in every place you threw me away. Don't hold me now."

Then Yechakukpa remembered and said three times, "I won't let you go! I won't let you go! I won't let you go! Three times he swore that he wouldn't leave her. So from then on they became husband and wife. It is from those two that the Lohorung are born. This is why they say the Lohorung come from a stone."

Another version given by a female informant changes the names and goes as follows:

"Tawama Khewama were Khakchrukpa's elder sisters. When Khakchrukpa was young his mother and father died. After their death the child had to be fed and looked after. Yagangma came to hear of it and then comes the story about the grinding stone, about Ngagelungma, who was Khakchrukpa's wife. But first, well, the two elder sisters left, and he grew up on his own. He planted plantain trees, and then lived in one, lived at the top of one. The rest of the time he spent catching fish, casting his net, casting it into the water - you've seen it, I expect. One day he threw in his net and what he caught was a grinding stone. He threw the grinding stone back into the pool. He cast again and he found it again in his net. He

threw it back, went to another pool and again the grinding stone came in his net.

What had happened, you see, was that Nagelungma was menstruating and she felt shy it seems to stay around her natal home. Ses-nag (the king of the serpents) was the head of her natal home. She went to see Yagangma, "Oh! what shall I do? This is how I am", she said. Yagangma said to her, "alright, go down there. There is a fish pool. Go into it until you are better. Go and stay there." said Yagangma.

It was at that time that Khakchrukpa was going fishing every day. Ngagelungma became a stone, which is why she's called Ngagelungma (*nga*'fish' and *lungma*'stone'). We also call her Narunglema. Anyway, everyday he went fishing and he used to take with him a bamboo woven basket for fish and into that he put the stone which kept coming into his net. After that everyday when Khakchrukpa went fishing the grinding stone jumped down, she mudded the floor of the house and cooked the most delicious rice and side dish. "Who is preparing these meals and mudding the floor?" asked Khakchrukpa, and then he remembered what Yagangma had told him to do: "One day in the afternoon when she has done all the work go in and take hold of her." So this is what he did. After he had been fishing and she had made his rice and side dish she was about to climb back when he jumped out and caught her, "You", and he took hold of her by the arm, "you can't go. You can't go. Who are you?" he asked.

She waited quietly and then said, "let me go, let me go. ouch! ouch! previously you threw me away in the pond, the lower one, then you threw me away in the upper pond. In the upper you broke my head, in the lower you broke my shoulder. In other places you broke my back, my knee, everything in my body aches. Let me go! Let me go!"

He let her go but he wouldn't let her leave. So they became husband and wife.

They built a house and what they did to build the house, they cut down the wood for the main pillars. At first they did not know how to cut the pillars. Then one day Ngagelungma saw a *Gechikwa* (*Chibhe N.* 'king-crow') with its divided tail, and she said, "Khakchrukpa, you see the tail of that *Gechikwa*, you must bring pillars which are forked like that". So all the *khamba* he made like that from then onwards. On the day of placing the main pillar Ngagelungma was carrying their child on her back and was explaining how to lift up the pillar. Then just as Khakchrukpa raised the main pillar, the child fell from her back into the hole and was crushed as the pillar went in. That's why now we say children must keep away when they put in the pillar. Having fallen they didn't bother to bring any more pillars for the roof, Khakchrukpa made a cover. Then he said, "we must have a 'house warming' (*ghar painchha*). So Khakchrukpa went hunting - and he saw small doves, caught them, killed them and found in their crop rice seeds, barley, wheat and millet. They sowed the seeds and when there was grown rice they said "we must do the house warming."

"If we do that you should ask your sisters Tawama Khewama. Where are they?"

Khakchrukpa wondered if they were dead. "We must look for them. They are needed."

So first they sent a louse, but the louse couldn't find them, so they sent a flea. It could not find them either, so they sent a bed-bug. He looked and did not find them. Then they sent a cock which flew from hill top to hill top crying out and crowing "Khachrukpa *ghar painchho!* Khachrukpa *ghar painchho!*" He found them weaving at a loom: the sisters were weaving a mat. "What's he saying? Our brother Khakchrukpa is dead. What is that son of a bitch cock saying?" they said and threw a shuttle at the cock. It missed so they threw again and went on throwing the shuttle all the way as the cock led them to Khakchrukpa's house. "Eh, so it seems my elder sisters have come". And they performed the *ghar painchha*. They did it indeed and that is why we now have to seek out our sisters at *ghar painchha*. Sisters are needed for it. Long ago they said, "Tawama Khewama, *gheu!* Tawama Khewama *gheu*" and saying it they circle round the fire stones three times. Now we still do. "

This informant goes on to recount yet other incidents between Khakchrukpa and his wife, which cannot be included here. As in the first version, in these versions the son is left to fend for himself. Yechakukpa and Kakchrukpa are a metaphor for all men: vulnerable since sisters leave to marry, but comforted and strengthened by 'culture', by building a house, making fire, fishing, and hunting. His bow and his arrow are by his side. He fishes, hunts and performs all the necessary agricultural tasks as if by instinct. Even though he has no seed he knows that the land has to be prepared. This both creates and supports a Lohorung notion that they are hunters and agriculturalists by nature: that is, essentially cultivators and owners of the soil. The Lohorung of today generally conform with this tradition. The tradition as shown in the myth has superficially changed only in the sense that over the last two hundred and fifty years or so, they have shifted from their lives as hunters and gatherers, slash and burn

cultivators to a more fixed life as sedentary agriculturalists, with hunting and gathering as occasional activities.

The son, whether Yechakukpa or Kakchrukpa, continues his relationship with Yagangma. Unknowingly, he is caught in a trap to capture his wife. This episode gives sanction to the Lohorung institution of marriage by theft. The tone of the formalised Marriage Talk, a separate part of the *pe-lam*, suggests a kind of pretence capture even in arranged marriages (3). The elders from the bride's side, for example, pretend they do not understand why gifts are being laid out in front of them.

"No! It can't be. Why have they come to lay out gold and good cloth. We were only going to give them somewhere to sleep. They said they were looking for the rivals on the border they had quarrelled with. Now, what are they doing?"

The Groom answers, "Father, mother do not pretend you do not know. I could not scrape from the ground or dig out either the *suwa* (*bhyakur N.* kind of creeper, the roots of which are eaten), or the *warek* (*githo N.* roots of which are also eaten), so I took the *namhi* (*ban-tarul bhyakur N.*, the wild version of the *suwa*) and dug out its white part and took away its seed. I have followed the path, I have held the pole (by the ladder of the house), I have made the *suksukma* (area of the house for the house shrine) listen, I have made the *kengkengma* (the basket above the fire) listen, the sun I made listen, I made the gift carrier for the groom carry, and I made the gift receiver for the bride receive."

In reply to the parent's pretence that they do not know what is happening the groom says that since he could not bring the *suwa* (the father) or the *warek* (the mother) to his side, in the end he took the inside of the *namhi* and took the seed (the daughter) of the mother and father. Although marriage by theft is less common than it used to be, it still occurs. In brief, it relies on capturing the girl on her way to the bazaar or distant fields, usually the former. With the help of some conspiring relatives of

the girl, who approve of the relationship, and some friends of the boy, not necessarily relatives, they waylay her on the path. The *pe-lam* narrative thus acts as a template or charter for *khume biha* ('theft marriages') but also contributes to the evidence suggesting that even in *ngakme biha* ('request', ie arranged marriages') there is an enactment of the mythical capture. In his discussion of the Thulung myth Nick Allen comments, "With reference to Khakcilik's capture of Wayelungma, both Kam and Karb remark on the conventional protestations of contemporary brides when taken to their new homes. Presumably they had in mind also the traditional 'marriage by capture'" (n.d.:121) (4).

The same myth is also enacted at the Lohorung wedding as the cooks come back from the fields and sing,

"Tawama Khewama have come! Tawama Khewama have come! Today, oh Tawama Khewama have come to the pillars of the house, to the beams of the house, to the main front door, to the side door, to the three hearth stones, (the two 'upper' and the 'lower' apex stone), to the clan spring, Tawama Khewama have come!"

When the Lohorung build a house they still call in the close out-married sisters, who come with gifts of beer and circle round the hearth four times in a clockwise direction and recite the above section of the *pe-lam*. The sisters are given rice and beer, as they are in the myth. By performing this small ritual the Lohorung say they raise the *saya* of the new house, the *saya* of the beams, the pillars, the hearth and all those parts of the house that have *saya*.

The interpretation by my female informant of Nagelungma's parentage as Ses-nag, and her menstruation as a reason for entering the pond, are interesting additions and a re-negotiation of the meaning of aspects of the myth. Here we see clearly how Hindu elements enter the tribal. Nag and Nageni, and Ses Nag are Hindu snake gods. My informant is perhaps confusing or conceptually binding them together with the Lohorung Bongbi 'water serpents', who, like Chawatangma, 'choose' shamans, protect the hearth and are considered to be very significant in the creation of the world. That Ngagelungma would be shy about menstruating makes sense in a Hindu household, where menstruating women's activities are curtailed. Few Lohorung women have in fact adopted the Hindu attitude and continue to work as normal when menstruating. My informant, however, is one of the few who has adopted a more restrictive attitude to her menstruation. This is a good example of personal additions to the myths. Here one woman has added her own explanation as to why Ngagelungma ended up in the pond. Most of the other Lohorung and Thulung versions do not offer any explanation for her presence in the pond. Two Thulung versions offer brief accounts, as Nick Allen records:

'Later, Wayelungma's mother, whose name I don't know, said to her daughter: "You don't listen to what I say, you take no notice. Go and jump in the water." So she went and jumped into the water and became a stone.'

The Tingla version of this episode included a dialogue between Wayelungma and her mother. The daughter says she wants to visit the home of her mother's brother, and is told that it is down in the Primal Lake. (Allen, n.d.:101).

Ngagelungma - a fitting combination of 'fish' *nga* and 'stone' *lung*, also sometimes called Narungrema, teaches Khakchrukpa how to build a house, the style of which is still used today. The myth explains the origin of hunting, fishing, some crops, slash and burn cultivation, and certain continued customs such as inviting sisters to the 'house warming' and forbidding children to watch housebuilding as well as 'Theft Marriage'.

The main point of these particular *pe-lam* myths is to act as a charter for social action, to establish precedents for prescribed actions and institutions and thereby validate the culture.

To conclude, we have concentrated more on the mythical aspect of the *pe-lam* in this chapter since the ritual aspect receives attention in both the preceding chapter and the following chapter. What becomes clear in the myths and the ritual chants is the power of the superhuman beings and the extent to which they created order and now interfere with the lives of the living expecting the order to be maintained. The characters in the myths are mainly dealt with collectively in ritual in the *pappamammachi* rites. Yagangma is given special attention as Chawatangma. Only by ritual action can they retain the original order, which is constantly in need of renewal. A 'consciousness' of the ancestral past and ancestral order is found in living humans, in the superhumans and in everything mentioned in the *pe-lam*, be they animals, plants or parts of the house. This animating consciousness, which brings man to have a close affinity to nature

is *saya*, the concept which links the living to the the ancestors
and which will begin to make more sense in the chapter that
follows.



PLATE 4 LOHORUNG HOUSE

Chapter Four

The Lohorung House, *saya* and *nuagi*

In this chapter I shall look at the house and at one particular ceremony, *nuagi*, which highlights one of the central notions of the *pe-lam*, namely *saya*, that is central to the ontological sense of Lohorung personhood (1). The ceremony, held annually by every Lohorung household, and bi-annually by some, also illustrates the relationship of trust between the living and the well integrated superhuman beings.

The emphasis on the household as the main economic and domestic unit was described in chapter one . The house is also the most important unit in the relations between the human and the superhuman beings. To appreciate this we begin with the structure and symbolism of the Lohorung house and go on to see how the ancestral house-shrine is a microcosm of the house. We shall see how the house acts to order ideas and people.

The House

The *nuagi* ceremonies take place inside Lohorung homes and what was striking seeing them was the extent to which every house had a similar structure, in spite of superficial differences. The similarity in fact reflects the ritual and symbolic significance of the domestic space. The house is closely connected to the ancestors and to the *pe-lam* myth in which the first couple are said to have built a house in a particular way. As we have seen, house-building

was discovered by Ngagelungma, who instructed Khakschrukpa to choose forked trees to make pillars for the house. This couple are two of the mythical founders of their social institutions. They helped to transform the Lohorung from *jungali*, 'barbaric' beings into civilised people. So too did the couple of the household shrine, the protectors of the house, *Khammang* and *yimi*, who by their very incestuous union established a structural feature of Lohorung society. Thus, the house and the beings associated with it are emphasised as being a 'civilising' factor in Lohorung life. This is reflected in the Lohorung opposition house:forest (*khim:tapnam*). Whereas they were previously all 'forest people' (*tapnam yapmi*), now they are 'house people', with a 'husband' (*khimtangpa*) and a 'wife' (*khimtangma*) in each house. When they were in the forest they had few customs and no restrictions, called *phenni*. Stilt houses of the kind they live in today are conceived as being introduced at the same time as the first wedding, funeral and house-shrine. These are the things that for the Lohorung mark the beginnings of their civilisation. The way a girl is complemented for closely adhering to good manners and traditional knowledge and ways of behaving, in terms of posture, walking, sitting, talking and serving, is to say, "how house-shrine like she is!" (*kho ettano mangsuk le!*", meaning how civilised she is!).

The Lohorung house (see plate 4) is rectangular. It is single-storey, raised on stilts, with latticed bamboo wattle walls, thatched roof and one or two external verandahs. As can be seen from the diagram (fig.2), part of the central living area is usually

also conceptually associated with 'female'. This area between the storeroom and the central pillar is where women prepare meals and beer. In contrast, the 'front' (*lumpanke ge-ereng*) of the house, from the central pillar to the ladder is the area associated with that which is 'male'; that is, with the hearth, the front door, public talk (as opposed to family talk). At meals, the male head of the household sits near the hearth at the very front of the inner room. The female household head sits opposite her husband on the other side of the hearth, on the 'back' side of the house. In spite of this conceptual division into male and female areas, unlike the Kulung Rai, there are no sex restrictions on movement within the house (2).

Building on stilts allows the Lohorung to keep cattle and other animals under the house. (Some families do have an extra cattle shed either in the compound or in one of their fields.) The stilts or pillars are arranged in rows. There are either eighteen, fifteen or twelve upright poles, called *anglak khim* in ritual language and three horizontal poles, *surak khim* in ritual.

The orientation of a house should be with the two short ends facing East and West. The terrain is such, however, that this is not always possible and, in fact, many houses lie against the hill. Inside, the house is conceptually divided into four with the central pillar as the junction of four rectangles, as can be seen on the diagram. One side of the inside is considered to be 'uphill' (*thangpe*) and one

'downhill' (*yumpe*) and this is seen quite clearly in the way people address each other in the house.

The Lohorung verb for 'to come' differs according to where the person is coming from. If two people are on flat ground and one says to the other 'come here', the word to use is *dabe*. One might expect this to be the word generally used in the house. This is, however, not always the case. Instead, the verb 'to come up' (*kare* : come up here) is used when the person speaking is in that part of the house which is 'uphill', particularly if they are also near the hearth (3). The hearth is always in the 'front' part of the 'uphill' side, that is, to the left or right of the main door, depending on whether the door is placed on the side facing in a rough Easterly or Westerly direction.

The household shrine to the house ancestors, that is renewed at *nuagi*, should be located on the 'uphill' wall hanging behind and above the hearth. And some still locate it on this wall on the floor above, in the attic. Most houses, however, place their shrine on the 'uphill' wall of the storeroom at the back. Many Lohorung find it out of place, but less dangerous situated at the back. Non-Rai visitors can anger the ancestors and since Rai and non-Rai (apart from untouchables) can enter Lohorung houses, the Lohorung say it is safer to keep the shrine 'back', 'inside' *hongsiu*, even though few visitors are invited anywhere but the verandah. The place for visitors to sit inside is always on the 'downhill' side.

To sum up so far then, we can see that 'uphill' is respected and connected with ancestors, men, the hearth, and the front of the house, with the main door and the North. 'Downhill' is associated with women, the back of the house, the storeroom, the South, and the side door.

The only ritual performed after the house has been built is the one mentioned in the previous chapter on the *pe-lam*, in which outmarried sisters are invited to pour beer over the three hearth stones.

The ritually significant parts of the house, (those that come into action in the *nuagi* rite), are those that have *saya* and ritual names so that they can be addressed in ritual. These are the pillars, and the beams, the main door, the side door, the three hearth stones, the large bamboo parts of the house, the small cane parts of the house, the woven cane walls, the ladder, the pole at the top of the ladder. Surprisingly, although the *makdangkha*, the basket store above the fireplace, appears in the *pe-lam* it is not referred to in ritual and it does not appear to have a ritual name. Nevertheless, simply because it does appear in the *pe-lam*, many Lohorung were of the view that it does have *saya*. Generally, if an object is used in ritual, then it has *saya*.

Let me expand what I have begun to explain about *saya* in the previous chapter. Everything that has *saya*, according to the Lohorung, belongs in reality to the ancestral world and must be viewed with the reality that existed then, not as we see them now.

At that time, the hearths, the pillars, the beams, and the doorways, as well as other things, like plants and animals, could speak to their ancestors and be understood. It is a general belief that they should still be treated in the same way, as if communication was possible, with the same respect and regard. Thus, as we shall see in the *nuagi* ritual chant the parts of the house are addressed by their ritual (*samek*) names. That in itself is said to be sufficient to 'raise their *saya*', to refresh their powers.

For the Lohorung each object in the house that has *saya* is associated with some part of a *pe-lam* story, and thus belongs to the Original Beings and the ancestors. In ritual contexts when the superhumans are called to visit the living, the superhumans are said to rest in those places that they recognise as belonging to them. All of these have ritual, *samek*, names. Thus, the 'doorways', 'beams', 'hearth-stones' etc. in each house represent the beam, the central pillar and hearth stones of the myths which the ancestors therefore recognise. The *saya* within them might be thought of as a 'sensitivity', or 'consciousness' and a sensitivity or consciousness that is particularly responsive to ancestral presence and the treatment of ancestral property. The presence of *saya* attributes the object with a sensitivity to insult. However, the Lohorung would never attribute 'mind' (*niwa*) to these objects that have *saya*. Thus *saya* gives a conceptual (not perceptual) unity to various parts of the house and also links them to plants, animals and everything else that has *saya*, including the ancestors, and the living. It is only in ritual that this unity is expressed.

The hearth, the doorways, the beams and the pillars are regarded with respect. This is expressed in the careful way they are treated. Nobody abuses the hearth or the doorway: people do not sit in the doorway or flick ash or any debris into the fire. "The ancestors are angry if we have done wrong to the house", was the standard response to questions about the way the house is treated. Moreover, abuse of the house has its consequences. Lack of respect for those parts of the house associated with the ancestral order in the past can affect a household member either psychologically or physically. The ancestors identify so closely with the house that they are known to take revenge, just as if they themselves had been mistreated. One's own lineage ancestors, honoured at *nuagi*, *khimpie*, the house ancestor, and the Original people like Yechakukpa, are said to be particularly upset if the house is mistreated. This makes sense since the Lohorung take pride in their homes, and the ancestors are said to have the same feelings as when they were alive. It was only later, when I understood *saya* better, that the ancestors' response to maltreatment of the house could be more completely appreciated, as we shall see later in this chapter. During fieldwork, I knew that if ancestors are angered by the treatment of the house, they manifest their anger by *mangkringma bopsime*, which makes the head turn, the limbs tremble and the victim fall.

In this section we have begun to enter Lohorung metaphysics and their view on the division of reality, which has implications too for our appreciation of Lohorung understanding of personhood. The house has a bond in some mystical ancestral strength with humans and

with certain parts of nature. It is hard to understand what this means to the Lohorung in their relationship with the house. In order to do so I think one has to accept literally the reality that the house is a world of the ancestors in which there is some vitality and communication between parts of the house and ancestors, which the Lohorung know they cannot see, but they know to have existed and which comes alive in ritual. When women mentioned parts of the house, it was sometimes with a kind of affection and humour because they said they associated them with stories from the *pe-lam*. The basket hanging above the hearth (*makdangkha*) reminds them of the story of the stone and Yechakukpa, the attic (*talletu*) with the grandmother Yagangma and the sisters Chumling Chongma who try to kill their brother as he sleeps in the attic, the main pillar with the first couple who lose their child in the hole, just as the pillar was being dropped into place, each of the forked pillars with the crow that Ngagelungma pointed out was the kind of tree to cut down, when her husband was ignorant of how to build, the hearth is reminiscent of Khakchrukpa's sisters Tawama Khewama. The house is the most natural place for the Lohorung to relate to these ancestors in ritual (for example, in *sikla*). Moreover, the household shrine, the *mangsuk*, is a physical manifestation of the home of the ancestors and recognition that the home is a Lohorung home.

A house without a *mangsuk* shrine is not considered to be a Lohorung house, even if it is being lived in just like a house. It could only be seen as a kind of cattle-byre, as indeed is the house of an old man who insists on living in his field away from his son in a house

without a *mangsuk* shrine. The *mangsuk* is one of the identifying marks of being a Lohorung and to omit it would be tantamount to a denial of Lohorung identity. Those who have to exist without a *mangsuk* in everyday life, like the old man or anyone in the army, always belong to one in their own village and attempt to return to the home of their *mangsuk* for the *nuagi* ceremonies. The closeness of other Kiranti tribes is sometimes judged by whether or not they have a *mangsuk*. On this basis, the Dhimal of the Terai, for example, are said to be closely related to the Lohorung.

Let us now look more closely at the shrine.

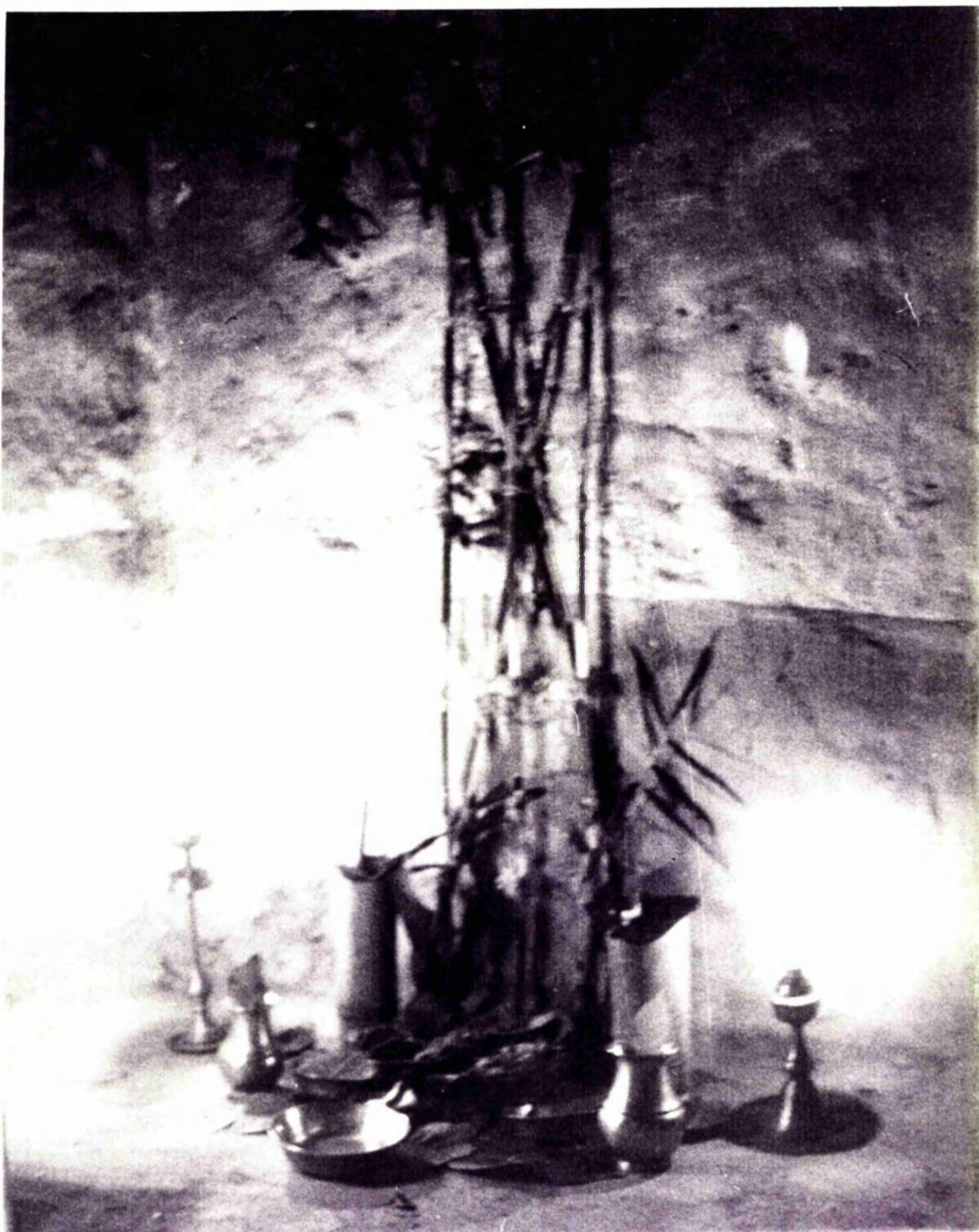


PLATE 5 HOUSE SHRINE

The House Shrine

The household shrine is called *mangsuk*: *mang* meaning 'spirit', 'soul' or 'divine spirit'. *Mangkringma* are said to be all the spirits of the dead, all the pappammachi, and all the past kings. *Sukme* is 'to climb' as in 'to climb a tree'. The name of the shrine, *mangsuk*, is related to the belief that the *lawa* (the 'soul', 'life principle') of a dead person goes to the *mangsuk* and from there ascends to the residence of dead ancestors, *Hepmalitham Yepmalitham* or 'Heaven'. The shrine *mangsuk* should perhaps be glossed 'soul ladder', the five or seven fronds being the rungs of the ladder. After death the Lohorong say, the *lawa* of a woman goes first to a white cloth, on which her body is carried to the grave, the man's to his white turban, and then both go to the *mangsuk*, a man's to the right and a woman's to the left of the shrine. An unmarried woman's *lawa* goes to her father's *mangsuk* onto the left side, a married woman to her husband's left. So long as the person has had a 'good' death, the *lawa* then joins the spirits of dead lineage ancestors. A few women said that the woman's *lawa* goes to the three hearth stones and not the household shrine, but the men were always adamant that all *lawa* go to the household shrine.

The main idea behind the shrine is "that communication between heaven and earth can be brought about - or could be *in illo tempore* - by some physical means (rainbow, bridge, stairs, ladder, vine, cord, ... mountain, etc.). All these symbolic

images of the connection between heaven and earth are merely variants of the World Tree or the *axis mundi*." (Eliade, 1972:492). The notion lying behind the shrine is the same as that behind the Lohorung stories telling how mythical and early ancestors did not die but merely disappeared into the sky in smoke, as did the seven sisters remembered in the Waya Warema ritual, or with the help of a rope. The rope is represented, for example, in the *khimpie*, 'House' ancestor ritual. The notion of the soul climbing may be compared with ancient Tibetan beliefs about the way the first kings did not die but dissolved into the sky by way of a rope (*dmu* rope), (Stein, 1972:203). More generally the ascending soul may be compared with numerous shamanistic myths and rites, in which the gods descent to earth or the shaman's ascent to heaven is facilitated by a rope or ladder (see Eliade, 1972:487ff.).

To define themselves and explain many of their rituals the Lohorung say, "*kangka das bhai mim Lohorung-mi, kangka hang labukingka, mangkringma tengkingka*" (we ten brothers Lohorung, we respect the 'kings' and maintain the 'souls, spirits' of the dead). The pronoun *kangka* expresses 'we, without you', that is, stressing the separateness of themselves as a social group in the way they respect the spirits of their dead ancestors. The *mangsuk* expresses the uniqueness of the group's form of worship. It is conceived as being for all the souls of the dead, but also, without any differentiation of name, it is a shrine particularly for lineage ancestors. It is also for the *hang* 'kings', *khammang*

and *yimi*. They conceive of their own lineage ancestors and *khammang* and *yimi* as being attached to their home and therefore protecting it. In some sense too the shrine represents a basic principle of Lohorung society, namely, respect towards those older than oneself and in particular the old, those who will naturally die next. The order in which each household shrine within the village is renewed, is determined by the most recent death in the family, whether mother, father, grandmother or grandfather. The day is remembered in terms of how many days it is before or after the full moon.

Making the *mangsuk* shrine is explicitly conceived of as being the same as making a house. The structure of the basic shrine is very simple, as can be seen from the diagram (fig.3). The upper part of the shrine consists of two horizontal beams, called *upmalitham*, and three short vertical pillars, called *yepmalitham*. The ends are called *khapmalitham*. One of the names for the abode of the dead, as we have seen, is *hepmalitham yepmalitham*. The ritual priests, *yatangpa* and shaman *mangpa* have extended 'upper houses', with one further house formed with an extra vertical beam, to accommodate the *bongbi*, the snakes, also referred to sometimes as *ses-nag* (N.), 'water serpents', that are said to choose the officiants.

Some houses, in particular those belonging to ritual officiants, 'Rai' officials and the 'main house' of each lineage, build a lower section, called *wairang*, that hangs on the wall below the

upper section of the shrine. This consists of five separate long, vertical bamboo pillars, two of them placed behind the other three, diagonally to the two outside and crossing over the centre pole, thus creating a central axis, (see plate 5, and fig.3), the same as the central house pillar, and the World Pillar. The ends are said to be "like the roof". More will be said about the making of the shrine in the description of the *nuagi* rite that follows, in the next section.

The common element in all three versions is the presence of three storeys, created by the two horizontal beams, echoing the three storeys in the house. It becomes clear during *nuagi* that the shrine is more than just a structural replica of the house. During the ritual both the shrine and the house clearly become microcosms of the universe, both of them independently representing the three cosmic zones, the subterranean world, the world of the living (the earth), and the sky. We can see here reflected in the shrine and in the house the shamanistic aspects of Lohorung tradition, and their variant of the *axis mundi* or World Tree, for as Eliade says, "The pre-eminently shamanic technique is the passage from one cosmic region to another - from earth to the sky or from earth to the underworld. The shaman knows the mystery of the break-through in plane. This communication among the cosmic zones is made possible by the very structure of the universe.....[the] three cosmic regions, which can be successively traversed because they are linked together by a central axis." (1972:259).

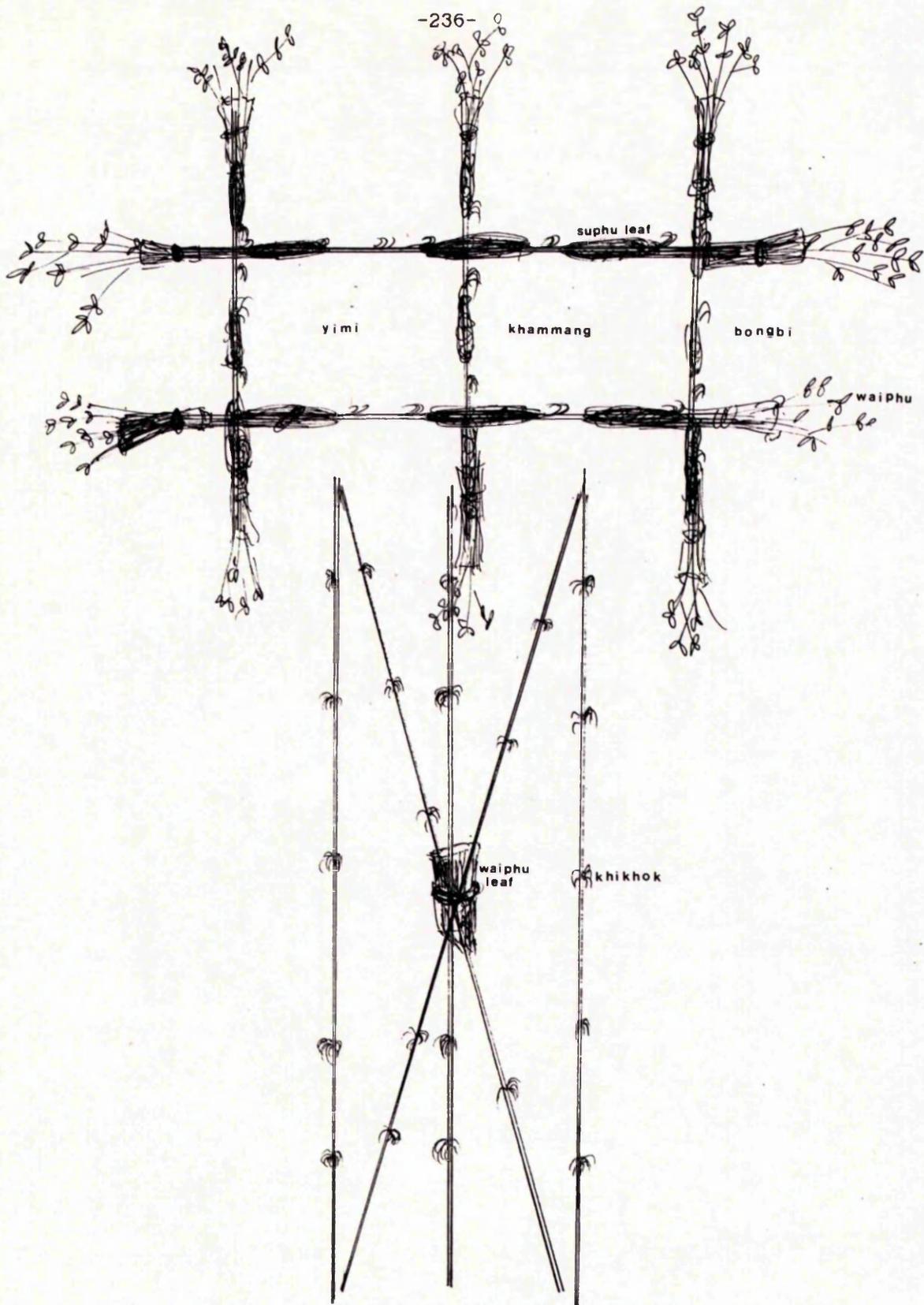


fig. 3 MANGSUK and WAIRANG

In the case of the Lohorung, one of the connections is by the central axis, portrayed in the *wairang* and *bongbi* shrines, and still adhered to when building houses. On the shrine the emphasis on three is made clear by its continuous repetition; the three *suphu* leaves, the three vertical main branches, the three storeys in the 'house' for *khammang* and *Yimmang*, and the three compartments into which offerings are placed. Significantly, also, it was said that although there are usually five 'flowers' made on each branch, it could also be three or seven or nine, the numbers typically associated with the Cosmic Tree, The Axis of the World (Eliade, *ibid*:274). The number of pillars that a Lohorung uses to build a house is always in multiples divisible by three; twelve, fifteen, twenty-one.

The lower part of the shrine, also, points to the importance of the central pillar, indicated by the one central *suphu* leaf. The central pillar takes on its significance in the *nuagi* chant when it becomes the central axis of the world, and therefore one of the routes the priest can take to the world below and the world above. These routes are needed in most of the rituals. It should be remembered, for example, that the main house ancestor, the *khimpie sammang*, turned into a snake, and has to be called from the lake below the sub-soil up to the hearth. In the ritual to *khimpie*, there is an offering placed under the hearth, with a rope running from the offering up into a small bamboo house, *hongkriwa*, made for *khimpie*, and placed by the hearth.

The Lohorung conceive of both the renewal of the shrine and the building of a traditional house as renewing and representing acts of creation, which in themselves become rituals or acts of 'restoration'. By this I mean acts which restore the traditional order that ultimately sustain the Lohorung world, and maintain the sanity of those who live in it for, as explained in chapter three on the *pe-lam*, the Lohorung conceive of the strength, support and protection of their society as coming from the primeval past, from the Original Beings and Ancestors, their lore and traditions and from the indeterminate power that was invested in the natural order of the world.

Nuagi

The Lohorung consider *nuagi* to be the most important of all their rituals in spite of the fact that, as many wryly put it, "there is never enough to eat and drink - too little beer and not enough chicken meat for too many visitors". A Lohorung would never consider omitting the performance of *nuagi*; voyages away are never taken at this time and those who are absent try to return.

It struck me how alive the *pe-lam* still is amongst the Lohorung, when I became involved in the ceremony. Suddenly, I was caught up in an event held annually by every Lohorung household, and bi-annually by some, that made clear the extent to which the superhuman live alongside the living in this society. The ceremony itself involves much social visiting both within the village and to others nearby. For two weeks the whole community is taken over by a ceremony, which perhaps most significantly from the outsider's point of view, renews the ancestral shrine, the *mangsuk*, in each household. For the Lohorung, however, the more crucial aspect of the rite is the revitalisation, or the 'raising' of the 'ancestral spirits within', the 'vital force, energy' (*saya*) of the house, the household members, out-married sisters, the ancestral couple, *khammang* and *yimi*, and the lineage ancestors of the house, in which each ritual takes place.

Initially, the impact of *nuagi* was to make me realise the significance of the house and the household in the Lohorung relationship with the superhuman beings. The house stood out as

being frequented by the protectors and defenders of the values and traditions of the *pe-lam*. Later, when I understood better the complex and difficult concept of *saya*, I could see that the significance of the house, as a religious and political institution, is derived from its very link with *saya*. The more the Lohorung explained the *nuagi* ceremony to me, the more I was led into their conception of the nature of man's being, and the need to understand *saya*. The main purposes of the rite is to raise *saya*, strengthen *lawa* and clear *niwa*. Understanding what that means to the Lohorung is one of the main aims of this thesis. We shall see this emphasis on *saya*, *lawa* and *niwa* in the ritual chant. To fully understand the ceremony I had to have a clear grasp of all these complex notions, how they inter-relate as parts of a functioning human being and whether they are thought to be controlled by forces outside of the individual, such as by superhuman powers.

I shall begin to look more closely at the psychological, metaphysical and ontological questions raised by *saya*, *lawa* and *niwa* in the latter part of the chapter.

First, let me describe the ceremony of *nuagi*. This may seem somewhat extended, since I shall include some descriptions of the general atmosphere of the ceremony and the long ritual chant, but I do this because both the informality of the gatherings and the formality of the rite reveal different aspects of the ceremony as a whole. Then, I shall give a more detailed discussion of *khammang* and *yimi*, the couple associated with the shrine and the notion of *saya*, which, so

far, I have tended to gloss as 'ancestors within' or 'vital force, energy'. A final discussion of the links between *nuagi*, *saya*, the house and the individual will then be possible. This make clear that the link between *saya* and the house is significant for understanding Lohorung ethno-psychology, their metaphysics, and the political system prior to the invasion of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

What I write first, below, is a description of *nuagi* from my field diaries.

"I feel in a strange place again. I'm sitting in the midst of a complex of household rituals. The whole village is full of new faces and excitement, and the poor *yatangba* (the priest) already looks as though he needs a rest, although the rituals only began two days ago. But Nanda did say that everyone likes to have their household ritual performed either near the beginning or near the end of the fifteen days, so the rush may ease off soon. She was laughing a bit at other people when she said, 'People think that the ancestors will feel unimportant if left in the middle, that they will be more interested and listen to them more, near the beginning or near the end, but it's silly; you must do it on the same day of the week as the last death of the house, the same day that mother, father, grandmother or grandfather died'.

Everybody is very concerned that certain living people come to their own *nuagi*. Each household 'calls' all the 'sisters' of the house, (including father's sisters, their daughters and husbands and children, father's brothers' wives and father's brothers' daughters, mother's sisters, brothers' wives and their sisters, the sisters, husbands and children of the wife of the house, and as many children of the village as possible, although the children are all collected after the 'ritual' is over, just to come and eat: "Today is our *nuagi*. Come over and eat and drink". It is that part of this intense activity that makes the word 'potlach' seem apt. The household acquires status if many children and many required adults attend the household's *nuagi*. Apart from the 'sisters' there must be at least five, preferably ten, older men of the village present to say the *sikla* words to the dead. A 'big' *nuagi* signifies a healthy and wealthy house. Nanda explained, "The *nuagi* is a bit big, with many people, if the house is strong and wealthy; so everyone wants to look as if its a big *nuagi*. But if its big, then you have to feed lots of guests and give them enough to drink. You want to have lots of people, but not too many because it costs too much and there isn't room. That's why children are good to ask : they can be

squashed together, so it looks big but they don't expect anything to drink".

Yesterday, Hem's aunt, his father's classificatory sister, (his second cousin's wife), a widow, was threatening not to go to her 'brother-in-law's' *nuagi*. Since her mother's brother is dead, she has only her late husband's brothers to rely on to look after her and it is the brothers' duty to look after the widow of a clan brother. There are frequent disagreements between them. Nevertheless, a refusal to go to Hem's father's *nuagi* would be considered a great insult. She would be "throwing away the nose" (*nabak we'langme*)⁽⁴⁾ of her *bubu* (elder brother), to whom she should show respect. Since *nuagi* is all about raising *saya*, of various superhuman beings, and of sisters and household heads, Nanda said it would be dangerous if she does not go. It might make her *saya* fall, and that of Hem's father and uncle. Hem is certainly quite worried. This morning he hoped that since she sometimes talks nonsense when she's drunk, she will be more sensible today.

This morning, I was invited to watch another *nuagi*. As we waited for the *yatangba* priest to arrive, the women were still busy making leaf plates and chutney and the priest's assistant, the *phenguang*, was working on the new shrine. Any mature man can take on the job of being *phenguang*, but if their wife is pregnant, they do not, because the job entails killing animals and if a man kills an animal when his wife is pregnant they say the child will either be still-born or will die soon after. We were still waiting for the priest and suddenly Ram B. laughed and said, "It doesn't matter if Lale doesn't come up to do the *nuagi*: we can use nana kanchhi's 'tep'!" He was of course referring to the tape recording I had taken of the *nuagi* yesterday. Ram took my tape recorder, held it in front of him, and began shaking like the old priest in front of the shrine. It was a very good imitation of the old man and everyone was in stitches - even Chimeki, though she cried out, "stop it, *phenni*, you mustn't, it's wrong!"

People started talking about the competence of new and old priests and shamans:

Ram B said that once, when his wife was sick, her body and feet swollen, the *yatangba* had first said it was one *sammang*, but then when she never got better, he tried another *Yatangpa* priest, and he said, it was a different *sammang*, but it still didn't work, so he went back to Lale, who said "Ah yes, now I know which one it is!" and it was a different *sammang* again. And she did get better. "He is a good *yatangba*, it just takes him a long time now that he is old". "We need a young one. If the old die, nobody is short, why don't the old die? So many young die and all the old are left-Dambar Bahadur's wife, the one who is paralysed and can't see."

"Don't talk like that. That's what *majha khim*'s mother used to say, 'If I die then nobody will be short', then people suddenly began to die and they said it's all her fault - remember what she said, they said. "

"Perhaps if the 'snakes who choose the *yatangba*', the *bongbi*, keep coming on my *babbang* (uncle), we'll have a new *yatangba* anyway. He's already stopped eating goat's meat."

Everyone seemed to agree that, "*yatangpa* and *mangba* are better when they are new - then they are really in touch with the other worlds and they can travel there easily. It's not the same with *Jyotishi*, the Brahmin astrologers. They are better the older they are".

Chimre, who had been looking for some crushed chilli she had left somewhere, suddenly shouted out and began to giggle. She whispered to her neighbour who laughed out loud. Chimre is what I have come to think of as quite a typical Lohorung girl: within a few moments she can turn from being the most shy and demure daughter to being raucous and crude. This afternoon she was being very funny: "I won't leave that '*jānto*-sitter' (the boy sitting on the grindstone) alone until I've burnt off his sexual organs! And we can do without the chilli!" (meaning she would turn the wheel with the boy still sitting on her chilli, which would be very hot and painful on his sexual organs). I am very aware here how compartmentalised our own lives are in comparison to the Lohorung. Here is a 'religious' event and yet it is so incorporated into daily life and humour, that it is sometimes hard to tell what is part of the ritual and what is coincidental.

Narbong, who was walking by, looked up as he heard our laughter. I thought he looked very angry and his cheek was very swollen, apparently the result of a fight with Tinsule, who jokingly used the Nepali word 'tan', the inferior 'you' form, with him. When Narbong, in return, became very abusive and finally insulted him with "you are your mother's husband", Tinsule hit out. Narbong has been going around today saying, "I'm going to find him: if I find him and leave him alive, I'm the son of a bitch!" I didn't know anything about Narbong, and people began explaining that since his parents died his *niwa* won't work properly anymore: sometimes he can't work, he has become very quick-tempered, and easily hits people and argues all the time. One moment he's rushing around making so much noise no-one can sleep, the next he won't say a word. To me, it sounded like somebody who was upset, confused and angry about the death of his parents. But to the Lohorung around me the explanation was in terms of his *mangsuk*. They said that since his parents died his *mangsuk* hasn't been working properly, or as one said, "his *kul(N)* (lineage), the *mangsuk* connections have gone wrong". One explanation for this was that his parents did the *Chawatangma* ritual inside the house, without any *yatangba* or *mangba*, which is considered to be very dangerous, but people say that's the way to get much money, much paddy and millet. The *mangsuk* cannot work against such a powerful force. That's why his *niwa* is not working well.

Let me briefly sum up some of the features of *nuagi* which are so far emerging. First, we begin to see that the ceremony is significant at a personal, a lineage and a tribal level. Everyone is very conscious of the fact that the *saya* of their own household is involved, and

that the way it is performed is not only an indication of the wealth and well-being of the house, but also indicative of the household's relations with their ancestors. It is a public display of the health and prosperity of each household. We begin to see, too, how *saya* and wealth are related. At a lineage level, it is a time to support each other in a way Hem's aunt was threatening not to, and it is a time when lineage ancestors are shown respect and invited to briefly visit their descendants, to eat the new crops. At the tribal level, the *nuagi* rites unite all the separate social units, the lineages, and clans, which is emphasised by the arrival and departure of women from Lohorung villages all over the area.

From the imitation of the *yatangpa*, and the joking behaviour continued throughout the preparations for each household's rite, we can see the extent to which the sacred and the profane are intermingled. The imitation of the old *yatangpa* was considered disrespectful, rather than dangerous. We also see from the talk about Narbong that a person's *niwa*, mind, and *mangsuk* are closely related, that the *mangsuk* has some control over the healthy *niwa*, but cannot compete with the evil forces invoked in private *chawatangma* rites. Let me now return to *nuagi*.

As we were talking, the priest's assistant had destroyed the old shrine. He took it in a basket with a piece of lighted wood from the fire to a place in the wood, where no-one walks, and burnt it. Someone who is not a member of the household has to make the new shrine and burn the old one. The *pheguang* had also been making the new shrine. First of all he had split a length of bamboo of the largest *sakbaphu* type, (Tama Bans (N.), *Dendrocalamus Hamiltoni*; Turner: 1931:279), the kind used a great deal in house-building and also in the other main house ritual *Khimpie*. Having split the length of bamboo he had shaved and made five fronds on each of the five

pieces, and had attached a branch of *waiphu* (*masure katu* (N.); *Castanopsis tribuloides*; Turner; *ibid*:68) to each bamboo strip at both ends and had wrapped five *suphu* leaves (*sal* (N.); *Shorea Robusta*; Turner; *ibid*:602) around each end and in three places in between. Each of these he had tied together with bamboo strips. This was all for the top part of the shrine. L.B. who was acting as *pheguang* said, "See nana *kānchhi*, this is like building a house: the three up/down branches are the pillars (*toklang* or *anglak khim*) and the other two are the beams (for which in Lohorung there are several names - but covered in general by the Nepali term *balo*, or by the Lohorung ritual term *surak khim*). The ends of the branches are like the roof (*ta'prawa*, *khim haptam*, and *miring pokling* in ritual language)".

He made the lower part of the shrine by splitting another length of bamboo into five, and shaving five more fronds on each piece. When he stuck the shrine onto the wall he added a leaf of the *suphu* tree to the centre. I managed to take a photograph of the shrine even though there was not much light, and my flash wasn't working. The long, bamboo legs of the *wairang* are like the stilts of the house. They take the house into the earth and the 'flowers' *bungkringma* are in honour of *Khammang* and *Yummang*, sometimes also known as *Yimi* or *Yimmang*, who are the superhuman beings specifically identified with the shrine, and the generations of male and female Lohorung, whom they represent. Their 'houses' are the left and right hand cubicles on the top part of the shrine, the male *Khammang* to the right and the female *Yimi* to the left.

I saw the *nuagi* rite performed by two different *yatangpa* and also by two women, who were shamans as well as being *yatangpa*. Rather than action, it is words which dominate and though these were not exactly the same, the variations did not make much difference to meaning only sometimes to emphasis. Let me return to the diaries.

"As soon as the *Yatangpa* arrived he was led to the household shrine, the *mangsuk*. Under the shrine the appropriate offerings had been placed on a banana leaf. Sixteen different things must be offered, including the essential ginger, rice, chickens, lentils, and millet in the form of beer. The millet beer must not be touched by anyone except the female head of the household, who makes it. It is, therefore, stored in a special place in the house until the day of *nuagi*. The other items must be selected from the following; milk, yoghurt, cucumber, pumpkin, banana, parched rice, eggs, fish, cooked sweet breads, *raksi* (alcohol), mustard or radish greens, salt, chilli, mushrooms, potatoes, and many other kinds of fruit and vegetables. What is important is that they are not given edible items they did not know about at the time when they lived. Garlic, onions, pepper, maize should, therefore, not be offered. "We give

them what they used to like to eat: the first things; the things they used to eat when they were alive". The arrangement on the banana leaf was divided into two, each half a mirror image of the other. There were two *tangba*, wooden beer containers, each with their bamboo straw, and covered by a leaf with some ginger and rice in it, and two gourds containing prepared millet beer, two copper water pots, and two copper bowls containing the *raksi* liquor, two sprigs of the ginger plant, and two leaf plates of cooked lentils. The other leaf plates containing the other edible items were placed in their twos one on each side of the banana leaf.

The floor of the house had been specially cleaned with red mud and cow dung. The other day, catching the chickens for the ritual had been very difficult and the woman of the house had commented, "it's always like this; they know that when the house has been cleaned and prepared in this way it means death". The chickens must be ones raised from birth in the household or village, never obtained from an outsider.

The *yatangba* stood in front of the shrine holding two chickens, one under each arm, the cock under the right and the hen under the left. Almost immediately he began chanting." (The Lohorung text can be found in Appendix 2).

The chant went as follows (with notes after the text):

"pillars of the house, oh, beams of the house, large bamboo parts of the house, small bamboo parts of the house,, I call upon you (you are responsible).

Oh! oldest of all kings, oh! strongest of all queens; oldest of all queens, strongest of kings!, (1)

the dried up, deserted way, the desert sand way, yes that one, (2)

the path of the separated birds Jalewa and Jakhewa, yes, that path, (3)

ha:y! yes, the path of the plantain leaf placed at the foot of the shrine, the path of the low valleys, that one,

ha:y! the path over Khempalung, yes, the path over high places,

(4)a:y! a:y! the path of the rivers, yes, that one, the path of the setting sun (I fly), yes, that one,

a:y! the path of the rising sun, yes; the main door, the beautiful way; yes the way of the side door,

a:y! pillars of the house, beams of the house, oh parts of the house made of the large bamboo, *chiba*, parts of the house made of the small bamboo, *den*

a:y! yes, this is a house made of sakba'phu (bamboo), this is that kind of house, yes, this is a tied together house

ha:y the path of wai'phu trees, ha:y we follow the path of the assistant, everything on the leaf below the shrine laid out by hand, the ginger, the turmeric, laid out by hand,

a:y! ha:y! ha:y! the essence of the pitcher, the copper bowls; this is the main door, the beautiful way, this the way of the side door,

ha:y! we follow the deer, yes, this is the way of the deer and the Indian elk,
ha:y! the way of the ghoral in the high hills (we follow),
a:y! ha:y! we offer water from our chawa, first spring,
ha:y a:y! we offer beer and liquor of all kinds; this is the lawa ,
this is the piece of clothing belonging to khammang, the household head,
ha:y! this is a wekhama (female member of hangkhim clan) speaking! (5)
ha:y this is the piece of khammang's clothing; even if you don't feel like eating and drinking, eat and drink; this is a wekhama speaking.
ha:y! the descending season, the path to the plains, this is now the path of this wekhama.
ha:y! on the path of the piece of clothing, on the path of soft cotton,
ha:y! a:y! make clear (people's) consciousness, their niwa day-dreams, tell (me) and make clear the paths of my dreams, give well-being and good fortune!
give comfort and fortune, this ia a wekhama speaking.
ha:y! give lawa, give long life (to this house); give wealth, give rice, give enough.
ha:y! this is a wekhama speaking, raise their saya as high as the snowy mountains
ha:y! this is a female settler, a wekhama, if our saya has grown small, make these saya tall!
ha:y! I mean saya oh! queen.ha:y! this is a wekhama, protect us from the evil spirits, ghosts, spirits of dead ancestors, from bad gods who give diseases, from male witches,
ha:y! this is a wekhama, protect us from the ^{se}sehe (N) and shrindi, the evil spirits of the Sherpa.
protect us from rivals, save us from the bad omens of chicken-tears or nose-dribbles,
a:y! oh you! whoever it may be ! this is a wekhama speaking,
ha:y! protect us from evil noses, from evil eyes; this is a wekhama, this is a wekhama.
protect us from itching, protect us from coughing; this is a wekhama, protect us from shooting pains in the head, and from terrible restlessness,
protect us from burning pains inside, from throbbing pains, this is a wekhama,
save us from blindness, from being unconscious
protect us from swellings, swollen bodies and swollen bellies, this is a wekhama,
hold back vomiting and dysentery, stomach pains, yes, this is a wekhama.
protect us from drying up fevers, from losing consciousness, protect us from colds, protect us from ?coughs,
ha:y! protect us from dying, yes, indeed, protect us!
save us from becoming dumb, from long disabling diseases, protect us!
protect us with creepers, with wire creepers like an iron fence, with creepers made of gold, with creepers made of silver,
from the left and from the right protect us as with peacock's feathers,
you will protect and make well, won't you! protect (us) small children as with peacock feathers.

protect us and make us well, won't you, father, ha:y! father, ha:y!
saya of ginger, saya of all the things laid out on the leaf under the
shrine, and the saya of the ginger again, yes the saya, ye!
saya of the deer, saya of the Indian elk, saya of the ghoral
saya of the raksi liquor, saya of the beer, ya:y!
ha:y! (we have) protected and enclosed the saya of the chicken, oh
yes, up until now we have!
the female hen and the male, the chosen ones, (we) have covered (them)
with a basket, yes, we have protected them.
now one held by the left hand, one held by the right hand.

SOKMA: 'The Breath' to Khammang and Yimi

[The cock is hit on the back and killed, then the Yatangba continues]:
the chickens are hit (with a stick) and killed; make the blood from
the chickens mouth fall into the middle of the raksi liquor
take it! take the blood, take the chickens, take them;
(it is) the descending season, yes! now (we follow) the path south;
this is a wekhama speaking, from today onwards make clear our day-
dreams, our consciousness, make clear our dreams, give health, give
good fortune, give well-being, give wealth, give rice, yes give us all
these!
[The hen is killed, similarly by a blow on its back with a stick].

UMCHA 'The Final Plea'

protect us from ghosts, and spirits of dead ancestors, protect us from
evil spirits and gods who send disease. Protect us from the sêhe (N)
and shrindi, the evil spirits of the Sherpa; from today onwards take
away bad omens, tears coming from the chicken, water from its nose;
protect us with the splayed out peacock's tail, surround us with it,
protect us;
from your place in the earth, come! you are welcome! from your place
in the sand, come! you are welcome! come the path of the river Arun,
(to) the pillars of the house, the beams of the house, come to the
offerings on the leaf placed under the shrine, come! to the ginger, to
the copper bowls, and pitchers, come to the beautiful offerings, come!
you are welcome! come guests to the middle, come! come to the left,
come to the right; old men and old women come, you are welcome! come
to (eat) meat and fish. Come to (drink) beer and our spring water!
Come to (eat) the new rice, you are welcome! may your saya be raised!
come and keep away the bad omens, give us good (be kind), come! give
us good niwa, protect our day-dreams, make open our consciousness,
raise saya, bring lawa, bring long life! We worship you!!

Notes on the chant:

1. The priest uses the ritual names for *khammang* and *yimi*, addressing
them as *hang*, which may be translated as 'king' and 'queen',
indicating their power and status. Some of the older villagers agreed
that in the past it was the female *yimi* who was called first, whereas
now the priest always calls *khammang* first. "They used to call,
'Yiminayo, *khammang'nayo*; *chungchimayo*, *chongchi hango!* *lolimayo*,
lolihango!' There used to be eight or nine names, for the woman, and
the same for the man.

2. The emphasis is on the 'deserted' places, whether they are at the highest or the lowest altitudes.

3. Again the birds emphasise the loneliness and desolateness of the path. The reference is to a well-known song. Two birds, one male, one female are separated from each other: '*pari malewa, wari jalewa royi, royi, yuta biha ye*' 'On the far side, the female, on the near side the male, in spite of their marriage, the fate of Malewa-Jalewa is decided at night'. All day long they are together in one place, but at night they have to separate, one remaining on one side of the river, the other on the opposite bank, and throughout the night they can be heard crying to each other across the river. Women were able to explain further that in "women's talk", if a woman dies in her natal home before the final marriage rites have been undertaken, i.e. so that she and her husband are already sexual partners and companions, but are separated by the location of her death, she becomes a *jalewa* bird, fated to be separated from him.

4. *Khembalung* is for the Lohorong a special mountain, the residence of gods: their name for mount kailas, ["The mountain on which the gods dwell; esp. the location of the heavens of Siva and Kuvera" (Turner, 1931:105)]. According to local shamans it is the abode of Barma(?Varuna), Vishnu, shiva, Zema the four main gods, who sit inside the palace of Khembalung, guarded by a female guardian with a golden complexion. "They sit on four continuously rotating, golden seats. The palace is lit with amazing light, like electricity and golden flowers are everywhere. Also in the palace are seven golden horses, and many cows and chickens, all golden. The people who live there never do any work and live a very long life; the gods grow the medicines for the cures the *mangpa* shamans make, and which they collect by 'flying' to Khembalung".

5. This version of the *nuagi* chant is in fact not that of Lale, the *yatangpa* of Gairi Pangma, but of the female priest of Loke Pangma. She is a member of the *hangkhim* clan and *wekhama* is the *samek* of the *hangkhim* clan. The men of the *hangkhim* clan are called *wachihang* in ritual, not *wekhaha*, as one might expect. When Lale *yatangpa* is identifying himself he says, "I, a *chiksaba* of the *lamawa* spring" as he does in the ritual chant that follows, thus identifying himself as a member of the Lamsong clan. *Chawa* and *samek*, the ritually identifying features of a clan, have been described in the previous chapter (see also Appendix 2). Since *chawa* names the spring found on land claimed or conquered by a particular clan, the water is considered to be the most suitable for offering to ancestors.

As soon as the *yatangpa* had finished chanting, the older men gathered around the hearth. Squatting on their haunches, their hands clasped

together, just as we would in prayer, they began to chant or mumble the *sikla*, depending on how well they knew the words:

"You of the lamawa spring, dead grandfather, grandmother, great-grandfather and great-grandmother, dead married-in aunts, married-in female cousins, brothers and sisters, nearest and dearest, you are called. Get up and come from wherever you are, from your sleeping place, from your standing place, from your sandy place, your place in the earth, your tree or stone. (If) you come with the wind, catch your breath at the resting places, rest your body (if) you come the upper, sky way. When you come, bring food and drink; make open (risk, expose?) your lawa, expose your long life, your dreams, your day-dreams. Come, cross over to the pillars of the house, to the beams of the house, to the main door, the side door, to the three hearth stones. Wash your feet, wash your hands, and do not be shy, do not hesitate to come to the ginger, to the plantain leaf under the shrine having left the place you have been standing, sitting for twelve months. We have laid out for you on the leaf the new rice, tongba (bamboo container) of millet beer with its bamboo straw, beer from the clay pot, turmeric, egg, meat from the chicken, fish, soya beans, food to go with rice; a copper bowl with water, beer, spirits. You dead grandfathers, grandmothers eat enough to satisfy, drink enough to satisfy, come and drink and eat with your close relatives. Did you know about our troubles, have you seen our troubles? If you did now, do not be anxious, do not worry, I a *chiksaba* of the lamawa spring, ask for your blessing, give a strong *saya* (to) this *saya* grown small, yes, a *saya*; yes, give a *lawa*, a long-life *lawa*. The swellings, the dysentery, the stomach-aches, if they come -give protection. Protect me from witches, evil spirits, bad gods who give diseases, thieves, epidemics, ghosts, the evil spirits of the Sherpa. Help us with our affairs, (administration), our ruling, help us manage our own people and our enemies. From all (the things) like the snake without a tail weakening us, (from which we could die), completely and for ever cover us and protect us like a peacock. Give the *lawa* to the ginger on the leaf under the shrine, oh yes, give *lawa*, give long life, give wealth and good fortune. Lo! wash your hands and feet; come from your getting up and from your standing place, rest along the way; come as yourselves, and do not imitate the mice! When we call you come, (but) at other times, keep away. Do not ignore the *sikla* words, do not go the way of gossip, follow the *mangpa* shaman, the *yatangpa* priest, and that way you won't feel shy. We can do everything (for you), we can serve you, do as you request, give you help, jadau!

The description in my diary then continues as follows:

"The men relaxed and moved from their haunched positions. Everybody began to move freely again. During the *sikla* everyone is very quiet. No-one should do any kind of work or talk and, in particular, no person, or animal should cross the pathway of the house, or try to use either of the doorways to the house, which might impede, frighten, or anger one of the *chap*, the spirits of dead ancestors, and stop them

from coming to the house; "this is a time when the *chap* must be persuaded at all costs to come; we cannot see them so we must be very careful not to move or we might by mistake hit their legs, or walk over their legs, or bump into them if we walked around as they are called by the *sikla* words". On one occasion, a chicken was wandering around on the verandah of the house as the *sikla* was in process. A 'brother' of the widow whose *nuagi* was being performed was visibly angry and anxious as the chicken continued unimpeded. Everybody was very still, the women had stopped making leaf plates, the children had been huddled to one side, out of the way, and there was a general hush. But no-one dared to move to catch the stray chicken, who looked around startled as if it too was taken aback by what was going on. For me, it was one of the most convincing moments of the Lohorung's belief in the power of their continued relationship with their ancestors; the belief that they would come to visit them, the fear they had of them, and the need therefore to conform to the correct rules of behaviour.

After the *sikla*, beer is poured onto the three hearth stones and three portions of water, ginger, rice, gravy, beer and chicken meat placed near the three hearth stones and four of the same at the doorways of the house, with words to raise their *saya*:

To the three stones (*hitchrung tungchrung*): "oh, you three stones (two stones united by a third) of the house of pillars, the house of beams, of the *lamawa* spring, for twelve months we raise your *saya* with the new rice, with beer, with spirits, with chicken meat, the food and drink offerings way; do not eat up (destroy) the pillars, do not eat up the beams, do not play with the wind; protect us from rivals and stay in your right place."

And to the doorways:

"You main doorway, you side doorway of the *lamawa* spring, of the house of pillars, the house of beams, for twelve months we raise your *saya*, with the new rice, with beer, with spirits, with chicken meat, the food and drink offerings way; if we kick you or bump into you by mistake do not let your *niwa* hurt, do not let your head hurt; if a Lakshmi (wealth, good fortune) comes, open up, if a witch, evil spirit, bad god comes, go and shut yourself, go and hide!

During the *sokma* ('breath') section of the chant each chicken is killed by a blow on its spine. This releases its breath, which is then said to be carried on the wind to *khammang* and *yimi* and lets them know that the animal has been killed and the offering made. The *saya* of each animal is released along with the breath. Only in return for at least one cock and one hen, as well as the offering of the first crops, will *khammang* and *yimi* keep their side of the agreement and give health, protection and prosperity.

In their own indigenous rituals, the Lohorung never sacrifice an animal in such a way as to display much blood. The idea is to retain the blood for those to whom it is offered, and pragmatically also for those who consume the meat. Pigs are traditionally shot in the heart with a bow and arrow and the flow of blood is inhibited by a bamboo stopper. The blood taken, is drained into a copper container, and divided out later amongst the participants. Chickens are killed with a blow on the spine unless they are so small that no drops of blood, needed for divinatory purposes and as part of the offering, would come from their mouth, then their heads are chopped off. Thus, we can see it is only a minimal amount of blood that is needed to establish the fact that the agreed offering has been made by the living.

In *nuagi*, the cock and hen must be large enough for them to be killed with a blow. A drop of blood is then immediately squeezed from their mouths and dripped onto a leaf; the blood of the cock onto a leaf placed in the right hand section of the shrine, and

that of the hen onto the left. A feather is also plucked from each chicken and placed on the leaf. As the blood is squeezed from the chicken the *yatangba* watches carefully for any drop of water from the eyes or nose of the chicken. Any sign of water means someone in the house will either become ill or die. Water from the eye of the chicken is particularly bad and someone will almost inevitably die. On each occasion that I saw *nuagi* performed, only blood came from the chicken, no water. At each divination there are cries of "syabas" "bravo, well done, hurrah!" (Turner, *ibid*:626). The prognosis for the next twelve months is good.

The lack of bloody sacrifice among the Lohorung is shared by the Thulung Rai (1976:135), the Limbu (Sagant, 1981) as well as a tribe in Assam (the Minyong Abors), as noted by Fürer-Haimendorf in 1937, who described parallels as existing in Arunachal Pradesh (Hill Miris, Daflas and Nagas), and Eastern Tibet (the Amdopa) (1957). Fürer-Haimendorf quotes Hermanns (1949) suggesting that the blood plays no significant role "because the seat of the soul and of life is in the breath and not in the blood" (1957:603). For the Lohorung the blood drops are for identifying the offering and for divinatory purposes, indicating whether the rite has been successful or not. (5)

After the chickens have been killed and divination from the blood on the leaf performed, the *yatangba* places the leaf plates with blood and feather on to the shrine shelves, the one from the cock

to the left and from the hen to the right. The household head, and his 'brother' carefully slit the chickens. The cock is cut in two with the head attached to the right wing, and the hen with the head attached to the left. The left hen portion is always kept for the close daughters and the right-hand portion of the cock for the male household head. The remaining parts of the chicken are cut into tiny portions for the rest of the family and guests. More than two chickens should only be killed if the household shrine includes a 'house' for the snakes, the *bongbi*. Such was the view of most people. A few said that it was permissible to offer more, and some did, though others said this was only to make themselves look important. It was seen as a recent change. The entrails are used for further divination, performed by the main doorway. In order to prevent the anger of the *sammang* at *nuagi* four leaf plates with rice, gravy and beer are placed in front of the house.

"After the divination the guests sat around and talked, waiting for the food. As at every ritual involving chickens they made yellow chicken rice (*wamik*), burning off the chicken feathers and adding them, with the chopped up feet and intestines, to the rice. Ram B. was talking about what he would do the next day. After one's own *nuagi* there should be no work done in the fields, either on that day or the next day. No-one else should work there either. Some of the older children were talking about Jit B.'s *nuagi* saying that it was 'big'; 'he must have had at least six chickens'. One of the older men commented, 'he is not stupid; it's only his mother who uses the tax money instead of handing it over. He is angry with her'. Hem's aunt who had offered *raksi* to drink before the priest had arrived and had told me not to write down about the ritual warned me again, saying, 'Don't write. If you follow that path you will be in trouble. *Khammang* and *yimmang*, like the *sammang*, don't like being talked about'. Hem tried again to persuade his aunt to go to his father's *nuagi*. If she doesn't go then his father will never talk to her again..."

During the ritual described above, *saya* is raised for many different objects and people in several different ways. Most important, *saya* is raised in every household. Each house wants their own male household head to be revitalised and refreshed by the ritual, so that he can face hostile neighbours, difficulties and danger with strength and 'his head held high'. Thus, it is usually the cap (*topi N.*) of the male household head that is put alongside the offerings under the shrine. Although the *samek*, ritual name, by which the household head can be identified in the ritual is the same as that for the clan, his individuality is given expression by this piece of cloth, which is said to carry his smell. Thus, although the *saya* of all the household members, including outmarried sisters are raised and strengthened by the ritual, the *saya* that is focused on is that of the male household head. When asked why, one response is that the man's *saya* falls most. He has the good name and reputation of the family to bear, and he carries the public role, in which he is most likely to receive outside criticism. He is the person most open to attack and it is abuse, for example, which causes *saya* to fall. If one of the children, for example, transgresses customary values or badly misbehaves, it is said that they are 'throwing away the nose' of their father and risking the possibility that his *saya* will fall. In contrast, the *saya* of the female household head very rarely needs raising, apart from after the birth of a child or after some illnesses. Her *saya* is 'bending', and 'flexible'. It is also said that a woman has the added protection of her natal home. She can still rely on her

brothers for their protection, and indeed has her *saya* raised when she visits them at *nuagi*, as well as in her husband's rite . Daughters too are particularly cared for. When the sacrificed hen is divided, daughters have a special share of meat: the half with the head goes to *yimi*, the other leg, wing, thigh and shin is called *warang* and is only for daughters. The head is the seat of a high *saya* so it is important that when the hen is cut, the head should be retained with the left hand portion, offered to *Yimi*. The meaning of the symbolism in the way the hen and the cock are cut is evident to us, as it is to the Lohorung. Right is male, left is female: the head with the life-giving force goes with the right side for the male, with the left for the female.

The only way a son can have his own *saya* raised, independent of his father, is for him to build a house of his own, with its own household shrine. Only then, can he benefit from the status of being *tungongpa*, 'important person', another way, for the Lohorung, of saying 'head of the household', and gain the apotropaic power of being close to *khammang*. Only then, can he possibly eventually build up prosperity and powerful relations with the ancestors for himself, outside the domain of his father's house. The move to a new house removes the protection from his father's *saya*. His own vulnerable *saya* is now open to rebuke or attack from another *tungongpa*, household head. It is only possible to guess at the significance of *nuagi* in prior historical times, but given the importance of raising *saya* in the present time, it seems likely that in earlier times, when

political autonomy was considerable, when tribal chiefs, called *hang*, for example, were often at war with each other, that *nuagi* had even greater significance in restoring and augmenting the strength of each male household head, each one a potential chief.

It is not only the *saya* of the household members that have to be raised. What is *saya* that has to be raised in the house, the pillars and the beams, the hearth stones and the ginger, liquor, bowls and pichers layed out under the shrine? Are these empty forms animated by *saya*? Where is the agency doing the animating? What does it tell us about the Lohorung understanding of life? Such questions about *saya* haunted me throughout fieldwork, as I struggled to understand the concept. The subsequent discussion of *khammang* and *yimi* will throw light on some of these questions, and the concept as a whole will become clearer. From the ritual chant two important points may be made. Firstly, it is clear from the way they are addressed that the house beams, pillars and objects in the house are 'as if animated' by the presence of the ancestors, who are called to eat. These objects are particular objects - parts of the house recognised by the ancestors as belonging to them. "They are the owners", it was explained to me. The ritual name, by which the objects are addressed, is recognised by the ancestors who know what belongs to them. The ancestors come to the objects and rest on them throughout their visit. Secondly, we can say that the way the ritual deals with these inanimate objects, is as if they had a consciousness, which responds to being called by their ritual name, before the

ancestors have arrived. We can see this, for example, when the parts of the house are called upon: *ane chu'ana*, 'you are trusted or held responsible' to protect the family with the strength from a raised *saya*. We can see it also in how they respond to a mere mention in ritual. Speaking their *samek* name is said to raise their *saya*. Thus, 'pillars of the house' are addressed as *anglak khim*, and the main door as *nam khetam 'no, sunnali'no lam*, (the rising sun one, the golden one) - reflecting the traditional Eastward orientation of the house. From this, we see clearly that the Lohorung regard the objects as having some consciousness to be able to respond to names and prayers. How can we understand this consciousness? I delay the answer to this until after the discussion on *khammang* and *yimi*.

To sum up, then, the beams and pillars are visited by the ancestors. And this visit strengthens something in them. They respond to a ritual name and to entreaties for protection and have some consciousness which allows them to respond. The entreaties to the hearth stones and the doorways make clear that the Lohorung are not just talking to stones and wooden doorways. But who are the beings, or what is the consciousness being addressed? Let us now look at *khammang* and *Yimi* to see how they illuminate the 'beings' of the objects and the superhuman beings to whom the ritual is primarily addressed.

Khammang and *yimi* (*yumang*, *yimang*)

In Chapter Two *khammang* and *yimi* were described as being the first incestuous couple as well as being guardians of what is spiritually and morally correct. They relate to all three cosmic zones, with the superhuman beings above, the water serpents below and the living in between. During *nuagi* itself it was difficult to collect information on the couple *khammang* and *yimi*. From the text of the ritual, we ascertain little about them, except that they are referred to as *hang*, which means 'king' or 'queen'. We also learn that they are associated with *Khembalung*. This is the legendary kingdom - equivalent to the Tibetan Shambala- built on top of a mountain, a place of peace and prosperity, where kindness, compassion and wisdom are the characteristics of the rulers and the ruled. The couple are linked to Lohorung ideas about protection, prosperity and the *saya* of all things, which comes across, for example, in the ritual text. Moreover, from the talk about Narbong, the man with the swollen cheek, we see an example of *khammang* and *yimi*'s connection with 'knowledge' and 'wisdom'. Narbong's *niwa* was not working well and one explanation was that his household shrine (*mangsuk*) could not work against such a powerful force as the forest ancestor-spirit ritual, *Chawatangma*, performed inside the house.

Khammang and *yimi*'s close connection to the water serpents needs further explanation. The Kulung Rai also have an important series of rituals associated with *Nagi*, the water serpent and McDougal calls it a pan-Rai deity (1979:66) (6). For the Lohorung, the subterranean underworld is conceived of as the abode of the water serpents, the

bongbi, for whom the ritual is in part performed. *Nuagi* comes from the Sanskrit *Naga*, the subterranean water deities, or water serpents. Apart from all its other functions, *nuagi* acts to pacify and asks pardon from these water serpents for the activity during the heavy agricultural months, when the soil is disturbed by ploughing, digging and the removal of stones. The serpents are provoked to ill-humour by this activity and unless pacified would bring misfortune to households and their property. The very work that the Lohorung have to carry out as agriculturalists and particularly during the agricultural season with the ploughing and the digging, is said to lower *saya*, that is, to put each Lohorung individual into a vulnerable psychological state. By these activities they put themselves into a kind of impurity, lowered morale, because the water serpents are angry with them, and when this happens their own protective ancestors begin to hurt and turn away from them. Since they have no time during these months to raise and strengthen their *saya*, that is renew their links with their close, protective ancestors, their *saya* falls. *Nuagi* acts the renew the links with the protective ancestors and raise *saya*.

Though the Lohorung do not make frequent reference to these water serpents, there is a collective conception of snakes encircling and protecting the hearth, and *khimpie*, the house ancestor, is conceived of as being connected to the subterranean region. As mentioned earlier, she disappeared, dragged into a lake by one of the serpents, which is why, so they say, she is sometimes called *sapdewa N.* 'snake god'. One *yatangpa* told me the story of how the Lohorung

followed the water serpents, the *bongbi*, in their emergence from the primal lake. They are the ones who still choose the local priests, the *yatangba*. In the beginning, when there was only sky and water, he said, the serpents remained in the underworld, but when the sun and moon appeared in the sky, then one of the snakes emerged from the water and the churning of the serpents pushed up the soil to make the solid earth. And this was how the earth was made. The serpents who choose those who are to work with the *pe-lam* and become *yatangba* are specifically represented on the household shrines of priests or prospective priests at *nuagi*. A plate of offerings is placed on the upper part of the shrine on the end next to *khammang*, and dedicated to the *bongbi*.

What else do we know about *khammang* and *yimi*? The flowers, (*bungkringma*), on the shrine are specifically "for *khammang* and *yimi*" and as the priest's assistant explained, "they are like the Tibetan flags on the roofs of their houses". Reading Stein (1972), we know that the stones and flags on Tibetan houses represent the 'gods of the summits' (*rtse-lha*), 'gods of the country' (*yul-lha*), 'gods of the males' (*pho-lha*), or 'warrior gods' (*dgra-lha*) (Stein:1972:206). Following up what Stein and Tucci say about the various *lha* (gods of the sky) led to some interesting insights into the resemblance of the tradition lying behind the Lohorung deities, *khammang* and *yumang*, and the concept of *saya*, and the *lha* gods of ancient, pre-Buddhist Tibet. (7)

Stein describes the first kings, who became *lha*, as having no tombs, or "had their 'tombs in the sky', since they dissolved into the sky by way of the *dmu* rope, a sort of rainbow" (1972:203). *Khammang* and *yumang*, 'the oldest (*sabudi*) king and queen' also had no burial: it is said they just disappeared into the sky. The significance of both these lies in their common belief that there was at one time easy communication between the world above and the earth. This is characterised by the Lohorung, for example, in the notion that at one time the living and the dead could intermarry. As we have seen, the household shrine of the Lohorung is also something very similar to the notion of the *dmu* rope, a means of communication between the human and the superhuman. Moreover, a rope appears in two Lohorung rituals, and in a third, until sacrifice of an ox was prohibited in Nepal. Many Lohorung houses, however, still have a hole in the floor of the house, by the hearth, (the place in the house that particularly belongs to the ancestors), through which the rope was threaded to join the ox from below the house to the shrine in the house, upon which the horns were hung. And in another ritual to raise *saya*, the shaman uses a rope to join the members of the house to the altar built in the courtyard. The hole is the opening through which the ancestors and 'gods' pass and through which the '*lawa*' (soul) of the priest or shaman passes when possessed. To me, the hole and the rope are the clearest concrete expressions of *saya*, representing the link between the ancestors and the living human beings.

An article by Tucci on *The Secret Characters of the Kings of Ancient Tibet* (1955-6) throws further light on similarities between Lohorung concepts and those of ancient Tibet. Firstly, Tucci writes about the new kings taking over from their fathers at the age of thirteen, when they reached not physical maturity but sacred maturity, something quite different "laden with quite other implications and powers. This maturity indicates the presence of the ancestor in the son, which has ceased in the father" (ibid:199). The king is thus "the forefather present among the living by means of a perennial renewed manifestation of his essence" and Tucci emphasises the point that the perennial renewal and strengthening of the terrestrial manifestation is probably the only way that the forefather can be renewed "on his ideal plane, and thus escape[] the fatal exhaustion of the soul, as is not infrequently believed in Asia" (ibid:199). The renewal, the unending event, however, "was repeated, unending but always new in its temporal localisation". The new king could not remain in the old paternal palace:

"With his advent a complete renewal took place, a new order was set up. Each king settled into his own palace because the divine presence of the ancestor was reintegrated in him and along with the palace all was reconstituted: *novus incipit ordo*" (ibid).

There is an interesting parallel in the Lohorung idea of *saya*, which is also an unending link with the ancestors, the same idea of the forefathers among the living inherent in a power within the person, needing renewal. For the Lohorung, the presence of *khammang* and *yimi* needs strengthening annually, whilst their terrestrial manifestation in each household head requires a minimum of annual renewal and sometimes more. Moreover, just as the Tibetan king needed his own

palace to achieve complete renewal, so too the Lohorung son must be in a different location from his father to take advantage of the powers of *saya* and therefore, in general, builds his own house.

Tucci goes on in the article to describe the 'powers' that were transferrred to the new kings, two of which are operative in each new king, the other two taken over by a shaman and a minister respectively. One of the powers transmitted to the new Tibetan kings was *mnga' t'ang*, 'majesty', a magical power, which constituted their essence, "the divine presence.., transcending the vicissitudes of the individuals in whom it descends, as the guardian of the race and of the community" (ibid:200). It tolerates no contamination or defect:

"This physical soundness is necessary for the group, as only if the sacred person of the king is fresh, intact, rejuvenated, will he be able to perform his function, which is that of keeping off epidemics, causing the rain to fall, assuring fertility, in other words that of maintaining the cosmic and social order intact and in due working order" (ibid:200).

The other power is called the *dbu rmag*, the helmet; beyond this Tucci has to guess at the meaning. He says there is nothing to suggest it is the symbol of military power. Instead, he suggests the word should perhaps be related to the *dMu* rope, the cord connecting earth and heaven,

"and with *rMug*, which denotes magic power, more especially that exercised in relation with the chthonian powers (funeral rites). The helmet..is the symbol, the visible emblem of the magic power of the king which is transmitted from father to son...It protects the king's head, whence, according to Bonpo tradition, started the luminous rope that bound him to heaven. It should therefore be related to the *casque*, the bonnet, the turban" (ibid:200).

The ancient Tibetan idea of a continuing majestic, magical power, protecting the race and the community, tolerating no contamination, and transcending individuals, conveys the power and some of the particular characteristics of *saya*, that are symbolised in the turban. Tucci points out that the two powers cannot be separated from each other; "the one being the essence of power, the other its active symbol" (ibid). Should we interpret *saya* as a magical power, animating *khammang* and *yimi*? *Saya* is for the Lohorung also a 'power', one that is in the head, and one that is symbolised by the turban, worn by the household head in some rituals, particularly that in which his fallen *saya* is raised.

In consideration of this parallel we should mention the Thulung Rai concept of *seor* which is a similar metaphysical concept to the Lohorung Rai *saya*. Though Allen does not deal with the concept of *seor* in any depth, in discussing the problematic nature of translating the term, he writes:

"it would be wrong to think of the *seor* as existing only in the past, in external objects, or in another world, for there are a number of contexts in which the Thulung think of the *seor* as internal to the individual; one informant even defined the term as "the god within the person". A further aspect of the concept is brought out by the translation "fortune", which can be taken either in the neutral sense "lot, fate", or in the more positive one of "strength, courage, prosperity". (D.Phil Thesis: 262).

And he comes to the conclusion that:

"The best way for an alien to grasp the unity of the Thulung concept seems to be through some notion such as "line of continuity". The ancestors are what constitutes the line of continuity in time and space between the Place of Origin and the here and now, and an individual's fortune inheres in the strength of this continuity. It is because of this that one informant could say that the ancestors' rope simply meant "life"; without it you were dead". (ibid:263).

The rope referred to is the rope mentioned above used also in certain Thulung Rai rites.

The pre-Bon Tibetans also conceive of such a rope with protective gods dwelling at one end and man at the other. The Lohorung notion of *saya*, articulated by their ancestors, seems conceptually very close to the notion of these gods at the end of the *mu* rope. Like *saya*;

"These gods relate man to his group in space and time: in space, because identical with those controlling the physical environment, house or country; in time, because they preside over the fortunes of the line, from ancestors to descendants. For man himself, in whom these relationships intersect, his gods guarantee - if all goes well - life-force, power, longevity, and success.....

'Through the man's god (*pho-lha*) males (*pho*) are multiplied and one has a numerous line of descendants; through the woman's god (*mo-lha*) sisters are multiplied, and the female fortune grows; through the god of the maternal uncle, one has good relations with others and prospers; through the warrior god (*dgra-lha*) one has much wealth and few enemies; through the life-force god, one obtains long life and steady life-force". (Stein, 1972:222).

The similarity of Lohorung *saya* to these Tibetan ideas becomes more potent in the light of a further comment from Stein that "the 'souls' (*bla*) are scarcely distinguished from the 'gods' (*lha*). The Tibetans often confuse these two words. Just as a man's protecting gods, particularly the warrior god (*dgra-lha*) and the man's god (*pho-lha*), residing in his body and born with it, are also represented outside it by objects such as stones, flags or trees; and moreover, are identical with the protecting deities of the dwelling place;" (ibid: 227)

"*Saya* is our *bung*, flower", say the Lohorung - *bung* being the complex Lohorung metaphysical concept that we have touched on

earlier, with its broad semantic field, including the meaning 'vital spirit', 'essence that is vulnerable'. It can be fresh, strong, assertive and reflect the household head's self-esteem, good health and prosperity; if high in the head the person can be majestic like the 'kings' (*hang*) of the past, and have the power to guard off attacks, whether from evil spirits or hostile neighbours. This sounds similar to the *mnga' t'ang* power of the Tibetans. Just as the *mnga' t'ang* can be extinguished or corrupted, so too *saya* falls if the person is insulted, their morale or pride attacked or criticised, if any member of their household is treated in an insulting fashion or if any member is contaminated by impurity. When *saya* has fallen the person is weak, and vulnerable, wide open for attack and everything will go wrong.

There is a comparison to be made too in the function of the Tibetan kings in maintaining the social and cosmic order, with the function of *khammang* and *yimi*. *Khammang* and *yimi* maintain the physical and psychological good order of each household and maintain adherence to the norms and customs of the *pe-lam*. As we have seen, the Lohorung have no one omnipotent 'god' and no indigenous word which translates the Nepali term *deutā*, 'god' or 'divinity'. Nevertheless, ultimate authority and power combined with notions of moral and spiritual correctness are located in the household shrine and the figures of *khammang* and *yimi*. Hail and wind, twisted mouths, or distorted, damaged senses are said to be the relationship with *khammang* and *yimi* 'going wrong' (*nasi lisa*) and expressing their displeasure for some moral transgression. Whereas the *sammang*

generally attack to satisfy their hunger or express their anger at being neglected, *khammang* and *yimi* are only said to act if there is a moral or spiritual threat to the society. They are for the Lohorung the 'king and queen', the guardians of the spiritual and moral world, similar to the cosmic and social world over which the ancient Tibetan kings ruled. For the Lohorung, however, the terrestrial manifestations of these guardians abide not in one individual, but in each couple who head every household. When a boy and girl marry they are said to 'become' *khammang* and *yimi* and in the traditional marriage ceremony the girl is called "*yimi*" and the boy "*khammang*". However, the role only takes on real significance when the couple achieve a house of their own and when they have their own *nuagi*, that is, when the male household head's *saya* is independent from that of his father and the health and prosperity and strength of their household is said to depend on their own ability to foster relationship with their ancestors and protective gods, as well as those living around them.

If we now return to Stein, we see further similarities in the beliefs of the ancient Tibetan and the Lohorung, concerning the superhuman beings giving them protection. Stein writes about the first kings and the sacred mountains. Mountains are *lha*. "The sacred mountains are 'gods of the country' (*yul-lha*) or 'masters of the place' (*gxhi-bdag, sa-bdag*). They are regarded both as 'pillars of the sky' (*gnam-gyi ka-ba*), and 'pegs of the earth' (*sa-yi phur-bu*)" (ibid:203). *Khammang* and *yumang*'s mountainous connection is with *Khembalung*, the sacred mountain where the gods of the country live,

their links with the soil with the *bongbi*, water snakes. Moreover, *khammang* and *yimi*'s association with *Khembalung* and the sky, and the 'high path', (and their connection with *saya*, which has to be 'raised' to be strong) are all part of a more general Lohorung reverence for height. Their attitude projects power, strength, health, and prosperity onto that which is 'high', which is epitomised by *Khembalung*. The ancient Tibetans had a cult of height according to Stein. He writes, for example, about the Tibetan group's or leader's self-assertion as having: "a warlike victorious air, frequently expressed by the idea of height or loftiness, elevation and might, symbolized by the sky...The image of sovereignty is the 'mighty helmet' (*dbu-rmog btsan*) or 'lofty head' (*dbu-'phangs mtho*). So the cult of height is expressed by stones, tree-branches or flags placed on roofs, passes or one's headgear" (*ibid*:204). And he goes on to say,

"Every traveller that crosses the pass lays a stone on the heap or, failing that, a bone, rag or tuft of wool or hair. At the same time he calls out, 'The gods (of the sky, *lha*) are victorious, the demons are vanquished, *ki-ki so-so!*' The exclamation at the end are war cries. They are accounted for by the warlike nature of the gods (*dgra-lha*) and the idea of passing through a difficult or strategic place". And then, "The main thing is simply the concept of height, loftiness or elevation: the actual altitude does not count. The gods associated with sacred mountains and heaps of stones, the 'gods of the summits'..., 'gods of the country'..., 'gods of the males'..., or warrior gods'..., reign, too, over man's head and shoulders, the mighty helmet, and the roof" (*ibid*:206).

We are reminded here of the victorious war cry that accompanies the raising of *saya*. We can also understand more clearly what the priest's assistant meant when he compared the 'flowers' on the *khammang* and *yimi* shrine with the flags on Tibetan rooves. Just as the stones or the flags celebrate the *lha* gods, and give them

respect, the Lohorung *bungkringma* celebrate and worship *khammang* and *yimi* as being the gods who reign over the morals of their society, and over the males and over the females of the house. They honour their power and sovereignty or 'lofty heads'. Certainly, in many ways like the *pho lha*, *khammang* is particularly associated with the males and with the right hand shoulder and armpit, and with raising the *saya* of the male household head so that he is mighty and proud, in high spirits and without fear. Similarly, *yimi* or *yumang*, like the *mo-lha*, the woman's god, is associated with the left and with the protection and *saya* of the females in the house. At *nuagi* when the priest stands in front of the shrine, he holds the cock under the right armpit and the hen under the left, the places in which these protective gods reside.

Can this Tibetan material help us to understand *saya*, particularly *saya* that resides in the beams and pillars, the hearth and doorways? In an important passage, Stein tells us that over a whole range of ideas the *lha* are hardly distinguishable from the *bla*, the 'soul' and that the protective 'gods', residing in the body are often represented outside the body by objects such as stones, flags or trees and

"moreover, are identical with the protecting deities of the dwelling-place (house or country); so too the soul or life principle (*bla*) resides both in the body and in an external object and such an object can be the 'the outer soul' or the 'seat of life' (*bla-gnas*) of an individual as well as a group of people or country" (ibid:227).

Reading this, the information concerning *saya* in the various parts of the house began to make sense. From what the Lohorung said to me, my gloss of *saya* as 'ancestor within' covered most of its

meaning, but not *saya* within the beams and the pillars of the house, for example. In spite of my understanding that the Lohorung believed in the plurality of souls, I had not thought of *saya* as also being an 'outer soul', which is what it clearly can be.

Saya, then, in one sense is the 'ancestor within', the ancestral soul that protects the person and on death becomes the spirit of the dead person (8). In another sense, it is the 'soul' (*lawá*) of the protective *khammang* and *yimi*, or of lineage ancestors, residing in external objects and individuals. In this sense, it should be called 'outer soul', even though it dwells within people and objects. *Saya*, the 'outer souls' belong to those whose souls, in the past, became attached and dwelt in objects and individuals in the house. The Lohorung notion of *chawa*, sacred clan spring, is an example of *saya* residing in an object, which is the 'outer soul' of each clan member, as well as the clan as a whole. We described *saya* earlier as the internal link with the ancestors. The link is their 'souls', (*lawá*), which reside both within people and things. They reside within the houses of their lineage, within the beams and the pillars, within the hearth and the doorways, within all the things identified as 'belonging' to them - such as the objects layed out on the shrine. The protective aspect of *khammang* and *yimi* and the lineage ancestors is also confounded with the notion of *saya*.

In conclusion, it seemed to me that several explanations given to me of *saya* did not make sense unless the notion of 'outer souls' is accepted. One of these comments was, "*saya* is given by *hangsa*",

hangsa being the Nepali 'soul, spirit, heart' (Turner 1931:628), *lawa* in Lohorung. My informant was telling me *saya*, an outer soul is given by the 'soul' of *khammang* and *yimi* and the protective ancestors. In the chapters that follow we shall see how other information about *saya* fits with an understanding of it as including 'outer soul'. In chapter six we look at *saya* as an emotion. Here let us now summarize the importance of *saya* in the house and how the house begins to look for a Lohorung. We saw in the description of *nuagi* how the ancestors identified so closely with the house that they responded to its misuse 'as if' it were directed to themselves. The house and the pillars and objects in the house were also addressed 'as if' they had a consciousness. According to the Lohorung they do: the superhuman beings, whose 'outer souls' reside in the house, have a consciousness: objects with *saya* are, in Lohorung thinking, no longer lifeless. Though a soul has taken residence in the house, it remains, nevertheless closely linked to the ancestor it belongs to. Harm to these objects is very harmful to the beings involved. As long as the ancestors are well, the soul-objects are strong, if the objects are treated well, then the ancestors thrive. If, however, these objects are mistreated, not cared for, it exposes the ancestor or superhuman being involved to possible attack from other superhuman beings. Thus, we can see the importance for the Lohorung of raising the *saya* of all things at *nuagi*.

The 'outer souls' or *saya* of Lohorung ancestors and of *khammang* and *yimi* reside all over their houses and in objects they constantly

use, such as pichers and bowls. No wonder, then, they are at pains to protect them and keep them private. We can now understand better why the Lohorung place the house-shrine out of the way of harm and contamination from non-Rai visitors. As mentioned in the introduction, when I first came to Pangma I tried to find an old, unused house in the village, that I could live in. They told me nobody ever pulled down houses, so there were a few that had been abandoned, but nobody wanted me to live in their abandoned homes. A stranger could easily harm any ancestor who had not also abandoned the house.

We can now begin to appreciate the appropriateness of the shrine in the form of the house. The house is the place, to which the *lawa* of the ancestors in their own lives becomes most attached. The house is the natural seat of one of their souls. For this reason 'houses', are always made for the ancestors in the rituals to them. To control their 'house' is to control them.

The individual, the family, and the house, however, are also controlled and protected by the presence of *saya* in the house. *Saya* is everywhere. *Saya* in the hearth controls the fire, and protects the household from rivals, as requested in the ritual chant, *saya* in the doorways keeps away evil spirits, and encourages good fortune. *Saya* is concentrated in the household shrine which has the power to avert misfortune, and protect the household from everything 'bad', such as evil spirits, witches, bad omens, illnesses of all kinds and even death. It also has the power to bring wealth, and well-being.

To raise *saya*, to give strength to the 'outer souls' of *khammang* and *yimi* and the protective ancestors, as well as raising the strength of the ancestor residing within each household member, is for the Lohorung the most important ritual act he can perform.



PLATE 6

CARDING COTTON

CHAPTER FIVE

The concepts of *lawa*, *niwa* and *saya* and the Cycle of Life

The following chapter is concerned with the Lohorung conception of the person. So far, we have concentrated on the Lohorung and their relations with the superhuman beings. This led to a close look at such concepts as *pe-lam*, *sammang* and *saya*. Now, in this chapter we shall look more at individuals, their minds, their consciousness and their bodies, the realms and capacities of the person changing through their life cycle. This directs us to the Lohorung concepts of *niwa* and *lawa*, as well as *saya*. The chapter will also describe how these notions act to differentiate children from adults and men from women. We can begin to appreciate how the Lohorung understand themselves and their actions and behaviour. I shall concentrate on birth, marriage, death and the developing years of the Lohorung child.

Conception

Lohorung talk about human conception in the same terms as planting crops or reproduction in flowers and trees. The way most men talked about conception envisaged the woman as being like the earth: "The woman is like the earth. If we put seed into the earth, and the earth is good/fertile, it grows. If a man puts his seed into a woman a baby will grow". The following is a typical view:

"The woman gives the *khim* or 'house' to keep the seed. The seed in the man's semen are so many. These are the essence of the child. They fight and fight each other and kill each other off, leaving only one. If that one is male, it will be a boy, if female, a girl. If two can't kill each other then twins. That's the way people here say it happens".

Some men claimed they were the ones who originally carried the foetus around in the calf of their leg. Women talk about the woman's *thuk*, which I understood to mean 'womb' from their translation of it as the Nepali *pate-ghar* (Turner, 1931:154). They describe it as a 'child-residing place' (*cha-cha-pentham*) different from the *khim*, 'house', the placenta. Whereas the *khim* leaves when the child is born, the *thuk* they say never leaves:

"if there are many in the *thuk* then many children, if only a few then only a few children. Look at pigs, they're all different, some have two, some three, some four, seven, eight, ten, eleven some have, and some only one".

Few women think of themselves as providing a component to the make-up of the child itself, in the sense of an egg. Most see their menstrual blood mingling with the man's seed to form the baby. The woman's contribution is not only to carry and bear the child, to offer a 'house', they contribute the blood that links the child to preceding generations through the maternal line. Women are sure of the importance of their own role, which comes across in retorts to men's jibes. When men said, for example, "eh!you're just a woman!" women replied, "well, if we weren't around you wouldn't even be born!". The creative role in the *pe-lam* is strikingly undertaken by women. For example, *Ninimaremma* in the myth is made pregnant by the wind and *chawatangma* is the one who created the earth, flowers, trees, rivers and mountains.

Menstruation is conceived as being the 'flowering' me-nungmam bung of a woman, and is considered to be a necessary precursor to conception. *Bung* is a term covering the notions 'flower', 'essence of life', 'genitalia', and 'menstruation'. One woman's comment explained part of its wide semantic field:

"First her bung (genitalia) flowers and the blood flows, then it gets its seed, then a baby will grow. Unlike others, those other *singlung* (trees and plants, living things), which seed themselves, as well as the flower bung on their own, we *ya-michi*, 'people', need someone to get a seed to the flower, bung".

Menstruation and genitalia are both referred to as *bung*. The structure of the body and the function are combined. This attitude is similarly present in the fear of diarrhoea when pregnant; they fear they will miscarry along with the flow of excreta.

The Lohorung likening of menstrual flow to the flowering of plants is significant in two striking ways. Firstly, the Lohorung do not conceive of menstrual blood as polluting in the way that their Brahmin and Chetri neighbours do. In this sense the Brahmin and Chetri, for example conceive of the Lohorung as being like low caste, untouchable Hindus (1). Traditionally, the Lohorung do not halt their everyday activities of cooking and serving food, beer or water to others during their menses.

Conceptualised as the first stage in conception, menstruation is something both men and woman are shy about, but not polluting in terms of daily activities and contacts. Nevertheless, to have sexual intercourse during the woman's menses, is avoided; there is a moral attitude that women who do it are somewhat worthless,

phenni, producing a child who would be *phenni* 'no good'. There was no reason why children could not be conceived while the blood flows, but such offspring are *kaise* 'bad'. It is generally agreed that most children conceived at such a time would die (2). If they did survive they would grow up to be *e'khemme* 'naughty', "they do not work well"; such children do not develop their minds (*niwa*). Either their *niwa* is lacking in some way, or they have none and they go 'mad' (*ngangukmi*); later on they act unpredictably (*dhandhanāunu N.*) and their *niwa* does not work well. Only after the blood has gone are nice, *kamnuk*, children produced; four or five days after and up to fifteen or sixteen days, then a good, strong child is born. Male children are conceived between the fifth and the sixteenth day. If twins are produced a male and female couple are thought to be inauspicious, too much like an incestuous couple. Twins of the same sex are auspicious. It should perhaps be added that there are a few women who have deliberately adopted the Hindu idea of ritual cleanliness. They refuse, for example, to cook whilst menstruating. I knew of only one woman, however, who took pollution ideas so seriously that she performed the Rishi Panchami rituals of purification - purifying herself of the possible sin of having touched a man whilst menstruating.

The second comment to be made on the association of menstruation with the flowering of plants has to do with the word *bung* in Lohorung (3). It has a complex set of meanings, that we have touched on in chapter two in its relation to *lawa*. In its most

common form the word means simply "flower". It has the alternatives *phung* or *pung* and all three of these are closely related to the word for "flower" in other Kiranti languages; in Lumbu *phung*, in Bahing *phung* in Dungmali *pung*, in Sampang *bungwa*, in Dummi *pumma*, in Khaling *pungma*, in Thulung *bungma*. It is also perhaps related to the Lohorung verb for 'grow' which has the stem *phu:* as, for example, in *phu:me* to grow; *phu:da* 'grown up' or 'has grown'; *phu:rino* 'everything grown tall' (as in the monsoon).

Flowers have a very special significance for the Lohorung. I came to appreciate this early on in fieldwork, when I innocently picked a flower and was sternly rebuked: "They belong to the *sammang* ancestors; you must not pick them. It is dangerous. The *sammangs* are the owners of all the flowers (ie types) of long ago". It was explained to me that like the hearth and various other parts of the house, the *sammang* ancestors visit the flowers and even inhabit *penuk* 'stay', 'rest') on them. That is, the outer souls of ancestors reside in flowers, (and therefore are said to have *saya*), and any harm to the flowers would damage the ancestor whose outer soul resided in them.

The only person, apart from shamans and the local priests who can pick them is the *peguang*, the local priest's assistant, who, as we have seen, is in part tested for his suitability to become a *Yatangba* (priest) by his ability to pick the flowers needed for a ritual in the right order and without forgetting or dropping any.

"Dachempa, my neighbour, told me about a *peguang* who had a dream, in which he dropped his knife as he was cutting some of the flowers. When he next cut some flowers for the *yatangpa*, he did not tell him about this dream. He said nothing. As the *Yatangpa* took the flowers he said, "In your dream, as you were taking hold of the *Tanari bung* you apparently dropped the knife. Is that so or not?"

The *pheguang* said, "Yes. So you saw it".

The priest replied, "Why didn't you tell me?" and the poor *pheguang* said, "I forgot". The *Yatangba* sent him to go and wash and then ask forgiveness" (From my diary).

My informant later explained that to drop a flower, or one of their names, or the knife as the flower is being picked meant that the *Peguang's saya* was too weak and not ready to be *Yatangba*. If his *saya* had been ready he would have been firm.

In chapter two we saw how the *lawa* 'the wandering soul' resides in flowers in the land of the ancestors. If the flower in which it resides is blooming, then the person will be in good health; if the flower is drooping and wilted, then this too is a reflection that the person is dispirited or unwell. The flower is said to represent the state of a person's *saya* - the state of the 'ancestral soul' residing within a person - and therefore the state of their relationship with the ancestors. When the *Lohorong say*, "*saya kanim bung*" (*saya* is our flower), they are referring to this whole complex of ideas. When the *yatangpa* said his assistant's *saya* was too weak, he meant that his ancestral soul was not relating strongly enough to the ancestors, and not mature enough, for the ancestor within grows alongside the person.

There is another nuance to the word *bung* and in particular to its ritual use *phung*. It is something that is most treasured,

something that is part of growth (*phu:me*) and long life (*phungwa*). *Bung* has something to do with the essence of a thing. We might say it has to do with the core of a thing or the concentration of powers from which new energies emerge. In Thulung *phu(t)* - is glossed by Allen as 'accumulate', 'clot' (1975:229). It is not hard to see how both menstruation and *saya* are easily associated with such notions. It should be added that the association of menstruation with *bung* may have been re-affirmed or influenced by the Nepali term for the menstrual flow, which is *phul*, also the Nepali for 'flower'.

The *lawa* of a child is born with it, with it from conception, and is said to be attracted to the woman's *bung* as it is to other *bung* throughout the life of the person. In turn the *lawa* of the child in the womb is particularly attractive to the *lawa* of dead children who have died before the age of two, or to the *lawa* of mothers who have died in childbirth, whose *lawa* never enters the ancestral world but roam forever. Such *lawa* try to join and play with the *lawa* of the unborn child and they are often blamed for troubles that women incur whilst pregnant. To avoid these *lawa* pregnant women noticeably do not sit or linger in doorways, for these are known to be the favourite haunts of such *lawa*.

The unborn child.

The unborn child can both affect the outside world and be affected by it. The Lohorung conceive of the unborn child as having *tangpam niwa*, 'own mind' or, as we might say, a personality which is in a person before they are born. It might also be thought of as an unconscious self, which later on has to face the conscious mind, *niwa*, that can control its whims and desires. *Tangpam niwa* in the unborn child is uncontrolled and it is this asocial aspect of the embryo which may affect the outside world. For example, it can turn *dibu* (local beer) sour. The *tangpam niwa* of an unborn child, who later becomes a child who cannot learn right behaviour from wrong behaviour, will turn *dibu* sour if they see it being made. Most often blamed are pregnant mothers whose offspring will later lick excreta from their hands, that is, children whose *niwa* refuses to learn right and wrong behaviour. People who will become witches (*boksi N.*) may cause stomach pains, for even as an embryo they carry the trait that is inherited by daughters from their mothers.

The unborn child can also be affected by what is going on outside and particularly by what the mother and father do. Problems at birth or with the young infant are explained by the behaviour of the mother and father during pregnancy. For example, if the umbilical cord impedes the birth or strangles the child, they say the father must have slaughtered an animal or snake or touched a dead person. If the woman's birth is difficult, and very long, they say her husband must have been making new fences to the

kitchen garden (a domain associated with women), which is said to "lace up his wife's womb". The husband therefore tries to avoid any such activities and both husband and wife avoid any association with death whilst the woman is pregnant. If a man kills a chicken or pig whilst his wife is pregnant, the child they say will have some deformity, usually a deformed lip or nose. I suggest the emphasis on the behaviour of the father is compensating for the reality of the emphasis on the woman in labour and birth; it lessens her responsibility, reminds him of his contribution and continues the ideas of complementarity accepted in conception. When difficult births do occur the Lohorung immediately cut the bamboo thongs on any new fences made. If the baby's birth is late, i.e. eleven months instead of ten (in Nepal, everyone counts inclusively), it is said the mother must have hit the post or tether of a buffalo into the ground: and thereby lengthened her own pregnancy to that of a buffalo.

There are no food restrictions for a woman during pregnancy. There are recommendations, however, to eat chicken, hot distilled liquor (*raksi*) and much millet beer, warmed with spices. Eating 'cold' food makes the baby retreat into the womb. (We shall look at the categories of 'hot' and 'cold' food in the next section). Women also have cravings for particular kinds of food, for sweet things, and for sour, and more peculiarly for a certain soil, which only the pregnant women themselves can find. Many women

talked, too, about craving the ash which accumulates on the basket hanging above the fire.

Whilst in the mother's belly, *bok*, the child is said to be somewhat protected by its 'house' (the womb). Nevertheless, it is still thought of as being very vulnerable, since it has not yet been introduced to the house ancestor. This is done a few days after the birth. The infant has its own *saya*, a vital principle that will be affected by its relations with the ancestors, but no-one ever talks about children's *saya* - it never needs attention: infants and young children have the protective *saya* of the father and of the house and the house parts to keep away harmful spirits. During a woman's pregnancy the *yetangpa*, local priest, is often called in to keep away evil spirits or to deal with the pregnant woman's disorders. Women who die in childbirth, *harikmang* or *mammam lam*, are 'harmful spirits' and tend to attack pregnant women, women in labour or young infants with stomach aches, sweating and severe cramp. The local priest deals with all these. The Lohorung do not perform any prescribed preventative ritual before the child is born. However, women are careful to protect themselves instead by carrying springs of *titepāti* (*N*), (*Artemisia vulgaris*, 'bitter leaf') or *Mamari bung*, when they walk anywhere away from the safe areas of the compound and the immediate village, and even within the village if they are out at night. They wear the leaves tucked into their wide belts and occasionally mutter words commanding the spirits to

stick to their own path and not to wander into those of the living.

The Birth

When a woman goes into labour she usually calls upon her mother-in-law, sister-in-law, or any woman from her father's clan living near-by, who prepares an area at the side or back of the house (4). Her husband is supposed to keep away when she is in labour, her only helpers being other women. Men should not see the birth, they say, it is woman's work. In fact, husbands sometimes hover close by, running in and out of the house bringing oil, hot beer, soap, rags, anything that is called for. I attended one very long drawn out birth in Pangma and the young husband was much teased afterwards, about his inability to keep away from the house: "I hear you couldn't even wait for the baby to be born before going to the house!"

The woman in labour eases her contractions by pulling on a long piece of cloth, flung over one of the house beams. Warm mustard oil is rubbed into the woman's belly and back with downward strokes to assist the descent of the baby. If anything seems to be going wrong with the birth or it is taking a long time more women are called in to give advice. The woman in labour is discouraged from sitting or lying down - and encouraged to remain in a squatting position as much as possible. "That way the baby can come out." One woman sometimes squats behind the woman in

labour, putting a knee into her back and pressing on the belly as the contractions become painful. They give the woman in labour warm millet beer to give her strength and to hasten the birth. A piece of smouldering rag giving off strong-smelling fumes is always put near the labouring woman to keep away harmful spirits. From time to time one of the women speaks words of warning to the spirits, at the same time circling round the pregnant woman, throwing rice over her, putting some into the pocket of her blouse to feed and appease any approaching spirit (*chap*). The woman is particularly vulnerable to attack, her *lawa* can easily leave when she is in the midst of labour. Any indication of further weakening of the woman is dealt with vigorously: one woman will try to keep her upright, another flaps her skirts in all directions to push away the spirits who must have weakened her. "They want the blood." The women repeat over and over the words, "the cloth is burning, don't come and give us trouble, you have died, so now you must follow that path, now go."

When the baby has emerged the mother herself works at her belly to push out the afterbirth. The baby is wrapped in a headscarf whilst the umbilical cord is still attached. They give the baby a name. When the cord has stopped pulsating, the oldest woman present cuts the umbilical cord, an important task for which the woman is given a piece of cloth in appreciation of her assistance. If she is not given cloth, the family is said to remain forever in her debt.

The Lohorung view the mother and child after birth as being extremely vulnerable. Both are said to be physically weak and spiritually unprotected because the child has not yet been introduced to the *sammang* ancestors and is thus still as yet not properly a Lohorung and open to all the protective advantages that brings, and because the *saya* of the mother, her link to the protective ancestors is weak. The 'outer souls' of the protective ancestors are frightened away by the birth: residence in the labouring woman is not attractive, particularly whilst the rag is kept burning. Her *saya* cannot be strong. This lack of spiritual protection means that the *lawa* of both the mother and the baby might easily wander away or be stolen; now that mother and child are not surrounded by relatives and neighbours, flapping their skirts whispering warnings and burning jumro rags, it is not certain that evil spirits, *sehe*, and spirits of the dead, *chap*, will keep away.

To improve the physical strength of both mother and child the Lohorung are concerned that they consume the right food and drink. The infant is fed only on mother's milk. The food the mother is encouraged to eat is said to be passed on to the child through the milk. The mother must eat 'hot' food, such as chicken meat - as much as possible for fifteen days, eggs, honey and some rice. She must drink hot chicken broth, distilled liquor and hot millet beer. Hot millet beer not only makes the afterbirth come quickly say the Lohorung, but also makes good milk for the child. They say that a mother should eat four times a day, or at least

three times, as opposed to the normal two. She should not, however, eat either pork or buffalo meat or any hot chilli food, none of which is easily digested. For a month after the baby is born a woman is prohibited any cold drink. All the beer is warmed and the liquor, (*raksi N.*, *et-wa dibu L.*) is only drunk while it is still hot or heated up mixed with butter (ghee), a 'hot' food and spices. As we can see the Lohorung, like others in Nepal, conceptualise food into two categories, 'hot' and 'cold'. In contrast to the 'hot' foods mentioned are green vegetables, potatoes, bananas, cucumbers, maize beer, and buttermilk. Any incorrect balance between the two kinds of foods can produce stomach pains and require 'cool' or 'hot' medicines. One 'cool' Lohorung remedy was made by grinding small worms with a white frog, mixed together with water (5).

During the first few days mother and child are restricted in their movements in the house, a state called *suksi khedu*. They remain on the side verandah of the house or in a corner of the house as far from the household shrine as possible. If the shrine is in the back storeroom, the woman sits on the lower side of the house, near the fire, however, to keep the baby warm. The mother is forbidden to touch the hearth; that is, she is forbidden to have any contact with the ancestors, and kept away from the part of the house with *saya*. The restriction is sometimes talked about in terms of her being *juṭho N.* 'ritually unclean', a Hindu influence. The more indigenous Lohorung attitude at this time is one of extreme care not to arouse the anger or displeasure of any

ancestor, especially before the infant has been introduced to the house ancestor. The ceremony is regarded as the most important in a person's life. The child's future health and success may rest on it. For this reason no other ancestral, *sammang*, ritual is performed by any other household of the same clan from the time of the new baby's birth, until after the *khimpie* or *lataba* ceremony, introducing the child to the house ancestor, has been performed.

The baby's *saya* is raised for the first time in this introduction to the house ancestor. Six days after the birth of a baby boy, a cock is given to *lataba*. From then on the boy is accepted as a member of the family. Five days after the birth of a baby girl a chicken is given to *khimpie* and, similarly, the girl is accepted into the household, the lineage and the clan. One woman explained the ceremony is like a person's first marriage - the marriage of the child to the *sammang* ancestors. As one woman put it, "previous to the *khimpie* or *lataba* ceremony the child was not in the house". From now on the baby has a very immature, small *saya*. The 'ancestor within', that is like a god, has to grow with the child and gradually learn to relate to other ancestors, and has to learn how to protect the person.

On the fifth or sixth day, the mother cleans her clothes and the areas where she gave birth and subsequently rested. The priest waves *titepāti* leaves (N) (*Artemisia vulgaris*) dipped in cow's urine over the place of birth, the doorway, the hearth and over

the mother and child. The house is blocked off or 'cloistered' from outside intruders, a *nepme* prohibition as described in chapter three. The ancestor *lataba* or his wife *khimpie* are then called from their 'place' in *Chenge*. By repeating the names of the places visited on the initial primeval journey, the ancestors are again 'placed' (*yungmale*) on the same path, the journey is re-created, the *saya* of the ancestor is raised, and that of the child for the first time.

After the completion of the rite the restrictions on the mother touching the hearth, or the supply of water in the house is lifted. The mother soon returns to her normal activities.

The Early Years

A Lohorung child is still not considered to be a full member of the community even after he or she has been introduced to the house ancestor. The aspect of the person, which for the Lohorung makes people acceptable as members of the community is *niwa*. This is absent in infants and very underdeveloped in young children. *Niwa* is not born in a person but comes gradually. Like *saya*, *niwa* is at first small and then becomes stronger. *Niwa* is slowly acquired. Lohorung say "A child when it is born knows nothing; after three days it knows its mother, three months later it knows its father, five years later a little *niwa* comes. Some reach it in four years, others only in seven or twelve". As one mother put it,

"The younger children's *niwa* hasn't quite come (doesn't quite work). JeTha (the eldest boy) who is twelve, he knows how to *ngesime* ('be shy, modest, respectful') not to shout, what to eat; he knows and understands when the rice has run out. His younger brother does not. Only when they are twelve or thirteen does *niwa* really come. JeTha says "The rice in the storage basket has run out; mother is always putting out more rice to dry in the sun. We must stop drying the rice. Stop it!" He was worried that we would have no rice. His younger brother cries out "Rice! Rice!" And JeTha says, "Shut up! The rice in the storage basket has run out, we must eat millet mush (*chagakpa*)" That's his *niwa* talking. Try the younger one with rice gruel, greens or soyabeans, "I won't eat it," he says, "you must clean some rice". He still has no *niwa*.

For a child to lack or possess *niwa* clearly has implications in the Lohorung view of child development, and their view of divisions in the life cycle, as we shall see in these next two sections. Moreover, in the attempt to understand *niwa* in the

cycle of life, we confront the mental aspect of the Lohorung sense of personhood. *Niwa* classifies a person from most other animals and classifies a person as a social being. It has the capacity for individual judgement and feelings. I have glossed the notion *niwa* as 'mind', though their system for classifying different states of mind is more dependent on this one concept in its various contexts, than our notion, which is more differentiated and reliant on subsidiary categories, such as conscience, personality, impulse or memory. Nevertheless, all these meanings are present in the notion of *niwa* and contribute to a complexity which gives it considerable force in Lohorung society. As we shall see, behaviour, opinions, thoughts and feelings are controlled and ordered by its powers of reference.

Lohorung often say about children, "*chachachim niwa ma'a. minukmi te-no; mang so lesuni*", ("children have no *niwa*. They only feel, and have wants, desires; they do not know anything"). One could say that this summarises their view of young children. They emphasise that children are characterised by their intuitive feelings. They *minukmi* - a verb covering our notion of 'feel, 'want, 'desire', as in *mantoklo mi'ni? essiknga* 'how do you feel? I feel lazy'; or *mang mi'nero? chama mi'nga* 'what do you want? I want to eat'. Children have impulses untrained by social control. *Niwa* is the element of control; to have *niwa* is 'to know' either 'how' or 'that' in order to behave properly. They do not 'know' either the facts or the means that are involved in behaving and responding to life in accordance with *niwa*.

Since young children are considered to experience their environment directly through wants and feelings, they are thought to be in some ways like gods and ancestors. They are like ancestors, for example, when they breast-feed, demanding their needs are immediately fulfilled and crying out angrily if they are not. Having no *niwa* and therefore experiencing life in a totally different way, young children, like ancestors, are conceived of as living in a somewhat different reality from adults. And like the gods and ancestors, children are considered to have certain powers. Without the interference of *niwa* and the reality of everyday social life it brings with it, the words and actions of children are seen as possessing possible powers of prediction: "Children have no *niwa* but they 'know'. They weed out *niwa*" (*Chachachim niwa ma-a tara lekuchi. khochi niwa sagukmi*). By this the Lohorung mean that small children have a natural ability to sort out and sometimes reject the inferior, less important bits of knowledge or behaviour they are expected to learn first and intuitively know what is significant. It is with this trusting attitude that the Lohorung expect their children to learn skills throughout the developing years. In this way too the Lohorung explain young children's strange comments or actions that later turn out to be significant. For example, if a child unexpectedly speaks *apa*, 'father', before *ama*, 'mother', it is taken seriously as a prediction of the father's imminent death, and the local priest will be called in to diagnose and prevent it. The child who asks why a member of the family must

leave, or why they have left, before anyone has even considered or suggested going, is interpreted as predicting their death .

There are other similar beliefs: if children sleep on their stomachs, something unpleasant will happen, either to their father or mother. It is said that the child 'knows' this and does not want to see it. The child 'knows', (*leku*), in the sense of intuitively knows, or 'feels' it, as we might say. The child does not know it through their *niwa*. Children, as conceived by the Lohorung, have some endosomatic quality that can reach future events. Infant teeth chattering in sleep are said to be fear of a future disaster, not a reaction to a past event, as we might interpret it. Lohorung frequently comment on those events that children have correctly predicted and tend to forget the occasions when their unusual behaviour or unexpected affirmations have foretold nothing.

Since children, as the Lohorung see it, are under the control of their wants and feelings, they must be treated with patience and tolerance. The society's attitude to child development is characterised by extreme tolerance and indulgence. Children in the beginning should be allowed to live according to whim, like gods and ancestors; according to the impulses and desires which are said to come from them, from their natural state and not from society. Small children up to the age of about five are allowed to be selfish, demanding, unrestrained in all their behaviour. Whatever small children want they should be given.

Adults took this for granted and the following is an illustration of how they saw denial of wants as being outside the small child's capabilities.

"Early on in my stay in Loke Pangma, it became well-known that I made cups of hot, sweet, milky, tea in the early morning. They were very attractive to adults and children of all ages - a luxury never found elsewhere in the village. Sometimes so many adults and children came to visit, and so early, that I was overwhelmed with tea-making and playing with infants. Though it was a good way of learning the language and of collecting information from the adults, I asked two women I knew well if they could restrain the children from coming over too early (to give me time at least to wake-up and gain some few moments on my own). My request was mis-interpreted. The adults came less. They began applying their own careful principle of reciprocity and brought with them liquor or eggs in exchange for the tea; the older children barely came at all, whilst the younger ones came as much and as early as ever. "You don't have to give them much" said my neighbour, "just give them a little. They don't understand *ma-a* ('there is none'), or *e'khe'ma* ('don't go')". When I later explained the misunderstanding and that my problem was not shortage of tea, my two close neighbours looked sympathetic. My assistant smiled, "You can't stop them coming. If you can give them a little tea then, they'll go off. We try to stop them coming but they don't hear if we say 'Don't go! They have no *niwa*."

From the Lohorong point of view there is no point in not giving young children what they want for they have no *niwa* to understand anything else.

Capacities developing in the young child, such as walking and talking are not considered to be demonstrations of *niwa*; nor are crying, sleeping, eating, or defecating. They are said to be more like hunger, in that they just happen to one. They are said to be inborn, internal to a child from the beginning, merely some of the inexplicable abilities of children which encourage Lohorong to refer to them as 'gods'. According to some it is only because mankind was cursed that children cannot walk from the beginning

like animals can. As the story goes, a woman who wanted a child saw a cow with its calf. She was jealous and took the calf. The cow cried and cried and cursed whoever had taken her calf, "may the offspring of the one who took my child not walk for the first year of its life."

If we understand that the Lohorung consider children to have no *niwa* and therefore no understanding but many feelings and desires, their lack of concern for obedience in the very young makes sense, as do their constant attempts to comfort and amuse. Parents fondle their children, put up with all kinds of behaviour and in general give them considerable attention. The following quote from an early diary shows the kind of relationship mothers have with their babies.

" I watched *Mañili* wash her child's hair with warmed water and soap as she sat enjoying the sun. She then sat for what seemed a long time smoothing out the emerging curls with *ghiu* (butter). She let him play for a long time in the sun, calling to him occasionally to come to be dressed and tempting him by raising her blouse and offering her breast. But she was patient and willing to watch his antics as he played in the fine earth and laughed at his expressions. I have been noticing how children are pampered in every way her, offered the breast whenever needed, picked up by any near adult or child to play with them if there is any sign of distress, and never left long to cry. *Mañili*, in the end, eager to leave, managed to attract the attention of her child by calling out '*dudu, dudu*' ('milk, milk') and half lifting her blouse. The child saw the breast and he lost all interest in the sandy ground, crawling with amazing speed to his mother. And she didn't trick him; she gave him a long drink of milk before she left".

Babies are carried everywhere on the backs of their mother or of their elder siblings, sometimes on the back of a grandparent. They are taken to the fields, to the kitchen garden, to fetch

water, to wherever work has to be done. They are carried in stretches of material which tie at the front of the person's body, thus allowing considerable contact between baby and carrier. They are constantly rocked, jogged and rhythmically patted on the bottom. Men, women and children can be seen doing this patting and jogging as they walk or stand about talking. If the child is very young the mother is never far away. If a baby cries he or she is either offered the breast or some other distraction. Babies are never simply left to cry.

One important reason young children are not left alone is because from the Lohorung point of view it is not only abilities such as walking and talking that are inborn and internally derived; certain feelings, such as anger and fear, are said to be spontaneous in children before *niwa* has come. And, whereas under the influence of *niwa* such feelings can be directed and controlled, in the earlier impulse form these emotions are considered by the Lohorung to be uncontrollable and dangerous. Children's uncontrolled emotions are like those of the ancestors. The Lohorung have a special term for children's anger, *yik'bok'kheda*, the same kind of anger manifested by ancestors and described in chapter two. It describes an emotion, mood or tantrum which takes a great deal of time and energy to counteract. Without *niwa*, children are said to be at the mercy of their emotions and therefore need a great deal of support in dealing with them and this is particularly the case concerning fear.

Having no *niwa*, children are characterised by the ease with which they are frightened or tricked, for example, by mischievous ancestors, like *chawatangma*. The vulnerable part of the child is their *lawa*, the soul that can leave their bodies and wander around. The *lawa* may be frightened or stolen from their body and the loss of it means the loss of consciousness and eventually means death to the child concerned, though the *lawa* itself continues to survive (6). The *lawa* of an adult is more used to its abode and hence wanders less, though its loss is as fatal to an adult as it is to a child. Throughout life Lohorung, therefore, avoid frightening situations and protect their *lawa* with *saya*, made strong, by strengthening their links with the protective ancestors. The *lawa* is said to get stronger and more clever as the person gets older: in a child the *lawa* is as fragile, as helpless and exposed as the child itself. For a child everything is new and anything may seem frightening. It is with this understanding of the nature of infants and children that they are kept close to their mothers or some other relative. If a child falls or starts to cry someone is quick to pick it up.

The night is even more dangerous than the day. At night the child's *lawa* may wander from the body to explore. If the child has been frightened or startled in its sleep, or their body becomes somehow unrecognisable to the *lawa*, it refuses to return. It will only return to peacefully sleeping body. In adults the *lawa* has had time to get attached to the body it belongs to, and 'knows' how to return to it when it has roamed: when I asked how

the *lawa* 'knows', I was told that *lawa* also have *niwa*. The child's *lawa*, however, like the child, has no *niwa* and is also unaccustomed to the body it inhabits. Thus, it often becomes attached to places and things apart from the child; places, for example, visited by the child, which it refuses to leave when the child leaves. Mothers carrying their infants can sometimes be heard saying, in semi-ritual style yet using baby talk";
"lawa, let's go, lawa let's go,
child's lawa let's not stay in the forest (this house..by the river..wherever they are)
let's go home; come eat meat
eat rice, drink tongba, eat egg,
drink milk, let's go!
let's go to the clan's spring" (Lohorung version in Appendix 4).

Anumma, the wife of my assistant, came to stay for a short time with me in Kathmandu, and brought with her her youngest son aged three. In the moments before leaving the house in Kathmandu, she made sure she went to every place her son had been to in the house and garden calling out "lawa khe'mayo etc." Subsequently, I heard it repeated quite often when visiting other villages with women, who had infants with them.

In spite of the precautions taken by mothers, children are sometimes frightened; their *lawa* leaves their bodies, and it has to be called back. This is either done by the local priest, *Yatangpa*, or, if the child is still suckling at the breast, by its mother. Once the child has given up its dependence on the breast, the mother no longer has any control over the child's *lawa*. The most common way for a mother to recall her child's lost *lawa* is to perform a brief ritual, which she can do herself. It

goes as follows. The mother takes thread that she has woven herself and makes seven knots in the thread, saying *pak pak puk puk* (words to keep away malevolent spirits) over each of the knots. The knots are to catch the soul. The number seven is mystical and appears, for example, in the number of fronds on the household shrine, in the number of generations necessary before a clan may split, and the number of sisters associated with the ancestor *Waya*. More generally, it is an identifying feature of shamanic ideology. The mother colours the thread with turmeric, which protects the mother from all the Lohorung evil spirits as well as the pan-Nepal ones, the *bhut*, *pret*, *boksi*, *daini*. She colours some more knotted thread and ties it round her wrists making *seng* (bracelets), and ties some more round her ankles making *langkong* (anklets), and some more round her neck. At dawn, when she is sure nobody else is awake, she goes to the spring, either the one known as the clan's ritual spring, its first watering place in the area, or to a spring in the yard, or to a nearby pond. She must be sure to meet no-one or it will not be successful. She goes to the spring with a pitcher which has the knotted piece of thread laid over its mouth. She collects some water from the spring and returning to the house, she holds the pitcher in her left hand and a *katche* (small knife), thought of as a woman's weapon, in her right. She waves the knife in her right hand from left to right, as if pulling something from the air towards her; and dips the end of the knife into the water to drop in the *lawa*, if she has caught it. Waving her arms she

speaks using a combination of ritual and baby talk (Lohorung in Appendix 4):

"today may the *lawa* of a *chiksaba/dekhama* of the *lamawa* spring,
Come back; be you at the foot of a tree, be you at the top of a tree,
be you at the base of a bamboo, at the top of bamboo, be you under a stone, inside some water, a little up from the path, a little down from the path, under the wing of a chicken, whichever, come back!
Come back! even if you have gone off to play by the river, to play from hill top to hill top, even so some, that *lawa* which is the right length to your inside come; too small, too short don't come, we call for a longer, the right size *lawa* of my child come! let's go to our *lamawa* spring! let's go eat rice, got and eat meat, go and drink *tongba*, drink milk, eat eggs, let's go let's go!

When she reaches the house another adult must be waiting for her at the door of the house with the child in their arms. As the mother approaches she throws some cold water from the spring, flicking some out of the pitcher onto the child, who usually wakes up with a start. As the infant awakes the mother calls out:

The child's *lawa* has come back, come back,
make yourself settled, come sit in my lap, there, there, its alright
the child's *lawa* has come back; stay laying down, lie down, lie down.

The mother then gives some of the water to the child to drink, and the thread which had been carried across the mouth of the pitcher is tied around the child's neck. The *lawa* is said to come to the child's liver, though some say that it goes first to the *niwa* and then travels through the body to the leg, passing the liver on the way. It is said that if the *lawa* is in the *lungma* (liver, but may also mean heart as well) when a child is frightened, it is at such times that the *lawa* is lost. If it is

in some other part of the body it is far less likely to disappear.

The *lawa* of children is sometimes also enticed away by the *sammang* ancestor *chawatangma*. When she wants to play one of her favourite games is known to be that of stealing the *lawa* of some young boy or girl and hiding it under the wing of a chicken. When this is thought to have happened a piece of the child's clothing is tied to a chicken, which is then let loose amongst the others. At the end of the day the same chicken is caught and the mother waves the piece of the child's clothing saying "*lawa ta'ayo* etc. (as above).

The danger of a child losing its *lawa* is taken seriously and the Lohorung try to protect children from possibly harmful situations. People sometimes colour their faces with paint or mud, particularly during the planting season, but they are warned not to go near a baby; children under ten are not permitted to attend the *pappamamachi* ritual - their *saya* is small and *niphero* 'pliable, bending, soft'. *Saya*, the protective ancestor's outer soul that resides within the child, is said to have a character, and is small and vulnerable when the child is small, is easily frightened like the child and if it is overwhelmed or frightened by the power of the *pappamma* ancestors, the *lawa* of the child leaves. In those ancestral rituals that children are allowed to attend, they are kept as far as possible from the shrines, and near to women, whose *saya* always remains somewhat soft and weak,

'easily persuaded' (*okningbak*) in contrast to the *saya* of men which gradually becomes stronger and more crafty. The other places that were mentioned as being places to avoid with children were the forests, to avoid malevolent spirits and 'gods'; the erection of the central pillar, which, as we saw in chapter three, mythically killed a child; and the recently dead or the rites surrounding death.

To sum up the early years, children are characterised by their lack of *niwa*, their intuitive feelings and desires, and their uncontrollable emotions, of which fear (combined with the soft, weak state of *saya*) is considered to be by far the most significant, since it can lead to the loss of *lawa*, and therefore the possible death of the child.

If we understand this view of the child it is totally consistent that the behaviour of the Lohorung towards them is very protective, caring, tolerant and full of attempts to keep children away from frightening situations. We can begin to see here how the Lohorung protectiveness creates a milieu in which the fearful takes on its frightening proportions, how Lohorung behaviour constructs some of the *kisime* 'fear' which is experienced. Rather than learning how to face fearful situations, infants are taught to avoid them, at the same time as experiencing their own parents' or siblings' avoidance and fear of those situations.

In the next section we shall see how children learn about 'kisime' and how its meaning begins to be connected not just with what we call 'fear' but how this overlaps too with 'shame' and 'respect'. We shall also see how children's development of *niwa* enables them to control at least some of the flightiness of their infant *lawa* .

The Years of Developing *Niwa*

From talk about *niwa* and from social experiences in which *niwa* is involved, children learn what is approved of, what is expected, and what will bring them a "good" way of life, health and prosperity. Lohorung children understand about themselves from the way other people talk about their *niwa*, and thus their desire to acquire skills, their sense of self and how to relate to others depends on their understanding and application of *niwa* and all that it stands for. The moral bonds that hold together parent and child in Lohorung society, brother and sister, and husband and wife, are perpetuated by children learning about *niwa*.

The Lohorung often sum up their notion *niwa* as if it had two main facets. As one informant said, "When people have *niwa*, they understand conversations, the heart begins to itch, they recognise the desire to fight for others, or for themselves, they see jealousy and compassion". Here, then, we have two main aspects of *niwa*, one being the capacity for comprehension, the awareness or awakening of interest in society, acquiring skills and traditional ways; and the other the arousal and acquisition of feelings which relate to other people; to feel for and against others, a sensitivity which includes the potential to hurt others and be hurt by others. These are the characteristics that distinguish a mature adult from the being who is still a child. It is recognised, however, that these develop slowly. At first *niwa* is small and closed", traditionally indicated by the thumb

and forefinger pressed tightly together. "As a child gets older it opens a little, all people's *niwa* open a little, some open wide. But some quickly go back small: they close up again."

One of the core aspects of *niwa*, as we can see from the above informant's statement, is its association with the development of social, as opposed to selfish, attitudes. It is thought to be the awakening of children's interest in what is going around that encourages them to be social, "to understand conversations", and to try to perform activities that adults carry out. *Niwa* arouses the desire to imitate. *Niwa* is beginning to emerge when, as early as age four, children ask for a small basket for themselves so that they can carry small amounts of fodder for the animals, wood for the fire and small pitchers of water. They sneak off with a small friend and whittle away at a piece of wood, try to husk and thresh with a small winnowing tray, and are eager to go off with their elder siblings to guard the seeds from the birds and monkeys. This behaviour is all seen as the emergence of *niwa*. It also shows in young children's play, when they pour water into leaf cups, playing 'drinking alcohol (raksi)', or cooking earth into millet mush. By watching and doing is how *niwa* is said to learn. And adults do not tease children if they cannot perform some skill properly; children find out most of their mistakes from siblings. Children suddenly say things that demonstrate the emergence of this social *niwa*. For example, the child who notices that the rice in the storage basket has run out shows that he has developed his social *niwa*, a sense of responsibility when he

tries to stop his mother from preparing more rice to eat, by saying "we must eat millet mush". When children start to talk about "our fields, our cattle", they are said to be demonstrating social *niwa*.

From what the Lohorung say about *niwa*, it is apparent that it also has the sense of 'memory'. When a child can *mittokme*, 'remember', social duties or task it is said that they begin to show *niwa*. They say that if *niwa* "sees", then it remembers. At first children "hear" but without *niwa* they do not understand, do not "see" for themselves and so do not "remember". For the Lohorung this explains why young children only do things when told. They do not "see" that the fire needs more wood, that more water has to be collected from the spring, that the rice fields need weeding. *Niwa* is the store of those duties, experiences and the knowledge which should be remembered. Painful experiences on the other hand are not stored in *niwa* but in the heart. When recalling the death of a child, for example, a woman expressed it as "my heart remembers it, my heart hurts". It was explained that *niwa* does not ache for such events. *Niwa* is only necessary to 'know' and understand the aching of the heart.

What *niwa* has to remember are socially accepted behaviour, attitudes, skills, duties and some traditional knowledge. Adults scold children for not performing their duties by saying "You are not making your *niwa* see it". One night my host in Gairi Pangma returned complaining and shouting at his 13 year old son:

"You are no better than an infant. You go out to cut grass, and return with enough to feed a pigeon not a buffalo. We might as well sell them, and we will have to sell if you don't watch your *niwa*. You might as well stay away from home, you are like a dog wandering from one house to another. Go on, be off from us, you *imtikhekhuba* (one who always sleeps). Can't your *niwa* see that the grass is suffocating the millet?"

The Lohorung term for this kind of 'telling off' is *losime*, 'to tell, rebuke'. *Niwa* sometimes has to be 'told' for it to grow. Teasing is also used to encourage the growth and application of *niwa*. Walking to the fields we passed a young girl carrying a basket half full of grass. "Where are you going? Can your goat only eat that much? It must be ill," said my companion peering into the basket.

The combination of memory, adult duties and skills in *niwa* are almost inseparable in Lohorung way of thought. As one boy put it: "I left the cattle down in the field and I came home. My *niwa* did not see the cattle at all while I was talking to my friends. Where my *niwa* went, it went. I did not see my *niwa*". Here the use of *niwa* as subject or object is the only distinction between memory and duty. A further example of this can be seen in the exclamation of a mother to her daughter, "You put the grain out to dry just over there. Now it's about to pour with rain, can't you see your *niwa*, don't you remember the grain? Where has your *niwa* gone?"

The "duties" that Lohorung children have to remember are their initial contributions to economic activities and children themselves often see them as being opposed to *tangpam niwa* 'their

own *niwa*', that is their own desires and wishes and to 'play', *wapchame*. Just as Western children, when rebuked, cry out, "I'm never allowed to do anything" so too Lohorung children in response to requests from parents to attend to their *niwa* and their duties, complain "Our own *niwa*, (*tangpam niwa*), is never allowed. Adults looking back at their childhood often vividly remember the crucial time when *niwa* and work (*yampok*) began to take over from play, whether the time was stretched over a few months, years or whether the time was notified by a sudden event, like the death of a parent or an elder sibling, for example, which necessitated an early acceptance of responsibilities. This memory of the interplay between play and work, *tangpam niwa* and *niwa* in childhood is perhaps best illustrated by an excerpt from a description Nanda, the woman in whose house I first lived, gave me in her life story.

"I sometimes used to play with Nana (elder sister), going to the village to play with other friends, to play 'brides' or 'weddings'. We two together used to go far to friends; she was bigger and so I was allowed to go too. When she got bigger our friends were different. And of course JeTha (e.B) and Kanchha's were different. JeTha was hardly ever at home; if he wasn't looking after the cattle or the water buffalo with friends he was off with them fishing or catching birds. Sometimes friends came to our house, sometimes we went to their house to play. While father was alive it was easy; just play all the time. Father was so pleasant. Not once did he hit us. He was never angry with us. If we refused to 'hear' what was said to us mother sometimes used to hit us. But he would say "No, don't hit them. Don't hit them; it's not necessary, they don't need it. Look at your own *niwa*; you don't know anything it seems, what then can you expect young children to know?" One day mother said to me, "pick up that brush!" I said "I'm not going to!" just like our Sancar does. Mother picked up the brush and hit me. Father, who was in the yard splitting cane, came quickly up the house ladder, "lo, if you hit a child there must be something wrong with you", and he picked up the brush and hit mother. Mother disappeared into the house. They got on well together usually. Father used to say, "Don't worry, everything will be alright" when anything went wrong. Then *mamma* (grandma) died. And the next year father died.

After father died it was work, all work. While he was alive we all went off to play. Afterwards mother and nana went off to the fields. I stayed at home to cook rice, make the dibu beer, fetch the water, feed the pigs, look after the chickens; I had *niwa* then; I knew what had to be done. There was also Kānchha to look after, and our house is so isolated, the rest of the village so far up or so far down, he refused to stay alone. I used to have to carry him to the spring, then he would refuse to walk back; I had to try and persuade him. I was hardly twelve. The spring was far away - very far, far to get back home. Once I'd got the water pot back home, I'd make sure the door was shut, pick up Kānchha again and go to the village to friends; but only for a bit, then quickly, quickly I had to go and let the goats loose, feed the pigs and as quickly as possible set the fire going, put the rice on to cook, see to the goats and pigs and chickens again and so everything was just right, for when mother came back, she would say "and what have you two been up to?" "We've done everything" we used to say."

There is a difference in the years of a girl's developing *niwa* and that of a boy, which is alluded to in the above description. Nanda learns many of her skills by performing her duties in and around the house: her elder brother is hardly ever at home - always away with the other boys, or it could be with an uncle. Location is one difference. Another difference is that boys learn most of their skills away from the family with their peers, whereas girls develop their *niwa* working alongside their mothers, other women as well as other girls. Nevertheless, what is similar in the case of both boys and girls is that they are left to show their *niwa* at their own pace. Skills are picked up rather than being taught directly: the Lohorung attitude is that *niwa* comes on its own. Thus, they watch others and when their *niwa* is ready they join in, and if they make mistakes they are gently put right. "Boys, first they never hear, then if you tell them off their *niwa* is so hurt, they can't work, *saya* falls." This

explained why boys are often left to go off on their own, though occasionally sharply rebuked for not fulfilling the tasks their *niwa* should see. Soon *niwa* comes and they assume responsibility; without apparently being taught anything, they know what to do.

The situation in which Nanda had to give up much of her time for play when she was about twelve years old is not at all unusual among the Lohorung. A young daughter is often left at home to carry out the kind of domestic chores left to Nanda, with perhaps the exception of the household beer-making, which is considered to need a 'clever *niwa*' and much experience. Girls usually start by making their own and selling it at market. The reasons for leaving such responsibilities with daughters as young as twelve are many; sometimes it is merely to free a healthier or older strong-bodied female to assist in the farm labour, sometimes as in Nanda's case, it is the loss of a parent which suddenly reduces the labour force. Apart from death, the man of the house may also be absent for many months or years either working in Assam or in the army, leaving the rest of the family to carry out the work on the land in Pangma. In general, however, a daughter of that age is expected to have enough *niwa* to "see" and carry out domestic duties, her *niwa* sees her responsibility and she fulfills them. In return she is treated like an adult.

The Lohorung child's life is not all work. As we have seen, play is considered to be important for the development of *niwa* and for the first six or seven years, sometimes even more, the Lohorung

allow and even indulge *tangpam niwa* 'own niwa', children's own wishes and desires. Infants follow their mothers, elder brothers and sisters and other children of the village, or sit with them near the house. Nanda remembers playing 'brides' and 'weddings', still the favourite play of young Lohrung girls. They make small dolls from cloth, remnants of old *lungi* (skirts) or scraps begged from the *damai* tailors. One doll is the *dangma* 'the bride' and another the *dangpa*, 'the groom'. Smaller dolls are the 'children' and they play what we would call 'mothers and fathers'. Boys may join in part of these games but very soon they want to go off and trap insects or join the older boys looking after the goats or cattle, where the games are tests of physical strength, such as hopping and trying to knock over the opponent or games of endurance, such as 'scratching hands until the blood comes'. Lohorong adults encourage games of 'trapping', and 'cooking', 'ploughing' by making toy bows and arrows, tiny wooden ploughs, foot-mills, and grinding stones. Moreover, they respect the secrecy often surrounding children's play. Some of the play is interesting as adaptations of the culture's own customs, such as ritual shrines made of grass and mud, or as adoptions of the customs of a neighbouring group, such as playing 'Sherpa burials' using a pile of stones to bury a dead insect. For the Lohorong play of children is seen as an encouragement to the development of *niwa*.

The introduction of schooling has introduced to those Lohorong children that attend a new way of learning, foreign to

traditional *niwa* development, and this is rote-learning. To those that cannot attend it is an attractive alternative to work, like play. There is, moreover, a growing attitude that the capacities of a person must include the ability to read and write. The inability to read and write is talked about as a mark of 'dumbness', since it has so clearly led many people into trouble, to lose land for example (see Caplan, 1970). As one woman put it, "we older ones, we cannot read and write, we are no better than the cows and oxen we feed." For many, however, the practical considerations, the need for girls' and boys' labour at home and in the fields keeps children out of school. If anyone goes, it is the boys, for it is generally stated that boys need to read and write more than girls. Their *niwa* is different.

The reality is that from the sample in Pangma 87.5% of girls of school-going age under fifteen had had no schooling. Girls should develop traditional *niwa* rather than literacy (82.6% of women in the sample population were illiterate compared to 32.6% of men). Moreover, when it comes to choosing a wife for their sons both men and women say they want a girl, who demonstrates that she has *niwa*, which includes knowledge of Lohorung customs, competence in agricultural activities, domestic skills, the experiences of running a house, some ability to weave, the ability to look after, respect and obey her in-laws and her husband, and demonstrate the knowledge of how to behave. Literacy was rarely mentioned as a positive attribute desirable in a daughter-in-law.

School offers children an insight into a world which presents a direct conflict to the duties of *niwa*. It gives children time to be with Brahmin and Chetri, Newar and Gurung children, a time when they solidify their Nepali identity as opposed to their Lohorung identity. In many ways it presents a world from which Lohorung adults are excluded both physically and in terms of what is learnt.

School is not conceived as being important to *niwa*. *Niwa* is associated with local knowledge, and traditional skills. Nevertheless, from the way it is used in the following phrases, as well as those mentioned in this chapter, its semantic field does seem to include our notion of 'mind', 'judgement':

"If people's *niwa* (mental attitudes) do not agree then no work gets done, the work is ruined". (*Yapmim niwa tongni anke yompok-no lini so nasi li*)

"She has such a light *niwa* (mind. head for thoughts) that it flaps in the wind like a leaf". (*Khom niwa ettano sope le, hiwa-ba singbak rokno khe*).

"The boy has land, he shows respect, but my *niwa* (mind, judgement) will not accept him, I do not want to give my daughter to him". (*Watangpa kamnuke le, ropa chuk, ngesimalu, kam niwa khasini, kam pisa pima mingngani*).

We shall see in the next section that there is more to *niwa* than the development of individual discipline, memory and capacities that we have seen so far. In the following section we shall see how its frame of reference includes many personality judgements and that its role is significant in Lohorung "techniques" for developing and maintaining the ideal nature of man.

Niwa, and social development

Niwa must not only remember and keep a watchful eye on duties, but also on respectful behaviour and posture. Ways of walking, sitting or eating, for example, can be the expression of the extent to which a person is showing awareness and application of socially expected *niwa*, as opposed to *tangpam niwa* (own personal inclinations). The girl who sits on her toes or feet in a squatting position (*chom chom toke*), in which her hands are free and she is ready for action, is said to have *niwa*. The one who sits with her arms and legs crossed, on the other hand, is liable to be teased or rebuked, "Where has your *chakunima* (8) *niwa* gone? You sit like a lazy one. Don't you feel any sense of shame (*ngesime*)?"

The kind of behaviour that demonstrates the application of social *niwa* is less scrutinised in boys than in girls. Girls and women face innumerable injunctions and interdictions. Men must watch their *niwa* in the home of their wives' parents and brothers, women in the home of husbands' parents and elder brothers. Since residence is patrilocal and couples usually spend the first few years of married life in the man's parental home, it is inevitable that women confront more people and localities demanding the correct, established rules of respectful *niwa* than men. Women should not smoke in front of respected kinsmen, or laugh or talk too much; they should always cover their heads in their presence, and should offer the traditional hospitality to them. Newly married couples avoid talking to one another. The

woman keeps, as much as possible, apart from her husband; she serves him food and eats her own afterwards; she spends as much time as possible occupied in work. If she follows such behaviour, she is considered to have *niwa*. Even if she has spent many nights singing with her husband and his friends previous to marriage, she is expected to show modesty and respect during the period between marriage and the birth of her first child. Although details of all the different kinds of respectful behaviour need not be mentioned here, I add one colloquial phrase which expresses the complexity of respectful *niwa*:

"A fully grown adult has ten *niwa*: one for spouse, one for son-in-law, one for children, one for guests, one for parental home, one for work....."

The number ten is not meant literally; it has a mystical significance as in *Das Kiranti*. What is important is that those who adhere to all the various traditional codes are said to have *niwa*. A civilised person is the one who remembers the discipline laid down by the ancestors.

We can begin to see how personal life takes shape in Lohorung culture and how much the sense of self is constructed from their notion of *niwa*, which tells people how they should act, how they should feel and how they can be happy and successful, so long as they are willing to follow the traditional way of life. *Niwa* explains to children the behaviour of adults around them, it explains to them why they have to perform duties and behave in certain prescribed ways, for if they did not they would be considered to have 'no *niwa*' which means to be an infant,

totally anti-social or mad. Moreover, it is in terms of *niwa* that many personality judgements are made and these too encourage children to develop certain attributes and to suppress others.

Lohorung estimate most highly the *niwa* that is 'giving', or 'giving with love founded on esteem' - the giving with affectionate regard. The Lohorung language has no noun meaning 'love': the emotion is expressed in the terms of giving. A "big *niwa*" is a charitable one. Someone with a 'little *niwa*' esteems only himself. The stomach of 'little *niwa*' is never full: it never admits to have eaten." When Lohorung say "he or she has *niwa*" they often simply mean they are giving - either of sympathy or hospitality. Whatever pain, misfortune, sorrow a 'big *niwa*' has to cope with, it always gives. The *niwa* that gives with affectionate regard is expected towards parents, elders and ancestors, a giving *niwa* to those of the same age or younger. Children are encouraged to share with siblings and friends. The giving *niwa* is not, however, by definition advantageous as Lohorung proverbs illustrate. "*Niwa Chuksima* (the giving person) should be restrained, or there's nothing left for oneself", or "The one who has *niwa* has nothing at all; the one without *niwa* is prosperous". Indiscriminate exaggerated generosity is undesirable. The law of *niwa* requires a general disposition for altruism up to the point where it can please both receiver and giver: beyond that point it would be a burden. *Niwa* acts to moderate behaviour. The controlling factor or agent of the 'giving *niwa*' is the 'frugal *niwa*', (*hamchame niwa*). This one

restrains a woman, reminds her not to give in to the demands for more beer for each visitor; it encourages her to eke out the remaining household supply of rice by occasionally preparing some other grain. The skilful adult is the one who can co-ordinate all the different *niwa*, and cope with all the expectations of the community. If a girl or woman gives too much, she is called careless, or ignorant (she has no *niwa*), or has forgotten her 'frugal' *niwa*. If she gives too little she is liable to be judged as miserly. A man who gives a loan of rice interest free to a lineage member is said to have a 'big *niwa*'. About the one who refuses, it may be said, "Well, a stone never cooks" (that is, you can't turn a hard man into a soft-hearted one); the 'little *niwa*' never sees beyond itself".

These judgements in part function to control and direct children towards the values of the community, for the very continuity of the group depends upon the way in which the notion of *niwa* pervades its members. The phrases emphasise the morality of the collectivity. As personality judgements, they should be seen in the main as public character classifications. When Lohorung comment on children's or other adults' characters they are usually referring to their social *niwa*. They describe an apparent predominant quality in *niwa*, that is then taken as being their type of *niwa*, manifesting itself in their actions, behaviour and decisions. 'Big *niwa*' and 'little *niwa*' are both examples of character or personality types. People are also said to have 'soft *niwa*', meaning then tend to be compassionate and easily

moved; or a 'cold *niwa*', which describes someone who does not talk and is unfriendly. Some other adjectives Lohorung use to sum up a person's *niwa* character are 'crafty', 'lazy', 'shy', 'hard working', 'brave', 'boastful', 'jealous', 'clever', 'undecided and 'self-important'. The number of *niwa* character types is extensive, but not unlimited. Lohorung do not conceive of a range of individual, heterogeneous personalities as varied as we do in the west, for each Lohorung identifies to some extent with the collective community he belongs to.

Lohorung children want to emulate and please adults. They also want to comply with what their elders expect them to do and to demonstrate *niwa* types that are approved. But they also have their own *niwa* and this is where the conflicts begin, particularly in the ages between twelve and eighteen or so, when they marry. When Lohorung children find that their own *niwa* leads them to receive negative personality judgements they almost always become shy and ashamed, or as the Lohorung say, *ngesimalu*. Parents say if children show too much of their own *niwa* they must be scolded (*losikma*) with words, to make them feel shame, *ngesime*, usually achieved by applying some personality judgement, "What a lazy one! You sit *penchampa* 'one knee up, one down' like a man",

"You dog!" Why do you go again and again to other people's homes just like a dog; well you must be a dog and not a person (*yapmi*). To stay at home is to be a person; to wander around is to be just like a dog!"

The 'scolding' *losikma* is often as much teasing as rebuking, or angry remonstrations. The first time I saw a scene of *losikma*, I interpreted the words (above) of the two parents as playfully irritating their son, likening him to a dog and making comments about his night-time ventures and homeless drifting from one house to another. I was surprised how shaken the son looked. His mother explained that he was spending most nights away from home, sleeping as many youths do in each others houses. He was never at home and he was not looking after the cattle, coming back home late in the morning expecting to be fed. Ganesh, she said, was upset (*niwa yamuk*) by the words they used and that was what they wanted - to make his *niwa* look at what he was doing. From then on he began to behave as a member of the family, who had responsibilities to fulfill. He began to listen to his *niwa*. For many days, however, as he went around without a smile, people commented "*kho negesimalu, nuk, kho ichhuba lisa*". "It's okay, he is ashamed, he has become a bit clever".

The same strategy of 'scolding' *losikma* to make someone feel ashamed '*ngesime*' is also applied to more serious crimes. The following is an extract from my diary describing such an event:

"Last night Chimre's elder brother had been stealing rice from people's fields - leaving the stems and removing the heads. Tamane *kānchha* realised someone was tampering with his rice and waited for the person to return last night. He caught Churse re-handed. He was led off to the main part of the village and was questioned by Tamane and Gumbe. Then he was led off to Ganga Prasad's house (the 'Rai' and *sadasye* 'ward member') where the whole incident was recorded including the thumb print of Churse. He was scolded (*losikma*) but given forgiveness this time, so long as he did not repeat the act. If he did he would be handed over to the Khandbari police. In all he had taken about twelve *pāthi* of paddy (about 48 lbs.)". A few days later I wrote:

"The comments during the past few days have been harsh enough to make Gumbe run away, what usually happens, I am told, if someone steals. People have been saying things like, 'he has no nose'; 'instead of doing a little work stealing is easier but self-respect, honour (they used the term *ijjat* N.) disappears'; 'there are no old people in his house, no babies, his life is so easy, so why be lazy?'; 'if he were my son I would cut off his hands'; 'he is worthless (*phenni*); people have told him to watch his *niwa* and everyone avoids him".

Adults and children over the age of 12 or 13 are generally held responsible for their behaviour since they all are directed by a consciousness of what the community expects - i.e. *niwa*, for Lohorung, as we have seen, also talk about *niwa* in the sense of 'conscience'. Those who ignore their social *niwa* bring upon themselves the possibility of a wide number of sanctions. One of these is the pain from *niwa* itself. Breach of injunctions in those who have *niwa* brings about the pain of *niwa*. *Niwa* is said 'to hurt' when knowledge of what should be done is not done, "When *niwa* hurts it talks at night, people cannot sleep, they tell lies, and they are frightened". *Niwa* as 'conscience' is the source of certain dreams and nightmares. The guiding line for conscience, *niwa* is the established way represented by those older than oneself. "If an older person scolds *niwa* aches: if someone younger tells one off, *niwa* only feels contempt". The painful *niwa* talking internally to a person is the Lohorung way of describing conscience. Whereas those who have consciously done wrong bring upon themselves a hurting *niwa*, those who inadvertently transgress the principles of social *niwa*, may cause the anger of the ancestors, bringing misfortune and disease. Worst of all, breach of the law of social *niwa*, the injunctions

it includes and the ways of behaviour prescribed, may bring about the loss of *niwa* itself, that is, madness.

In every Lohorung adult and children over a certain age, *niwa* lies as a watchdog over his or her behaviour and activities, controlling them to conform with the traditional and normal way. The character types and personality judgements expressed in terms of a person's *niwa* restrain the anti-social and encourage the personality which can make a positive contribution to the continuity of order within the community. "If people's *niwa* do not agree, then no work gets done, the work is ruined" goes the saying. Lohorung also pass on the dogma:

"People whose *niwa* is nice to see, they get on with everyone. That one, all people like. An ugly *niwa* person no-one gets on with, and they call him dishonest".

A 'nice to see' *niwa* is one which knows open, social behaviour and shows desire for collective interdependence and co-operation. Individual privacy has no place. Far from being accepted, the person who seeks privacy or solitude is considered to be suffering, afflicted by a fallen *saya* (the ancestral substance of man), and must be brought back to health. Attempts to raise one's own status, out of line with one's age, are frowned upon. Differences in wealth are as much explained by strong links with the ancestors (high *saya*) or private rites to *chawatangma*, as by individual endeavours. Status is achieved with age and the *niwa* that accompanies it, and not from personal efforts. Traditionally roles are ascribed and a person waits to be invited to perform special roles: no-one offers their skills. Elders are invited to

calm and settle a quarrel, a man becomes 'Rai' when his elder brother wants to join the army (9). Roles are not achieved by competition. All these factors act to produce a particular kind of person - co-operative, uncompetitive, accustomed to fluid status and the consensus of the community (10).

***Niwa* and individual variation**

From the description, in the previous section, of different characters and the extent to which social *niwa* pervades an individual, requiring them to conform, it might seem that a Lohorung child has little possibility of developing a personally derived identity. This is not the case. As mentioned earlier, the Lohorung recognise that everyone also has '*own niwa*' (*tangpam niwa*). This includes those personal inclinations and impulses which are expected to be brought under the control of *niwa* as it develops. ("I have a sleeping *niwa* but I must not sleep, I still have to pound the rice".) The control, however, mainly applies to the formal, public sphere and that is naturally the focal area of talk about *niwa* as a socialising force. Control or discipline to be learnt has to be emphasised. But Lohorung take it for granted that social *niwa* will not predominate all the time. A girl, for example, within the private sphere of her own home, or with other women, would not be expected to adhere to all the restraints, the interdictions expected from her social *niwa*. She must 'know' them, but she also knows when she can live according to her '*own niwa*'. People in informal situations can sit in any manner they please, in whatever manner their individual *niwa* chooses. When girls and women are sitting together and see or hear the approach of a respected male kin, there is a rushed commotion to find scarves, rearrange their dress, hide the cigarettes and the butts, and find some means of showing that they are busy. Children do the same when they hear parents coming. Everyone knows about the discrepancies in behaviour of social *niwa* and '*own niwa*'. Wives

and husbands who have lived long together, forget many of the injunctions imposed by social *niwa*, and individual personalities are not brought under control. Intimate and friend relationships are relaxed. Perhaps one could say that they can in some ways be even more relaxed than in the west. Knowing the strict rules of prescribed behaviour means firstly that behaviour in public situations does not have to be a matter of individual concern, and secondly that if one generally conforms to social *niwa*, one's own individual *niwa*, personal desires and ways of behaviour are not seen as a threat to the community. An example of this is the case of two sisters who annually plough their fields themselves, since there are no men in the household. In terms of traditional ways these women are going against their social *niwa* and they are often teased; but the practical situation is accepted and they are not judged or rebuked for submitting to this idiosyncratic behaviour.

Lohorung recognition of the individual *niwa* emerges in such phrases as "I feel like letting my own *niwa* do what it wants (take its own course). If you could do what your *niwa* wanted now, what would you do?" or when a mother, in reply to her daughter's inquiry about what job to do next says "It's too hot for work. Whatever happens to please your *niwa* do that. I'm going to sleep". Children in objection to their parents's request to stop playing and return to the fields complain "Our own *niwa* (*tangpam niwa*) is never allowed, elder brother is doing nothing, tell him to go!".

Individual *niwa* is allowed free expression in the sense of 'opinions' and certain feelings. Social *niwa* is more concerned with action and behaviour. There is no objection to men or women stating their opinions even if they contradict social expectation. For example, a woman may object to a prospective son-in-law: "The boy has land, he shows respect, but my own *niwa* will not accept him. My *niwa* will not eat it (trust him). I don't feel like giving my child". Since personal opinions are not restrained, individual *niwa* at times comes into contact with social *niwa*, "I didn't feel like being guilty in my own *niwa*, but later (social) *niwa* would not accept it, and after a while my *niwa* began talking (conscience). All night long I couldn't sleep."

Although 'own *niwa*', meaning own desires and wishes, is generally not allowed in public behaviour, it should be said there is an increasing modern expression of own initiative of a kind that is not frowned upon. Examples of this initiative are to be seen in the local market in Khandbari. One couple, for example, own little land but every week they reach market early and buy eggs, chickens, ghee, vegetables, etc.. These they sell along with the baskets, mats, winnowing trays woven by him and the paper cigarettes and beer made by her. They are described as having 'clever *niwa*' and respected for their efforts.

Selling beer and liquor is increasingly an area in which women are demonstrating initiative, their sense of agency and their 'own *niwa*' (11). The profits are used to accumulate money for their

store of private property (pewa N.) (12) as well as adding weight to women's opinions and decision-making power within the household. Some women take full advantage of the role of selling beer and use it to increase their power and voice their opinions in village affairs and even in wider local issues. They acquire a clientele, who visit regularly on market days and sit around them drinking and talking. Some of these women are 'clever', say the Lohorung; they develop a reputation for producing the best liquor, so that their patrons always return. Others, who sometimes water down their *saruwa*, (wine-like drink made particularly by the Lohorung) 'show to everyone their small *niwa*'. Some women accumulate such a reputation for good beer and *saruwa* that people seek them out in the village when travelling through, or those in the village, finding themselves short, look to them for a loan. By simply extending the scope of a traditional commodity such women show enterprise that is not a threat to the community.

The fact that there are so many Lohorung terms for people who show individual, and often socially unacceptable, personalities or characters illustrates how Lohorung, in spite of the controlling force of social *niwa*, are not subjugated totally to conforming stereotypes. To mention a few of them: Lohorung talk of the irritator, the one with the fishing-hook heart, who fishes for play or disturbance, (*khechimawa*), the gossip (*bokmawa*), the flirt or coxcomb, and in particular the narcissistic person in terms of dress (*chorekpa* or *chorekma*), the trouble-maker (*mangkhakla*), the volatile, easily roused to anger one (*somkhewa*), a nonsense talker

(*somtrekpa*), the energetic character (*pannukha*), the jealous character, (*lamthing lamukhuba*), the pliable, easy going one, (*okningbak*), as well as all those mentioned previously as adjectives describing people's *niwa*-character.

Lohorung accept that own *niwa* (*tangpam niwa*) can have considerable freedom of expression in private spheres, so long as it does not go too far. The principles of social public *niwa* must always be kept in mind. Children must learn how to control 'own *niwa*', their own impulses, desires, so that under the controlling capacity of social *niwa*, individual, own *niwa*, may be given recognition.

Marriage and *tangpam niwa*

Marriage is one of the main areas in which both Lohorung men and women express *tangpam niwa*. The issue of marriage leads household heads to use strategies and the subordinates to use tactics each one to maximise their *tangpam niwa* (own wishes).

An arranged marriage is the form of marriage most parents would like their children to accept, and about 70% of Lohorung marriages are arranged and take place with full-scale ritual and ceremonial exchanges (the figure is derived from the sample of thirty-five households). These are either first time marriages or men's second marriages. The second marriages of men are mostly of widowers, who want to offer the most formal kind of marriage to

their new wives, in spite of the cost. First-time marriages are carefully planned by parents.

Negotiations take place late in the evening or very early in the morning; no-one else should know about them, in case an agreement cannot be reached. Too many rejections, that everybody knows about, would 'throw away the nose' and threaten the *saya* of the boy's parents, but also bad for the girl and her parents, who would gather an image of people who do not want their daughter to marry. The secrecy of the negotiations firmly places the decision in the hands of the parents, lessening the possible control of 'public images'. This is significant for the Lohorung notion of the person in three ways. First, it is the public face of the house/family that is here the 'person', as if it were acting for the boy or girl, and decreasing emphasis on the individual. Second, the secrecy emphasises the importance of the parents' choice, that is, their responsibility and agency without any interference from outside elders or the children involved. The relatives of the boy try to convince the girl's parents of his worth, and it is the girl's mother and father alone who decide if the boy is right for her, thus placing the emphasis on the parents not the girl. Thirdly, the lack of self-reflection or personal motivation concerning many of such marriage is reflected in the number of people who have been through them without their own consent; this does not mean that they were carried out by force, merely that consent was not considered a necessary prerequisite.

In the same sample 58.5% said they had been married without their specific consent.

In matters of marriage it is thought that the 'will', 'wishes and desires' (*tangpam niwa*) of sons and daughters may not at first agree with the 'wisdom' (*niwa*) of their elders, but eventually it is said they will understand the choice, and a great deal of persuasion may be needed to get through the most difficult initial stages of 'marriage' which is more of a process than an event. In fact, when boys express a preference or particular dislike of the chosen partner parents tend to listen, whereas girls are thought to be generally more unwilling to marry and therefore need more guidance. The case of Angla mahili is typical :

'Mahili's elder sister refused to marry the husband from Angla chosen for her by her parents. She ran away with a Dekhim man to avoid the marriage . All mahili's uncles and aunts and parents, then we all said to her, "look now you must marry him. We have promised your sister but she has gone, you should go. See, there he is with so much paddy, maize, fields, buffaloes, cows and no-one there to look after him. His two elder sisters have married and left, he has no brothers only one old, old mother. He can make you happy, whereas with others you do not know; you will be miserable trying hard to scrape a living". She cried and refused for many days. But in the end we persuaded her to go. And now she is happy. She has a beautiful son, she has stayed ten years and she is happy. We were right' .

The opportunity for self-expression begins when youths and girls are in their teens. They join up with others, sometimes just a few others, some maybe already in their early twenties, or some recently married though at the stage when husband and wife do not live permanently with each other. They meet regularly in small or large groups at night, and sometimes join together from several

neighbouring villages, thus establishing a perfect opportunity to get to know possible potential marriage partners. They enjoy the freedom of boisterous games, flirtations, singing, laughter and gaiety, without any of the normal constraints imposed by those to whom they must show respect. They gather in the fields or hills, in an empty hut or cattle-shed. They make up their own rules, those who arrive last have to sing first. They can be seen grouping together at the larger annual fairs held on the hilltops or river valleys. In larger gatherings the amusement and high spirits are encouraged by liquor, sold or given away to those the girls happen to favour. Frequently the time is spent singing songs which involve exchanges between groups of girls and groups of boys, girls on one side boys on the other. The contents of the songs are superficially innocuous but to the initiated are full of amorous innuendos. They add what they like to the basic song. The following is a close translation of one of the songs:

The girls begin:

"The wall of the mountain is knocked down when the yaks had a fight;
the day has gone, the night has gone, explaining the sinning mind.
The wind and again the wind, the Sunday market takes place at Dolaha, the Saturday market at Silani. The cotton of the cotton tree, we two poor people say today we will lament."

The youths reply:

"From over there what sort of bird came down and stayed filling the tree? The hard walnut, this is our trouble and will remain forever. The creeper of the river crossed the ford, we must go, having weighed the tola [measure] of gold, father will probably be angry, oh sister oh but..."

The markets held weekly in several different places in the locality offer good meeting grounds, as indeed is mentioned in the song. Kānchi told me this is how she met A. :

She told me how they met first at market. "He offered me a cigarette but I refused, 'dungani' ('I don't smoke'). Then later friends told me he wanted to meet me again. I couldn't remember who he was. And they told me he was the one who offered me a cigarette. We met again the next week at the next market. He came up and offered me biscuits and eggs, so many things. We sat side by side on one of the benches by the side of the market but I was too shy to say or do anything. He bought me tea. I had to throw it away when he wasn't looking; my heart was going *tuk tuk* I couldn't drink anything. He wanted to meet again." At first she refused but was later persuaded by friends who were a little older; she was only fourteen at the time. She agreed to meet in one of the cattle huts in the fields below and between their two villages. At first they were never alone. He sat in one corner of the hut, sometimes with a friend and she and her companions sat in the other corner. 'He sang me songs, telling me how much he liked me and calling me *iksama kānchi*. I sang back that I didn't know what to say until I became a bit more clever at replying. And when he asked to see me in seven days, I sang back 'no, in fourteen'. I gave in though and agreed to seven. We met again and again in different places. It must always be in different places to sing together'. It was only later that they stopped going with the one or two companions who had kept on going with them. They went to sing to each other in the forest. Then there was more talking than singing, planning on how they could stay together. His elder brother had not yet married and A should wait for him to marry first."

In this particular case, kin of both the girl and the boy used strategies to prevent any continuation of their relationship; heavy pressure was put on kānchi and A. to conform to their parents' wishes:

"Without A. or kānchi's knowledge throughout the twelve months that she and A. had been seeing each other, messengers from A's family had been trying to persuade her mother to marry her to A's elder brother. Her father was sick at the time and her mother kept refusing. The brideprice was high, however, and the groom's spokesmen re-assured the mother that kānchi would not be expected to leave her natal home until she was ready. Her mother finally agreed. When A. and kānchi found out, kānchi pleaded with her mother to stop the agreement. A. tried to persuade her to go with him. As she told me the story she confided that if only she had been older she would have known how to push for what she wanted:

she would have gone with A. - either eloped or agreed to a 'capture' marriage, if A. could have arranged it. As it was, she gave in to her mother and all the offers of new clothes and gold and was formally married to the elder brother, with whom she still lives."

This case shows the strength needed to fight against the desires of parents and kin and social pressures to conform. In general, the Lohorung rule is that if a girl is told by her parents to marry a particular man, then she must obey, even if her own mind *tangpam niwa* is against it; yet some do follow their own wishes and survive the condemnations which ensue. Anu, for example, was nineteen when her parents began to receive two lots of suitors asking for her. Her case ended somewhat differently from Kānchi's above:

All those involved in the secret negotiations, except her mother, say Anu's father and mother should give her to the Biksik clan family from Dhupu village. Although it is not as close as some villages, there are relatives there; if she doesn't marry soon she'll go with the Bi'wa man she sings with, and he is already married and has children, "*phenni*" ('no good')- if she goes with him she couldn't come near the village; if she goes to Dhupu, that other family in Dhupu might give their daughter to Dache who must marry soon; they wouldn't give her to many of the other villages, which are harder, further away, and anyway, maybe nobody else will come to ask for her and she will end up like Rekhu - she refused so many they stopped coming. But Anu's mother is uncertain and worried. She is not just saying 'no' because parents always say no at first. She says Anu must follow the old Lohorung custom and marry the one chosen by her parents, yet they must make the right choice. When she was younger she heard talk about a *mangpa* (shaman) in Dhupu whose wife was a *boksi* (witch), could they assure her that this was not the boys parents; moreover, they had looked at the *horoscope* and it had said that Anu shouldn't be married before she is twenty. Also, he is Kartik month and that doesn't mix with Anu's sign - their *Ghan* do not mix; they have no surplus rice or millet this year...The secret talks continue. Anu knows what is going on although the talks either take place late into the night or before dawn. She has stopped eating and working properly. She told me last night how unhappy she was and how much she loved her Biwa man, whom she has known for over a year. She knows that he has no land, many brothers and that it will be hard

for her, especially since he already has a wife. She knows she will be unhappy if they marry her to Dhupu - it's so far. . . .

Two weeks later Anu ran off one night with her Biwa. She went to his house and refused to return home. Her mother tried to persuade her father to fetch her back but he refused. "She has gone of her own will (*tangpam niwa*). She must stay. She is not my daughter". Her mother was distressed: "How will she eat? She cannot eat millet mush but what else can they afford? What kind of life will she have working in others fields just to get enough to eat? " Other adults in the village were far from sympathetic. They said she had 'thrown away her father's nose' (*apam nabuk we-lang-pitu*), that she was worthless, good for nothing (*phenni*), many were angry and insulted her to her face. One said, "Anu's eyes have broken: her eyes couldn't see anymore" (ie she is blind to the situations she has let herself in for); another "she has gone to lie on top of the first one, taken properly: there will be trouble". People said "she has become a leaf", the way of saying that she has fallen to the worst possible condition - one in which she will have to eat off leaf plates and eat what others leave. Brothers, aunts, uncles, younger siblings are all angry. The *saya* of her father inevitably falls in such situations, putting at risk his well-being and his prosperity. Relatives know they should shun her. Many are sorry for the older wife. One day she lost her temper with Anu, but for this she was 'thoroughly beaten' by her husband. Anu, however, was not totally alone. There were those who talked about others who had done the same, who had followed their

own mind, *niwa*, and were still happy, and those that criticised her family for making too much fuss. A few months later Anu and her husband formally 'changed relationships' (*saino phernu N.*) with the relatives of both sides. This means that they formally altered the kinship terminology used between both sides; this also gives acceptance to the union as marriage and allowed Anu to return to her natal home. From then on the couple began to spend considerable time assisting with the work to be done in Anu's natal home. Anu goes there about four times a week to work and brew her beer there; her husband about once or twice a week.

Those that said many others had followed their own *niwa* were reflecting what the sample also showed, that is, that 22% of those in the sample had married, by elopement or 'theft', the partner of their choice, without their parent's consent; of these 12% were people who were in their first marriage. Many elopements take place when the boy or girl are away from the village. (13)

The form of marriage, known as *kusubang* that is, 'theft' marriage is striking in that it is a legitimate transgression of the normal rules and a powerful tactic, in which sons can try to obtain the wife of their own choice. In brief, it goes against the usual Lohorung rules concerning correct behaviour towards the bride's parents, and yet it is traditional and totally accepted. With this form of 'own choice' the couple do not have to leave the village in disgrace for a short time, as they often do in elopement. Normally, it is the bride's parents who are the first to know

about a suitor for their daughter and the ones who make the decision. In the case of 'theft' they are completely powerless and find out, only when their daughter has agreed. It allows total disregard of the expected respect of a son for his father and mother, and permits a strongly selfish orientation of the groom. It requires the groom to 'know his own mind', to follow *tangpam niwa*, and to ignore parental authority, to demonstrate considerable planning capabilities and the organisation and cooperation of certain kinsmen. It can only work if the groom achieves emancipation from expected behaviour, and arouses the enthusiasm of his peer group, and sometimes members of the older generation to assist him in his plans. This remains the case even if the girl, who is captured, is in fact also involved in the plot and a is willing collaborator.

The following is a brief description of a 'theft':

"It happened like this. People from Pawa and Pangma were coming to R's wedding in Dhupu and they intrigued. D. had seen a girl from Pawa and knowing that she would be going to the wedding he got ready. "you should take her", said the other youths. So off everyone went to the wedding. But those who knew disappeared. They went the lower path which comes out near Maruwa. Many youths were involved and that was where they captured the girl from Pawa. Here and there the youths emerged. She began to fight, and first with Rangat's father because D. had been held up and hadn't arrived yet. He was late. But Rangat's father had agreed to help and he knew what was fitting, and in addition he was becoming an old man. He had no male children and was well known by everyone in Pawa and in Pangma, and in Dhupu was the home of his father-in-law and so seeing him and stopping to talk to him, the girl thought nothing of it, but Rangat's father realising the groom D. was late saw what had to be done. So he caught hold of her hand first. Usually it is only after the groom has caught hold of the girl's hand that the other youths can catch hold of her. But all the accompanying boys had arrived some down below some on the path like this when the groom was still late. So when Rangat's father caught hold of her and the groom wasn't there, she began to shout, "I'm not going to live with you, you donkey. I'm not going to stay with some

knowing old man, like some insect ridden yak's tail, I will not live with such a one. I will not. I will not live next to a first wife with so many children. I will not", and she fought and fought. And then suddenly a boy wearing a black *topi* (traditional hat) arrived. He was about nineteen or twenty and everyone looked at him. She stopped and asked, "which is the groom?" "The one wearing the black *topi*, that one that has just appeared", they answered. Then she agreed to go along, the youths caught hold of her and accompanied her along the path. I was there on the ladder to the house. But at the ladder she stopped and refused to come up any further. She fought and the youths holding her shouted to her, "go up, go up!" But she firmly refused. She refused to climb the ladder that would be the ladder to her own house - the ladder of the groom's house. So then all the youths surrounded the bottom of the ladder. "How much money do you want?" they asked. "Whatever you want we will give". And she insisted on the pledge [the mutual promise made by the groom and bride]. They agreed and they were able to tie some money into her shawl and then she immediately went up the ladder to the house. That's what we do in 'theft'; whatever she wants as pledge, we must give. Whatever makes her happy we must give. Some of those over the Arun river, that side they cheat: they don't give what they promise. We must give what she asks. If she wants gold, we give gold, if she wants silver, we give silver, if she wants money we give the amount she wants and that makes them stay. If she doesn't want to stay even when we agree to give everything then we tell her that the *yatangpa* knows a spell (*mantra N*). We tell her that he will throw red powder (*sinduri N*) over her, will say the spell and she will immediately have love (*māyā N*) for the boy. Really, it works. They will like (*nenchame*) only that boy and nobody else. We tell her, "you will lose all wish to go to your natal home, you will feel nothing for your own family, only for the one here. You will forget your natal home, your mother and father, you will like only this boy and you will only want to stay with him, to look after him". After this when a girl is captured her family, mostly her brothers come to see if she is happy. If she is then the brothers tell the groom how much meat her family require as the first gift. They exchange kinship terms in the yard of the groom".

We can see clearly here how the boy is given advantage over and above everybody else. Most significantly he chooses the girl and has to persuade her to stay, so that her father and brothers have no option but to accept the accomplished deed. The girl has the right to refuse though everything in a theft marriage works

against it. This is summed up by the belief expressed above that she can be charmed to fall in love with her suitor.

It could be said that the institution of 'theft' marriage is the society's way of dealing with potential father/son conflict. It offers rebellious sons with a mind of their own *tangpam niwa* the chance to make an important decision and to make a public statement concerning his independence. (14) 'Theft marriage' also demonstrates an institutional acceptance of *tangpam niwa*, or as we might put it, an affirmation of an 'inner self' in their notion of the 'person' and the need (in boys at least) to express it.

Conclusions

From talk about *niwa*, children learn that they have to follow traditional ways, that they must respect their parents, and brothers and sisters, and indeed all senior kin. They begin to learn that what is important about themselves is not what they want but what their *niwa* tells them to do. What is important is not personal authenticity or their unique identity, but the ability to follow formally prescribed behaviour. In public the norms of this behaviour are quite rigid. Their emotions too have to be controlled by *niwa*. By the age of ten or so they should have enough *niwa* in the stomach to restrain their anger. By then too, children have been taught to listen to their *niwa* as a controlling force in respect of two different kinds of fear; firstly the fear that startles and causes their *lawa* to leave, and secondly, the fear that is connected with feelings of awe and

respect. With the development of *niwa* they learn to understand situations or events which previously would have startled them. They learn to be less startled by strangers and transform the sense of helpless impotence in the face of adults into feelings of respect and shyness. Both feelings warn a child internally, but the knowledge which reduces or transform them is derived externally, taught by adults in the form of words and threats about *niwa*.

Thus, *niwa* acts as self control in physical, mental and emotional terms. *Niwa* might well be called the super ego. What we have seen here is how Lohorung children are expected to internalise the formal norms, the value standards, with few offers of explanations. Skills and knowledge they learn and pick up largely through imitation, combined with the inculcated desire to emulate adults and be treated like an adult.

Death, *niwa*, *lawa* and *saya*.

It is fitting that a section on death should end a chapter on concepts of *niwa*, *saya* and *lawa* and the cycle of life for 'life' ends for the Lohorung at death: the 'person' (*yapmi*) is no longer 'flourishing, alive' (*hingrikpa*) but 'dead' (*singrikpa*) with its *bungpi lawa* (flower *lawa*) no longer sitting on a flourishing flower. At death the person becomes a spirit of the dead, a *chap*, eating only wind and breath (*sokma*).

The old, say the Lohorung, are like gods (*deutā* N.), requiring already the kind of respect they will receive as ancestors, and living their lives according to whim. They are allowed to be selfish, and though their bodies are weak their *saya* and *lawa* are strong and important to have at rituals. Their *niwa*, by the time they reach about seventy has begun to fade :

"*Niwa* becomes smaller. Old people begin one conversation. The next moment they forget what they were talking about: they put belongings in one place, and search for them later in another. *Niwa* begins to die".

At some point the old say, "I'm old: now I need new clothes". This is also said to be a warning of their imminent death. All the spirits of the dead are conceived as wearing the clothes that they die in.

The following description of the rites surrounding death are from informants and not first hand. I did not see any funerary rites in their entirety and I found it difficult to obtain detailed information about them. This in itself is significant. People

avoided conversations about death, saying if you talk about it someone will die - benevolent and malevolent spirits can hear and are attracted to talk about themselves. After death the *lawa* of the dead person remains attached to the children of the house and the rest of the family, and tries to entice away their *lawa*.

Prior to death, as mentioned in chapter two, the person's *lawa* joins the dead as frequently as it can, leaving the body in dreams, and watching the dead. The person in their sleep sees the dead more than the living. They see and meet their dead father, and other dead relatives just as if they were awake (*lemmang-pi*) not as if dreaming (*semmang-pi*). The *lawa* finally stays away so long that it can no longer be returned to the body, and it goes first to the person's left hand and then to the household shrine. The breathe (*sokma*) stops and the person dies.

As soon as someone has died, the corpse, dressed in new or clean clothes is placed in front of the main door with legs pointing towards the inside of the house (15). The body is taken to the grave as soon as possible. The hair and nails of the person are cut and later put into the grave with the body. The bier made from green bamboo (*yong baphu*) is much like a stretcher, with two long poles and small horizontal poles. The corpse is wrapped in a white cloth, leaving the face uncovered. Once placed on the bier, white cloth screens are placed over upright bamboo sticks stuck into the two long poles on either side of the body. To understand the white cloth we need to refer back to chapter two to the story of

how the dead ended any possibility of further marriage with the living by raising a white cloth between them. To emphasise this separation a stone and a white flag are hung by the grave. The body is wrapped in white cloth, they say, for the same reason (16).

Flowers are placed all over the sides of the bier and one particular kind of flower is placed between the toes and in the ears of the dead person - a flower called *michiremna bung*. It is said to cry when a person dies and the explanation was that the body of the flower is the same as that of people - they were born together (17) . On the outside of the bier are placed thorns as well as flowers to keep away the *lawa* and the *chap*. The *niwa* of the *chap* is said to see the thorns and the *michiremna bung* and 'know' that it must keep away.

Daughters unbraid their hair and it was said they usually cry. The procession to take the body is led by the eldest son carrying the white flag and a sword (*Tarawār*^N). Another son, or close male relative, follows behind with a leaf-bowl containing small coins, vermilion and one *mana* of husked rice, the dead man's 'ration', *chasak*, for his journey to the land of the dead. Occasionally the procession stops to offer these to the deceased, attaching them to the forehead. Each time the procession stops people come from their houses and offer money to the face of the corpse. 'Classificatory' daughters and sisters are the ones who are supposed to offer the money, that is also for the dead person's

journey. Some women accompany the procession including any daughters, but only those who are not fearful (*ekisikhuba*) may go. Two men at a time carry the corpse, feet first, changing as they tire. No priest accompanies the group. The funeral is quiet except for the sound of instructions. They go to the graveyard, usually on a small hill on the outskirts of the villages.

At the burial ground a grave is dug, and a fire made out of dried bushes. The deceased is fed with alcohol (*raksi*), and beer (*tangba*), dropping the beer into the mouth with the bamboo pipe. Sons and grandsons walk around the grave three times, in an anti-clockwise direction, preceded by the white flag, the sword and a plate of food. The corpse is untied and any ornaments taken out. It is guarded carefully for if it is touched by any animal the person becomes the kind of *chap* that cannot join the fully integrated dead. The bamboo bier is dismantled. The corpse is lowered into the grave and buried face upwards.

The son carries an unlit twig torch three times around. He touches the four corners two at each end and then lights the torch and puts it in the corpse's mouth and then throws away the torch. This is the 'last fire' (*dhagwati N.*). One son gives the body fire, the rest give earth. People around the grave and those sitting some distance away offer soil with their left hand. They put soil on the mouth. The cloth used to wrap the corpse is used to cover the face in the grave. The corpse is covered with stones,

soil and then more stones. Finally a stone is erected by the heap of smaller stones (18).

The sons, sons-in-law, and sister's sons are shaved a little below the burial site, they wash and put on new white turbans and loin cloths, all that they wear. Subsequent to this no-one touches them and they touch no-one until the rite on the third day. Women from the village meet those returning with much beer and snacks, contributed by as many as possible in the village, depending on the status of the individual. After the snack they walk a little nearer to the village where a fire is burning and everybody who has been to the funeral throws onto it a green branch of thorns and steps over the smoking fire. This action expresses the crossing of the boundary, the departure from one state to another. They depart from the state in which they relate to the dead, in which they have to put their actions into reverse, such as placing the corpse in the opposite direction to how people sleep, using the left hand and not the right to throw the soil, walking anti-clockwise round the grave. As they cross the boundary back into normal village life they throw thorny bushes into the fire, both aimed to keep away any *chap* that might want to follow.

During this first part of the rite, the corpse is put into a new ritual position and given a new identity, thus separating the person from the living. Lohorung say the *niwa* of the *chap* knows it is dead when it sees the *michiremma* flowers in its toes, the thorns, the particular kind of bamboo used only for the dead, the

white cloth surrounding it and when they drink their *tongba* they see their faces covered with money and vermilion. When guests are offered *tongba* beer the top of the bamboo container is always covered by a leaf: this is to ensure that it is opposite to the way the dead person is offered their *tongba* at the grave. If someone uses their left hand to pour, for example, they will be teased for treating their relatives as if they were dead, but also reminded of the possible potency of such behaviour.

So far we have seen that when the person is dead, *lawā* goes to the shrine and *saya* becomes the spirit of the dead ancestor; it becomes either a wandering *chap* or a *chap* that is one of the *pappamammachi*, depending on the way the person dies. *Saya*, the link with the ancestors, 'the ancestor within', and linked to the outer souls of other ancestors, is liberated to become itself an ancestor. With the *saya* goes the *niwa*, thus explaining why ancestors still have *niwa*, though more like the *niwa* of a child. If a child dies before the age of eight, or rather before the loss of their first teeth, they say the *saya* has not developed enough; "the *saya* which is like a *deutā* seeks another person". Thus if a child dies young, they do not become *chap*. The loss of the first 'milk' teeth is for the Lohorong the indication that the child has a developed *saya*. Only then is the child a 'real' (*pukka*) adult man or woman.

No member of the clan of the dead person may eat spices, ghiu (clarified butter), chutney, millet, chilli or salt for three days

after the death and then a small rite is performed at night, sometime after midnight, to finally send away the *chap* that has been allowed to wander for three days. This ensures that the *lawa* has been separated from those it loves:

"we give the *chap* to eat and drink but there should be no fire or they won't speak. We must be very still and musn't say a word or be afraid or we ourselves will die. They would notice us and take us as well, especially if they see you're frightened. The *chap* of the one who just died goes to collect the others. Then we feed them in every direction, up, down, sun setting, sun rising (ie N.S.W.E.). These *chap* never put people in trouble; they are fed without having to, not like the *sammang* who give trouble and then get food."

In this small rite, after the liminal period of three days, the family place in the four corners of the house bananas (from which they later divine the form of death) and beer in plates, put onto *miksremma* leaves. When the dead person's *niwa* sees the banana and the *miksremma* leaves he is supposed to be reminded yet again that he is dead and now *chap*. After midnight the *lawa* and *saya* are warned again to separate from their family and possessions. Waiving a thorny *chiching* branch over the body, the elders (*pasingchi*) speak together;

"From now on, you *bubu/nana* (whatever the relation is) you must go to the heavens, go to the side (area between hip and ribs) of a very very rich man, keep away from here, do not mimic the mice, do not take the frustrating path, keep peace with the others, stay with the others, make your talk and actions agree (with theirs), make your legs agree, make your hands agree; give up your attachment to your cattle, your fields, your garden, all the utensils, pots and pans, your relatives, stop loving them all; do not interfere with the *lawa* of our children, stop loving them, do not interfere with their lives; now go from now on go to the side of the 'ancestors', now go".

This is spoken twice, once in the house and once by the grave-side, waving a thorny branch. The thorny branch is said to 'catch hold and not let go' (*khkebungkhe*) of the *lawa* to make it listen

and also makes the body of the deceased look less attractive to it so that it 'lets go of its love' (*chenchamimpa chumimimpe*) . In this way a *chap* becomes integrated into the world of the *pappamammachi*.

Van Gennep's suggestion that a funeral, a *rites de passage*, involves a transition that begins with the separation of the deceased from life and ends with incorporation into the world of the dead (1960:28) becomes truly illuminating when it is related to the values of the particular culture. Van Gennep also noted that funerals, of all *rites de passage*, express the core values sacred to the society.

What we see emphasised here in the funerary rites are, amongst others, Lohorung values and ideas developing from their relationship of trust with the superhuman world. We see the care taken to feed the dead, in return for the new *chap* adhering to their altered status. We see too the compassionate way in which the spirit is requested to separate itself from the living, addressed with paternal firmness but gently, so as not to hurt *niwa*. It is striking the extent to which relations with the dead resemble those with the living as if the Lohorung at times extend their social world to include the dead. The dividing cloth between the two worlds is so fine we can appreciate the interdiction against showing fear in such rites lest someone's *saya* is not strong enough to prevent their *lawa* being swept into the other world. It makes sense that the main aims of the rite are to

educate *niwa* about its new host, to ensure that the ancestor within (*saya*) becomes *chap* and that the life-principle (*lawa*) separates from the body.

Conclusions

Niwa is frequently conceptualised in terms that might be construed as an indication of conceptual realism (19). When the Lohorung talk about *niwa* as being, for example, "at first small and closed..." they are talking metaphorically in the same way that in English we talk about people being big-hearted and small-minded. If we compare the Lohorung conception of mind with our own, there are several ways in which they differ. The main difference lies in the use of one *niwa* concept where we would use several different concepts, such as conscience, personality, impulse, memory. The Lohorung system is less differentiated than ours. Second and contiguous with this lack of differentiation are *niwa*'s encompassing powers of reference, greater than our notion of mind, such as the close relation of *niwa* to feelings and to metaphysical aspects of the body. Lacking our Western mind-body dichotomy *niwa* is both affected by and can affect *lawa* and *saya*. When *niwa* hurts *saya* falls; if *niwa* is not strong and big, *lawa* leaves. Thirdly, mind is treated anthropomorphically, that is, *niwa* is treated as a person, who accepts, speaks, is pleased, agrees, is there, is crafty. In the West we seem to have adopted a more mechanical metaphor.

Given the significance of kin, sociability and control of the self through *niwa*, it is all too easy to over-emphasise the social as opposed to the more egocentric and hidden orientation of the Lohorung concept of the 'person' (20). Although a Lohorung individual is expected to conform to traditional ways of behaviour, to the *niwa* of the household head, and the way in which social *niwa* is expected to pervade an individual, yet he or she can still develop and express an individual personality and make individual choices, by marrying men they want, leaving those they dislike, or by accumulating money to buy land away from the village. A Lohorung can stand apart from a social role in order to laugh or comment at how one particular individual is performing the role of marriage intermediary or shaman, for example, or be angry with another's performance of the 'father' role. Individuals are not merely figures in a social pattern (see Read, 1959, for a description of a society where there is "no essential separation of the individual from the social pattern" (ibid:276). Individual characteristics and a tendency for egocentrism and the expression of *tangpam niwa* are thought of as being innate: sociability and the control of self have to be learned. Inevitably, then, the proliferation of Lohorung ideas concerning the psychological and physiological nature of man focus on why a person should be social, how they can be social and how they can come to be in control of that which is individual for their own sake.



PLATE 7

MANGMANI & GRANDDAUGHTER

CHAPTER SIX

Emotions and Concepts of Mind: Understanding Lohorung

Behaviour and Social Institutions

Introduction

Until very recently, there seemed to be two extremes in anthropology concerning the study of mental processes. On the one hand, there was the radical position of Hallpike (1976), who argued that primitives conceptualise mind and psychological processes in a totally different way from adults in the West; and that, for example, they have no elaborate terminology to express any of the finer shades of experience. On the other hand, there was and still are those anthropologists who rely on an assumption that other people share our Western ideas about emotions and other mental states to such an extent that we can uncritically apply our own terms without examining the indigenous concepts. More recently, some anthropologists have emphasised the significance of the socially constructed "person" and have included emotions as part of that social construction (Heelas 1986; Lutz 1980; Rosaldo 1980). The following chapter will, I hope, add to the evidence that neither of the first two viewpoints are acceptable; and will act as a further example of the view already emphasised in this thesis that if we want to understand a particular culture, their behaviour, thought and meaning systems, we have to look at the indigenous concepts.

The aim of this chapter is ethnographic. It does not intend to survey the ever-increasing literature on the anthropology of emotion or enter into the debate as summarised by Lutz and White, 1986. It will, on the other hand, describe as fully as possible the Lohorung concepts of emotion giving some examples within detailed specific contexts and it will show how these concepts can help us understand Lohorung behaviour and institutions. Lohorung ideas about emotions - how, when and why they occur - are part of their implicit cultural knowledge from which they make inferences about the behaviour and activities of their fellow men. This emotion knowledge also 'fits', as we shall see, with their general philosophy of life, their theories about the unity of the human and superhuman worlds, their values of cooperation and compassion. The importance of studying the emotions has been succinctly expressed by Catherine Lutz in several articles. One of her clearest statements goes as follows:

"..the emotions are assumed here to be the primary source of human motivation. If emotions are simultaneously viewed as cultural concepts, they become important as statements about, and motivations for the enactment of cultural values. If motivation is seen as culturally constituted (Hallowell, 1955 p.100-106) study of the emotions and their development becomes crucial for understanding the psycho-social origins of behaviour. Thus, emotion in the individual may be said to have its parallel, on the cultural level, in values: the concept of 'emotions', then, can provide a critical nexus for understanding the individual's creation of, and participation in, social institutions."
(1983:247)

My aim in this chapter is to show how Lohorung emotions and their cultural values replicate each other. Though my position is not that emotions are necessary determinants, I do claim that the frameworks expressed in emotion or mental state terms reveal those

features of social life that are essential for its structure, its general theory and its cultural values.

I should emphasise two caveats. The first is that my intention throughout has been to discover how the Lohorung themselves view and evaluate emotions and other mental states, how they handle them and how they relate them to more general ideas about the nature of human beings (such as the concept of *niwa*). The aim has not been to understand the actual nature of their inner feelings - whether they feel exactly the same way as I feel when experiencing a particular emotion. Since, as philosophers have pointed out, I cannot be sure that I feel the same pain or fear as anyone else in my own culture, how could I possibly do so in another? I am therefore not talking about mental states as such but about the Lohorung conception of those states.

The second point concerns the slippery nature of emotions as a category even within our own culture. Emotions do not form a natural class; they cannot be linked together under one set of classifications nor be sharply divided from moods, motives, attitudes or character traits. Nevertheless, even though they do not form a class in the way that we normally conceive of such classes, they do, I think, form a polythetic class. From the descriptions that follow it will be clear that the Lohorung concepts discussed in this chapter do fall under the rubric of 'emotions', or more generally 'mental states'. From the beginning of fieldwork, I adopted a tentative stance and tried to resist the

temptation to make an immediate gloss on every word, expecting some concepts to be as culturally specific perhaps as our 'Monday-morning blues'.

SECTION ONE

1. Lohorung conception of mental states.

This section looks at the Lohorung conception of mental states in general, a category which encompasses more than 'emotions'. It includes expressive feelings, ethical feelings, (feelings of obligation and shame), perceptual states, cognitive states, and personality traits. The Lohorung have no general category term for 'mental states' or the 'emotions'. As will be seen many 'emotions' and other mental states are picked out, but they are not subsumed under any general category. The Lohorung concept *minukme*, 'feel' is the most general abstract term used. It is used in such contexts as 'how do you feel?' (*manthoklo min'ne?*) or 'how did he feel when he did/said that?' (*manthoklo mimpoku hanke akro lete/kase?*) or in conjunction with some activity, such as 'I feel like eating/going' (*chama/khema min'nga*). Another concept, *som kheruk*, 'heart itches' is also close to the term 'feelings'. An example of its use goes as follows:

"Once mind has developed, children can understand conversations and their heart itches" , that is, the part of them in which many feelings are located has become active, they begin to feel.

(*niwa puse khema hang pisachi khanawa wabukmi, som so kherukmi*).

Mental States recognised by the Lohorung

Indigenous words

apikhuba
bongsime, bongsik, bongchame
chemlangme, chemlangsung

English gloss

stingy, mean
to lie, to be lied to,
hence disappointed
ignore

chenchame. chen chen minuk
chenchabokme
chiksime, chiksik

chime
chung'lu
chung niwa
chungme
diha lengme
essime, essik
ha'chak'wa minuk
hangme
hapme, habukmi
hekme, heku
heme
herem herem minuk
hingchame, hingrikpa
hoprek' pikheda
hoptiwa'lu
huk'bekme
kamuro mikuchini

kanga yongpa
khechimawa
khimtibungme
kima lue
kisime
kubrowa
labukme
lanthing lamuk
langhangme
lawa kisik
leeme, leeku
lemmang
letokme
lungchame
lungma diha'le
mehangkheda
mi'bungdame, mi'bungdu
mi'chame/mi'lame

midhangme
mik'wa'ruru leme
minchame
mingkheme, mikheme
minseme, (minse, minse)
minukme, minuk
mitokme, mitoku
mukungga mingkhuba
nabuk we'langdu
nenchame
ngenukme, ngenukmi
ngesime
ningbak' mesikme

elated, pleased, like
happy, content
disapprove, feel
disgusted
learn (a skill)
cold
cold-hearted
worship
proud
lazy
excited, impatient
respect
cry, weep
be able
hear
hungry, empty
alive
empty
hot, sweaty
worship, pray
feel unhappy, sad
uncomfortable
proud
irritable, itchy
hold in mind, remember
fearful
fear
foolish
respect
jealous
hope, wish for
shocked
know, he knows
awake
learn (a fact)
like, love
feel brave
sulky
remember
love, heart yearning for
someone far away
be attentive
feel sad, like crying
hope
forget
wonder, curious
feel
remember
brave
hurt pride
like, feel kind
quarrelsome, irritable
shy, ashamed, shame
homesick, nostalgic

nisasi' lik	fear (of water)
niwa chai'kheme	feel hurt
niwa chuk'e'le	feel generous, unselfish
niwa chume	believe, trust
niwa entae	feel relieved
niwa i'i	feel moody
niwa kaise	discontent
niwa kamuk	content
niwa kisik	respect, awe
niwa makhara	mad
niwa mi'chak'nga huk yoktokni	homesick, lovesick
niwa meding	irresponsible
niwa mak'chame	dizzy
niwa pime	trust, have faith
niwa tuguk	hurt, upset, sad
niwa yamuk	anxious, guilty, worried
ngaksubang	insane
panukha	energetic
pima mikhuba	generous, giving
pudung	awake
sak/sage lubokme	hungry
sapthame, sapthak	satisfied
saya dashi kheda	depressed, melancholic
	(see text for saya discussion)
semmang makme	dream
sengkhara	drunk
sichame, sichak	dislike, hate, feel cruel
sinti'khema, sinti'kheda	angry, bitter
sirda yakchame	get angry
siri ledhangme	jealous
siri phongme	humble
siri tangpa	suddenly angry
sokma	breathe
som'chai'khenga	pity, compassion, sorrow, eat heart away
som'khepokme, som'khepok	angry (heart)
som'kheruk	feel, heart itches, feel jealous
som tuguk, tukung	heart hurts, compassion/ love for someone close
temuku	frightened away
thamsik (thamsitingmi)	jealous
tokma nenchame	feel grateful
tukchanie	sane
tungkheme	fainting with hunger
wai'me sime	thirsty
waptokme, waptok	understand
yakta'khema, yaktampa	worn out, tired
yangsime. yangsima lu.	fear (of height)
yik'bok'kheme	feel angry
yik'kheme, yik'ti'kheme	very unhappy,
ying'keng	dejected
yongnukme	feel munificent
yongukme	possessed

This list conveys something of the variety and extent of Lohorung inner state terms. It cannot be exhaustive, however, for two reasons. Firstly it omits the Nepali words in use; terms which are increasingly used as Lohorung society absorbs pan-Nepalese culture. For example, the Nepali term for 'love', *mayā*, is now in common use to describe 'romantic love'. Girls and boys use it freely especially in the songs they sing to each other some of whom marry for 'love'. Other emotion terms used in the Nepali songs sung by the young, 'pity' (*dayā*), 'jealous' (*dāhā*), 'unhappy' (*bekhushi*) and 'happy' (*khushi*) are also for example part of everyday vocabulary as are such Nepali concepts as *dukha* 'distress', 'grief', *dikka* 'trouble', 'worry', *doshi* 'guilty'.

Secondly, the Lohorung frequently describe the experience with a (verb) phrase, a metaphor, or a proverb, whereas we and indeed the Nepali language often have a single term. Thus, asking for Lohorung words which translated Nepali ones was at times unfruitful. My Lohorung informants seemed puzzled by any lack, knowing they had the concept but searched in vain for one word equivalences. Lohorung terms emerged in context and sometimes not one but several. Thus, for the Nepali *surtā* 'worry' the Lohorung use *niwa yamuk* 'mind is talking'. In order to express concern or generalised worry they also often use a proverb drawn from one of the *pe-lam* stories. They say "*siksikwara lam, bekbekwara lam*" which translates "the main, wide and easy path, the dangerous path"; in other words it says, "it's worrying that you might take the wrong path, as did the two children in the myth. Be careful".

We also have numerous similar proverbs, such as, "it's a long road that has no turnings", "don't put all your eggs in one basket", "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" and indeed concepts such as 'caution', 'timidity' or 'over-confidence', are defined and understood by us in part with proverbs and metaphors. To express 'anger' the Lohorung have several verbs and phrases such as, "with that person my mind is cold, I do not want to talk" (*"ako ya'mi nung kam niwa chiso'le yamuma mingani"*). Or, when talking about people being 'angry', the Lohorung often merely describe the form their anger takes, 'they are fighting, quarreling, wrestling, hitting each other, not talking to each other, etc.. Their understanding of 'brave' came in the form *mukungnga minghuba*, literally 'a person feeling I can do' or *lungma diha'le* 'heart/liver is big' (and will not cry). The phrase "I feel as if my lawa has disappeared" (*lawa makhemparole'nga*) expresses for them the feeling of 'shock', feeling lifeless, the shaken, upset feeling after a severe fright. As Lohorung words and phrases became comprehensible to me it became increasingly clear that the complexity of their verbs, including the use of eleven pronouns with their different verb formations, and rich metaphors enable them to express many of their abstract ideas including emotions without necessarily using abstract nouns. Perhaps it was in part this difficulty of obtaining abstract equivalences which led Hodgson to note in 1857 that the Lohorung have "a total absence of any term for nearly every operation of the intellect or will, whether virtuous or vicious, and lastly for almost every abstract idea" (1880). (1).

Anger: mental states and outer symptoms.

The Rais as a group are well known in Nepal for their quick tempers, their outbursts of violence and their sensitivity or readiness to take offence. For some years the British did not recruit Rais and Limbus because of this reputation. There are stories told by Newars and Brahmins of the Pangma area, describing Lohorung aggressions and extended feuds with violent outbreaks on market days which corroborate this stereotype. Until recently, for example, the Chetri/Brahmin population of Chandanpur greatly feared the Lohorung. They told me how they used to race past Pangma on their way to Khandbari to avoid meeting them. Their image of the Lohorung was of "strong and volatile men, ready to fight with any non-Lohorung if somehow provoked or drunk on local alcohol; men who had little or no idea of law and order". At that time no Chetri or Brahmin would consider friendship with a Lohorung: contact with them was kept to a minimum. The stereotype, though a distortion of their general nature, does pinpoint a central feature of Lohorung culture, that is anger. What we shall show here is the important place that anger plays in Lohorung society and how it can be understood. 'Anger' is meaningless unless seen in its social context.

THE CONCEPTS

The Lohorung concepts which seem to fall under our notion 'anger' can be divided into two categories. In the first place there are those concepts which describe sudden eruptions and changes in mood

- what we might call the 'anger' of frustration or irritability . This is exemplified by what the Lohorung describe as children literally 'going sour', *sinti'kheme*, moods which in their severe form we describe as temper tantrums. The Lohorung verb seems particularly apt to describe the change of mood that occurs when the internal fermentation (or frustration as we see it) becomes too potent for the child to bear. One description of *sinti' kheme* went as follows:

"when children want to go to a place a bit far away but they don't manage to reach it they 'become frustrated' (*sinti khemi*); if they cannot have more good things to eat and drink they 'become frustrated'; when they're a bit older and if they don't get to wear nice clothes, or nice bracelets, nose rings or gold jewellery they 'get angry with frustration'".

This mood of frustration, referred to earlier in the thesis, is theoretically applied only to children but I have heard it used about women as well. Though, the 'anger' of the ancestors is conceived as being like the 'frustrated anger' or 'temper tantrums' of children, the Lohorung never talk about the ancestors 'going sour'. The verb applied to ancestors, which can also be applied to the 'anger' of children, is *yik'bok'kheme*. When it is applied to ancestors it means that the ancestors' anger has become severe; they are not being offered what they want and are now 'angry with frustration'. But, however much they are offered they continue to see it as unsatisfactory, just like children whose frustration has gone too far. Since the mood requires a great deal of food to counteract it, perhaps it is not pure chance that the verb can include the belly 'bok'. *Yikti'kheda* and *yikbok'kheda* are interchangeable. 'Yik'kheda', the past of the verb, has the

meaning 'very very unhappy' or 'worn away with use'; it would make sense that this anger is metaphorically associated with the belly and with being very unhappy or overstretched.

The second category of concepts, which fall under our notion 'anger', differ from the first in that they rely on the presence of *niwa* (mind) in a person for their emergence. Our notions of consciousness, will, conscious desire, determination and sensibility are all included in the complex meaning of *niwa* and the adult forms of Lohorung 'anger'. In a child *niwa* has not yet developed and their emotional outbursts are seen as being undirected and totally spontaneous. In the ancestors internal desires are said to predominate and their "social *niwa*" often forgotten. The Lohorung understand the concept *sirda yakcha'bokme* or simply *yak'chame* to express the same experience as the Nepali *risaunu*, which Turner defines as 'to be angry' (1931:538).

If we look at the concept in use it includes what we would call 'justifiable anger'. For example, asked about the occasions when people experienced *sirda yakcha'bokme* children of ages varying from six to fourteen years old suggested the following kinds of situations: (in each case I have glossed the term using 'angry' to show how it seems to 'fit' the semantic field of *sirda yakcha'bokme*):

-when you haven't done good work parents 'get angry'; they waive a stick at you like they want to hit you; people's faces go red if you don't do work well and they 'get angry'.
-When you do something wrong, others 'get angry', like if the rice isn't ready when they come home from working. If I go to fetch water and break the pot, then my parents 'get angry'. In the

evening when they come home from the field and find you've done something wrong or stupid they 'get angry'. If somebody killed someone else's dog or pig the owner would 'get angry'.

-If I don't do as I am told my mother 'gets angry'.

-When a cow or pig goes into a field and starts to eat your crops, then you 'get angry'.

-If one person hits another person and shouts at them then the other person 'gets angry'. If my brother hits me then I 'get angry'. People who hit each other 'are angry'.

-When people shout and fight and quarrel they 'are angry'.

-If you get too big-headed other people 'get angry'.

-When people are drunk they easily 'get angry'. They have different *niwa* (mind); if you don't know someone is drunk and they do something wrong, then you 'get angry' and the drunk person acts even more 'angrily'.

Many of these examples emphasise the moral 'ought' role of *yak'chame* and in this sense 'justifiable anger' is within the semantic range of the concept. It expresses what people feel when someone has done something wrong; it makes people want to punish someone else either physically or verbally, and facially it has the same reddening effect as does 'anger' for many of us. Hitting in Lohorung society has a significance as a form of punishment, as an expression of anger when something wrong has been done: it is acceptable for parents to hit their children. On the other hand, there is a negative side to hitting; for children to hit their elders is traditionally 'wrong' (*phenni*), to hit one's sister would also be 'wrong' and physical violence between men of one's own tribe is acceptable only under exceptional circumstances. Both justified and unjustified aggression are implied in the examples, and it is unjustified aggression, "when people shout and fight and quarrel" or "when people are drunk" which indicates the other semantic slant to *sirda yakcha'bokme*. The concept, thus, also conveys our understanding of 'uncontrolled anger, rage, fury'.

The concept *siri khangme* conveys the same kind of uncontrollable anger or rage as does *sirda yacha'bokme* but without any positive component. We might simply want to gloss it as 'rage'. "The elders always say, 'rage never does any good to anyone or anything. See that it does not happen.'" ("*Siri mangpiso kam lagalinie*", *kakmi pasingchi*, "*siri akhangmume*" *kakmi*.) It is sometimes said to be a rage born of jealousy or envy (*siri ledhangme*), and can be applied to the ancestors. *Chawatangma*, for example, is sometimes said to be in a rage, *siri tangpa'le*, and she makes someones eyes, nose, throat, stomach and limbs hurt.

Som khepok, literally 'heart erupts', describes an 'anger' similar to the 'rage' of the previous two concepts. However, it tends to be used with people who are always getting into rages as part of their personality. And there is a special noun to describe them - *som khewa*. The person always "has a desire to fight for self or others." This is said to be a feeling one naturally has as one grows up. As *niwa* develops so too people develop this rage. But adults should be able to control it. The following is how someone described to me this rage when not controlled:

"Today he was 'angry' (*yakcha'bokdu*) and he didn't speak; his work didn't go well and so he was 'angry' (*yakch'bokdu*); yesterday he was very 'angry' (*saroyakcha'bokdu*) with me. He asked me to come over to give me something, and what did he give me? -it's not right- as the conversation went on it was clear he was just very angry with me. Those people whatever you give them, do for them, it always ends in 'anger'/'rage' (*som khepok*). As soon as they are told to work, and if they don't feel like it, they immediately get into a rage (*som khepokheki*). Also if something doesn't work and they are told off or told it hasn't been done well, they fly into a rage (*som khempokheki*). If something goes wrong with the ploughing they get angry (*yakchama luk*) and they start to hit the oxen. At home if the work hasn't been done well they fly into a rage (*som khepok*) and they are the ones who start the shouting and

the quarrelling begins. Today, they say 'let's do this amount of work' but then whether they are prevented from going or whether they actually go and do it they always end up in a rage (*som khepok*). Whatever you give them to eat or drink they are angry (*som khepok*); if the children don't listen to them they get angry (*yakchama luk*)".

As we can see from the above the verb *yakcha'bokme* is interchanged with that of *som kheme*. In the instances where the former is used, however, there is more justification or moderation involved than in the latter.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I shall refer to 'anger' instead of the Lohorung concept of *sirda yakcha'bokme*, 'rage' instead of *som kheme* or *siri khangme* and 'tantrum' instead of *yikbok'kheme* and *sinti'kheme*.

THE 'ANGER' AND 'TANTRUMS' OF THE ANCESTORS

Every Lohorung knows about the sudden anger of the *sammang* ancestors. The logic of their anger and tantrums provides the Lohorung with a natural philosophy that explains all kinds of misfortune and sickness such as loss of appetite, acute pain in the 'heart, liver, kidney' (*lungma*) area, headaches, earaches, sweating, stomach aches, limb and chest aches, difficulty with breathing, shaking, cramp, sudden blindness or deafness, boils, paralysis, severe burns, or sudden blood from the nose or mouth. If someone suddenly runs off into the jungle, jumps into the river, or falls off a precipice, the house ancestor *khimpie sammang* must be angry. If someone burns themselves or their house burns down *khimpie* is angry. If someone becomes 'mad', that is their *niwa* stops working properly, if they act in an anti-social manner, or if someone suddenly cannot speak it could be *khimpie* or the mischievous forest ancestor *chawatangma* who is angry. If someone feels giddy it is the anger of *chawatangma*. If the crops are not plentiful it could be that the *pappamammachi* are angry, or it could be that someone has promised *chawatangma* extra offerings and she is angry because they have failed to do so. As we have seen in chapter two the Lohorung spend much time and energy placating the endless anger of the ancestors.

The logic of this anger makes more sense if it is remembered that the relationship between humans and ancestors or ancestral spirits is based on trust. The relationship is reciprocal. As explained earlier, the humans live in and look after the world created by

their common ancestors and guarded over by subsequent ancestors who still regard it as largely belonging to them. There is, for example, an expectation and a trust that the living will look after it in the traditional way, that they will look after those who can no longer enjoy its produce by making the requisite offerings and will refrain from transgression of behaviour, such as incorrect kinship behaviour. Reciprocally, the living expect protection from outside superhuman forces, and trust the *sammang* to respond when favours are requested and the appropriate offerings made. They expect to be able to negotiate with their ancestors, and communicate, though with difficulty, through their priests and shamans. The expectations of each are based on the experience of generations. If a particular ancestor feels let down he expresses his anger by afflicting the humans with pain or misfortune until the humans have shown their reliability again with offerings. The living, therefore, look carefully for any incident which might have offended an ancestor and provoked his or her anger. If the humans feel let down they do not feel anger but they look once again to themselves and their actions to see what they might have done wrong. The ancestors are in control and never wrong; it is the humans who are fallible, especially since they live in a world which includes non-Lohorung, full of modern attractions competing with the traditions of the ancestors.

Further reasoning behind the anger and tantrums of the ancestors lies in their particular temperaments and in the Lohorung understanding of anger. In general the *sammang* ancestors are

touchy beings many of whom have suffered unnatural, painful deaths and therefore need special attentiveness to keep them content. Their tendency to ill-humour is easily ignited by an offence, neglect or jealousy. Their ill-humour is also perceived as being related to their appetite, whether for food, attention, or obedience and indeed in almost all contexts the Lohorung may talk about the anger and the hunger of the ancestors interchangeably, as equivalent notions. When someone is ill people say "X *sammang* ancestor is angry" or they may equally well say "X *sammang* ancestor is hungry" (for example *chawatangma sagesi'boka*). This makes sense when we realise that for the Lohorung the mind is firstly physical, and mental states, such as anger, have their physical manifestations. Hunger of the ancestors, their strong physical desire for something, is understood as the physical aspect of their anger and their anger is associated with the mental aspect of their hunger. It also makes sense, therefore, that both their minds and their bodies must be satisfied before they can be pacified and that the only way they can be satisfied is with offerings of particular kinds of food and talk from the priest who offers words of reassurance.

The Lohorung notion of satiety is *sapthame* which they say means 'to have enough of what you want', that is, to have enough food and drink and clothes. When someone has had enough food or drink and they are offered more they say "*sabu, sabu*". Nevertheless, they will then be pressed to have more; the way that they say "*sabu, sabu*" and whether it is accompanied by a gesture of the

hand covering the cup or plate usually conveys whether they have really had enough; if not, then the phrase "*chaibano, sapthanga eremo*" ("truly, I have really had enough") conveys that they are really satisfied. The term is connected to having enough food and drink and sometimes clothes though for the Lohorung (as indeed for us) it is only with food and drink that one becomes fully satisfied with no room for more. With clothes, as with money or material objects, someone may well not be satisfied with what is offered: appetites for these are harder to measure. Accordingly, when the Lohorung offer food and drink to their ancestors to appease their anger they have a measure of what is needed. Given the values of the Lohorung, they know they must offer meat and millet beer to satisfy, just as they would offer to a respected guest. Chicken meat may be enough, but as we have seen in chapter two the appetites of the ancestors differ so that the specific offerings made to each vary according to their particular likes and dislikes. Offering food and drink to pacify the anger of the ancestors makes sense for two reasons: first, the anger is closely linked to hunger and secondly, the kind of feasts offered are more likely to truly satisfy than any other kind of offering. When the normal offerings do not satisfy and pacify the ancestor and the pain or sickness continues, it is clear to the Lohorung that the anger has developed to a tantrum, the stage of the *yibok'kheda* anger (the anger of frustration) and they must be pampered with chickens and pigs to swing their mood. But just as children in a tantrum may not be satisfied with rice, sweet things or the breast so too the offerings to the ancestors may be a provocation to an

increased tantrum: both "know" with the kind of god-like intuition they both possess, just how much they can get, and if the offering is not adequate to the mood, it is rejected.

Thus, the anger and the offerings can only be understood if we conceive of the ancestral anger in very human terms, for though the *sammang* have left the world of the living in one sense, in Lohorung thought they still live much as humans do and though in a different zone they are still interlinked with them in unified cosmos. The anger of the ancestors is the indication that something has to be repaired in the system of trust between living and non-living. We shall now consider living human anger, which is best understood in light of what we have now understood about the ancestor's anger.

THE ANGER OF HUMAN BEINGS

From what we have seen already, anger is part of the Lohorung way of life. It is part of the ancestral background, the *pe-lam* or *mundum*, which is the skeleton articulating their society. Their neighbours and 'brothers' the Limbu conceive of it as having life as a spirit. One of their *mundum* contains as Chemjong tells us,

"the stories of creation of the universe, the beginning of mankind, the cause and effect of their sin, the creation of evil spirits such as the evil spirits of Envy, Jealousy and Anger and the cause and effect of death in childhood" (1967:21),

and later he explains how the sinful souls of the dead trouble the living after their accidental deaths and that the evil spirit of envy, jealousy and anger is called 'Nahen'. (ibid:25)

The Lohorung too often explain someone's inexplicable, exaggerated anger as being caused by the mischievous spirit of someone who has died by accident, or as the mischievous act of the ancestor *chawatangma* but they have no specific name for a spirit provoking anger. As part of the life of the ancestors as well as their own, however, the Lohorung take anger for granted. They also recognise its positive role in their lives which they learn from their ancestors and the rules about its expression which they have inherited.

The rules about the expression of anger largely have to do with the attitudes of respect expected between certain categories of kin, such as respect to one's father and mother once one has separated. These attitudes are traditional and are changed, for

example, when someone marries in a rite called *saino pheraleme N*. Many of the explanations for these attitudes refer to the myths in the *pe-lam*. For example, when a man marries the brothers must never be angry with his wife. "They must think of her like a sister; she is a girl and because she comes to be a wife to me she is *Tawama Khewama*. After she has come my brothers must be good to her - no anger. Although she comes from another clan she is now ours and to be angry with her is *phenni* ('wrong')." *Tawama Khewama*, it may be remembered, were *Khakchrukpa*'s elder sisters. They 'come' (*ta'me*) to the clan of their husbands and leave their natal home 'go' (*khe'me*) from the natal home. After every marriage the women who have been cooks throughout the ceremony on the groom's side bang their pots and pans and sing:

Oh, *Tawama Khewama* has come! Today oh pillars of the house, oh, beams of the house, front door of the house, and side door of the house, oh, three hearth stones, the *Tawama Khewama* of the *lamawa* spring clans has come! (see Appendix 4 for Lohorung text).

In practice, brothers are indeed rarely angry with their sisters-in-law, in part for fear of her brothers' aggressively protective attitudes. If she were treated unjustly or with anger they would have to contend with her brothers.

As the traditional rules go, brothers become 'very angry' (*saro sirda yakcha'bokmi*) with those who offend or hurt their sisters. And Lohorung say they used to be more angry and especially fight far more often than they do now. For example, one man told me:

"In the old days, young boys especially were angry (*sirda yachabokhe*) and fought with each other. What used to happen - if another young boy made a promised meeting with one's own sister then you of course became angry: "why have you made a meeting with my sister?" and they would start to hit the other boy. "What! Is

it forbidden (*phenni*) for your sister to talk to me?" they used to say and then they would start wrestling and fighting. Now they don't do it so much. Some people do still do like that: it's the tradition and brothers should do that for their sisters".

In the traditional marriage talk, the old men from the girl's side ask the groom's father if they will pick a fight and similarly the groom's side invite the girl's side to eat and drink and not to pick a fight.

There are traditional expectations concerning the suppression as well as the expression of anger. By the age of about ten, Lohorung children as we have seen in chapter five, are expected to have enough *niwa* to control some of their emotions. Demonstrations of extreme rage are no longer excusable. By this age they should have enough *niwa* inside the stomach to control the stomach anger; words of reason should make sense and an adult form of anger, one that "comes with" *niwa* should emerge, either the one located in the heart *som khepok* or the one of words, that of the mouth, *sirda yacha' bok*.

The adult form of anger, controlled by reason (*niwa*), is more directed and calculated than the diffuse anger of children. It is often expressed by "telling off, commanding" (*losikme*), by "beating, hitting" (*rokme*), or by "the desire to fight, pick a quarrel, or argue" (*hibakme* or *hime yoguk*) with those who offend or provoke. The number of words for expressing anger are indicative of the ways in which adult anger is expressed: *hekme* to cut, *semchame* to tease, mock, scorn, drag someone's name in the

mud, *seechame*, to insult behind their back, *chungme* or *chungbungme* to wrestle, *nakme* to scratch, *kime*, to kick, *bokme* to cut, *dupme* to hit with fist, *rukme* to punch, *pektangme* to smack with stick, *phektangme* to smack with hand, *boktangme* to cut, *duplangpime*, to hit and wound. This anger is often specified in terms of interpersonal relations with others, and is talked about in terms of its social manifestations. Nevertheless, this anger has its rules because all behaviour in the ideal adult is bound to *niwa* and therefore must be controllable, unless that person is possessed by some ancestor or evil spirit. Some anger, say the Lohorong, can simply be controlled by exercising the muscles in the nape of the neck. In other situations such as when two friends, each with one ox, agreed to plough together, and one of them did not turn up, the expression of anger by loudly insulting the man behind his back (*seechame*) is considered justified. A man who is angry with his wife may express it by "going to fetch water" (*yowa lakhuba pikheda*), that is, by performing any activity rarely allocated to men, so that the "anger" is known to the whole community. A woman may best express it by "refusing to make beer" (*dibu e'pikhuba*) for her husband, an activity forbidden to men, thereby forcing him to go to other houses to quench his thirst and letting her anger be known "socially". Provoking the anger of the suitor of one's sister draws the attention of the community to the relationship and discourages flippant flirting. By means of these deliberately "social" expressions of anger, the community can also maintain some control and may even interfere. It is *niwa* which enables these techniques for expressing anger. It is also

supposed to know when anger can be given full vent. Until recent Nepal government laws were introduced, a Lohorung cuckold, for example, who sought to kill the lover of his wife was not considered "mad" or out of control of his *niwa*. On the contrary, he would have been expressing a traditional Lohorung right.

On market days or days of cooperative harvesting, for example, when considerable quantities of local beer are consumed and there is much merrymaking tempers too are often aroused, conflicts surface and insults begin, "you asshole! (lit.anus)" said Tara Lal to his eldest son, in an argument about the timing of the harvest. The following description is from my diary:

"You know nothing" said the son. "You ass trying to teach your father. You know everything and would have done it a long time ago I suppose!" shouted the father. And so they went on quarrelling. "Lo! Enough! Okay from now on you can do everything" said the father. "And so I shall!". After the pause for some beer and a snack, the eldest son turned to do the work of bundling the straw. He climbed onto the high platform for storing the hay. Then Tara Lal started to give away the hay, selling it to whoever would have it. "Rather than store this, better to die" he shouted out. "It's only the rice, so what!" shouted the son. "I'm going to sell the land too" retorted Tara Lal aiming a stone missile at his son on the platform. And it hit. He climbed up onto the platform and they began fighting. Only then did the others interfere. They separated them and some took the father back to his house. Then Jetha (the eldest son) spoke. "How much do I have to listen quietly to his noise (*chen chen khemdhangme*)? My father has really given me great pain, much anguish. Up until now I have never had any help. I feel as if I don't know anything: everything I do is wrong, in our fields, at home, eating, going to meet people. Today it went badly wrong. I feel bad that I did it. But he also can hit mother. When he has drunk something he gets so angry (*yakchabokheku*) he hits even her...". Each side was listened to. They commiserated with the son about the difficulty of his father but he was told he must obey his father. The display of anger on such public occasions is not, however, coincidental or merely alcohol induced for the "social" expression of anger is acceptable and even encouraged".

Tara Lal and his son kept to the rules by making their conflict public, manifesting their anger by picking a heated and dramatic fight (*hime yoguku*) at harvest time. They dealt with anger in an open way which the Lohorung consider better than the silent warfare type: "those that have *niwa* words get angry outside, those with no words to be angry stay silent and remain angry and it gets bigger. No-one can help". In their case, the community was able to maintain some control and give what we would call therapeutic advice. We can see here the positive aspects of anger as controlled or guided by the rules. If people break the rules, however, anger can be dangerous, as the Lohorung have learnt from their ancestors.

Before looking at the dangerous aspects of anger, it should be said that although rules are recognised and although *niwa* is supposed to be in control, individual differences in the way that anger is expressed are accepted as being a reflection on the different types of *niwa* that exist, or as we might say they accept that different people use different strategies to deal with anger. In general, a person who refuses to speak at all when angry is seen as holding onto their anger so that it lasts longer, whilst a person who explodes in quick angry bursts and then returns to normal is considered to be someone who can overcome their anger quickly: "*ichok sirda yacha'boka, chitto siri makhe*" (if they can be angry for a moment, then quickly the anger dies). However, some people, they say, are just full of jealousy as well as anger and then being angry for a moment could never be enough:

"Like if a woman gets pregnant her relatives will quickly force her to go to the man's house and settle as the *kanchi* (younger) wife. The situation usually gets very tense with the eldest wife doing her best to get rid of the younger, by physically hurting her, pulling her hair or whatever. Hem's uncle's wife she was very angry and jealous; she shouted and pulled the younger wife's hair whenever she could. She was so angry she used words to turn her husband and the village against *kanchi*. At first, he was on *kanchi's* side. She needled (*ngnenuk*) him. She worked on his trust/belief (*niwa chume*) until he too went into a rage (*som kkepok*) with *kanchi*. Just as if I went on telling you bad things about Anumpa (my assistant), how he was worthless and what bad things he said about you, you would not want to work with him. She did that to her husband. And he then began to hate (*sichoku*) *kanchi*. They were both violent with her; they hit her arms and face. *JeThi* (elder) wife has her [powerfull] relatives in the village whereas *kanchi* had no brothers to be angry for her. In the end he had to build her a separate house and give her some fields. The two families are still angry. They do not talk to each other."

Other types of *niwa* express anger in different ways. Some say when they're angry they just want to hit something and then it goes, whereas some just laugh if they're angry, and the more they laugh the more angry they are. "There's one in Heluwa village like that. She has a soft voice but inside she's so angry and nobody realises at first. Downstairs she's laughing but in the attic she beats the children". Some people show their anger by sleeping and avoiding their work, so everyone gets to know about it. Some people complain loudly especially if work has not been done:

"Ganesh and the others do no work: they go out to cut grass and return with enough to feed a pigeon not the buffalo. We might as well sell the buffaloes. And the grass is suffocating the millet it is so long. How can the millet grow if you boys do not cut the grass."

The variety of expression, or strategies, is captured by the following man's view of couples who get angry with each other:

"Husband and wife tend to turn their backs on each other, some reduce each other to tears, some people weep, some become 'mouth narcissists' *yaba choekma*, some people walk out, some close their ears, some feign innocence with a look of 'what have I done?', some just don't talk, some people look as if their eyes get really big, some get tiny eyes, some cry out scattering abuse like a

destructive person; some cry out 'arsehole!' to everyone; men sometimes throw things around and hit their wives, sleep and stop working and some stop going home and stop eating; women refuse to give food and drink; that's about it unless they go off to the Terai or Assam but if they go somewhere else then they always come back."

THE DANGER OF ANGER

For the Lohorung the fact that anger can be dangerous is clear from their experience of the anger of the ancestors. The impact of the ancestral anger is mainly felt through bodily symptoms. From the Lohorung point of view, the anger of living human beings can be as dangerous as that of the ancestors and its impact can be lethal.

Anger can kill because the vital aspect of a person known as *saya* is highly sensitive to expressions of anger in the form of insult or harsh words. A person's *saya* may fall if their mind (*niwa*) has been hurt or insulted. Unless that person's *saya* can be raised by the local priest or shaman he or she will die. Thus, to be angry and to hurt someone else's *niwa* is one of the things that is classified as *phenni* even though as we have seen it is expected to happen: people say "*niwa tukmipe chuma phenni*" (to hurt someone's *niwa* is wrong). There is, however, an overtone in this, in the verb *chuma*, of 'to persist in hurting is wrong'. If the dispute is over and done with quickly and people make up, it is acceptable. If two people are fighting (angry with each other), someone else will say "don't be angry with each other, stop hurting each other's *niwa*; to do that is wrong, *saya* will fall, make it up!"

The danger lies in *saya*, the vulnerable aspect of man, his achilles heel, and the physical symptom of the hurt inner state, the hurt mind. Since the danger can be lessened if the mind no longer hurts, compensation is given to ease the hurt; thus, after a quarrel home-brewed spirits are always given as compensation. Even if the *saya* of individuals can be raised anger can leave long lasting rifts between families, as, for example, between the families of the older and younger wives of Hem's uncle.

Aware of its dangers, the Lohorung talk about being careful to avoid others' anger; for example, women explain the courtesy and hospitality given to guests partly in terms of compassion and partly in terms of avoiding their anger. Food satiates and alcohol pacifies; the Lohorung guest is given plenty of both. Not surprisingly, given the danger, there are half-beliefs about what will provoke anger; "you mustn't give a person either an egg or a chilli by handing it to them direct by hand or the two people will be angry with each other and fight. Instead, you must place it on the floor or on a dish". Anger figures in dreams too. If you dream of fire, anger will follow; if you see oxen fighting, you will have a quarrel over land; if you see an old woman and she's angry, we'll get sick, whereas if she's in good humour we'll be healthy. The Lohorung avoid the houses of those who are known to be excessively angry and jealous. Witches, *boksi*(N.) are said to be angry, jealous people who have either inherited the art of hurting others or who learn it. Though witches are never openly accused, it is general knowledge in villages who the *boksi* are and

people avoid them for fear of arousing their jealousy or anger. If their jealousy or anger is excited, they give poison, *nas* (N), which causes stomach aches and smarting eyes; then the nails fall off, teeth fall out, the skin goes yellow and the body dries out. Though a witch is considered to have put people in trouble, the Lohorung attitude is to react passively and without anger, for as with the ancestors, *boksi* cannot help causing the harm they do.

In contrast, anger that is consciously used wrongly or is uncontrolled may have serious consequences for the person concerned. For example, anger that results in kicking or hitting or treating badly mother, sister, or daughter or a cow is considered to be a 'sin' *hiwa* in Lohorung, *pap* in Nepali. The influence of Hinduism is strong here. However, the Lohorung do say when someone has become lame, or a limb stiffens, that some close relative must have hit their mother and that mother is taking her revenge (*umam papolagaliki*). Such reasoning is used to explain why certain clans such as Dekhim and Yangkhung are no longer wealthy. It is said that either limbs stiffen, wounds develop, or people in the clan die young. The revenge occurs almost always two or three generations later.

Summarising the main features of anger we have seen that the Lohorung understanding of this emotion is intimately bound up with their experience of the ancestors. It embraces a system of values dominated by the ancestors, the *pe-lam* and *saya*. From what has been described, however, we can see that anger and its outward

manifestations are for the Lohorung in some ways desirable, in so far as it provides opportunity for social control and education. Anger is also seen as inevitable in part, because the Lohorung recognise a motivation in human anger as well as in ancestral anger, for example, in the way that boys become angry for their sisters or in the story about the two wives.

As a human emotion, anger is not considered to be something that must always be suppressed, nor something to be expressed in whatever way one feels like. The strong sense of justice and morality which acts to maintain the ideal cooperative and egalitarian nature of their society goes along with a ready anger to guard and enforce it. If someone is not cooperative and socially minded, for example, they will encounter the anger of those older than themselves. The adult form of anger is often socially desirable. Just as the ancestors are regarded as watching over the values, behaviour and manners of those who perpetuate the society they originally created, and become angry with those who flout the rules, so too do living adults watch out for right and wrong behaviour and express their legitimate anger. Moreover, anger makes public the conflicts that may be related to one or a few households but which are inevitably relevant to the community as a whole. In general the Lohorung are good-natured and tolerant; anger has its place and its rules.

Fear

The word *kisime* which I glossed as 'fear' occurred daily in Lohorung conversation. The word was used in a kind of dyadic relationship with anger, to describe their feelings toward someone who is angry; it is an emotion term which was used to describe attitudes towards ancestors, elders, parents, and as a response to illness or troubles. The emotion term, however, needs to be understood in its varying contexts so that its meanings of 'respect', and 'feel in awe of' emerge as fully as that of 'fear'. Moreover, as might be expected there is no one noun in the Lohorung language to describe what we collectively classify as 'fear'. Instead, they use several verbs to describe the kinds of fear that need to be differentiated one from another.

The verbs *yangsime* and *nisasilime* cover very specific situations. *Yangsime* is used to describe what someone feels when confronted by a precipice, a sharp cliff, a narrow path looking down into a deep valley below, or the sensations of the *rotiping* - a wooden version of a small fairground big-wheel, put up locally all over Nepal on certain national holidays. As I watched the seats whirl around several of my companions explained their look of horror when I suggested a ride. "*yangsima'lu*" (you feel yangsime), they said, "*abui! saro lungma tuk tuk khe*" (oh! no. it makes the heart/liver go 'tuk tuk') and some thumped on their chests with a clenched fist. *Yangsime* seemed to produce the main symptom of a thumping heart, and was sometimes accompanied by dizziness, feeling faint, or feeling hot and cold. But the word cannot be translated as

'vertigo', as might be indicated by these situations and symptoms, since it is also used to refer to experiences of extreme cold. For the Lohorung, however, extreme cold is generally experienced in higher altitudes, where indeed the symptom of a thumping heart is common as it is with fear. Thus, *yangsime* seemed to have three components: being high up, and being cold, and having a thumping heart. The Lohorung do not have much experience of extreme cold or very high altitude, since they mostly live in the middle hills of Nepal in a relatively mild climate. On journeys, however, or when shepherding the sheep and goats on the upper pasture-land they do face bitter cold, snow, ice and wind as well as the narrow paths, sheer cliffs, deep valleys and dizzy heights. It is with this environment that the *yangsime* fear is associated. *Yangsime* expresses fear that is immediately felt physically; the fear that starts what the Lohorung call the *lungma*, the liver/heart thumping.

The verb *nisasilime* is like *yangsime* but refers to the feeling that is experienced when water is involved, such as when crossing deep rivers. I first encountered the word as part of the explanation for why the Lohorung do not marry those Rai who live to the West of the swirling waters of the river Arun, a river which is crossed by what is called a 'twin'. This is a bamboo basket tied to a steel cable, securely attached to both sides of the river. A person sits in the basket and races to the centre of the rope with the force of his own weight, and then has to pull himself and the basket to the other side. Since the Lohorung do

not swim and since the spirits of those people who regularly drown in these rivers haunt them, it is not surprising that these large rivers present a formidable problem for them. The 'river spirits', *hongma chap*, make the body shiver and cold if they attack. These spirits are yet another reason for *nisasilime* - a word we can perhaps gloss as 'fearing the water'.

Turning now to the more general term *kisime*, the situations which provoke this emotion cluster around the following:

- at night.
- when alone.
- in the forest.
- when far away from home.
- when someone has died and the rites for the dead have not yet been performed.
- when confronted by leopards, bears, monkeys.
- when surprised by water buffalo, sheep or jackals at night
- when seeing somebody like an elder brother, in the company of elders.
- when work has not been done well and you have to face father.
- when people are fighting and quarreling.
- when a dog gets angry and goes mad
- when someone comes home from market drunk and acts like a madman (*ngaksubang*), or drunk and acts as if they might hit you.
- when passing the house of a witch (*boksi*)
- after certain dreams which indicate someone in the family will die.
- when the crops have been planted and still the rains don't come.
- a little bit when *apa*, father, comes from work.
- in many rituals concerning the ancestors.
- in marriage talks we must *kisime*.
- also when we go to our in-laws.
- when you first see the man you are going to marry.

From situations such as those just mentioned above, it is clear that *kisime* has a range of reference which covers our notions of 'awe', 'panic' or 'terror' 'fear' and 'respect'. It could also be said that the Lohorung conception of 'respect' incorporates more 'fear' than ours does. When the Lohorung talk of situations in

which *kisime* comes close to our 'respect', such as visiting in-laws, there is an element of dread as well as esteem. The Lohorung talk of 'having to *kisime*', *kisimale*, (gloss 'having to respect') when in the presence of in-laws, but they also talk of 'how severely they feel *kisime*' *saro kisimalu*, (gloss 'how intensely I feel fear') after someone has died or when with in-laws, so much so that most men go out of their way to avoid meetings. The *kisime* women talk about feeling for their husbands has a strong sense of 'fear' in the first few years and it then becomes closer to our 'respect' as the couple grow older. This initial emotion, close to our 'fear', is expressed in the intransitive form of the verb *kisime*. The later 'respect' meaning is expressed in the imperative form of the verb. The semantic range seems valid since the Lohorung consider some situations should be avoided if at all possible, because they might even encourage the *lawa* of a person to leave. After death when new *chap*, 'spirits of the dead', join others to eat and drink and are called to the house, the Lohorung say:

"we should be quiet and musn't be frightened or we ourselves will die. If someone calls you in the night at this time you mustn't answer: it is very frightening (*saro kisimalu*) but if you show your fear you will die".

The risk is that the person might be 'startled', so that is that the person's *lawa*, 'soul', will be frightened and may leave their body causing death unless the local priest can find it and return it. By contrast, *kisime* is socially required in other situations; either the person should *kisime* or *niwa* (gloss 'mind') should *kisime*.

Without appreciating the 'respect' aspect of the verb *kisime* one might have concluded that *kisime* was a physiological term, and that, for example, the Lohorung felt considerable physiological fear for their elders and ancestors. It became clear, however, that the term also referred to a mental state that should accompany certain contexts. In such contexts *kisime* is often linked to the influence of *niwa* (gloss 'mind'). In so far as *niwa* involves the development of sensibility, knowing the correct feelings for people and when they may be expressed, it is intimately bound up with this aspect of *kisime*. The Lohorung often talk of *niwa kisik* meaning the 'awe' or 'respect' due to elders and ancestors. They may make statements like, "Everybody fears their father-in-law; nobody dares to disobey him. They get what they want". It would be misleading, however, to say that the Lohorung go constantly in 'fear' of their elders, ancestors and the recently dead. Yet at times they clearly do 'fear' them, in ways that were surprising to me at first. On many occasions I was taken aback by the behaviour of the Lohorung, behaviour which was eventually explained in terms of their fear of the spiritual and ancestral world. I soon learned that no-one goes out and about alone anywhere near the outskirts of the village after dark when the spiritual world is especially active, and most people avoid it altogether. On one occasion I had to go with Nanda to the other end of the village at night:

"Nanda had to go urgently up to the blind man's house which is on the outskirts of the upper part of the village on the far side of a small wood. She needed someone to go with her; women never walk alone outside of the village and particularly not at night. I thought her fear was to do with fear of the dark. As we climbed our way up through the village I realised her fear had more to do

with the spirits of the dead. She picked some *tittepatti* leaves and tucked them under her long cloth cummerbund. She told me to tuck some under my belt. We had to pass the ridge where some of the dead are buried and she grasped my hand. She pointed out the place where Chok Sing's grandmother had been buried but clearly wanted to hurry away. The 'spirit' of Chok Sing's grandmother had been tormenting the family with cramps and stomach aches, even though they thought they had given her drowned body a good burial. On the *mangpa*, shaman's, advice a few weeks ago they dug up her grave on the ridge. Everything had rotted away except for one shin bone. They threw that bone in the river Arun and so far there have been no more aches. Nanda didn't want to talk about it. She dipped her finger into the pot of beer we had taken with us and flicked some drops in all directions and said "*khema-yo, kisimalu*" ("come on, let's go, it's frightening")."

From this it would be misleading to imply that the Lohorung have a psychic disposition similar to that of the Tibetans characterised by Tucci as being in "a permanent state of anxious uneasiness" (1980:173). "Every physical or spiritual disturbance", he explains, "each illness, every uncertain or threatening situation leads him to embark upon a feverish search for the cause of the event and the appropriate means to ward it off" (ibid:173).

Lohorung fear is more occasion-bound and their disposition more relaxed. The Lohorung are afraid at times of illness, the dark, death and the most unpredictable and uncontrollable elements of the superhuman world, yet I could never describe their search for causes as being 'feverish'. They readily consult their local priest or shaman and have great faith in their analyses and prognoses. If an illness is particularly intractable they also seek out *biyuwa* or *ajah*, the Nepali healers. The Lohorung talk about having less to fear than their other Nepali neighbours who have to contend with the anger of the Lohorung superhuman world, without the extra protection of *sammang* ancestors or officiants who know how to deal with them. They also have strategies for coping with fear and they may avoid especially threatening

situations by altering their plans. Like Nanda, for example, they perform actions, such as stuffing tittipatti into waistbands to ward off frightening spirits. If they have to walk at night outside of the village they carry flaming bamboo torches, which they say lights the way and keeps away the evil spirits of the dead. Women are almost always in groups if out late and they invariably make a lot of noise singing, laughing and shouting to each other. "If we sing and laugh, a little bit we do not fear". Very often, of course, the Lohorung are in situations where they cannot sing and shout. They cannot do this, for example, in the frightening moments in *nuagi* or "when someone calls out to you in the night and you mustn't answer: if you answer you may die". Some frightening situations are also too protracted for such measures. After the death of someone in the village, the spirit of the person, *chap*, is allowed to roam freely for two nights before it is attracted once more to the house with offerings, and then given entreaties to leave forever and find peace with the other well integrated dead. Children are so afraid during this period that many of them refuse to sleep for fear of the spirit of the dead person. Moreover, none of the children and many adults refuse to go out in the dark alone, even within the village. Every cry of a jackal, every stone which trips them or the creak of a wooden post, any unexpected sound is the dead person's *chap*.

These frightening invasions into everyday life are hard for many of us to imagine. Nevertheless, I did not receive the impression that the Lohorung were in constant fear. We have to remember that,

as we saw in chapter four, there is trust in the relationship with ancestors as well as fear, and as we can see from the contexts of what they say and their behaviour there is also considerable respect.

The Lohorung Concept *ngesime*

The Lohorung concept of *kisime* can be glossed as 'fear' and also as 'respect tinged with fear'. Here, we shall see how it has a 'family resemblance' to the emotion, *ngesime*, a verb with a meaning much like our 'sense of shame', which the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines as "feeling of humiliation excited by consciousness of guilt or shortcoming, of having made oneself or been made ridiculous, or of having offended against propriety, modesty or decency". It is close too to 'being shamefaced' or 'feeling shy or embarrassed'. There is a strong social expectation of *ngesime* and *kisime* in certain circumstances that induces respect and culturally acceptable behaviour. The concepts are both expressions of the Lohorung philosophy of life which is characterised by the domination of the ancestors, *pe-lam*, and *saya*.

Ngesime, in one sense, is a less severe form of *kisime*: both express the Lohorung principle that in relationships age deserves respect and deference. So, for example, one feels *kisime* (respect tinged with awe) in the presence of a Father's elder brother but *ngesime* (shy, modest respect) with a wife's brother and a husband's mother. Nanda, for example, when talking about her life history talks of the arrival of her husband's marriage "party" and the gathering of relatives who arrived all at once. She expressed confusion about what emotion she was feeling in the face of these relatives, "Was I afraid (*kisingnge*) or was I feeling shy (*ngesingnge*)? I don't know. I felt afraid and then shy and then

afraid. In the end, I was crying. And they asked me if I was not ashamed (*ngesinanihe*) to cry." . The Lohorung recognise that the emotion *ngesime* is one which is innate and yet one which can and must also be developed for behaviour to be culturally acceptable.

To understand the meaning of *ngesime* let us look at some of the situations in which the word is used. A person is said to feel *ngesime*:

- with new people or people not seen for a long time.
- at Dasain (a festival), when you have to go to other people's houses I feel *ngesime*
- when you go to a home you don't know as a guest, especially if you have to eat something or do something.
- with some relatives, with father, with my uncle, with *dema* (FeB's W) and *sima* (FyB's W) you *ngesime* a bit. *With wife's brothers you feel ngesime.*
- when you arrive home at the same time as your husband.
- if you are wearing old and ragged clothes and you meet someone from another village people feel *ngesime*.
- when somebody goes to shit or piss and someone sees them they both feel *ngesime*
- if you see shit on the path you feel *ngesime* because you don't know where to look.
- if someone sees you naked.
- if you don't work properly and people tell you off you feel *ngesime with them.*
- *people who are no good, who have done wrong feel ngesime with those who are good, important.*
- if you steal and friends ask why you steal you feel *ngesime.*
- if others talk with knowledge and you have nothing to say, you feel stupid and you feel much *ngesime.*

From these situations, we can see that the meaning of *ngesime* is close to our 'shy', 'ashamed', 'sense of shame', 'sense of modesty', 'loss of face', 'embarrassment' although with one main difference - they treat impropriety as being as important as guilt. They also stress the awkwardness that goes with the emotion for us, reflected in gestures such as putting up the scarf to

hide part of one's face, looking at the ground, shuffling feet, hanging the head low, restless eyes and body, and not knowing where to look or what to do.

The following extract from one of my diaries helps to understand the prescribed aspect of the emotion.

The mother of Laure *mangpa* (shaman) and her new daughter-in-law are quarrelling. It was not an arranged marriage: Laure used to meet her at the market in Khandbari on Saturdays. She is from Lapse. They used to stay out all night together and had a sexual relationship. Now she has come to Pangma to his home. But he has gone now to Daran (military camp) and will maybe go to India for two to three years. Mother and daughter-in-law have been quarrelling more and more. On Saturday the girl went to market and returned late to the house with her own mother. Mamma, her mother-in-law, had as usual prepared rice for only four people and by the time the daughter-in-law returned they had all eaten leaving only a little for her. When the girl and her mother arrived she told her mamma that a guest had arrived. When she found out there wasn't enough rice for her mother she was insolent, "What! You, you are worthless; aren't you ashamed (*ngesinanie?*) Here is a guest and there is no rice for her". The insolence irritated the old lady especially when the girl continued to show no respect. Her lack of respect and lack of shame (*ngesime*) was shown by the fact that she never offered to sweep if the older woman was sweeping, nor offered to carry water if the older woman started to go for water, and in general did as little work about the house as possible. Yesterday mamma was grinding maize. There was no offer of help from her daughter-in-law. Later on mamma returned to do some more grinding and the girl commented, "oh! there is some maize to grind is there!" and she sat and watched. Mamma, it is said, became like a ripe bean in the face and exploded, "You got your teeth into my son's shirt tails, you *mujinina!* ('woman who is sexually enjoyed':ie you took my son by sexual skill). You misled my son and cheated us. You are long in the tooth so you came on your own account. Now you do no work at all. You have no sense of shame, modesty (*ane ngesinanie?*).

This episode speaks for itself, but how should we understand the suggestion that one feels *ngesime* "with certain categories of kin" and "when you arrive home at the same time as your husband". In terms of classificatory relationships, there is a range of

expected attitudes or feelings stretching from 'fear' (*kisime*), and 'deference' (*ngesime*) at one end to 'teasing' and 'joking' (*sechame*) at the other. At the easy and relaxed end, men and women tease each other and joke about sex and excreta, sometimes mildly, sometimes in the most bawdy and provocative way. As the relationships move away from this pole such topics become watered down until they reach the other pole where any such topic would be forbidden and avoided at all costs and any mention or hint of sex or bodily functions would provoke *ngesime*, 'embarrassment' or 'sense of shame'. Guiding these attitudes are two principles - that age has a higher social position than youth and should therefore receive respect and deference; and secondly, that any woman who is a possible potential spouse can be teased and treated unceremoniously. We can see this clearly in the following, which gives examples of those females a man feels easy with and can tease and those with whom he feels *ngesime*.

The *ngesime* pole.

Sister, classificatory sisters

Wife's elder sister

Younger brother's wife

Mother's elder sisters

Father's elder brother's wife

Mother's elder brother's wife

Father's elder sisters

The Easy pole.

Brother's wife's sister

Sister's husband's sister

Wife's younger sister

elder brother's wife

Mother's younger sister

Father's y. brother's wife

Mother's youngr b. wife

Father's younger sisters

(For kinship chart and terminology, see Appendix 3).

A man especially feels *ngesime*, respectful restraint, deferential and polite with women older than his mother and father, who are all classified as *dema*, and with affines who are older and not potential wives. With his wife's elder sister, *nanama*, he must *ngesime*; she must have been married before her younger sister and thus belongs to another man's clan. A man's younger brother's wife is classified as being like a son's wife, *nammi*, or a brother's son's wife, also *nammi* and is thus sexually taboo and she like her husband's elder brother will *ngesime* when together. In contrast, a man has no restraints on his relationship with his wife's younger sister, *ngetengma*, a possible second wife, and can be sexually flirtatious with her. Indeed, with all affines in the same generation who are potential spouses there is a particularly easy relationship and the opposite of *ngesime* is almost expected. Both parties may be cheeky and joke without restraint.

The second incomprehensible case mentioned above is that of feeling *ngesime* "if you arrive at home at the same time as your husband". This makes sense if we understand the Lohorung's attitude to sex and relations between married couples. Young couples, who are unmarried, are free and easy. Though careful not to imply actual sexual relations, they freely refer to or imply sex quite openly in bawdy jokes and songs. However, once a couple has married and are actively involved in a sexual relationship, they begin to *ngesime* in relation with each other when alone and in the way they treat their spouse in the company of others. There is a general rule that any man or woman, boy or girl who is

involved in sexual relations must *ngesime*, (show modesty and shyness) in their relationship to the rest of society, and to each other. They should never flaunt their relationship. So, those newly married avoid each other in public, including within the home. They do not sit together. The aim is to make sure that they are not found out, exposed, in any position or proximity which might have sexual connotations. If they were found near each other or indeed found in the act they would 'feel very much shame, and shyness' , *saro ngesima lu*. It should be said, however, that any feelings of 'guilt' , married or not, would not be felt, for there is no moral disgrace in sexual relations whereas, for example, there is for stealing. Towards the end of my stay amongst the Lohorung on one of my trips to Kathmandu, a European couple hoped to meet me in the field and though I was not there stayed in my house for two or three nights. On my return to Pangma my next door neighbour asked me with some curiosity and disapproval about the couple, about the kind of people they were and whether they were in general 'worthless', (*phenni*), 'lacking in modesty' 'no shame' (*ngesikmini*). She joked and nudged; she was shy (*ngesima lusa*) about raising the topic. Clearly, she had been shocked by the behaviour of the couple. She talked quietly so others could not hear, and told me about the loudness and openness of their sexual behaviour and their lack of 'modesty' (*ngesime*) they showed in the way they related to each other in public. How could they be always entwined in each others bodies? Was this normal? Did they have no shame (*ngesime*)? Was this behaviour allowed in my country?

A non-verbal, concrete expression of *ngesime* is the Lohorung tradition of *huksok*. This is a kind of gift, given and repaid under social obligation, although apparently voluntarily. Leaf plates full of home-made chutney, some cooked meat or a rice dish and wooden containers full of home-brewed liquor are carried by married women whenever they go visiting, whether to see a sister or on a return visit to their natal home. Most commonly a woman's visits are to her natal home and the giving of it is said to be an indication of a girl and her husband's *ngesime* (modesty, and respect for the bride-givers), sharing some of what they, the bride receivers, have with the bride's natal family. Immoveable property, including crops, never leaves the patriline as gifts to wife-giving affines but consumables that have been cooked or prepared can be. In addition, women say that giving *huksok* is showing *ngesime* by recognising that their visits are a burden on the women they go to see. Out-married daughters must be treated as honoured guests and offered a meal of chicken-meat, liquor, and rice. By carrying *huksok*, consumables that women have to prepare, they relieve the hostess of some work. They themselves cannot eat what they bring; it would be shameful for a woman to drink or eat any of the *huksok* she brings. " *Hirum dungsi!*" ("Drinking with your arse!") cry the other women if it looks as if the gift bearer is bending to sip her own. To avoid embarrassment (*ngesime*) the woman is supposed to protest "No, no I will not drink, I will not drink, I might drink with my arse" (*dungani, dungani, hirum dungsi*), as she is offered some liquor.

If women arrived empty handed, people would say, "Why send her empty-handed? It seems this woman has no shame, look she has really come empty-handed!" or they would say, "walking about without a *huksok* gift: she has no nose and no shame" (2). When visiting her natal home a woman must carry enough for the main parental home and for the house of each brother who has split off. If a woman doesn't take to the brother's houses as well as to the parental house, the wives will comment: "*kho ngesini?*" ("has she no shame?").

Although it is incumbent on a woman to bring *huksok* when she visits, it would be shameful (*ngesima lu*) if the mother or father asked their daughter for substantial gifts say of money or rice - however rich her husband is. As wife-givers a woman's parents have the right to ask both their daughter and their son-in-law to work for them in the initial period of the marriage, but to ask them for money or rice would be seen as wrong and 'big-headed' or vain, inflating the imbalance in the relationship between the two families. When a woman asked her daughter from Gairi Pangma for rice, for example, people from her mother's village said they felt ashamed (*ngesima lusa*). One woman said, "That narcissistic woman, she takes away everything that is her own child's". ("um pasamim chopno sabitu"), has she no shame (*ngesini*), narcissistic woman?! We affines (in-laws) should be shy to go to our son-in-laws home". Since most marriages are within the locality and with clans that continue a pattern of exchanging women, it would also be counter productive for any one family to

over-play their advantage as a wife-giver: they are more likely to find a wife for their son if they too show modesty (*ngesime*). And to show their modesty, recipients of *huksak* gifts always offer some small gift of food or drink for the woman to carry back to her husband's home.

We can see how important it is that girls and boys learn to *ngesime*. In particular, the Lohorung say, girls must be taught to *ngesime* so that they obey and marry the boys they are told to marry. Boys are given more choice in part because it is their nature to *ngesime* less and to assert themselves more. Some children are recognised as being especially 'shy' by nature (they *ngesime* a lot) which is said to be the gods within them whilst some have almost none by nature and have to be encouraged and taught.

'Love' and 'happiness'

I have looked at some of the more fundamental elements of Lohorung emotion theory, such as their concepts of 'fear', 'anger', and *ngesime*. I look now briefly at how the Lohorung conceive of the emotions 'love' and 'happiness', concepts for which, at first, I thought the Lohorung had no direct equivalence. When given the Nepali terms *māyā* 'love', *khushi* 'happy' or 'happiness', and *bekhushi* 'sad' or 'sadness', my informants found it hard to find Lohorung parallels.

The Lohorung language has no abstract word for 'love' or the Nepali *māyā*. Only the Nepali word *māyā* can be used to describe 'romantic love' and the romantic form of marriage, 'love marriage', which is contrasted to the traditional form described as 'capturing by hand and foot' (*lang huk tukmale*). Yet, there are numerous examples to show that the Lohorung fully recognise the emotion *māyā* or 'romantic love': for example, in the way Nanda talked about her feelings for her husband's younger brother or Anu's love for a married man which led to her elopement and parental disfavour. Moreover, the Lohorung have ways in which they can express emotions similar to 'romantic love' such as, *ettano nen-chakung* 'I like very much', *namnam pisikung, mi-chakung*, 'all day long I want to give, I (lit.) eat the distance', 'I feel for him'. Often the emotion is expressed metaphorically, and includes images of 'heart hurting' or 'giving'. There is also an old word *lung-chame* meaning 'to like', the opposite of 'to dislike

something'. It has a modern equivalent, *nen-chame*, again meaning 'to like, enjoy something or someone', but it has no sexual or passionate connotations. The *lung* of the old word refers to the *lungma* 'heart and liver' (organs they do not separate in emotional terms) and which is still an organ conceived as being an organ affected by emotions, for example parents, when they lose a daughter in marriage, say they feel they are losing their 'heart and liver' and their *lungma* hurts.

The emotion expressed by *māyā* or 'love' has only recently been given emphasis. Within the Lohorung's own indigenous concepts all the terms near to our notion 'love' have components of 'compassion', 'pity', and 'affection' or nostalgia rather than the sexual attachment and passion that the terms 'love' and *māyā* evoke. For the Lohorung it is not 'romantic love' but 'compassion' and 'nostalgia' that are the important emotions. These are the emotions emphasised by their cultural institutions and everyday attitudes. Certainly the traditional lifestyle has little room for romantic love. Arranged marriages in which the couple barely know each other is the expected beginning of stable relationships between men and women. The prevalence of love marriages, *māyā biha*, is said to be new. The culture allows teasing, laughing and bawdy relations among the young which must always have produced couples who fell in 'love'. Such relationships, however, though accepted, are not viewed in a positive way. Traditionally a daughter must marry the husband chosen by her parents and she should stay with him. Officially, this is what parents still want

for their children. However, I have heard two fathers talk in favour of love marriage. They knew it was time their daughters married, but did not have what they considered to be a sufficient crop to support the correct kind of wedding. They talked as if they hoped their daughters would 'fall in love' and elope. After Anu's elopement too, some of the older women made no critical comments. My neighbour said, "Why so much fuss? Many people do it these days. If she does it herself, if it goes wrong she has only herself to blame"

Romantic love as we know it in the West goes along with overt physical contact, often flamboyant sexuality. In contrast, the Lohorung are traditionally restrained in their gestures. Lohorung adults do not kiss for example. Kissing is restricted to small pecks on the heads of children. This fits with what we have seen in the previous section about the modesty of sexual couples.

Traditionally, therefore, Lohorung culture emphasises that a woman should subdue feelings of romantic love: whereas 'sadness' (*som-chai-khenga*) is accepted as part of life's pain, (*dukha*), 'love', (*māyā*), is disruptive. Indeed, for the Lohorung *māyā* is something that cattle share with human beings, whilst only human beings feel what in Nepali is called *dayā*, that is 'compassion', 'kindness', 'charity' and 'pity'. Cattle live only for themselves, whereas humans have the emotion which attaches them to others, that is 'pity', 'compassion', 'wanting to give'. It is this mental state expressed by the Lohorung in such notions as *mi-chame* and *som-*

tukme, which are important in their culture, not 'love' which our own culture cultivates and which the Lohorung subdue.

The 'love' that the Lohorung emphasise is the feeling of affection and concern for loved ones who are sick or for those from whom they are separated either through death or marriage. It is this compassionate, kind 'love' which we see in their ritual dealing with the ancestors and the spirits of the dead, such as in the care to feed them with the food and drink they especially like. Giving to ancestors is to show devotion to treat them with affectionate regard. It is this 'love' which we also see in the treatment of out-married sisters, the gifts given at her final marriage rite, (*L. sangsawa*) and the gifts given by her brothers to her sons "because she cannot inherit the immoveable goods and they (the brothers) can". The Lohorung love for their children and for siblings, in particular brothers to their sisters and sisters for other sisters is most typically expressed by gifts; giving food and drink is the Lohorung way of showing affection. I am reminded of the *charitas* kind of 'love' in the new testament, that is love for people in general rather than for a specific individual. 'Romantic love' is seen as a possible destructive force, though one that is structurally crucial for the society. As we have seen in chapter five, the structure of Lohorung society needs either a marriage by capture or a 'love marriage' to 'break the bones' and divide up a clan into two, so that marriage within the clan can take place. Nevertheless, *māyā* 'love', though sometimes convenient, is not valued.

The two concepts which express this 'compassionate love' are *mi-chame* and *som-tukme*. Both could be glossed as 'love and compassion' or 'love and sadness'; *mi-chame*, however, is felt for someone who is far away and *som-tukme* for those who are near. *Mi-chame* is used to describe the emotion felt for a child who has died for example, or the emotion a woman feels when she thinks of her mother and father and siblings when she has left them to live with her husband, the feeling too a young girl may feel for a boy who has left the village to join the army or to make a trip to Assam or the Terai. The term is often used with *niwa* (mind) as if the mind is working in the distance, much as it does for us in what we call 'homesickness'. The term *som-tukme* 'heart-hurting' is used to express the feelings for people who are close, for one's child who is sick, for one's grandchildren who have just been orphaned, for someone, a relative perhaps, who has just travelled a long way, for anyone who needs help or kindness. *Mi-chame* or *som-tukme*, emphasised by the Lohorung, are part of the Lohorung moral ideal that people should have 'compassionate love'.

'Happiness' for the Lohorung has mostly to do with the external state of things and one's proximity to other people. The Lohorung term which seems most close is *chenchame* (lit. 'to eat strength') 'to like, be pleased'. Asked when they felt *chenchame* children, aged between five and fourteen, pinpointed these events: *chenchame* is when

- you see or are given good things to eat or wear, when you get gifts of clothes from the bazaar; at Tihar or Desain when you get good things to eat; if I can drink milk.
- children cry and then their mother comes and they *chenchame*.

- when other people have done all your work for you; when we've finished work and can go and play; when they're able to play; when people go to the local bazaar.

- if you own a lot of cattle, chickens, pigeons, ducks and fields; when people get rich; if someone gives you a lot of money.

Adults described *chenchame* in much the same terms. Thus 'happiness' has to do with nice clothes to wear, good food to eat, being rich, having no work to do and therefore time to go to the bazaar with friends, drink and eat with them and sing songs. From these definitions the term *chenchame* has a similar semantic range to 'happy', which to us conveys ideas of being 'lucky', 'fortunate', 'content', and 'glad'.

One woman defined the term *chenchame* as being similar to the term *saptanga* meaning 'to have enough': to have enough food or clothes to get by on, that is 'to suffice', but she said "you use *chenchame* when you have a bit more, when you have nice food or nice things, something good *kamnuk* happening to you". As we might do, the Lohorung define 'happiness' in terms of the situations that elicit it. We might in addition refer to some subjective, physiological state that accompanies it. For the Lohorung 'happiness' is related to a condition of *niwa*, that is then reflected in the face: "he is happy in his *niwa*, I know it in his face" ("*niwa-bi chenchak, ngachik-bi letukung*").

'Happiness' also has to do with being near other people. This became more clear to me when I talked to the Lohorung about 'unhappiness'. Being too far from other people is frightening and makes people unhappy. One man talked to me about how 'unhappy'

(*kamnuro minukmini*) he was as a child, having to look after the goats and sheep in the hills and often quite alone. Usually Lohorung children who do this work go off in groups. Lohorung too find it hard to understand how some of the other Khambu Rai groups live in stretched out villages with fields in between the houses. They said they would be 'frightened' and 'unhappy' to live like that. When I talked to women about where they would like their daughters to live when married, many mentioned the area of Pangma for the reason that it has five dense villages all close together and close to the bazaar. Going to the bazaar makes people happy because they can meet and be with other people, as well as because on market day they can eat and drink well, and possibly buy new clothes. The Lohorung always walk in groups and find walking alone, as I sometimes did, very strange.

The opposite of 'happiness' for the Lohorung is *dukha*, Nepali for 'trouble', 'sorrow', 'pain' or *som'chai'khenga*, their own word for 'pity, compassion, sorrow', as well as their expression for 'unhappiness' or 'sadness', which they express as 'not to feel good', *kamnuro minukmini*. Extreme grief, rather than sadness, can be an unnatural emotion not accepted as being part of the person but dissociated from them and seen as an angry ancestor, as in the case of Anuma, the woman who shook as if possessed after her daughter eloped with a married man. 'Sadness' for the Lohorung, as for us, can be regrets or deep stirrings; for them as for us it also involves a lack, linked with sorrow, grief and not feeling

good. The cause of it could be the loss of the company of a person or the lack of desired clothing.

Since the Lohorung notions of happiness and sadness express the pain of privation and the pleasures of gain they also highlight certain cultural features of Lohorung society. On the one hand, the prevalence of death, illness, poverty and the lack of interesting food was portrayed in the notion of 'sadness'; and on the other hand, the delight of anything to vary the boring staple diet of rice, maize, millet and lentils, and the pleasure of the company of others, songs and something new to wear was vividly clear in their understanding of 'happiness'.

Saya pokme, 'raise *saya*'

I have been looking at Lohorung concepts that are distinctly emotion terms. They clearly relate to individual emotions. I now discuss the concept of *saya* which is a more general concept, more complex and pervasive than the individual emotions I have been discussing so far.

As we have already seen, the Lohorung word *saya* is not easy to translate. It could be glossed as 'soul' to convey its metaphysical aspect. *Saya*, however is more than a 'soul' and one Lohorung trying to explain it said *saya* comes from the 'soul' (he used the Nepali *hangsa*).

Saya endows everyone, and some more than others, with a vitality and a 'power', almost like a magical energy. It can be powerful or weak. The words used to describe it are 'small', 'fierce', 'hard', 'strong', 'limp, bending', 'weak, fragile', or 'skillful'. The power of *saya* derives from its link with the ancestral past, and ancestral traditions, conventions, and sacred words. It is like an ancestral spirit or a powerful principle infusing all persons and some natural and material objects with an energy . It has a psycho-physical impact on an individual that is as forceful as the Freudian notion of *id*, or the Greek idea of destiny, for unless a person's *saya* is flourishing they lose all vitality and all will to live. "*Saya*", they say, "is our *bung*", which means that *saya* is our 'essence, fertility, life-force, lifeblood'.

Saya is also 'power' in the sense of resistance to misfortune and disease, an inner strength (*chen chen*) and an inner resource to face the world with head held high, deriving from and depending upon good relations with the ancestors. Raising *saya*, (*saya pokme*) has to do with reaffirming this power and returning a person to their ideal emotional and moral state. The beliefs to do with returning the strength of *saya* are complex. The inner state seems to be concentrated in the head, for it is the head that the local priest concentrates on in the rituals to raise *saya* and the Lohorung describe it as situated 'in the head'. The Nepali equivalent, *sir uthaunu*, translates literally as 'to raise the head'. The head itself is associated with the whole person as the main locus of *niwa* and therefore of consciousness, knowledge, and memory, and also of disturbance in madness. If *saya* occupies a high position, then ancestral powers are strong within the body. If *saya* falls, a man or any member of his family is liable to become weak, apathetic, unsociable and may fall ill. It is as if *saya* were an ancestral consciousness, or as we might put it an unconscious realisation of our relations with the ancestors. If our ancestral consciousness is strong then someone can be confident, strong and assertive. They are well-grounded. We think of self-confidence, high self-esteem as coming from our 'selves': the Lohorung conceive of it as coming from a high *saya*, that is, from a good relationship with the ancestral world. *Saya* is also a person's vulnerability, for if it is 'small' it may fall, or even if strong, harsh criticism or insult from another person can make it fall. If it falls, the typical symptoms are depression

and the inability to resist fatigue or attack from enemies. The person whose *saya* is low has no wish for companionship; he or she withdraws from as many social activities as possible. Moreover, such a person's body becomes an inhospitable site for the essence or breath of life, namely the *lawa* 'wandering spirit or soul'. The person whose *saya* has fallen and whose *lawa* has found another resting place in the natural environment will die unless the *saya* is raised and the *lawa* returned. It is clear that the 'high' and the 'low' refer to attitude as much as location.

The notion that the position and state of a person's *saya* can be the indication of their psychological and physiological health can be further illuminated by the Lohorung concrete metaphorical descriptions of *saya*. For example, the conditions of a person's *saya* is often conceived of in terms of the flower that represents that person in the world of the ancestors. A person whose *saya* is high is represented by a blooming flower. The flower representing one whose *saya* has fallen is wilting and drooping.

From these descriptions of *saya* a 'low *saya*' could perhaps be called depression. This translation is, however, misleading for three reasons. Whereas the fallen *saya* or 'low' *saya* is the opposite of 'high' *saya*, the one bad and the other good, 'depression' in English is not usually thought of as having a polar opposite. Our notion of 'depression' is a state of aberration from the normally expected psychological condition, which requires no active effort to maintain it. *Saya*, on the other

hand, is in constant need of attention, revitalization and lifting: all Lohorung indigenous rites act to raise *saya* (*saya pokme*) (3) and as we saw in chapter four, *saya* is specifically renewed and revitalised in the special acts performed at *nuagi*. The ideal moral and emotional state of every Lohorung individual has to be annually restored in these rites, as though everyone becomes a little emotionally and morally run down over the year. Second, whereas depression is the responsibility of the individual, low *saya* is as much the responsibility of the ancestors as the individual. This emphasis on the role of the ancestors detracts from the idea of low *saya* as a mental state. From the description of the state of the person as a result of low *saya* (such as lassitude, unsociable) it sounds to us like an internal state. But for the Lohorung the power of *saya* is as much outside the person as inside and to raise it the ritual has to deal with the superhuman forces involved as well as the living ones. For the Lohorung the person is thus distanced from responsibility for the emotion.

This brings me to my third hesitation in translating low *saya* as depression. *Saya* as a potential source of feelings such as melancholy, lethargy, hopelessness, hurt pride and inadequacy is certainly similar to our notion of depression. Yet, for us the condition is mainly psychological (though also often manifesting physical symptoms) whereas a 'low' *saya* for the Lohorung is inevitably linked with a person's material state of affairs. We can be depressed and prosperous; Lohorung find it hard to conceive

of this. For them, high spirits, health and prosperity are almost inevitably connected, and so are low spirits, illness and financial hardship. With the one concept of *saya* the Lohorung can express the state of a person's health, fortune and relations with the ancestors.

HOW *SAYA* FALLS

The high *saya* is related to the natural order of things which is good and strong and connected to the way things originated, that is with the ideal ancestral past. *Saya* is known to fall when the ancestors, either those upholding the ancestral traditions, or personal ancestors, are insulted or when *niwa tuguk* 'mind hurts'. This happens when respect is not given, when the traditional order or morality is flouted, in situations of severe grief or feeling insulted, such as when someone runs off with one's own daughter. The following are some examples of situations which make *saya* fall, given by some Lohorung children aged between six and fourteen:

- If older people tell you off, or get angry with you then *saya* goes down.
- If somebody hits you and beats you.
- When somebody says they're going to die and they say they feel ill and that's all they say then you know their *saya* has gone down.
- If you fail an exam at school, especially if everybody else passes.
- If my mother and father tell me off for doing something wrong, I feel 'low *saya*' and go away from the house. I want to be alone and my *niwa* ('mind') hurts.
- If someone insults you.
- If other people have a lot to eat and drink and you have nothing.
- If there's no rice in the house.
- If one only always has nasty, horrible clothes to wear; if you get caught cooking unripe maize over the fire and they tell you off.
- If you're feeling ill and somebody says you're not going to get

better.

- If somebody brings clothes or presents for somebody else but not for me.
- If friends go on a journey and people at home say you can't go.
- If people give money to others but not to you.

We can see from these examples how similar in some ways the mental state is to our 'feeling hurt' or 'feeling depressed'. It is also similar to 'feeling demoralised' or to our notion of 'hurt pride'. In another context, a Lohorung Gurkha talked about how his *saya* had to be raised when he heard he was not to be given an expected promotion. He thought *saya* would fall if he did not do well in the particular course exams that he thought he should do well on, or "if in general I don't get what I hope for, if my pride is hurt or if I feel insulted". Thus, we can see that the contexts of depression and 'low' *saya* are similar, the expression of them are similar but the way that they are conceived to affect the individual is different. For *saya* is linked to ancestral morality and dictates certain standards of behaviour. Actions or behaviour which go against convention and 'throw away the nose' (*nabak we'langme*) or insult (*suphangme*) the good name of the head of the household, of the clan, or family, or treat the house itself with less than respect all lessen the potency of *saya* as do acts or events considered to defile someone, such as the birth of a child for the mother.

So far I have emphasised the notion of *saya* as a powerful ancestral principle, almost an ancestral substance infusing all persons and some natural and material objects with an ancestral heritage. This essential nature of *saya* is similar in all things.

However, *saya* falls more often in some people than in others. It is said to differ in intensity from person to person, according to their status, responsibilities, sex and knowledge. Those who are mature males and females have most pride in their ancestral past and are expected to show contempt for those who do not respect it. The source of pride and contempt is *saya*. A translation of *saya*, therefore, might be "ancestral pride" or "ancestral dignity". Those who particularly attend to the ancestors and their lore, such as the local priest, the 'rai' chief and heads of households, are said to have especially vulnerable, sensitive *saya* that easily fall. They are the ones who hold ultimate responsibility for the dignity and strength of the community as a whole. Men's *saya* are more sensitive than women's because they have to deal with the world outside of the home where insults and disrespect abound and they also carry responsibility for the rest of the household. To the degree that a person's *saya* is intense it is at the same time increasingly liable to humiliation. Since aggression and contempt are the main weakening influences on the exalted position of *saya*, it appears to be similar to our notion of pride. However, Lohorung "pride" is not connected with high opinions regarding one's personal qualities, but with those derived from the ancestors. The great responsibility of all men in the public sphere, in debates, ritual, fighting and traditional knowledge accounts for the conception of men as having more *saya* than women, and similarly women more than children.

HOW TO RAISE SAYA

We have seen in chapter four how *saya* is raised in the *nuagi* rite. Apart from this annual ritual, *saya* is raised incidentally by all other ancestral *sammang* rites but also by small specific rites either performed by the local priest, the *yatangpa*, or by the shaman, the *mangpa*. The following rite performed by the priest exemplifies the extent to which *saya* is linked to the ancestors and how it has to do with returning some vitality to the 'sick' person whose *saya* has fallen.

The ritual requires two bamboo containers, *tongpa*, full of matured and fermented millet, and two gourds containing the strong, thin beer which is squeezed from similar millet; one mana of husked rice grown in one's own fields; one crowing cock; ginger; a turban, which is tied around the head of the person whose *saya* needs raising; a kukri knife placed in the same person's hand. When the elders of the village arrive they sit to the left and the right of the 'sick' person and in a small earthen oil lamp some *siwali* (a water plant, *Blyxa octandra*) or *titepāti* (*Artemisia vulgaris*) flowers are placed before the lamp is lit. The lamp is placed on top of the husked rice. The priest takes the cock under his right arm, and begins to shake a little as he recites. The elders join in at the end,

"O raise the *saya* of this kechaba of the lamawa spring. If an enemy has lowered his *saya*, if his father, mother, wife, children, brothers or sisters, have lowered his *saya*, today you raise it; on the right and on the left we elders are sitting so you raise his *saya*; from today make his *saya* strong and walk close to your enemies, make them wander and run away". (see Appendix 4 for Lohorong text).

As the priest says "*mechirayo meruku*", the priest's assistant, the *peguang*, kills the cock by striking it on its back with a stick and as the drops of blood come out, everyone shouts, "*saya* has been raised!" (*saya pogayo!*). Everyone present then has to jump up and make the 'patient' jump up as well, shouting as they do so. If no blood comes from the mouth but water instead from the eyes or nose, the rite has failed.

The shaman examines the chicken's blood to foresee the fortune of the family. The ritual tradition that symbolically links blood with the good state of *saya*, links blood with the ancestors and with success, prosperity and a healthy life. This perhaps makes more sense if we refer to the significance of blood in a *pe-lam* myth, in which two of the primal ancestors, the two younger brothers, are led to offer blood from their sister's finger to get them out of the primal lake, whilst the eldest brother came out by sacrificing a cock. Some kind of blood offering was needed to get them out of the primal lake. Though I have expressed my hesitations about the form of the relationship, there does seem to be some conceptual link between blood, prosperity, success and health. In the rite to raise *saya* the drops of blood are necessary to show that *saya* has been raised, to show that it has been re-energized. It is perhaps not coincidental that both *saya* and menstruation are symbolised as *bung* 'flower', and flowers are symbols of life. The moment at which the blood of the cock or hen flows or does not flow is tense. Sagant found the same intensity

in a similar rite amongst the Lohorung neighbours, the Limbu. He writes:

"L'aptitude à faire couler le sang paraît l'expression de la force vitale. Elle semble grandement valorisé par la culture limbu. Autant que nous ayons pu en juger, l'acte paraît toujours s'accompagner d'une forte émotion. Et cette émotion, à notre sens, n'est ni accidentelle, ni subie. Elle est peut-être, au contraire, considérée comme positive, recherchée." (1981:168).

Those who purposefully cause someone else's *saya* to fall are called upon by the elders to offer compensation. A decision is made about how much money should be given to the aggrieved party. The sum is then given along with a bottle of home-brewed spirits. When the money has been handed over and both parties have drunk together it is equivalent to raising *saya* by ritual means and the two groups in conflict should again be at peace. Until recently, the offended party used to capture the culprit and put him into the *thyangro N*, similar to the stocks, and he would only be released when the compensation had been paid.

SAYA IN MATERIAL OBJECTS

One further aspect of *saya*, which is important in terms of understanding Lohorung knowledge of mental states, is the presence of *saya* in material objects. It is not restricted to human beings. It is present in some kinds of rice, maize, millet, ginger, liquor, some plants and trees and certain parts of the house; indeed in all material objects connected with the original order of things as established by the *primaeval* ancestors, and duly recorded in their ritual language. Everything that has *saya* has

great potential energy and power. It is also vulnerable to the loss of that vitality. Plants, for example, containing the principle of *saya* within them, will eventually shrivel and die or decay unless they are given appropriate attention in ritual and their *saya* constantly raised. Lohorung say that if bamboo strips are dissected before the growth of the maize crop, an activity which would flout traditional ways, the growth of the maize will be spindly and sparse, reflecting the low state of their *saya*, or as we might say, reflecting a sense of neglect, humiliation or demoralisation. This bond between nature and human nature in some mystical ancestral strength is hard for us to appreciate, though Wordsworth comes close to describing it in the lines:

" I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts: a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused.
(*The Prelude*, Book II)

In order to understand the meaning of *saya*, and thus the Lohorung experience of 'shame', 'depression', 'honour', 'dignity', 'humiliation' and 'demoralisation', one has to accept literally the reality of the relationships between men and ancestors, and between men and nature. Lohorung perceive physical phenomena as part of the social and psychological world and the handiwork of ancestors from whom they are descended. To remove stones from another man's wall, for example, could well mean he would need his *saya* raising. Lack of respect for the reality of ancestral time when for example springs, stones and crops could talk can affect a person either emotionally or physically and can be fatal. There is

a strong social pressure to avoid inducing this state in others which means avoiding insulting, disrespectful, unconventional behaviour. As we have seen, those who directly cause someone else's *saya* to fall have to pay the consequential compensation.

SAYA AND LAWA

Some Lohorung say *saya* is like *lawa*, the essence of life, the internal life-giving force which at the same time is out of the control of the individual it belongs to. With a consciousness and will of their own, they are what we might nowadays call a "subconscious" element of man, putting its host into involuntary states. Both concepts are particularly associated with the head, and are sometimes used synonymously to describe the state of someone who lacks strength, vitality, and the stamina to persevere with his sometimes harsh way of life. The two notions are, however, different and the difference can be summarised in terms of their essential nature: *saya* is conceived as being essentially strong whereas *lawa* is essentially timid. The combination of the two concepts functions to explain two fundamental and accepted characteristics of human nature: the need for strength, and the inevitability of certain weaknesses.

Saya and 'Honour'

An emphasis on respect and shame that we have seen to exist amongst the Lohorung is often associated with cultures in which 'honour' is important, such as in Mediterranean cultures or the Middle East. How does Lohorung *ngesime* 'shame', 'shyness', 'modesty' fit with the Lohorung notion closest to 'honour', which is *saya*? For the Lohorung *saya* to fall, that is for a person to be dishonoured, they will necessarily feel more than just *ngesime*, 'shame', they will feel personally 'shamed', which the Lohorung conceive as 'having one's nose thrown away', *nabak we'langme*. This is one reason why the Lohorung *ngesime* does not stand as a pair with 'dishonour' whereas low *saya* and 'nose thrown away' do stand as a pair. In any case, Lohorung honour, or high *saya*, is not identical to the 'honour' in Mediterranean cultures. In the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries 'honour' has to do particularly with 'the value of a person in his own eyes..[and] also in the eyes of his society. It is his estimation of his own worth, his *claim* to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognized by society, his *right* to pride' (Pitt-Rivers, 1965:21). For the Lohorung, high *saya* or honour has little to do with justifiable pride, for pride is conceived narrowly as someone 'acting big' - the literal translation of *diha lenguk*. The Lohorung notion of 'pride' is closer to our idea of arrogance, or self-importance, an unduly high opinion of one's own qualities than to any idea of dignity. For the Lohorung high *saya* (honour) has to do with maintaining good relations with their ancestors, maintaining the ideal nature

of man which emphasises a person's social, cooperative capacities, his status as a member of the community and as an adherent to traditional ways rather than as a unique individual, with much self worth. Whereas the Mediterranean 'honour' implies a right to pride, the Lohorung high *saya* implies a person's physical, psychological and material well being as well as a good relationship with his ancestors.

What we see here in *saya*, then, is a complex notion similar to some other Himalayan concepts, and fairly difficult for us to comprehend. Unlike the other emotions I have discussed *saya* is a much broader psychological and material state that has strong links with Lohorung institutions, particularly the ancestors and the political power of the head of the household. The significance of *saya* must have been even greater prior to the introduction of 'Rai' chiefs. We can still see the significance of *saya* in the Lohorung's relations with their ancestors, reflected in all their rituals. At some time it must have had similar significance in everyday political life as an indicator of power, material success and strength to hunt. The Lohorung still talk of the way that slaves, *yungsa*, were captured in raids. Rich men employed 'slaves', gave them clothes, food, lodging, whatever was agreed upon, in return for work and little freedom, though they had to be well looked after. The slaves were sometimes those who refused to pay the compensation for causing someone's *saya* to fall, often because they had captured a woman without the permission of the family. Even now as we have seen the frequency with which someone

performs rituals to raise their *saya* is an indication of their position of power. The 'Rai' chief has his *saya* raised most frequently of all.

Conclusions

We have described in this chapter Lohorung representations of the emotions, looking in detail at indigenous concepts. From appreciating these concepts we can better understand Lohorung behaviour and institutions.

The emphasis has been with participant meanings, as it has been throughout the thesis. The number of indigenous Lohorung terms for mental states is decreasing, as Nepali terms are increasingly adopted. There are, nevertheless, a considerable number still in current use: one hundred and four that I was able to identify. The main difficulty in specifying Lohorung mental states had to do with an initial misapprehension that they would be in the form of abstract nouns. As we have seen in this chapter, Lohorung emotion terms seem similar to our own, with the exception of *saya*. The core mental state terms are 'anger', 'fear', 'shyness/shame', and those linked to *saya*, which have to do with 'feeling strong, prosperous, healthy, head held high', or 'depressed, weak, head hanging low'. This latter term reveals how difficult it can be sometimes to translate these mental state, emotion terms.

From what has been said in this chapter we can conclude that Lohorung assess the display and consequences of emotions variously. Anger is powerful, dangerous and yet sometimes desirable: dangerous in that the anger of a son, for example, could lead to the fall of his father's *saya* (and ultimately his death), yet desirable in a form that guards and enforces morality and justice. Justified anger should, therefore, be expressed, whereas other forms of anger have to be dealt with cautiously and are assessed negatively. The evaluation of fear is also not uniform. The 'fear' that is close to 'respect tinged with fear' is regarded as essential to human relations, and to maintaining order. The form of 'fear' that is close to 'fright' is undesirable and should be controlled by *niwa* and suppressed, particularly in relations with the superhuman beings. The emotion of *ngesime* 'shyness, shame' is, on the other hand, positively encouraged. Emotions that have to be managed are thought of as being managed by *niwa*. The Lohorung show an interest in emotions and mental states because they have to be managed in terms of their relationship with the superhuman beings and with the living. What happens to a person's mental and feeling state also has a consequence for their prosperity, their health, and their position as head of the household. A discussion of the more theoretical implications of this emotion knowledge has been placed in the concluding chapter, that follows.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Concluding Remarks

The Lohorung relationship with the ancestors and other superhuman beings and their beliefs concerning the *pe-lam*, form a philosophy of life that upholds certain principles, such as the unity of nature, the superhuman and the human, and the significance of the recreation of the 'natural' ancestral order to avoid chaos. We have seen how these are paralleled in the social structure. The fission of clans maintains the unity of the tribe; the separation of brothers repeats the separation of the initial brothers Tiger, Bear etc; and the emphasis on the household as the main structural unit recognises the essential equality and unity of all men, each a king, *hang*, in his own house, with its hole to receive the symbolic rope joining the human and superhuman worlds. We have examined certain key concepts of this philosophy and we have seen how they define and orient the person. Protected by *saya*, strengthened by renewed links with the ancestors, the person is still vulnerable to such natural emotions as fear and anger that could affect *lawa* or *saya* and be fatal. *Niwa* acts to control emotions and behaviour, stressing the need to conform to traditional ways, yet allowing self-expression. Certain core emotions have been examined in the final chapter to show how they fit into the predominant system of thought or philosophy and reveal Lohorung knowledge of mental/feeling states. By looking at these mental states and seeing how they relate to other aspects of

the ethnography, we can begin to understand what it means to be a Lohorung.

The emphasis in Lohorung philosophy is on the ancestors who are easily angered, on the vulnerability of human beings, who are easily frightened and on the inevitable closeness between them, in the form of *saya*, that is present in both the human and the superhuman, and acts as a link. The delicate relationship between them is based on trust. Both have a strong dependence on the other and have confidence that the other will provide what they need. The Lohorung philosophy does not involve an omnipotent god and passive worship, but humans and superhumans, both active in gaining their ends. The ancestors directly experience the living, mentally and physically, in the form of hurting mind (*niwa*) and lowered *saya*, when the world they created and lived in is abused, their possessions mistreated or they themselves are ignored. The living directly experience the ancestors in the form of sickness, pain and misfortune. These two principles of experience act as the basis for Lohorung morality and their classification of misfortune and sickness. The mental states of *ngesime*, *kisime* and some anger are emphasised by the Lohorung in their attempts to meet the moral standards of their ancestors: freshness and vigour in individuals (both human and superhuman), groups, and material objects is conceived as being reduced by breaches of moral interdictions. All rituals, and myths when spoken, re-energize the relationship between the ancestors and the living but *nuagi*, above all, is the essential ritual that renews and re-establishes

order where disorder may have occurred. It restores the strength of the vital and impersonal force of *saya*. Such are the bare bones of Lohorung philosophy.

In these concluding remarks, I shall examine first the Lohorung sense of personhood that emerges from what has been described in this thesis and then outline the theoretical implications of the knowledge about Lohorung emotions and mental states in terms of their ethnopsychology. We shall hence see further the importance of these mental states and emotion concepts in terms of understanding the rest of the ethnography.

The person

In trying to assess the Lohorung 'individual' and their sense of personhood, we have seen that the Lohorung at times define an individual according to his or her kin status, and according to such roles as household head, husband, wife, brother, mother. Each individual is, however, much more than this. Unlike some peoples (see Read 1959 on the Gahuku-Gama), the Lohorung do distinguish individuals from the social roles and social statuses they enact. Individuals are not merely figures in a social pattern, (i.e. living in a society where there is "no essential separation of the individual from the social pattern" Read, *ibid*:276). The Lohorung accept that separate individuals can perform the same 'Rai' duties differently; shamans and local priests can carry out the same rituals with considerable variation in content and style; and it is well known that each household head has a particular way of

organising their own household, some better than others. For the Lohorung, there is a 'social' aspect of personhood, defined by roles and status, and there is a 'private' aspect of personhood, what we call the inner self, that has to be controlled by social *niwa*. A 'person' for the Lohorung is unique as well as having a social position. This is reflected in one man's remark, "There are as many different *niwa* as there are faces. Some you can reach easier than others".

Given the significance of kin, sociability and control of the self, it is all too easy to over-emphasise the social as opposed to the more egocentric and hidden orientation of the Lohorung sense of personhood.

The element in Lohorung society that most seems to constrain the individual, however, is the connection of the 'person' with the ancestors. Each Lohorung is caught up in a set of beliefs concerning the ancestors. Their own physical make-up, that renders them vulnerable through *saya* and *lawá*, inevitably links them to their ancestors, and makes journeys to areas without similar beliefs more difficult. They can go to Assam, to the Terai, where there are shamans, either Lohorung ones or local varieties. These beliefs limit their sense of agency and some try to reject the beliefs, to take on instead other beliefs, such as Christianity. But, often, as many recount, it does not work. Hem, as we have seen, became ill and the medicine only worked when he came back to the village and found a *yatangpa* priest. It is noticeable how few

Gurkha make use of their pensions in other ways than bringing their money back to the village. Is it this fundamental way of thinking about themselves in relation to the ancestors that prevents them? Those Lohorung who were concerned about my future in a country without mediums to communicate with the superhuman beings were also reflecting their own difficulties of separating from such a world. Prosperity, health and general well-being in this way of thinking can only prevail if constant attention is given to the ancestral world.

If we consider Lohorung ideas about the legal and moral personality, the Lohorung sense of personhood is closely connected to his status, family and clan. The 'person' is, moreover, restrained by collective ideas about the power of the ancestors. The Lohorung individual, nevertheless, skilfully maintains a sense of agency and expresses his or her 'own wishes, opinions' *tangpam niwa*. Moreover, although a Lohorung individual is expected to conform to traditional ways of behaviour, to the *niwa* of the household head, and the way in which social *niwa* is expected to pervade an individual, yet he or she can still develop and express an individual personality and make individual choices, such as marriage partners, and stand apart from a social role in order to laugh at how one particular individual is performing a social role of shaman, for example, or be angry with another's performance of the 'father' role. In the arena where formal relationships are maintained, individual idiosyncracies are frowned upon. In private, informal, daily relationships,

however, as we have seen in chapter five, individuals are far from inhibited with friends or close relatives, not requiring respectful behaviour. The diversity of their personalities is evident to the Westerner and is obviously also recognized by the society itself in the number of phrases available to describe personality, and in the number of situations where idiosyncratic decisions or ways of behaving are not described as being anti-social, but accepted as being just an expression of the person's particular character, their *tangpam niwa*, that is, "own, personal niwa", or inner capacities independent of society.

Individual characteristics and a tendency for egocentrism and the expression of *tangpam niwa* are thought of as being innate: sociability and the control of self have to be learned. Inevitably, then, the proliferation of Lohorung ideas concerning the psychological and physiological nature of man focus on why a person should be social, how they can be social and how they can come to be in control of that which is individual for their own sake. While a person's identity is constrained^s by the community and forces of control outside of the self, such as parental strategies to control, and the force of ancestors, individuals also use tactics to overcome them such as by marrying men they want, leaving those they dislike, accumulating money to buy land away from the village, or to exist on their own initiative.

Theoretical Implications of Lohorung 'emotion' knowledge

Let us now outline the theoretical implications of what we have said about Lohorung 'emotions' and mental states. We should firstly consider what components of emotion the Lohorung emphasise. There are various components to the experience and expression of emotions, which include;

1. the context or the situation of the emotion (for example a person's death);
2. the mental state (for example, grief);
3. its behavioural expression (for example, crying, wringing hands);
4. its physiological accompan~~i~~ments (for example, low body temperature, sleeplessness)
5. linguistic and paralinguistic expression (for example, wailing).

These components may be variously emphasised by different cultures. The first element, the situation or context is clearly very important to the Lohorung, and I would say central to their experience of emotion (1). When asked to define emotion terms, as we have seen in chapter six, they do so by offering a range of situations. Moreover, when describing their feelings in daily life they focus on what has happened, they talk mainly about the surrounding event. They rarely talk about physiological accompan~~i~~ments. The Lohorung logic of emotions is based on the shared understanding of the natural response to the particular or the everyday common situations. However, although the Lohorung

think of the situation as the initial cause of an emotion they can and do distinguish between the situation and the emotion. They recognise that anger or grief, for example, can last for a long time - well after the insult or the death has taken place, so that they conceive of the emotion as distinct from and persisting well beyond whatever precipitated it. Moreover, they also recognise that thoughts about the situation, as much as the situation itself, will rekindle or exacerbate an emotion.

The Lohorung, therefore, recognise that an emotion is not triggered in some automatic way, simply by encountering some situation. Fear (*kisime*), for example, is first of all apprehended by mind (*niwa*). As one woman put it:

"if one fears (*kisik*) in the mind then the heart/liver (*lungma*) fears (*yangsik*). If the mind retains it, only then does it come into the liver/heart. If at first the mind doesn't hold onto it, then nothing happens. First of all the mind goes cold, later the liver/heart starts to thump boom boom".

The 'mind' (*niwa*) is indeed involved in many other emotions, such as anger, relief, sadness, anxiety or feeling hurt. This is close to the Aristotelean view of emotions in which an intelligent way of looking at situations is dominated by a particular desire. From the description of the Lohorung concepts of 'anger' and 'fear' we can clearly see that the Lohorung conceive of the rationality of emotions. Emotions are part of thought, close to *niwa*, with only a few experienced in the heart and the liver. The Lohorung believe emotions can and should be controlled in so far as *niwa* can either hold onto them or let them go. Thus it makes sense that the main Lohorung theory for coping with fear is to occupy the mind with

something other than the frightening situation, such as with singing or with looking for *titepāti* leaves. Cogitation is important for the Lohorung as well as the situation.

The Lohorung's emphasis on situation or context in their understanding of emotion is close to one aspect of our own Western view. We constantly engage in an analysis of our emotions by linking feelings of anger, fear, hurt, for example, back to situations that did or might have caused them. We rarely confine an analysis of our emotions to an analysis of some internal subjective feeling. When someone explains and analyses how they feel, they usually include some consideration of the situation that made them feel the way they do. Free-floating anger or anxiety seem to us odd rather than natural. The difference between the Lohorung attitude and our own lies in the way that the Lohorung sometimes expand the context of an emotion beyond the boundaries that we would usually impose. What we would call the 'real' context is enlarged to include the ancestral and the metaphysical aspects of their lives. The extreme grief of a woman is seen as being unnatural, affecting her so unbearably that the emotion is reconceptualised and seen instead as being the anger of one of the ancestors. The state of Narbong is one that both we and the Lohorung describe as 'mad' (*ngaksubang*). However, the context of Narbong's madness is conceptualised by the Lohorung as being the anger of Chawatangma.

"At Narbong's home his grandmother used to keep the secret kind of Chawatangma...but they don't do it anymore and Narbong's *niwa* has stopped working properly".

Another person described the following context:

"In front of their house there is a mango tree. Narbong cut all the branches off the tree. His brother told him not to cut them. Narbong said it prevented the sun from coming in and made the land barren. So he cut it. Since then he is mad (*ngaksubang*) perhaps because there was a *deuta* (god) in the tree."

In this conceptualisation, the 'madness' is no longer assumed to have an exclusively psychological origin. The state is not seen as coming from the person but from an external force and actions that the Lohorung direct to that state (that is, offerings to Chawatangma) are quite unrelated to it in our eyes.

From what has been said about Lohorung emotions in chapter six, we can say that the Lohorung share two of our Western theories of emotion, indicating the degree to which their indigenous understanding of emotion is not alien to our own. The first, the psycho-dynamic theory or cathartic/expressive theory, for us includes theories of repression, and the mechanisms in which repressed emotions and motives find disguised expression. Typically, this theory says, 'Do it!' 'Express it!' Similarly the Lohorung say, 'show your anger about an adulterer!' 'It's good to show anger quickly rather than holding on to it'. The second theory, the socio-dynamic theory, prescribes changing activity to lessen the potency of an emotion. A Western prescription might be, 'if you're angry go and listen to Mozart' (the meanings to which the anger is attached are altered). The Lohorung similarly, for example, prescribe fully occupying a girl who has just come to live with her in-laws, with routine chores, so that she does not have time to feel homesick thinking about her parental home. In a

recent article Spiro (1984: 330f) takes up Rosaldo's claim (1984:137) that the Ilongot understanding of emotion is alien to the Western one, lacking the dominant psycho-dynamic model. Spiro analyses the Ilongot head-hunting material and shows how well in fact the "Western" psycho-dynamic theory fits the evidence. From what I have learned about the Lohorung, it is clear that they have a similar theory of emotions as we do in the West.

Looking at the Lohorung's conceptualisation of most emotions, moreover, their ethno-psychology seems similar to our own. There is nothing, for example, particularly sociocentric about their view. In whatever way the term 'sociocentric' is unpacked the Lohorung seem no more or less sociocentric than us. First, the Lohorung do not have any surprising emotions which are only induced when with an audience. They feel *ngesime* (to feel shy, embarrassed, ashamed) mainly in social situations but equally, shyness or embarrassment are for us almost inconceivable outside a social context. We do not feel embarrassed or shy when totally alone, or if we do, it is because we are remembering some previous social situation. Moreover, the Lohorung are not lacking in feeling guilty as opposed to shame. Their concept of 'guilt' is *niwa yamuk* (literally 'mind talking') and the Lohorung freely admit to feeling bad or *niwa yamuk* about things they know they have done wrong, even if nobody knows about them or criticizes them for them. 'Guilt' for them is sometimes a private emotion not a public or sociocentric one. People also said they often felt privately 'proud' (*diha lengme*), because to be publicly proud

might provoke criticism of excessive grandiosity. Secondly, although the Lohorung see a social situation (or rather something in a social situation) as the main cause of an emotion in a situation and therefore defining it, this is no reason for calling the Lohorung view particularly sociocentric. As I have already argued above, we also consider the situation of an emotion to be essential in its definition and find free-floating emotions odd rather than natural. Lastly, there is nothing particularly sociocentric about the Lohorung view of emotions as having a social cause since they have the notion of emotions as mental states as well. They see both the social and the mental aspects of emotion. Looking at any of these three possibly sociocentric views of emotion there in fact seems to be no real difference between the Lohorung notion of emotion and ours.

Lohorung ethnopsychology does, however, depart from ours in at least four ways, and these emerge most clearly when we begin to understand the concept of *saya*. Firstly, the Lohorung do not separate material well-being, bodily well-being and psychological well-being so much as we do. For them low spirits, illness and financial hardship are almost inevitably connected and so are high spirits, health and prosperity. Of course, this tendency to run together the material, the bodily and the psychological does sometimes occur in the West. For example, people who feel down try to cheer themselves up by buying new trousers or try to encourage a positive attitude to gain health or to be successful. This difference between the Lohorung and the West is a matter of

degree. When less tractable problems arise we in the West seek out specialists.

This leads me to the second point of departure. Whereas we would seek out separate specialists to deal with material, bodily and psychological disorders, the Lohorung tend to go for a common solution - a ritual that raises *saya*. We do not take our psychological problems to the bank manager. For the Lohorung emotions as well as illness, or failure of crops, are part of the field of action of the *yatangpa* and *mangpa*. It is in part the number of experts to whom we have recourse - the doctors, opticians, financial advisors, psycho-therapists - who separate out our material, physical and psychological experiences.

Thirdly, their remedies are not non-spiritual, as are the remedies of the crop specialist, doctor, psychologist, but involve at all times the superhuman beings.

Fourthly, whereas for us political strength is non-spiritual, for the Lohorung someone who has political power, as well as anyone who wants to become a household head, also has to have strong and good relations with the superhuman world.

All of these are linked to the central metaphysical notion, that dominates Lohorung life, that states of well-being are connected to one's relation with the ancestors. In this sense, their ethnopsychology and their metaphysics is much more of a piece than

ours. The ancestral *sammang* rites, the *nuagi* rite, the structure of the house, and the emphasis on the household head, their concern with the mythical *pe-lam* and the local *yatangpa* priest, as well as traditional marriages are all related to this primary concern with their relationship with the ancestors. Their states of emotional well-being and prosperity depend upon it.

Looking at Lohorung ethnopsychology (2) as a whole we can perhaps make the following points about emotions, that might have relevance cross-culturally. On the one hand perhaps there are certain commonsense notions (3) that will be universally acknowledged in the ethnopsychology of all cultures. With respect to emotion, such notions would be that:

1. emotions are usually precipitated by external events, and many of these (but not all of them) will be interpersonal events.
2. the event causes the emotion but the event and emotion are distinct; the event is usually something that happens in the external world whereas the emotion is a psychological state that has a cluster of subjective, physiological and expressive features; the emotion can endure well beyond the occurrence of such a precipitating external situation.
3. nevertheless, most emotions wane and disappear over time. There are, no doubt, some emotional states, such as depression, that wax and wane but do not disappear. However, the very persistence of depression or of pathological grief renders the emotional state abnormal in our eyes. We expect normal states of sadness and grief to eventually dissipate.

4. to speed up their disappearance, one can either confront the situation that causes the emotion (if the situation is recurrent) or one can confront the person's appraisal of the situation (if the situation cannot be altered).

5. a person's appraisal of a situation - and hence the emotion they feel towards it - can be altered by getting them to view the situation in a different perspective, to avoid thinking so much about it, to think deeply about other things, to control the mind not to think at all etc. using whatever strategies are current. There will be occasions when people lack insight into the reason for an emotion. They may suddenly feel angry towards another person without knowing why. But such inexplicable emotional states tend to be regarded as anomalous rather than standard.

6. emotions are often overtly expressed in behaviour, and speech, but they can be concealed from others.

7. free-floating emotions (with no apparent external cause) are anomalous. (4)

On the other hand, there are culture-specific notions that are not to be found universally, or universally acknowledged. These are likely to be elaborated when the person's emotional state is too intense, persistent, or disruptive for normal social relations to continue or when conventional strategies for dealing with the emotions break down, that is when strategies (4) and (5) do not work. At this point, members of different cultures will seek different remedies; there may even be uncertainty within the culture about the most appropriate remedy so that several may be tried, particularly if the situation is irregular and problematic.

They may try to mend relations with the ancestors by means of several different kinds of mediums, and seek out Western medicine as well, and at the same time suspect witchcraft. Some will see a psychotherapist, a faith healer and their local general practitioner, whilst others may do some head-hunting.

APPENDIX I
Characteristic Features of the Lohorong language

The following is a short supplement to what has been said in Chapter One.

Phonology:

1a. Consonants:

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Retroflex	Glottal
	p	t			k	T	ʔ
Stops	ph	th				D	
	b	d			g		
	bh				gh		
Affricates			c				
			ch				
Fricatives			ts		x	h	
			s				
Liquids			r				
			l				
Nasals	m		n		ng		
Semi-Vowels	w	y					

1b. Some examples of contrast

bene!	tear it!	tense!	hold it!
bhene!	go first!	there!	lift it up!
pene!	sit down!	dene	put it in!
phene!	use it!		
keng	tooth	cenchame	to like
xen	soup	chenkue	strong
ge'tong	a bit higher	tse	clothes
ghekchiwa	(Chibhe N.)	sensen	all night
	a small black bird	hensen	somehow
		rekma	to hammer
metong	a bit up from X	lenlen	all day
wenda	tomorrow		
nentång	near	yenkue	sharp
		ngachik	face

2a. Vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i iu		u
Half close	e		o
Half open	ea	a	
Open	ai		

All vowels can be either long or short.

2b. Some examples of contrast

mi	fire	ma	mother
mik	eye	mäkme	to dream
miu	up there	maitu	lost
muwa	eagle	lea	don't know
müme	to do	lokling	traditional shirt
mechuk	chilli	löme	to say

3. Verbal Morphology

Verbs in Lohorung have two different verb stems, one derived from the infinite form and the other from a third-person non-future form, which can be referred to as the finite form. From these two all verb forms can be derived by the addition of two kinds of affixes, either suffixes or enclitics. The relationship between the stem and the affix in the Lohorung verb is not simple: I was able to distinguish several different classes identified on the basis of the relationship between the finite form and the infinite. The classes in part depend on the final consonant of the base. Thus, for example, many have a single eliding final consonant as in:

Finite form	Infinite
lö:s-u (he said)	lö:ma (to say)
sei:t-u (he killed)	sei:ma (to kill)

whereas others have a final consonant cluster with eliding consonant as in

sabd:u (he wrote)	sâp:ma (to write)
hângd:u (he saw)	hâng:ma (to see)

Some examples of the many suffixes and enclitics which can be attached to either the finite or the infinite base can be seen in the following:

With the finite base

yungs - is used to express a habitual action in the past.

ka khe-yungsing I always used to go.

-eru either indicates a lack of certainty as in

kange ana rok-neru I am going to hit you (though I may do something else like it),

or that an apparent question is not really a question but asked as an indication of politeness and therefore requires no answer, as in

ane wenda hata khe-neru? Are you going to market tomorrow?

-ro is used to describe an action that is interrupted by another action.

im-chaing-ro kaise semmang magung While I was asleep I dreamt a bad dream.

With the infinitive base

- male indicates necessity.

Khe-male-nga I must go.

- ese is an enclitic linking two clauses, the first explaining the reason for the second.

ning-tok-wa tug-u-ese kho khimpi men-ta Because his head was hurting he did not come home.

The complexity of the Lohorung verb, which includes the use of eleven pronouns all requiring different verb formations, enables them to express many of their abstract ideas in verbs rather than nouns. Their concepts of love, hate, anger sense of shame, fear, will and marriage for example can only be expressed in verbs.

Apart from the every day language sketched here, Lohorung also have a ritual language, that appears in Appendix II in the ritual chants. (See also Allen, 1978, an article on Thulung Rai ritual language.)

Orthographic Note

In this thesis, Nepali words are marked with a following N. and their spelling is as in Turner's Nepali Dictionary, except that

long a is ā, retroflex consonants are represented by capitals, and the velar nasal by ng.

In terms of Lohorung, a k after a vowel often indicates a glottal stop, and ea is represented by ā. x is pronounced like ch in German nicht, and ts is pronounced as in 'lets'.

APPENDIX 2

LOHORUNG CLANS (including *samek* and *chawa*)

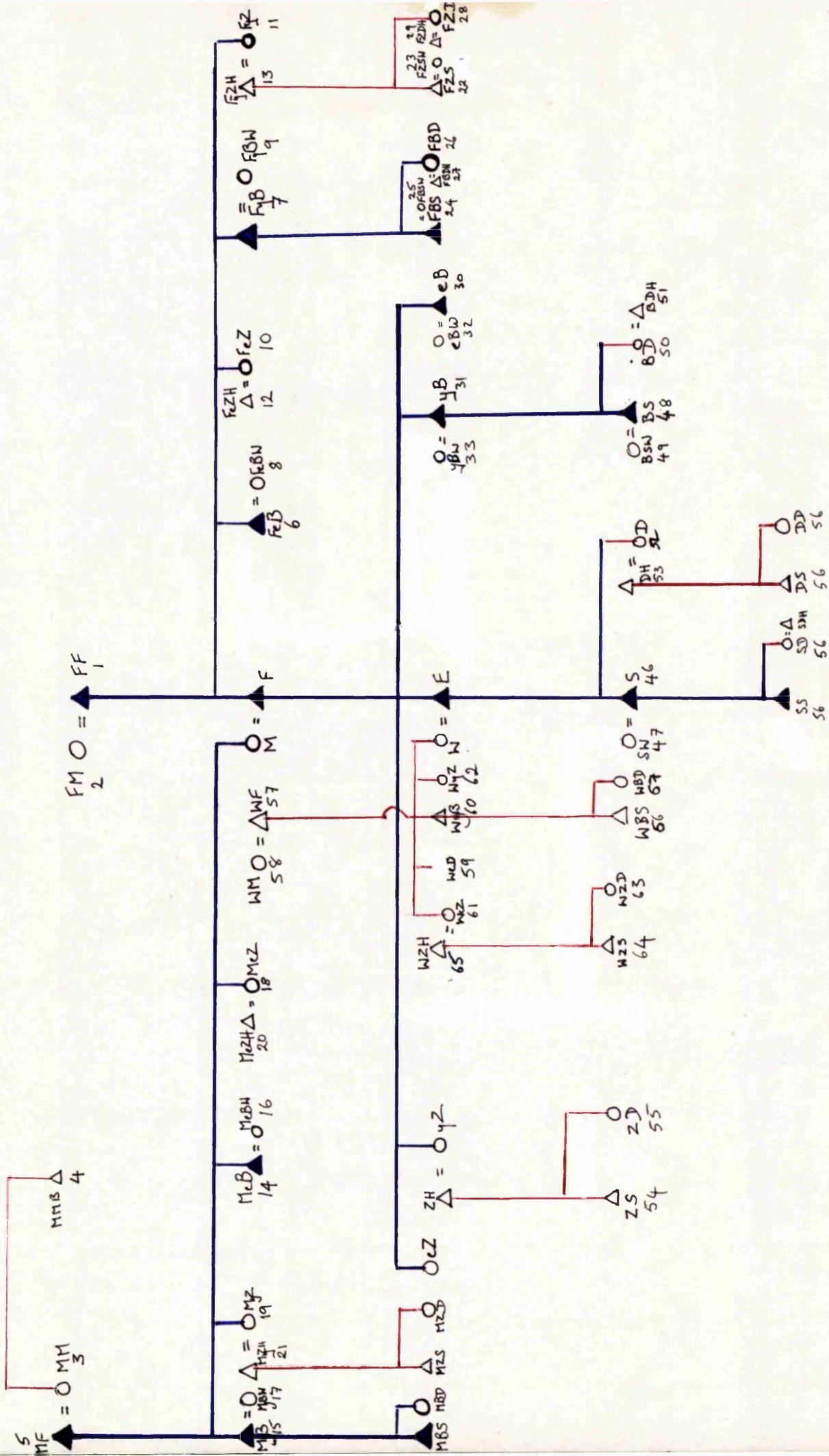
Clan	Chawa	Samek
Bi-wa Lamsong Lumben Dekhim	Lamawa/Lambawa Chawa (Pangma)	Chiksaba/Dekhaba Dekhama
Wangtang Lamsong	Tumbuwa Chawa (Yaphu)	Yukchami Yukama
Bik-sik	Tumbuwa Chawa (Pangma) Tumbokma Chawa (Diding)	Chiksaba Chiksama
Yangkhrung	Pittuma Chawa (Pangma) Dara Pani (Dhupu)	Kechaba Kechama
Yangkhela	Pungben Chawa (?Malta) Tumbuwa Chawa (Yaphu) Yoktokwa Chawa (Apurdam)	Kechaba Kechama
Heluali Themsong Karduali (or Heluali Lamsong)	Singbongma Chawa (Helua)	Yungkaba Yungkama
Angla Lamsong Ketra Tembra Khaisong	Minchi-wa Chawa (Yaphoo)	Yungkaba Yungkama
Che-wa (or Chukuwa)	Khamlewa Chawa (Arbote)	Rungkhaba Rongkhama
Khimpule	Hangchuwa Chawa (Malta)	Yungkaba Yungkama
Deksen Hangkhim	Chokawa Chawa	Wachihang Wekama
Pakpusa Tsanka	Yimua Chawa (Num)	Yungchaba Yungchama
Rumbangsa Lumbangsa	Yimua Chawa (Num)	Songsaba Songsama

Kesa	Yimua Chawa (Num)	Kechaba Kechama
Kikura Kakura Nikura Menaba	Kheksuwa Chawa (Num)	Kechaba Kechama
Drikhim	Chonglama Chawa (DanRa Pangma)	Kekaba Kekama
Tengsa	Mingchiwa Chawa (Yaphu DanRa)	Yungkaba Yungkama
Deren Lamsong	Lung-kowa Chawa	Yungkaba Yungkama
Yumpang Deren	Singbongma Chawa (Diding)	Yungkaba Yungkama
Gairi Angla Deren	"	

APPENDIX 3
Kinship Terminology

1. Father's Father	Pappa
2. Father's Mother	Mamma
3. Mother's Mother	Mamma
4. Mother's Mother's Brother	Pappa
5. Mother's Father	Pappa
6. Father's elder Brother	Deppa
7. Father's younger Brother	Babang
8. Father's elder Brother's Wife	Dema
9. Father's younger Brother's Wife	Sima
10. Father's elder Sister	Dema
11. Father's younger Sister	Nana
12. Father's elder Sister's Husband	Deppa (or Ki'bu if younger than F).
13. Father's younger Sister's Husband	Ki'bu (or Deppa if older than F).
14. Mother's elder Brother	Koyeng Deppa
15. Mother's younger Brother	Koyeng Koyeng
16. Mother's elder Brother's Wife	Dema
17. Mother's younger Brother's Wife	Angni
18. Mother's elder Sister	Dema
19. Mother's younger Sister	Sengma
20. Mother's elder Sister's Husband	Deppa
21. Mother's younger Sister's Husband	Babang
22. Father's Sister's Son	Bubu or Nusa, depending whether older or younger than ego.
23. Father's Sister's Son's Wife	Nammi or Ki'na depending on whether spouse older or younger than ego.
24. Father's Brother's Son	Bubu or Nusa depending on whether older or younger than ego
25. Father's Brother's Son's Wife	Nammi or Ki'na depending on spouse's age, as above
26. Father's Brother's Daughter	Nana or Nusa depending on age as above
27. Father's Brother's Daughter's Husband	Ki'bu or Maksa as above
28. Father's Sister's Daughter	Nana or Nusa. as above
29. Father's Sister's Daughter's Husband	Ki'bu or Maksa as above
30. Elder Brother	Bubu
31. Younger Brother	Nusa
32. Elder Brother's Wife	Ki'na
33. Younger Brother's Wife	Nammi
34. Mother's Brother's Son	Yesa
35. Mother's Brother's Son's Wife	Ki'na or Nammi, depending as above
35. Mother's Brother's Daughter	Nana or Nusa, as above
36. Mother's Brother's Daughter's Husband	Ki'bu or Maksa, as above
37. Mother's Sister's Son	Bubu or Nusa

38. Mother's Sister's Son's Wife	Ki'na or Nammi
38. Mother's Sister's Daughter	Nana or Nusa (also for WBW)
39. Mother's Sister's Daughter's Husband	Ki'bu or Maksa
40. Elder Sister	Nana
41. Younger Sister	Nusa
42. Elder Sister's Husband	Ki'bu
43. Younger Sister's Husband	Maksa
44. Son's Wife's Father,	Ngap, (also for DHF)
45. Son's Wife's Mother	Ngamma (also for DHM)
46. Son	Pasa, thukpa
47. Son's Wife	Nammi
48. Brother's Son	Yesa, (also for MBSS)
49. Brother's Son's Wife	Nammi
50. Brother's Daughter	Yesama (also for MBSD)
51. Brother's Daughter's Husband	Maksa
52. Daughter	Pasa, Samsawama
53. Daughter's Husband	Maksa
54. Sister's Son	Hanglisa (also for HZS)
55. Sister's Daughter	Hangnusa (also for HZD)
56. Son's & Daughter's Son, & Son's & Daughter's Daughter	Yangmin
57. Wife's Father	Nampa
58. Wife's Mother	Namma
59. Wife's/Husband's elder Brother	Bunampa
60. Wife's/Husband's younger Brother	Ngap
61. Wife's/Husband's elder Sister	Nanama
62. Wife's/Husband's younger Sister	Ngetengma
63. Wife's Sister's Daughter	Yesama
64. Wife's Sister's Son	Yesa
65. Wife's Sister's Husband	Yongniba (addressed as Bubu or Nusa depending on age)
66. Wife's Brother's Son	Yesa
67. Wife's Brother's Daughter	Yesama



APPENDIX 4

Lohorung Texts

1. Nuagi chant (see chapter four).

anglak khim , surak khim, hiti khim, miti khimpie, ane chu' ana.
sabudi hang o! chong chi hang o!
khasukma 'no lam ye , khayama 'no lam ye.
nara 'no lam yo , malewa 'no lam yo.
ha:y! tella 'no lam yo. chayuma 'no lam yo.
ha:y! khempalung 'no lam yo. lasachi 'no lam yo.
a:y! a:y! khongma lam ye. namdama 'no lam ye.
a:y! a:y! nam khetam 'no lam ye. sunnali 'no lam ye. rupali 'no
lam ye.
a:y!!!! anglak khim, surak khim miti khim hiti khim
a:y!!!! sakbali yo khim khim yo. o'mali yo khim yo. thupmali 'no
khim yo.
a:y!ha:y! waiphu 'no lam ye.
ha:y! ha:y! e phekurie 'no pengtange nam, tella'so phesa, lasu
'so phesa.
a:y!ha:y! kaso 'no dam ye. sunna 'no dam ye. ropa 'no dam ye.
ha:y! kisa, yasa 'no dam ye.
ha:y! biksa 'no dam ye.
a:y! ha:y! chawa 'no dam ye.
ha:y!a:y! diwa 'no dam ye. lawa 'no dam ye. Khammang mim mui 'no dam.
ha:y! khahi 'no dam, yakham 'pi so , mukham 'pi so, wekhamam igo.
ha:y! yulamba lam 'pi go. igo wekhama lam igo.
ha:y! muino lam 'pi, nekha khi 'no lam pi.
ha:y! a:y! sechi 'no . hense 'no.
semang lam ise, hense 'no nukok 'no pise.
huwa 'no pise. wekhamam igo.
lawa 'no pise, puwa 'no pise'mo. charawa 'no pise, chasum 'no
pise. khe'miknge
ha:y! wekhamam igo . o! nanglakha 'ro , saya 'no pokse.
ha:y! la! wekhamam igo , narano saya , kubono saya
ha:y! saya 'ni, hang 'mo.
ha:y! wekhamam igo. bhuta 'no, bhayu, bharmangsi, choran 'no
tense 'no
ye.
a:y! wekhamam igo , sero 'no , subbi 'no tense 'no ye.
jori 'no pari lano tense ye. mikwama 'no, nakwama 'no tense ye.
a:y! anna mi 'go . wekhamam igo
heh! nak hiwa 'no, dek hiwa 'no tense ye. wekhamam igo. wekhamam
igo.
lasawa 'no , hechima 'no tense ye. wekhamam igo.
tokchama 'no tense , yokchama 'no tense ye. wekhamam igo.
hitchama 'no tense, pichama 'no tense ye. wekhamam igo.
somekla 'no tense, tomekla 'no tense.
khomkhomna 'no tense. tingtingna 'no tense. wekhamam igo.
hureptu 'no tense, pereptu 'no tense ye. wekhamam igo.
sukmawa 'no tense, simawa 'no tense. lambawa 'no tense, khokwa 'no
tense.
a:yh! siwama 'no tense . tense 'no ye.
lahari kong 'no tense ye.

*jhiu jhiri'no tense. sunali kong, rupali kong 'no tense ye.
phekuri'no , phaksang 'gi ro; tarawaro miriwaro.
kobing ana bengse heh! gopala tarawaro miriwaro,
kopse, bengse, sen hinse ye, baba heh! baba heh!
lasu'no saya , tella 'no saya na lase 'no saya ye..
kisa'no saya, yasa 'no saya, biksa 'no saya ye.
chawa'no saya, diwa'no saya ye.
ha:y! puwama' mi saya go, koptetu, doptetu oh! asen 'no.
namchiliwa nampa'no, sapdimpa' no, khopdimpa'no bopdimpa'no,
phekuri'no
chuptangi huge go.*

SOKMA

*merokma wa'go rogue. puwamami hiwa 'go, chawa nenuye!..
labok! hiwa laso, puwa laso:
yulamba lampi'go ta'ang . wekhamam igo ta'ang. ayu banke'go
ta'ang sensi
hendame, semmang hendame, nukok 'no pise, nuku 'no pise, nuwa 'no
pise, charawa
'no pise, chasum 'no pise, ta'ang. wekhamam igo ta'ang.*

UMCHA

*bhuta 'no tense, bayu 'no tense, ta'ang. bharmangsi 'no tense
ta'ang.sehe 'no
tense, sindi 'no tense ta'ang, ayu ba ta'ang mi'wa 'no tense,
nakwa
'no tense,
tarawa mirikwaro...kopme, bengme..sahel bakha 'no tempa sahe!
baluwa 'no tempa sahe! maiyuma 'no lampa sahe!
anglak 'no khimpi, surak 'no khimpi, tella 'no dampi sahe!
lasu 'no dam, kasu 'no dakpi, sahe! sunna'no dampi sahe!, pacha'no
lumpi sahe!
chupting, bingsing sahe! pasing, desing sahe! sachep'no ngachep'no
sahe!
dichowa, chachawa bi sahe! tongtemma cham ye, sahe!
mikwama tense sahe! nuyak'no tense sahe!
sechino tense, nuwano hense sahe!
lawa'no hinse'no sahe! puwa 'no hinse'no , jadau!!*

*"enna lamawabia chawabia, pappa sikla, ma'ma sikla, tuba, laba
sikla, kitna, dema sikla, bu'nusa sikla, cheli beti sikla, chero
mero sikla chuk'aniha! ennam pentam talo banke poktam yeptam panke
aluatam, baluatam, singtam lang lingtang lam pok'karane,
yepkarane. Hiwaba lam banke, toklungtok'bi sokma nense, perere
nense, oba tampang panke charawa hinse, khelawa hinse; tamaniha,
lawa hense, puwa hense, sence hense, makse hense; anglak khimpi,
surak khimpie, sunna doka, ropa doka, hitchrung tungchrung khimpi
kakdakune; langre sokdakme, hukre sokdakme, lasudampi, telladampi,*

men'ngesire, mentaksire, yeptamaniha, pentamaniha; bara mahina bia tongtema cham, hatekma cham, sakbak'tam, pi'mali'tam, phululu'tam, bumbulu'tam, khambulu'tam, subila'tam, wengbila'tam, pichili'wami, sachep dam, ngachep dam, chechime dam, khenchime dam, buktimpa cham, songtimpa cham, timimpa cham, kaso dam, yowa dam, diwa dam, chawa dam; enna, pappa sikla, ma'ma sikla 'go saksiro, wepmasiro, chaane, dungane. annem chero mero songko chabakamchine, dungbakamchine, le'no'ledamni, kha'no'khangdakdamni; niwa etugane, taunwa etugane. kange lamawa chawabiha chiksaba'go, chigi saya, nara saya, saya're pi'me, lawa're pi'me, puwa're pidamne. khomkhomtu khenso, pereptu khenso, boktukma khenso, chohen khenso, tak'lo tempi'me: boksi, bayu, brahmangsi, chora, desana, masana, sehe, sindi, tak'lo tempi'me! Raja daino, kaji daino, ista daino! saturso tangpam ledeme, supamaro ongpumaro, luluwaro, sapden nepme khorekwaro, tanglo khupme, tarawaro kopdame, bengdame, tella lasubi'no lawa elipime, lawa're pidame, puware pidame, chaware pidame; lo! langhuk sok'khetane, annamim poktam yeptam'pi kharane, tauntekanabi pempime, deu pitra lengpi'me siduma wayengma elengma, kerukchimro tamaniha, aru bela atamaniha. sikla wanla eluchamaniha, i'chama lam akhemaniha, mangpa're tikchim, yatangpa're tikchim, akrok'lo ngesik e'khemani'ha. Hali? lekingka, sewa lekingka, binti lekingka, guhar lekingka, ba jadau!

"angla khimpie, surak khimpie, hitchrung tungmarung lamawa chawabie chuane; anna bara mahina tongtemma cham, khatemma cham, diwa chawa, pichili wa mi sachep ngachep, chechime dam, khenchime dam saya pokdachimme. angla e'chabimme, sura e'chabimme, hiwa'ba nung e'wapchame, jori tempimme, pari tempimme, taun tekanabi pempimme;"

"anna lamawa chawabie angla khim, sura khimpie, sunna doka, ropa doka, chuane; bara mahina tongtemma cham, khatemma cham, sachep ngachep, chechime dam, khenchime dam, diwa chawa, saya pokdachimme; sigachim, kagachim, hangso, niwa etukme, taunwa etukme, Lakshmi taklo, hembokmane, boksi, dahini brahmangsi taklo sektikhemane!"

2. Words to recall the infant's lawa (see chapter five).

lawa khe'mayo, lawa khe'mayo

chacham lawa tapnampi epeyako

khimpi keh'mayo; cheche chasi

maman chasi, totong dungsi, meding chasi

dudu dungsi khe'mayo!

lamawa chawablie khe'mayo!"

"Ayu'go ta'ang lamawa chawabie chiksaba/dekhama mim lawa

ta'ang ke'mayo, singleangbi chu'ana, singsokpi chu'ana angso,

baphum langpi chu'ana angso, baphum sokpi, chu'ana angso, ling-

kowa langpi chu'ana angso, yowa hongsiu, mlamphu metarent,

lamphumemarent chu'ana kangso, wa'mi laprengbi chu'ana angso,

ke'mayo

ta'ang!; hongma pangpheduna angso, dara kada pangpheduna

angso, tak; ako hongma rokno bhee lawa tae mi'chu'ma, chhoto

a'tae, lahamo ngagune tokbee kero, kero, kero-bhee chacham lawa tao!

lamawa chawabi ke'mayo ta'ang! mamam chasi, cheche chasi, totang dungsi, dudu dungsi, medin chasi ke'mayo, ke'mayo!"

chacham lawa ta'ayo, ta'ayo

sisi'lo, pompola, logo, logo, logo.

chacham lawa ta'ayo; kolak, kolak, kolak.

3. Chant of the Women after Marriage (see chapter six)

Tawama Khewama ta'ayo! ayu anglak khimpie, surak khimpie, sunnalie dokha, rupali dokha, hitchrungpi, tungchrungpi, lamawa chawabi tawama khewama ta'ayo!"

4. To Raise saya

lamawa chawabie kechabam-go ayu-go saye pogayo. Jori parichie saya dashitami hangso ape ame khimtangme pasachiechie bu-nusachie na nusechie saya dashitami hangso ayugo anago saya pogdachime, chupthing, bengsing pasing desing, masing machi pendingka hanke anago saya pokdachime; aie banke saya cheng cheng lema nung anam jori pari chim kekpi lamdum timane waitimane, pintimaneyo"

Notes

Notes: 1. Introduction

(1) Allen (n.d.) found a similar concept, *seor*, to be the most problematic of the general terms he analyses. In an article on illness (1976) he gives the Nepali words used by informants to translate the concept: these include *graha* "planet", *karma* "lot", *sakti* "strength", *āt* "courage", *phap* "growth, prosperity", *pitri* "patrilineal ancestors", *kul* "lineage" and "the god within a person". He offers himself the term "fortune" that covers the neutral and positive senses.

(2) Although strictly speaking the Lohorung do not have anything as narrow as a 'psychology', which may, to many, imply the scientific frame of reference of academic psychology, I am picking out this aspect of their conceptualisations and using this term to cover their understanding of mental/feeling states, notions about the nature of personhood, motivations etc..

(3) Further statistics on Lohorung households are to be found in Bennett and Acharya (1981) and in Hardman (forthcoming), the study that concentrates on Lohorung women.

(4) See Macfarlane 1976 for his analysis of household and family structure (Appendix 5) and the chapter on social structure and mortality. Among the Lohorung infant and child mortality are partially to account for the small size of nuclear households. From a sample of sixteen Lohorung women over fifty, the average number of conceptions was 5.25, of live births 5.12. The average number of children now alive was 1.56 (male), 1.31 (female), that is, a total of 2.87. The fetal wastage rate was 2.48%, the survival rate 56.05%.

(5) For a complete description of the Time Allocation Study, see Acharya and Bennett (1981). In brief, the aim of the "Status of Women" study was to assess women's contribution to the economy and especially in "productive" activities that meet their subsistence needs. We used the method of observing the activity of each family member, with random checks throughout the day and throughout every season.

(6) One informant suggested that the languages of the Yamphu Rai, the Balali Rai and the Mewahang Rai are all very similar, mutually intelligible, differing mainly in pronunciation. "Perhaps", he said, "just as at one time the Lohorung, the Yamphu and the Mewahang were close brothers, so too we were close to the Balali Rai". I was, unfortunately, not able to check the accuracy of his linguistic statement.

Notes: 2 The Superhuman World

(1)About the *jhañkri*, we know quite a lot. See Macdonald 1962, Hitchcock and Jones 1976 and several articles in Furer-Haimendorf 1973.

(2)MacDonald faces a similar problem in dealing with Tamang terms. When the Tamang term *ruigi phola* occurs in his Tamang's description, he explains it as, "the family divinities, *kuldevatā*, of the Tamang," (1975:130) with a warning footnote, "*Kuldevatā* must be considered as an interpretation and not as a translation of Tamang *ruigi phola*". (ibid:147).

(3)See Sagant's article on the Limbu spirit *Tampungmā*, 1969, for close parallels with *chawatangma*.

Notes: 3 Pe-lam.

(1)One old man told me that in the distant past the Lohorung regarded the emergence of a *mangpa* amongst themselves as an evil to be destroyed. He claimed they used to kill the *mangpa* and stake his head to a pole that was then stuck in the cliff at the top of Gairi Pangma. Later, when the Lohorung started to marry with the Khambu Rai groups, those to the West of the Arun, they had to accept the emergence of new *mangpa*, as part of *māwali patti* (the direction of the mother's family) and not an evil. This poses a possibility that some of the myths, describing the first man as *mangpa*, may also have come from 'the mother's side', from the Khambu.

(2)See Sagant, 1973, for a description of the difference between the two Limbu priests, the *phedangma* and the *bijuwa*, whose functions are complementary at a symbolic level, and made clear with an analysis of household space organization.

(3)See Allen 1975:168, where he discusses a narrative text in Thulung ritual language, and his article 1978, on Thulung ritual language.

(4)See MacDonald (1957) on cloistering villages, in which he reveals the widespread nature of this kind of solemn prohibition over Asia and Southeast Asia. What is interesting is that for the Lohorung the unit of exclusion is the household, the main social unit, rather than the village.

(5)See McDougal for his detailed analysis of the process of clan splitting, 'splitting the bones' among the Kulunge Rai.

(6)See Seeland 1980 for his examination of the significance of bamboo in Lohorung culture.

(7)Similar ritual languages or names restricted to ceremonial use have been found to exist amongst the Thulung Rai and the Kulunge Rai (see for example, Allen 1978:237-255 and McDougal, 1979:92-93).

Notes: 4 The House and *nuagi*

(1) I use the word 'ceremony' to describe all the activities connected with *nuagi*, and 'ritual' to refer to that part of the ceremony carried out by the priest, ie the 'transformative' as opposed to 'confirmative' part (See V. Turner, 1967:95).

(2) The organisation of space in the house and house symbolism of several other Kiranti groups has been variously described by Allen, 1972; McDougal, 1979:65, and Sagant, 1973.

(3) Allen, 1972, discusses the significance of the vertical dimension in Thulung society in the expression of motion. In the same article he describes Thulung domestic space and we see here too the importance of the 'uphill'/'downhill' orientation in determining the layout of the house.

(4) "To throw away someone's nose" may be glossed as 'to consciously ignore someone's dignity and sense of pride', 'to bring shame upon someone, humiliate, snub someone'. It is also closely connected to effecting someone's *saya*. People who are insulted, shouted at, made to lose face, and humiliated have to have their *saya* raised.

(5) The blood is used for divination and Sagant describes the Limbu conception of a firm relation between blood and prosperity (1981:153), in which the blood plays an essential role in refreshing the *phung sām* 'l'âme-fleur' (ibid:153). The implication here is a causal connection between blood and prosperity effected by the 'soul flower'. The Lohorung said the blood was 'good' and talked of the negative aspects of the presence of water in the eyes or nose of the chicken. Though there may be a similar connection for the Lohorung between blood and prosperity, Needham's article 'Skulls and Causality' (1976) comes to mind to make me cautious in drawing inferences about how they are connected.

(6) The belief in the importance of the water serpents is shared by other Rai groups. McDougal talks about the Kulunge *Nagi* as being a "pan-Rai deity" (1979:66), and briefly adds that:
"The Kulunge Rais have an important series of rituals associated with *Nagi*, the water serpent. In front of the house, along the 'lower' wall, are two adjacent stands for placing large earthen pots for beer. When rites are performed for the god *Nagi* during the summer (*ubhau*), when *Nagi* is up in the mountains, a jar filled with beer (*di*) for ritual offerings is placed on the upstream stand; when rites of the same series are performed during the winter (*udhau*), when *Nagi* is lower down in the valleys, the jar is placed on the 'downstream' stand... In the corner of the house formed by the 'front' and 'upper' walls, is another beer stand. This is used to hold the offerings of beer made to *Purbe*, the Household God, and to the personal deities of the householder and his wife" (ibid:66).

(7) Sagant in 'La Tête Haute' (1981) is also struck by the apparent similarity of ancient Tibetan and Limbu ideas. He compares, for example, the Limbu *mukumā sām* with the Tibetan *srog-lha*, 'vitality', and describes how the *mo-lha*, the man's god, and *pho-lha*, woman's god, are relevant to the cult of Manguenna. It is worth noting too here that the Kulunge Rai conceive of the householder and his wife as having personal gods, which each inherits both patrilineally and matrilineally. (McDougal, 1979:66,86)

(8) Among the Lohorung there is some disagreement as to whether it is the *lawa* or the *saya* or both that become the *chap*, 'spirit or ghost of the dead person'.

Notes: 5 *Lawa, niwa* and *saya* in the Cycle of Life

(1) In Brahman-Chetri culture a woman becomes polluted and untouchable during the first three days of her menstruation; for these three days a woman must not enter the kitchen, touch food or water that others will eat or drink, or even worship the gods or the ancestor spirits. She may not comb her hair or oil it, and she sleeps separately in a downstairs room. Also she may not touch the adult man". (Bennett, 1983:215)

(2) Infant mortality is high, as mentioned in chapter four. Miscarriages are frequent. The following demonstrates how miscarriage and infant deaths can effect a household.

"Kal Ban lived for sixteen years with his first wife who had seven children but all died of dysentery within one month. She died in the same month and the following year he married another woman from DanRa Pangma. She, however, eloped with another man from Loke Pangma after one month with Kal Ban. The same year, he married a widow from Angla, who already had a son from her first marriage. She still lives with Kal Ban. Sadly, though she conceived frequently and had eleven children, six sons and five daughters, all died at birth or when very small, whilst other conceptions miscarried. In spite of the many births there were no children alive. A woman who worked for the couple as a cowherd was persuaded to act as a wife in the hope of getting a son. She stayed as a wife for over a year and bore a daughter who still lives with her father but the mother eloped with a sarki (one of the cobbler caste), from Chandanpur. A year later the couple persuaded a Khambu (Chamlinge Rai) woman from Majhuwa to join as a co-wife. She died childless two years later."

(3) A similar conception of flowers exists amongst the Tamang. See Hofer (1981), who says, "There is a mystic linkage between a particular kind of flower, a particular kind of cen and the genitalia of a female - the latter being also called flower. Once the shaman has discovered which flower corresponds to his patient's 'flower' he can identify and placate the cen held responsible for the woman's barrenness or menstruation trouble." (ibid:15).

(4)For comparative purposes see Bennett's 'Sex and Motherhood' (1976) that includes a description of birth among the Brahmin-Chetri.

(5)See Stone 1976 for a more detailed analysis of the hot/cold dichotomy combined with an inside/outside opposition.

(6)The notion of wandering souls is prevalent in Shamanistic societies all over Central and North Asia, in Tibet, China and the Far East. See Eliade, 1972:215-220.

(7)For some, schooling for girls is 'wrong' (phenni). There is an old saying, 'if girls have schooling, then the home of our wife's father will come to an end'.The meaning of this goes somewhat as follows: school makes girls 'clever', but they forget all other work. They no longer see their niwa, when they come home they don't want to do housework: they want to be like their brothers. Then no man wants them for a wife: they are known to be lazy in the fields. Alternatively, they do not want to marry, or want to marry a Brahmin/Chetri. Whichever way it is, if they do not marry, or marry a Brahmin/Chetri they reduce the likelihood of boys from other clans finding wives and hence having children. Though many laugh at the saying, they nevertheless mention it.

(8) This is a play on words: nammi rokno chak, 'she eats like a daughter-in-law', that is, she is modest, hard-working and sensitive to others needs.

(9)Allen has some interesting comments on the new sorts of roles and decision-making processes that now confront the Thulung Rai. "So the new role is exercised in a new social unit, is concerned with new sorts of social activities, is exercised for abruptly delimited periods, is gained and lost by competition, is isolable from the totality of an individual in an unaccustomed way. The decision-making process is equally untraditional. Formerly the presupposition was that a discussion would lead to gradual emergence of a consensus, whereas nowadays the institution of voting admits the possibility and increases the likelihood of, overt unreconcilable differences of opinion" (1972b:161)

(10)A comparison of the Rai with the Tallensi (Fortes 1983) and other West African social psychologies (Horton 1983) is interesting in showing how relatively full of initiative Rai are allowed to be in comparison to these cultures, though sharing the strong collectivist element that informs them, "an element most strikingly exemplified by the idea that the successful individual, even in his most idiosyncratic moments, is sustained and constrained by a delegation from the 'forces of society'" (Horton, 1983:72)

(11)Alcohol is valued by the Lohorung and regarded as powerful. The following Lohorung story shows their view of its strength: "At the time when there was no rice, there was a dog, a snake and a bear who were fighting, and all died; people put them into a

hole in the ground. From that hole grew a plant, a creeper, (what they later called habektangma) grew out of the hole. People tasted the plant and it was very spicy and they began to act very strangely; they were very drunk and unable to talk or walk properly, so they threw it away. Later they thought it must be useful somehow, and they said, 'let's eat it with water'. They dried the leaves and crumbled them to dust and put it in the water and drank it. They found this time that they became a little drunk and they were very strong. They did much work and felt good 'Our bodies are good now', they said. They tried adding it to maize, then to millet and later on to rice and it tasted good. But they say, "drink fairly, the right amount and everything is good, if you drink just a little too much, then people cry like a dog, if they drink more than that they fight like a bear. If they drink even more they they lose their mind, forget everything and wherever they are, they sleep like a snake."

The making of alcohol is restricted to women, who keep part of the process secret and exclusive. Yeast cakes, for example, needed for brewing any liquor, are only made by the oldest women in the community, and are made secretly and then distributed to those they please. They can also be bought in the market but most women 'swear by' a particular old woman's yeast cakes for making good beer.

(12) Liquor sales in one year brought in between Rs.1000-2000 (at the time, £1=Rs.24.00) into the households of quite a few enterprising women. One woman made as much as Rs.3456 profit.

(13) All Lohorung marriage forms emphasise the transfer of jural authority over a woman. The full marriage is, however, only complete after the last rite. If this rite has been completed it is hard for a woman to leave, especially if she wants to marry someone else. If a widow wants to remarry, she first has to persuade her husband's younger brother to give up his rights over her. If he wants to claim her, then her suitor may try to capture the widow and pay compensation. If her husband is still alive, she can still desert him, using some tactic to do so. Many simply return to their natal home. Others who want to marry again are 'captured', or re-marry in *jāri biha* (N) 'fine marriage', or 'elopement', in which the new husband pays the former husband a fine of about Rs.1000. The sum is less if the woman has married in this way before, and decreases each time she re-marries. Previously, the first husband had the right to take his revenge on his successor with 'a cutting (ie sharp) knife', *boktam dabe*, allowing him to mutilate or even kill him. Even now the new couple keep out of the way of a previous husband. Those who are determined to follow their 'own mind' *tangpam niwa*, do so and knowing that this 'throws away the nose' of a father, a whole household, possibly a husband, they keep away until the 'hurt *niwa*' is strong again.

(14) Sagant (1969) makes the point that Limbu sons usually acquire their independence slowly, indirectly, never head on; they take liberties and the father feigns ignorance; they stay out all

night, they make their first trip to Assam on their own and their father watches. Only in 'theft marriage' is the rebellion overt. The father's authority is totally undermined and yet in the end he has to give the couple a Tikā, the mark of his acceptance.

(14) This takes us back to the beginning of the chapter where I described the complex Lohorung notion of *bung*, and to the belief that every person has a flower representing their life in the world of the dead and to the notion of multiple souls. There is also a flower representing the person in the world of the living

(15) See Sagant 1976:168 and McDougal, 1979:chapter VII for descriptions of Limbu and Kulunge Rai funerary rites. Among the Kulunge Rai the white flags are given by the out-married women of the local clan group as an expression of 'sisterly' love for their 'brother' (McDougal, 1979:126).

(16) The following is one man's explanation to me of what happens to the body at death. In his view there are not just two 'souls' (*lawa* and *saya*) in a person, there are many. This reflects a principle lying behind the Lohorung understanding of the person, of the existence of a multiplicity of souls. These act as a kind of 'mutuality of consciousness' with various parts of the natural environment. The following is an attempt to translate what he said,

"Ours, you know in our bodies, in people's bodies there are those, those *chap*, let's call them. For all of us, so they say, our 'talking one' goes to *Naralok* (our place up there), and there it stays. Suppose I die, mine, yours too, just like that our 'talking one' goes to *Naralok*. As for the 'body one' (the flesh), that one goes in the earth and stays with the soil; it goes to be friends with the soil - all that concerns the flesh is the soil's share. And now, 'the fire one', yes let's call it the fire - it's like that our inside, our *hongsiu* (deepest inside). We living ones we eat mandarines, berries, maize all those things we eat, don't we? Deep inside fire exists, they say, and all those things the fire cooks. That one, our *hongsiu* (deepest inside) when we die goes to meet the fire. So that one goes. Now, our *hangsa* ('main body, soul' N.) one goes to *Indra lok* (heaven). *Jema Raj*, our enemy, takes it so they say, firstly, six months before death, so that one goes to *Jema lok*, let's call it that, or *Indra lok*. The 'breathe one' that one goes to catch up with the wind. Then the other one, our *lawa* it goes to seek a dwelling place so they say in your women's bellies, that *lawa*, that *jiphangsa* (N. 'life-heart') goes to look for a dwelling place and goes to women's bellies - like that a child is made. Then, those mocking ones, those are different; four brothers of one, eight brothers. What are they? Well, they made the bones. Those *sekowa-mekowa* (*sekowa*, 'bone' in L.) bones ones - the grave watchers, those ones they call the *chap*. Those are the teasing, haunting kind, those are *chap* indeed. They come to nine brothers; that means these, one is here and this eye, that makes two, this three, this four (the nostrils), this five (mouth), this six and seven (the ears), and below, at the other end, there are two, eight and nine. So in all

there are nine brothers. So it is those we chase away, the mockers and teasers, when they threaten us, the *sikla* (the *chap* called at *nuagi* and at the funeral). We call them, '*aluatham, beluatham, pakpoktae*' (*rise up from the sandy places, the earth places, come etc. as in nuagi*)."

(17) A term of Piaget used for example by Hallpike (1976) to argue that 'primitives' have a different mentality to Westerners

(18) Heelas and Locke suggest a model, in which societies can be plotted depending on whether the concept of the 'self' is *idealist* or *passiones*. In the former a conscious free-willed self is in control; in the latter, externalised conceptualisations are in control, and the individual is like 'a pawn in the hands of external agencies' (1981:41).

Notes: 6 Emotions and Concepts of Mind

(1) Hodgson's comment is inspired no doubt by the 19th. century evolutionary theory that primitive people think concretely, pre-logically etc. and that civilised people think abstractly, logically, scientifically etc., rather than by what he found in Nepal.

(2) The Lohorung for these two phrases are: "*manthalo khoprek pangangme? igo me'nungma ngesini e'raichha khoprek le ta'dae emo!*" and "*huksok meding lamdumti: nabuk ma'a ngesini.*"

Notes: 7 Concluding Remarks

(1) Lutz discusses the significance of situation for the Ifaluk in their construction of emotion in her 1981 article, Situation Based Emotion *Frames* in Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference of the Cognitive Society, Berkeley.

(2) As mentioned in chapter one, strictly speaking the Lohorung do not have anything as narrow as a 'psychology' with its connotations of professional boundaries. I have been concentrating on those aspects of culture which have to do with psychological matters, with what the participants consider to be the nature of people, their motivations, with such concepts as mind, memory, and their understanding of mental and emotion states.

(3) We do acknowledge certain free-floating emotional states such as depression or as in 'the 'blues' are gonna get you'; these need not have any particular object. However, these states are perhaps best thought of as moods: certainly they do not constitute the standard example of an emotional state, about which we can legitimately enquire, "what are you sad, angry, or upset etc. about?"

(4) Horton (1982) makes a useful distinction between two distinct and complementary levels of thought and discourse. The first he names 'primary theory' which is the thought and discourse of 'everyday' or 'commonsense', and which "does not differ very much from community to community or from culture to culture"

(ibid:228). The other he names 'secondary theory' where differences are not "differences of emphasis and degree" they are "startling differences in kind as between community and community, culture and culture" (ibid:228).

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