

NEWAR VIGNANA  
नयाह विज्ञान  
Journal Of Newar Studies



AD 2007/08

Number 6  
NS1128

BS 2064/65

## Newāh Vijñāna

The Journal of Newar Studies

ISSN 1536-8661

1128 Number-6 2007/08

# Editorial

**Publisher**  
Intl. Nepāl Bhāshā Sewa Samiti  
Center For Nepalese  
Language & Culture  
Portland, Oregon USA

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### Cover:

Source: Nepal Mandala Forum,  
Shankhadhar Sakhwa  
(<http://shankhadharsakhwa.org>)

In a relatively short time span, Nepal has gone through various phases of change, especially in political scenario. From our previous issue of Newāh Vijñāna till now, we witnessed the second *jana āndolan* uprising and afterwards the Nepalese people got a rare opportunity to choose their own government. Even though the final version of constitution has not been finalized, the Nepalese people succeeded in bringing the interim constitution that guaranteed the right to preserve, promote, and develop their own language and cultural heritage. Now, Nepal is no longer recognized as a monolingual country but the current constitution recognizes all languages of Nepal as National languages. However, the *Khas* language is still mentioned as the language of official use and 238 years of *Shah* dynasty was put on hold until the constitutional assembly election is held. During the *Shah* dynasty, especially *Rana* and *Panchayat* period, Newars have experienced various kinds of suppressive hassle including education, communication and public services.

Furthermore, the past government has also devalued the importance of *Nepal Sambat*. For the last 28 years, the Newar people have struggled for recognition of *Nepal Sambat* as the national calendar of Nepal. It was not until second *jana āndolan* that Honorable Prime Minister Koirala assured that *Nepal Sambat* as its national calendar cannot be ignored. Since then, all government media started using it as the original calendar of Nepal. However, the struggle has not ended because the government regulation is still running under foreign-born calendar, the *Bikram Sambat*. The Nepalese communities around the globe are still celebrating the *Bikram Sambat* as the official Nepalese New Year and use of *Bikram Sambat* as a Nepali calendar is still prevalent but we believe that its use will soon end.

Not only *Nepal Sambat* but also the consideration of reestablishing *Nepal Mandala* as a state, has also surfaced. *Nepal Mandala* is not a new word but it has come down to Nepalese people from the ancient time. According to recently established *Nepal Mandala Forum (NMF)*, the 12 adjacent districts of current Kathmandu Valley used to be known as boundary of ancient *Nepal Mandala*. We encounter such evidences on existence of *Nepal Mandala* in a chant done in Sanskrit verses by a Newar Buddhist priest. This chant is used to resume the ritual offered to any deity and to recognize the host person by honoring the cosmic details and it is still in practice. Due to numerous undocumented historical evidences, historians struggle to gain full support to recognize the actual boundary of *Nepal Mandala*. Currently, *Nepal Valley* consists of *yen* (Kantipur), *yala* (Lalitpur), and *khwapa* (Bhaktapur) but Newar settlements such as *Dolakha*, *Dhulikhel*, *Newakot*, *Chitlang*, *Tistung* and *Palung* regions are ignored. We believe that these regions were within the boundaries of ancient *Nepal Mandala* and it shall not be overlooked.

Focusing our attention to current issue of Newāh Vijñāna, we have included an article dealing with *Nepal Sambat* and Buddhist chant for further understanding of this matter. In addition, we have also included articles dealing with Newars in Sikkim, Newar linguistics, the Newar tradition of Kumari and many others as supplementary material to bring awareness of current issues on Newars. We recognize that the struggle for the Newah identity, both academically and personally, is still in its infancy but we can say that the progress is gaining remarkable strength. We hope that articles in Newāh Vijñāna provide an understanding of this Newah struggle. We are grateful for your continuous support and we look forward to include more articles in future issues. *Subhāye* 'thank you'.

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# Ritual and Identity in the Diaspora: The Newars in Sikkim

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## Introduction

The Newars are the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal. The word Newar is derived from the name of the country Nepal itself. Despite the 1769 Gorkha conquest of the Nepal Valley and their subjugation by the state, the Newars managed to maintain their distinct arts, crafts, culture and traditions. Their culture has remained highly influential throughout the history of Nepal (Toffin 1984 and 1993; Levy 1992; Gellner 1996). The Newars are also considered to be a skilled and successful trading community, and their involvement in trans-Himalayan trade was already well established many centuries ago. They have succeeded in maintaining this image in Sikkim also (Subba 1989: 134; Sinha 1981: 192). As an educated community, the Newars also occupy many important administrative posts in both Nepal and Sikkim.

The Newars of Nepal have been widely studied (e.g. Nepali 1965; Toffin 1984, 1993; Levy 1992; Gellner 1996; Shrestha 2002). Ample literature exists on the Nepali diaspora both in India and Bhutan (Subba & Datta 1991; Timsina 1992; Hutt 1994, 1997) and on Sikkim as a state (Temple 1977; Nakane 1979; Jha and Mishra 1984; Bhasin 1989; Subba and Datta 1991; Dhamala 1991; Lama 2001 and Sharma and Sharma 1997). However, no research has yet been carried out on the Newar diaspora in Sikkim. This is partly due to the fact that Sikkim remained largely closed to outsiders even after it merged with India in 1975. In fact, little research has been carried out on the Newar diaspora in general and the few studies which exist refer to the Newar diaspora inside Nepal (Lewis & Sakya 1988).

Although the Newars of Sikkim are numerically very few they have played an important role in ethnic politics and are active in trying to promote their language, culture, rituals, traditions and religions across Sikkim. At a time

when Newars in the homeland are facing various problems including threats to their language and culture because of state negligence and globalisation, the Newars of Sikkim are actively preserving their cultural heritage and language. In 1998, the State Government of Sikkim introduced several laws and sanctioned state budget lines to facilitate the promotion of the languages and cultures of the Newars and other groups (Pradhan and Josee 1998). The school curriculum now includes the Newar language, and language interpreters are employed in the State Legislature to translate speeches delivered in Newar into other languages. In 2003, the State Government of Sikkim also recognised the Newars as an Other Backward Class (OBC), for whom a percentage of jobs and higher studies are now reserved. It is notable that in their homeland, Nepal, Newars and other ethnic groups have so far achieved very little recognition of their cultural and linguistic rights (Kraemer 1996; Gellner 1997; Shrestha 1999). Against this background the Nepalese minorities' achievements in Sikkim are significant.

From January to March 2004, I travelled to and resided in Sikkim and Kalimpong to conduct anthropological research on the Newars of India. During my stay in Sikkim, I was able to gather a wealth of information on various aspects of the Newar diaspora community resident in the state. More specifically, this fieldwork gave me a good opportunity to meet members of the community who were active in reviving their language, culture and rituals. I was permitted to observe their religious and ritual activities and to experience how the diaspora Newars are determined to revive and preserve their heritage. My findings are presented in this paper.

## Historical Background

Although the question of early migration is still to be addressed by historians, it is believed among Newars of

Darjeeling and Sikkim that some of their ancestors began migrating to the region soon after the Gorkha conquest of Nepal in 1769. Tanka Subba writes: 'a few family histories of the Newars of Sikkim reveal that their ancestors migrated to Sikkim at the time of consolidation of Nepal by the Gorkha King Prithivi Narayan Shah' (1989: 1). This suggestion remains problematic because the Gorkhas had not entered the south-western regions of Sikkim until the first Gorkha-Sikkim war of 1788-1789. They were further made to evacuate following the Anglo-Gorkha Treaty of Sugauli (1815).

Many have suggested that with the arrival of the legendary Laksmidas Pradhan (Kasaju), a Newar from Bhaktapur, in Sikkim, many other Newars migrated there also. There are a number of stories in circulation about how and when Laksmidas left Nepal. While some suggest that Laksmidas escaped from the Nepal valley to save his life right after the Kot massacre of 1846, others believe that he left Nepal long before this incident. According to Bhuvan Prasad Pradhan, Laksmidas and his family had already moved from Bhaktapur to Kathmandu and were engaged in business there when he escaped from Nepal (Pradhan 1993: 4-5), but Cakraraj Timila believes that Laksmidas and his family were living in the Inaycho quarter of Bhaktapur at the time of his departure<sup>1</sup>. Both Cakraraj and Bhuvan Prasad provide vivid accounts of Laksmidas' tribulations after he left home and before he ended up in Sikkim. According to Cakraraj, Laksmidas first began his trade in Darjeeling by selling *gundruk*, a form of dried and fermented vegetable. Bhuvan Prasad Pradhan (1993: 9) writes that the location where Laksmidas used to sell *gundruk* is still known as Gundri Bazaar to this day. Only later did Laksmidas succeed in establishing himself as a successful businessman in Darjeeling.

On 1 February, 1835, the East India Company took over Darjeeling, ending Sikkim's control of the area. While in 1839 Darjeeling was home to only 100 people, within ten years its population had reached 10,000. In the following thirty years, Darjeeling saw a rapid population growth with the continuing influx of Nepalese migrants. In 1901, the Newar population of Darjeeling was 5,880 of a total population of 249,117 (O'Malley 1907: 43). The British government also made Laksmidas the first Municipal Commissioner of Darjeeling.

Daya Prasad Pradhan writes that Laksmidas and his brother Chandravir arrived in Sumbuk around 1850 (1997: 2). Similarly, Pranab Kumar Jha states: 'Laksmidas Pradhan with his uncle Keshav Narayan came to Darjeeling in 1853 from Nepal and probably no other Newar had come to Darjeeling before them' (1985: 130). He further suggests that they settled in Sikkim in 1867 in order to work at the copper mine in Tukkhani in South Sikkim and went

on to work in a number of other copper mines later. Some Newars of Sikkim have suggested that the then king invited Laksmidas to Sikkim to act as the collector of land revenues, as Laksmidas had become famous in Darjeeling as a successful businessman.

After the 1861 treaty was signed between British government and Sikkimese authorities, the British began to encourage Nepalese settlers in Sikkim.<sup>2</sup> Some ministers, Lamas and Kazis, including Chebu Dewan as well as Maharaja Sidkeong Namgyal and his sister, were opposed to Nepalese settlers in Sikkim. However, Pranab Kumar Jha writes, in 1867, during the reign of Maharaja Sidkeong Namgyal the Sikkimese authorities accorded a formal lease grant to Laksmidas Pradhan. In an appeal to the Government of Bengal to protect his land rights and possessions in Sikkim, Laksmidas had received the lease from the Lama Shahib of Phodong and the Rajah of Sikkim.<sup>3</sup> Lal Bahadur Basnet also mentions the formal granting of a lease in 1867 to two Newar brothers (1974: 44). Daya Prasad Pradhan has published a family note outlining the partition of the lands received in 1867 by Laksmidas and his son Laksmi narayan Pradhan, Chandravir Pradhan and his son Maheshwor Pradhan, Kancha Chandravir Pradhan and his son Laksminarayan Pradhan, Lambodar Pradhan and his son Laksmidas Pradhan (1997: 37, Appendix Ka). Despite this documentation, I could not trace any formal written deeds regarding the 1867 land lease to Laksmidas.

The lease of lands to Laksmidas was continued in latter years by Khansa Dewan and Phodong Lama, both of whom were considered to be pro-immigration leaders. A deed dated 1874 states that Phodong Lama and Khangsa Dewan leased lands to Laksmidas, Chandravir, Jitman and Lambodar in exchange for payments of Rs. 500 to the Rajah and Rs. 700 to Lama and Khangsa Dewan. The area of land mentioned in the deed was as follows:

Boundary of land on the North of East from Rooe Naddi to its confluence to the Tista River, on the East South all along the Tista river, on the South and West all along the Burra Rungit up to its suspension Bridge over the Rungit river, on the North-West from the Rungit suspension Bridge along the old road up to Pukka village along the Government Road to Koolow Ektompani, from the Jhora of Koolow Ektorpani up to the Manfur river, on the East from the North of Manfur all along the Manfur Jhora up to its source.<sup>4</sup>

The deed also authorised the Newar settlers to investigate and fine criminal acts according to Nepalese legal custom, with the exception of murder cases. The Newar migrants in Sikkim were also responsible for introducing a range

of new technologies and crops in the agricultural sector in Sikkim.

Laksmidas invited his brother, Kancha Chandravir Pradhan (Kasaju), from Nepal to assist him as his own responsibilities increased. There are a number of stories in circulation about this Chandravir. According to Bhuvan Prasad Pradhan, Chandravir was a wrestler and to this day, people in Sikkim tell of how, with this great physical strength, he overpowered individuals who went against the rules, denied paying revenues or even attacked Nepalese settlers.

As the head of Nepalese settlers in Sikkim, Laksmidas began inviting hundreds of Nepalis to Sikkim to look after the lands under his control, including Magars from the hills and Newars from Bhaktapur of a variety of different castes. In this manner, a large number of Newars were migrating to and settling in Sikkim by the beginning of the 1870s.<sup>5</sup> Quoting a passage from the *History of Sikkim*, Chie Nakane confirms that Sikkim saw an influx of Nepalese Gorkhals from 1871 (1966: 251).

In the 1870s, mining copper was added to the responsibilities held by Laksmidas. The Sikkimese court was divided on the issue of Nepalese migration. On account of these divisions, Jha writes, trouble and riots sometimes broke out between Laksmidas Pradhan, the head of the Nepalese community, and Lasso Kazi, the Sikkim Vakeel in 1872 (1985: 56). A document dated simply as 3rd day of the 3rd month of the Tibetan year Iron Dragon (1880?) under the king Thutob Namgyal, describes a riot in Rhenock between pro- and anti-Nepalese groups. The same document also mentions the fines slapped on those who disobeyed the Newar leader given authority to collect taxes and govern.<sup>6</sup>

The exact date of the birth and death of Laksmidas remains unclear. His son Lambodar owned the largest landed property in Sikkim and the British honoured him with the title Rai Saheb for his service and loyalty to the colonial authorities. Quoting family papers, Jha offers the following copper mines as ones in which Laksmidas and his family worked in: Tuk Khani near Turuk in South Sikkim, Rinchi Khani in Rinchinpong in West Sikkim, Bhotang Khani near Rangpo Bazar in East Sikkim, Pachey Khani near Rhenock in East Sikkim and Rathok Khani in Namthang in South Sikkim (1985: 130).

In the past, traders in Sikkim had practiced the barter system. The British authorities later granted them permission to use Nepalese currency in Sikkim as some Nepalese traders requested for it to be permitted in 1849 to ease their trade.<sup>7</sup> In 1881, following a request from Nepalese traders, the king of Sikkim formally sought approval from

the British authorities in India to begin minting Sikkim's own coins. On 4 June 1881, the Bengal Government replied granting the Sikkimese authority to mint their own currency (Sharma and Sharma 1997: 45-47). Subsequently, on the 3rd day of the 10th month of the Water-Sheep year in the Tibetan calendar, the Palace in Sikkim wrote to Laksmidas granting him permission to start minting. The relevant portion of the text translated from the original Tibetan is provided below:

*Be it known to all the Monks and laymen residing within the Kingdom in general and those led by the Newar trader Lakshmidar in particular that in accordance with their request made in the petition submitted by the latter requesting for permission to mint coins (doli) we had written to Lord Eden Saheb through the Political Officer and obtained his concurrence. In pursuance thereof order has been issued to Lakshmidar, the Newar Trader, and others communicating grant of permission to mint coins.<sup>8</sup>*

In 1883, having been given the contract to mint for five years, Laksmidas introduced the first Sikkimese coins into the market.<sup>9</sup> The mint did not last long: it was ended in 1887.

There are also a number of stories about Chandravir Pradhan (Maske), another Newar in Sikkim, who is also believed to be one of the earliest Newars to settle in the kingdom. According to Daya Prasad Pradhan, Chandravir Pradhan came from Nepal to Darjeeling with his father at the age of five in 1830, and later moved to Sikkim for business in 1845.<sup>10</sup> He cooperated with Laksmidas in various contracts (*thekedari*) and they also collaborated in mining copper and minting coins for the Sikkimese government. The title of *taksari* 'minter' was bestowed by the Sikkimese government on Laksmidas, Chandravir Kasaju, Chandravir Maske, Jitmansing Pradhan, Marghoj Gurung and Pratapsing Chetri for their contributions in minting coins for the state.

British officers found Laksmidas, Chandravir and their families to be extremely reliable partners. There are a number of testimonials written by British government officers to Laksmidas and Chandravir dated between 1875 and 1895. One such testimony dated 31 May, 1875, states that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was satisfied with Chandravir's performance at the copper mines of Katong Ghat in Sikkim. A similar testimony dated June 1895 praises Laksmidas for his contributions in road construction in Sikkim.<sup>11</sup>

Laksmidas was also engaged in lending money to government officers in Sikkim. A handwritten document dated 1882 preserved by Mrs. Kalpana Pradhan of Tadong

tells that a person named Yamthang Kaji, a high-ranking Sikkimese government officer, borrowed money from Laksmidas and did not pay him interest nor return the money he had borrowed. In a formal letter, Laksmidas requested the then king of Sikkim to take the necessary steps to arrange for the loan to be paid, including the accrued interest.

Laksmidas and his family owned many estates in Sikkim. Jha provides the following list of their holdings in 1913: Kitam, Chidam, Namthang, Singtam and Chakung owned by Rai Saheb Lambodar Pradhan; Pakyong, Rungpo, Pedang, Rigoo, Pathing and Temi owned by Rai Saheb Laksminarayan Pradhan; Ney and Broom owned by Suriman Pradhan; Pachey Khani and Taza owned by Dalbahadur Pradhan; Rhenock owned by Ratnabahadur Pradhan and Marming owned by Sherbahadur Pradhan (1985: 132).

Many of the descendants of Laksmidas, Chandravir Kasaju and Chandravir Maske received the prestigious title of Rai Saheb from the British administration. They were also renowned as landlords (*zamindar*) or contractors (*thekedar*). One among them was Rai Saheb Balkrishna, popularly known by the name 'Baburam', and the grandson of Laksmidas. He built the famous *baunna dhoka darbar* 'the palace with fifty-two doors' in Namthang. The then king of Sikkim found this construction embarrassingly ostentatious, as it was only fitting for kings of Nepal to make palaces with fifty-two doors. Consequently, Baburam was fined a rupee, a large amount for the time. Baburam, however, being a wealthy landlord, chose to rather pay one thousand rupees and close one of the doors of his palace (Pradhan 1998: 55). Baburam's historic mansion still stands in Namthang, where his grandson Dharma Pratap Kasaju and his family now reside. It is interesting to note that the Chief Minister, Pawan Kumar Chamling, inaugurated the first Institute of Newar Language and Culture in Sikkim at this very site in 2000. Local Newars tell that whenever Baburam left his house a band would accompany him and that any British officers who visited the area were also received with a band. A song was even composed with his name: *kasko baja. kasko baja. Baburamko baja* 'Whose band is it? Whose band is it? It is the band of Baburam', and is still popular among the people in Sikkim.

A house similar to the Palace in Namthang was also built in Pachey Khani by one of Chandravir Pradhan's descendants. A Newar styled *jhingate ghar*, a house with a tiled roof, was also constructed by the descendants of the late Chandravir, but the historic building is now in a dilapidated state. The chairman of the Sikkim Newar Organisation has suggested that the building be renovated as one of the important Newar heritage sites.

Several of the descendants of Laksmidas, Chandravir and Chandravir Maske also built temples, health centres and schools in different parts of Sikkim. Nowadays, the descendants of Laksmidas, his brother Chandravir and Chandravir Maske, who can be found across Sikkim, are still considered to be quite socially well-to-do.

In the course of my research, it became clear that the Nepalese migration to Sikkim continued through the twentieth century. An unpublished family genealogy which I received from Dhruva Pradhan Bhansari tells that his forefathers moved to Sikkim from Boya Bikhumea in eastern Nepal in 1870. In a brief unpublished memoir, Chakraraj Timila, who has now returned to Nepal and lives in Bhaktapur, writes how his grandfather, father and uncle left Bhaktapur to set up grocery shops in the Tista area in 1917. In 1918, his father and uncle married the daughters of Sikkimese Newars, and then settled down there. For some people it is still a living memory. For instance, the 63-year old Mr. Maniklal Pradhan of Tashiding told me that he came to Sikkim with his father when he was only five years old. For a period, he remembers travelling back and forth to Nepal to his ancestral home in Banepa. Others, however, do not remember when their ancestors moved to Sikkim and from which part of Nepal they came. Many have just a vague sense of which part of Nepal their forefathers inhabited before coming to Sikkim, and they have never returned to their ancestral homeland in Nepal.

The Newars of Sikkim appeared engaged not only as traders and landlords but also as officials in the Sikkimese government, serving at the Palace and the royal court in Gangtok since 1910. Some Newars became magistrates of towns and villages, with the authority to adjudicate in dispute settlements. A few also became councillors, a post similar to that of Minister during the rule of the Chogyal.

After the merger of Sikkim with India, a few Newars succeeded in occupying ministerial positions in the State Government of Sikkim. Other Newars are also known as social reformers and educators in Sikkim. To honour such individuals, the Government of Sikkim named roads after them, for instance, the Kashi Raj Pradhan Marg (Road) in Gangtok, named after Kashi Raj Pradhan who is remembered across Sikkim as a reformer and an educator.

The 1891 census of Sikkim returned 727 Newars out of a total population of 30,558 Sikkim.<sup>12</sup> In 1994, the total population of the Newars was 20,000 while the present Newar population is estimated to lie between 30,000 and 35,000.

## Socio-Economic Position

The Newars of Sikkim are engaged in various occupations, including governmental service, politics, teaching, agriculture, trade and business. According to Keshav Chandra Pradhan, from the 1910s until the 1980s, Newars occupied many important administrative posts, but the figure has been dropping steadily as members of other groups have gradually replaced them. At present, Mr. Rajiv Shankar Shrestha and Mrs. Jayshree Pradhan serve as Principal Secretaries, and are among a handful of Newars still occupying high-level posts in the Sikkimese administration. During my field research, two Newars were present as elected members of the 32-seat Sikkim Legislative Assembly. Both were members of ruling Sikkim Democratic Front, and for some time one had been a cabinet minister. In the May 2004 election, however, only one of them was able to contest the election and was returned as a MLA from the constituency of Gangtok.

The Newars are still renowned as traders and remain engaged in diverse businesses and industries. Many are engaged in tourism, hotels, handicrafts, bakeries, transport and the publishing media. Among them, the Bhansari family's Tripti bakery is one of Sikkim's most prominent industries. Similarly, Babu Kaji Shakya, a Gangtok-based sculptor, has won many prestigious Indian national awards for his contributions to the handicraft industry of Sikkim. Shakya produces traditional Nepalese-style Buddhist and Hindu images, statues and jewellery. He owns a workshop in Rumtek and has a showroom in Gangtok, and one of his sons is following in his father's footsteps. A few Newars, such as R.K. Pradhan of Rhenock, are engaged in the film industry.

A number of Sikkimese Newars have made their reputation in the garden nursery business. The late Chandravir Kasaju's son Rai Saheb Ratnabhadur initiated a nursery in Rhenock under his father's name, which is still known throughout Sikkim as the 'Chandra Nursery'. Already in the middle of twentieth century, some Newar traders had begun exporting flowers, plants and fruits from Sikkim to India and other countries. Some such entrepreneurs, such as Keshav Chandra Pradhan, a former Chief Secretary of Sikkim are world-renowned in the field of plant husbandry and have won international awards from Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States and Japan for their work in this field. Pradhan is now retired and grows many varieties of orange and hybrid flowers in his well-tended garden.

Newars are also found in the grocery business in many settlements across Sikkim, while others are engaged in agriculture. Newars were the first to introduce cardamom farming in Sikkim, now one of Sikkim's most popular cash crops. Ganesh Kumar Pradhan of Rhenock is well known for his antique collection. Through personal ini-

tiative, he has gathered old coins, notes, historical documents, manuscripts, books, driftwood and drift stones. Mr. Pradhan also grows bonsai and hybrid plants in his family garden. His contributions have not only won many prizes but also admiration and praise from all over Sikkim. During my fieldwork in 2004, I had the good fortune to view his archival collections. The Newar community of Sikkim are rightfully proud of Mr. Jaslal Pradhan, who participated in the Olympics as a player and boxing coach for India.

Data from 1989 would suggest that 27% of the total Newar population of Sikkim own less than 5 acres of land, while 66% are landless and that only 10% of Sikkimese Newars possess assets in urban areas (Shrestha 1996: 8). This survey, conducted among 7,025 Sikkimese Newars in 1994, revealed that 33% percent were illiterate and only 5% had a graduate qualification. Educated Newars are for the most part concentrated in Gangtok, the state capital.

While many believe that most of Newar society is rich and as some individuals occupy high government posts, the reality is quite different. According to former chairman of the *Sikkim Newar Guthi*, Mr. Keshav Chandra Pradhan, less than 5% of the Newar population in Sikkim once served at the Chogyal's court, have high government positions or run business houses that can be considered to be affluent. The rest are comparatively poor. Analysing demographic data for Sikkim, Bhasin and Bhasin showed that 40% of the Newar population lived on less than 500 rupees income per annum and that only 4% had an annual income of between IC 20,001 and 25,000 (1995: 119).

Within the Newar community, then, there is a genuine schism between the wealthy and the economically depressed families. To a certain extent, there is little mutual trust between these two classes. One of the aims of the *Sikkim Newar Guthi* is to help the poorer sections of Newar society through financial assistance and other means. However, despite the best efforts of the *Sikkim Newar Guthi*, very little sign of cooperation between the poor and affluent Newar communities is noticeable. As one of my informants put it, "Unlike other communities in Sikkim, the Newars lack a feeling of mutual cooperation, instead they envy each other's success". While other communities in Sikkim generally view the Newars as a hard-working people, some portray them as oppressors, since during the time of the Chogyal they worked as contractors and landlords and used harsh measures in collect revenue and were authorised to whip people who failed to provide forced labour (*jhara*). Older people such as Daya Prasad Pradhan dismiss such claims and suggest rather that Newars, in their capacity as contractors and landlords, were responsible for much development, such as opening schools and health centres, constructing roads

and making rest places.

## Newar Castes

Traditional Newar society in Nepal is a complicated structure with caste divisions and internal hierarchies. The nineteenth century chronicle, the *Bhā\_āvaMśāvali*, credits the fourteenth century king Jayasthiti Malla with introducing the caste system to the Nepal Valley (Lamsal 1966: 37-50). In Nepal, caste discrimination is still felt in all traditional Newar settlements and Newars still use their caste or occupational names.

Against the background of Nepal, the disappearance of caste hierarchies among Sikkim's Newars is remarkable and may be the single most salient feature of the diaspora population. With a few exceptions, all Newars in Sikkim are now called Pradhan. The term *Pradhan*, the family name of one caste of Nepal's Newars, has come to stand for all Newars in Sikkim and Darjeeling. At certain period, this was not without controversy. During a dispute between two rival groups in Darjeeling, each claiming higher status over the other, the Nepalese authorities wrote a letter stating, 'Pradhan is among the highest classes of the Newars' (Singh 1991: 102). According to Bhuvan Prasad Pradhan (1993: 13), the British Government in India awarded the title of *Pradhan* to Laksmidas for his excellent service in 1913. Laksmidas later asked for all Sikkimese Newars to be permitted to use this title as their family name to prevent caste divisions within their community. A different interpretation is advanced by Khagendra Pradhan, who believes that Laksmidas ordered all Sikkimese Newars who had escaped Nepal to exclusively use Pradhan as a surname to protect their lives after the 1846 Kot massacre, thereby helping them hide their actual identity (1998: 57).

Changing all Newar surnames to Pradhan helped to eliminate caste hierarchies among the Newars of Sikkim. During my fieldwork, when I asked about their former castes divisions and names, many did not know as they had lost contact with their relatives in Nepal. However, some of the Newars who continue to have regular contact with their relatives in Nepal were aware of having caste names other than Pradhan. Among them, I recorded Vajracharya, Shakyas, Tuladhar, Shrestha, Kasaju, Maske and Karmacharya, among others. Some have also adopted the word 'Newar' as their family name, particularly in Kurseong, where all Newars seem to call themselves Newar. Recently, even though a few families in Sikkim have begun tracing their former caste names, and some Shresthas, Shakyas and Tuladhars have started to use their family names, it does not seem likely this will revive the caste hierarchies which were so effectively eliminated among the Newars in Sikkim.

It is interesting to note that while caste hierarchies have all but disappeared among the Newars of Sikkim, the term 'Pradhan' has become a new caste in Sikkim's existing ethnic hierarchy. Pradhans have acquired a high status alongside Bahuns and the Chetris and it is widely believed that the political association between the Bahuns, Chetris and Newars of Sikkim is a long established one, predating the famous NBC (Newar-Bahun-Chetri) political grouping under the Chief Minister, Nar Bahadur Bhandari.

## Guthi: Socio-Religious Associations

The system of *guthis*, or socio-religious associations, is one of the most important components of Newar society.<sup>13</sup> In the traditional context, *guthis* are responsible for organising the religious and ritual activities of a community. In Nepal, Licchavi inscriptions from the third to eighth centuries refer to *goṣṭhī*, the Sanskrit word from which *guthi* is derived, carrying out rituals and social work. Many inscriptions from this period describe *goṣṭhī* financial arrangements and their tasks. It appears from these inscriptions that such associations were important not only from the viewpoint of establishing and maintaining the temples, monasteries, shrines and rituals but were also instruments of development in the fields of water supply, agriculture, health and public entertainment. Among the *guthis*, the *sī guthi*, the funeral association, is most important because membership in this *guthi* determines the local affiliation and social position (in particular caste status) of a person. The *sī guthis* are a unique institution of Newar society. The main function of a *sī guthi* is to carry out funeral processions when a death occurs in the house of one of its members.<sup>14</sup>

When migrating to Sikkim, the Newars brought their religion, culture and rituals with them. Daya Prasad Pradhan (1997: 2) mentions the formation a *guthi* in Sumbuk when the Newars settled there around 1850, but he does not elaborate on it. Historical evidence shows that Rhenock, a small town in East Sikkim, was one of the earliest Newar settlements in the region. In the past, Rhenock was considered to be a gateway between Kalimpong and Nathu-la pass, as it lay on the trade route to Tibet. The Newars who settled in Rhenock established a traditional *guthi* before 1900. This *guthi* consisted of eighteen household members at its initiation and its main function was to gather at a Shiva temple every evening where devotionals songs (*bhajan*) were sung. The Rhenock *guthi* also organised performances of *lakhe* dances and the worship of Krishna every year during the *gai jatra* festival. Most significantly, members of the *guthi* were obliged to help others when someone in their family died, which is also the main feature of a Newar *sī guthi* in Nepal. It is the task of the eldest member of the *guthi* to inform all the members as

soon as someone dies and then all are obliged to attend the funeral procession. On the fourth day after death, members must bring certain foodstuffs and a specific amount of money to the bereaved family. *Guthi* members also assist the grieving family during the *gai jatra* festival when a cow procession in the name of the recently deceased person is organised. Those who fail in fulfilling their *guthi* duties are penalised. Rhenock is the only place in Sikkim where the Newar *st guthi* is kept alive. However, unlike the *st guthis* in Nepal, the Rhenock *guthi* does not restrict membership to one caste but rather includes all the Newar families in Rhenock.

In January 1990, the Newars of Rhenock restructured their *guthi*, introducing new regulations such as financial support for the bereaved families of dead members and providing interest-free monetary loans. At the same, the *guthi* is committed to reviving Newar culture and language in the area and has been involved with religious activities and traditional dances. Unlike the first Newar *guthi*, the revived *guthi* also now functions as a branch of the *Sikkim Newar Guthi*, which means that it has become active in the process of achieving ethnic rights for Newars.

After the formation of the *Sikkim Newar Guthi*, in all settlements where a branch office of the organisation exists, financial contributions by *guthi* members to the family members of the dead for the funeral costs have been made mandatory. It is notable that when a death occurs in a Newar family in Sikkim, all the neighbours and friends come forward, without caste or ethnic restriction, and provide physical comfort and financial support to the grieving family. This tradition of supporting bereaved families already existed among the Bhutia and Lepchas, and its adoption by Newars may be taken as a sign of their effective integration in Sikkim. The financial contributions to bereaved families may be quite substantial: one such family told me that they had recently received a total of IC 150,000 (about US \$3000) from their relatives, neighbours and friends.

Aside from the example at Rhenock, there is a notable absence of traditional Newar *guthis* in Sikkim. Particularly surprising is the absence of *st guthis*, the funeral associations, not only in Sikkim but also in other parts of India. The only exception appears to be Kalimpong. According to Yogvir Shakya, Newars who settled in Kalimpong for trade with Tibet initiated a funeral society (*bicah guthi*) around 1930. This *guthi* included all Newar castes and the organisational minutes were written in the Newar language.<sup>15</sup> While a minute dated 1955 shows that there were 43 members in the *guthi* at the time, nowadays the organisation consists of only eighteen members. Other local Newars, who also called themselves Pradhan, do not participate in this *guthi* but have rather established a Ka-

limpong branch of the *All India Newar Association*.

The Newars of Darjeeling never initiated a *guthi* as such but rather a *Newar Samaj* or Newar Society back in 1921. Although the *Newar Samaj* did not carry out the task of a Newar *guthi* or *st guthi*, it was nevertheless active in social and religious work. A decade after its foundation it was renamed *Nepali Asamartha Sahayak Samiti*, or the Committee to Help Deprived Nepalese, but since the 1970s it returned to its original name of *Newar Samaj*. Its members regularly gather to sing devotional Newar songs (*bhajan*) and have helped destitute Nepalese in Darjeeling on several occasions. The Society has also organised the celebration of Newar festivals such as *Mha puja*. In 1991, when it celebrated its 75 anniversary, *Newar Samaj* invited a large number of Newar artists from Nepal and organised a Newar food festival in Darjeeling. The organisation built a house of its own at Chandmari in 1965 and since then has been providing meeting space to Newars as well as members of other communities. In June 1993, aiming to promote Newar language, culture and rituals, the Newars of Darjeeling established a new organisation called *Darjeeling Newar Sangathan*, which succeeded in opening twenty branches in West Bengal by 1998. It has now been renamed the *All India Newar Organisation* and has established branches across India in many of the settlements where a sizable number of Newars reside. Since 1997, the Kalimpong branch has been publishing a news bulletin known as *Sukunda* (a traditional oil lamp used in Newar rituals) under the editorship of Yogvir Shakya, a local teacher and a social worker. In 2004, *Sukunda* was turned into a news bulletin of the *All India Newar Organisation*.

## Religions and Rituals

Though there are a few Newar Christians and Muslims, Newar society in Nepal can as a whole be considered a Hindu-Buddhist mix. In Sikkim, however, there are a fair number of Christian Newars alongside Newar Hindu and Buddhist practitioners. The mixture or blending of Hindu and Buddhist religious features is prevalent among the Newars in Sikkim as it is among the Newars of Nepal. The majority of Sikkimese Newars nevertheless identify themselves as Hindu. The process of Hinduisation has a long history among the Newars of Nepal, particularly after the implementation of the 1856 legal code, the *Muluki Ain*. Although most lay Newars practice both Hindu and Buddhist rituals without making much distinction, they prefer to be referred to as Hindu because it is the religion officially propagated by the state in Nepal. It is likely that the Newars may also have followed this same trend in Sikkim. The adoption of 'Pradhan' as a surname, even though the name used by both Hindu and Buddhist

Newar families in Nepal, is particularly prominent among the Hindus, and may have helped the Newars to label themselves as Hindu in Sikkim. Newars with a Buddhist priestly background, however, such as a family I met in Pakyong, despite using Pradhan as their surname define themselves as Buddhist because their ancestors were Buddhist Vajracharya. Similarly, most Shakya families in Sikkim and Kalimpong practice Buddhism and refer to themselves as Buddhists.

Christian Newars do not practice any Hindu or Buddhist rituals or traditions, but are nevertheless proud to call themselves Newar. Rather, they follow the life cycle and death rituals according to the Christian traditions. In certain cases, when a Christian Newar is married to a Hindu Newar they follow some of the Hindu rituals along with their Christian rituals. Since all the Newars once were Hindu or Buddhist, even if they later converted to Christianity, some are of the view that Christian Newars should return to the Hindu and Buddhist religious path. So far only a few have done so. Catholic and Evangelical Christians whom I interviewed said that they were not inclined to discard their present religious affiliations and adopt Hindu or Buddhist practices. Both were born into Christian families as their grandfathers had already converted to Christianity. The Newar organisation in Sikkim is flexible enough to include all religious denominations in its membership. Only at one location did a Newar activist tell me that their branch office did not extend membership to Christian Newars.

The religious and ritual life of Newars in Nepal is guided by calendrical festivals, and many spend a good part of their time participating in feasts and organising festivals. Newars in Nepal observe one or another festival, feast, fast or procession of gods and goddesses almost every month. A common feature of all Newar cities, towns and villages is that they are home to a specific annual festival or procession (*jātra*) of the most important deity of that particular locale. Besides such observances, and making pilgrimages to important religious sites, another important feature of Newar society is the masked dance portraying various gods and deities.

In Sikkim, however, aside from a few places such as Rhenock, the Newars have lost most of their rituals and traditions. While major festivals such as Dasain and Tihār are celebrated with much fanfare, many small festivals are no longer followed, and the feasts and festivals which have survived have been fundamentally transformed. In fact, one could say that they are not celebrated according to Newar tradition. Unsurprisingly, those Newars who are in regular contact with their relatives in Nepal and who continue to visit Nepal from time to time follow the calendrical festival cycle more rigorously, in line with Newar

practices in Nepal. Such families are, however, very few in numbers.

What remains of the Newar ritual calendar in Sikkim is not particularly different from the one used in Nepal, even if Sikkimese Newars do not observe many of the festivals and rituals. *Mha paja*, the worship of the self, is one of the most important Newar festivals in Nepal, but has been largely forgotten by the Sikkimese population. Only since 1995, with the aim of promoting Newar religion, has the Newar Association of Sikkim, the Sikkim *Newaḥ Guthi*, started to celebrate *Mha paja*. Since 2000, the Sikkim *Newaḥ Guthi* has also revived festivals such as *Indra jātra*, another important Newar event.

Daya Prasad Pradhan of Tadong, aged 86, remembers dragging away a straw effigy of Gathe Magar (*gathammugaḥ*) together with a sweeper in Pakim and even seeing month-long *lakhe* dances when he was a young boy (Pradhan 1997: 30). The tradition of dragging away of effigies of *gathammugaḥ* together with a scavenger is still a living tradition in Kathmandu.<sup>16</sup> Most of the Newars I interviewed in Sikkim, however, did not remember celebrating the festival of *gathammugaḥ*, even though they do celebrate *gunpunhi* or *janai pārṇima* by drinking *kvati*, an special soup made of different beans. Aside from Rhenock, there is no other place in Sikkim where the traditional cow processions in the name of recently deceased relatives still takes place during *gai jātra*.

While many Sikkimese Newars know about father's day and mother's day, only a few families celebrate these events as they are followed in Nepal. The festival of *pañjaram*, when alms are given to Buddhist monks, is not practiced in Sikkim. Most of my informants did not know of the festival of *catha*, during which the crescent moon and Ganesh are worshipped, even though the tradition of *svarha sraddha*, the sixteen days dedicated to offering ritual food to deceased ancestors, is still widely observed in Sikkim. Except for one or two families I met, the tradition of offering lights to the heavens during the month of *kartik*, a ritual known as *alamata*, is not observed.

Very few Newar families in Sikkim still observe all the Newar feasts and festivals, but *Ghyocakusalhu* (*Maghe Sankranti*), the eating of molasses and ghee in January, *Srīpamcamī*, the beginning of spring and the worship of *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of knowledge in January/February, Shiva Rātri (Silācarhe) in February, *Holipunhi*, the festival of colour in February/March, and *Caitradasain* and *Rāmanavamī* in March/April are still celebrated by many. Large portion of the Newar community of Sikkim do not celebrate the festival of *Sithinakhaḥ*, the worship of the lineage divinity, but some still do. Some are even said to sacrifice a goat during this festival. When an animal is

sacrificed, the division of the head of the sacrificed animal into eight parts and its distribution among the elder members of the household is an important ritual element for Newars in Nepal but in Sikkim is unknown to almost all.

As in Nepal, Bhimsen is considered to be one of the main gods for Sikkimese Newars and many worship him as a lineage deity. Other Newars regard Durga or Buddha as their lineage deities. As a part of some rituals, the Newars in Sikkim worship the mountain deity Kanchenjunga. All those who consider themselves to be Sikkimese recognise and worship Kanchenjunga in some form.<sup>17</sup> Religious Newars may also go on pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Sikkim, such as to the Kheocheplari and Tsomgo lakes.

Now that many are searching for their Newar identity, Sikkimese Newars are keen to revive traditional festivals. Alongside cultural promotion by the Sikkim *Newar Guthi*, there are some impressive individual initiatives such as that launched by Suryavir Tuladhar who is building a remarkable Newar temple.

## The Temple of Svayambhū Bhimākālī

As stated above, the mixture of both Hindu and Buddhist religious features is prevalent among Newars in Sikkim as it is among the Newars of Nepal. In this regard, the establishment of a Svayambhū Bhimākālī temple in Gangtok is noteworthy. This temple is famous for its presentation of features of Newar religion, but is also filled with all manner of deities including a statue of Sāi Bābā, a modern living god in India. People from all Sikkimese communities and from further afield visit this temple. Mr. Suryavir Tuladhar, the founding priest of the temple, is one of the most active Newars in Sikkim promoting Newar culture and language. He is also one of the few Newars in Gangtok who actually speaks the Newar language. For a period, the temple grounds were used to teach the Newar language as well as Nepalese *carya* dances. Suryavir's combining of Newar Hindu and Buddhist religious practices including Tantric and Tibetan Buddhist (Lamaist) forms all in one temple is particularly unique.

As a Newar, Suryavir's aim was to decorate the temple with Newar features. Being born into a Tuladhar family, he was not supposed to perform any priestly duties at the temple, but succeeded in turning himself into a priest because there were no other Newar priests in Sikkim. This should be seen as a significant departure from the traditional concept of priesthood as practised among the Newars of Nepal and can be understood as the invention of a religious identity in a diaspora community. Most interesting is the mixing up of Hindu (*Saiva. Vaiṣṇav*),

Tantric, Newar Buddhist and Tibetan Buddhist practices in Suryavir's way of worshipping the deities. In this regard, the structure of the temple is very inventive, with a pagoda-styled roof, enshrined Svayambhū Caitya and a temple altar with images of Śiva and Kālī beneath the Caitya.

Every morning, the priest performs a *nitya pūja* for more than two hours as a form of daily worship at this temple. Some of his followers live there as his pupils, including a girl who becomes possessed by a divine serpent every morning and every day treat a number of patients while possessed. The priest Suryavir himself is also a faith healer and treats patients after completing his daily worship. He is believed to have the power of communicating with the gods.

Among the Newar population of Nepal, animal sacrifice during festivals and rituals is common, particularly at the temple of Kālī. In Sikkim, however, animal sacrifice is rare and is virtually forbidden at most temples in the state. Vegetarian offerings, replacing of animal sacrifice with fruit or coconuts, have become common in Sikkimese temples. Similarly, no animal sacrifice is permitted at the temple of Svayambhū Bhimākālī.

When performing fire sacrifices, Suryavir blends Vedic, Tantric and Buddhist components, a form of performance which would be impossible in Nepal, but which is tolerated in Sikkim because the system has been created in accordance with local needs. Such creative ritual inventions are necessary and accepted, in large part because the Newar migrant populations in Sikkim lack not only the appropriate priests, but also knowledge of the traditions of rituals practice. In fact, it is only in recent years that Sikkimese of Nepalese origin have begun to reassert their ethnic identities thus compelling them to invent rituals of their own. Through the rituals that he performs at the temple, Suryavir wants to demonstrate not only a separate Newar or Nepali identity, but also to prove that the Nepalese of Sikkim are flexible, tolerant and ready to adopt elements from all other religions. Such invention is necessary to attract devotees from all communities, since Sikkim is home to many Nepalese communities as well as to its original inhabitants, the Bhutias and Lepchas.

Devotees from all communities regularly visit the temple to pay their respects to gods and goddess. The priest states he exists in order to perform righteous (*dharma*) tasks and thus serve disadvantaged people.

## Life Cycle Rituals

The diffusion or erosion of language and culture are some of the most challenging problems faced by minorities in

any multinational or multicultural society. In the case of migrants, such challenges are all the more pronounced. I discovered that many life cycle rituals observed by the Newars have all but disappeared in Sikkim. Only a few people, whose regular contact with ancestral relatives in Nepal remains uninterrupted, have maintained all the Newar life cycle rituals. Otherwise, the Newars of Sikkim are completely dependent on the Parbate Brahmins for the performance of life cycle and death rituals. Consequently, we may speak of a major ritual transformation. It also appears that there are not a sufficient number of Parbate (Hindu hill dwellers) Brahmins working as priests in Sikkim, so most of them are actually invited from Nepal. Some of these Brahmin priests remain in Sikkim for years while their families stay in Nepal, with the result that the priests travel back and forth a great deal. Because of the policies of the State Government of Sikkim, these Brahmin priests are not permitted to receive Indian citizenship.

In their attempt to reintroduce Newar life cycle and death rituals, the Sikkim Newar Organisation is considering inviting Newar Brahmin and Vajracharya priests from Nepal. How feasible such a plan is, and how soon they will be able to do so, is still unclear. All over India, Newars are facing the same problem. In the recent past, in their attempt to revive life cycle and death rituals, Indian Newars have not only consulted experts from Nepal, but have also translated ritual manuals from Newar into Nepali, the lingua franca among the Newars in India, in order to facilitate distribution and comprehension within their communities. In this context, the publication of the books *Newar Jati* (the Newar Nationality) by Bhaichandra Pradhan (1997) and *Jamma-dekhi Stjyasammako Samskar Paddhati* (A Manual of Lifecycle and Death Rituals) compiled by the Indian Newar Organisation, Central Committee Darjeeling (2003) are particularly noteworthy.

While life cycle rituals are still very important to some Newars in Sikkim, they do not follow the rituals in the manner of Newars in Nepal. For instance, some do observe *Macābu Byamke*, the birth purification rite, *Maca Jankva*, the rice feeding ceremony, *Ihi*, the ritual marriage for female children, *Barha Tayegu*, the twelve-day confinement for girls, *Busam Khayegu*, the shaving of heads, and *Kavta pāja*, the worship of loincloth. In most cases, however, the rituals performed during these ceremonies no longer follow the Newar tradition because Parbate Brahmins are employed as priests, who simply do not know about Newar rituals.

After childhood and adolescent rituals, marriage is the most crucial series of life cycle rituals in Newar society. Similarly, the *Bura Jamko*, an old age ceremony, is very important ceremony for Newars. It can be observed many

times: first, when one turns 77 years, 7 months, 7 days, 7 hours and 7 minutes; the second time when one reaches the age of 83 years; the third when one turns 88 years and 8 months, and so on. This old age ceremony has long been abandoned by Newars in Sikkim. Most recently, in 2000, the *Karunadevi Smarak Dharmartha Guthi* attempted to revive this tradition by observing the *Bura Jamko* of Mr. Jay Shankarlal Shrestha in Rhenock, when he turned 83. The *Jamko* was observed as a public ceremony for three days with various programmes attached, and the event was widely publicised across Sikkim so that others would think of following suit.<sup>18</sup>

## Death Rituals

In Newar society, rituals are as important for those who have died as for those who are alive. In Sikkim, even after death, the Newars employ Parbate Brahmin priests. Funerals may take place on the day of death, but in most cases occur the following day. As far as possible, sons of the deceased must bear the dead body to the cremation ground, but relatives and neighbours may also help to carry the body. At the cremation ground, the chief mourner lights the body and it burns down to ashes. The chief mourner and any other sons then shave their heads and bathe in the river.

Returning home, sons of the deceased keep their distance from others for ten days during which time no one can touch them. They also cook their own food. Every day for ten days, they may perform *śrāddha* at a nearby river. On the tenth day, a purification rite is performed and close relatives may also shave their head. On the eleventh day, 365 floating bowls made of leaves (*khochi bagaune*) are prepared. On the twelfth day, pi]a are offered to the deceased. On the thirteenth day, a *śrāddha* is performed, and beds, sheets, dresses and utensils (*sarya dana*) are given to the priest in the name of the deceased. Those who joined the family in the funeral procession and extended their condolences must be invited for a feast meal on this day. All of these visitors give the family an amount of money as a gesture of their support. Such a feast may not contain meat. Nowadays, many stop wearing the mourning dress on the thirteenth day, but some continue to wear mourning clothes until they perform a *śrāddha* on the 45th day. Monthly *śrāddha* is no longer common, but most Newars in Sikkim do perform a *śrāddha* at sixth months and a year after the death. Wearing white for the whole year has now become a rare practice. Such rituals performed after death in Sikkim, as expected, do not match to the rituals performed by Newars in Nepal.

## Newar Ethnic Identity in Sikkim

While the Newars of Sikkim feel themselves to be distinct

from other ethnic groups because of their separate culture and language, as has become clear from the discussion above, most have failed to maintain their language, culture, rituals and traditions.

Only in 1982 did a group of Newar youngsters, led by Rajiv Shankar Shrestha, for the first time take the initiative to establish a *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi*, an Association of the Newars in Sikkim, with the aim of achieving ethnic rights for the Newar community residing in Sikkim. This earliest attempt at organizing the Newars of Sikkim for the pursuit of ethnic rights faced some initial obstacles and thus ended without any success. A few years later, in 1990, several planning meetings were held at the residence of Mr. Daya Prasad Pradhan (Maske) in Tadong culminating in a large meeting at the auditorium of *Sikkim Sahitya Parisad* on 3 October 1993, at which an ad hoc body of the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi* under the chairmanship of the late Mohan Pratap Pradhan (Kasaju) was formed. Later that year, this organisation succeeded in turning itself into a state level-Newar association in Sikkim, the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi*.

The *Guthi* also launched a campaign to have the Newars recognized as an Other Backward Class (OBC), but as the 1998 OBC report prepared by the State Government ignored their campaign, they had to wait for a further five years for this recognition to be achieved. In 1996, while waiting, a group of dissatisfied members of the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi* formed the *Newar Kalyān Tadartha Samiti* (Newar Welfare Ad Hoc Committee) under the chairmanship of Khagendra Pradhan, even though this organisation reunited with the mother organisation, the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi*, in 1999. At the annual convention of the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi* in 2000, the organisation chose a new name: *All India Newar Organisation, Sikkim* (Akhil Bhārātīya Newar Samgaḥan, Sikkim), to link it with other Newar organisations of India of the same name. This name change aroused some controversy. Those in favour of the new name argued that it was necessary to give the organisation a broader perspective and appeal, since in other regions of India also the Newars were organised under the *All India Newar Organisation*. Those against the name change, however, argued that it was inappropriate because it discarded the word *guthi*, a fundamental term for a Newar organisation. Especially those who had initiated the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi* did not appreciate the new name, but for the sake of Newar unity did not openly contest it.

All Newars in Sikkim are in principle members of the *All India Newar Organisation, Sikkim*. In most places that I visited, people told me that they believe it necessary to have a national-level Newar organisation promoting their welfare and the revival of their threatened culture and language. However, some Newars I spoke to felt an ethnic organisation to be inappropriate because it would even-

tually separate them from other populations in Sikkim. While I was observing the *Sikkim Mahāśānti Paja* (Sikkim Great Peace Worship) in Gangtok in 2004 January, a Newar participant even suggested that I not disclose to others that my study was on the Newar community since the *Sikkim Mahāśānti Paja* was a four-day joint effort by over two dozen religiously-motivated youth clubs, trade unions, workers organisations and business houses. During this grand event, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Christian, Sikh and Sāi Bābā followers were all actively involved. I was informed that the main aim of the *paja* was to showcase the religious harmony among Sikkim's peoples, and to appease wandering souls of all the beings who had died an unnatural death in the recent past. In this capacity, according to Mr. S.K. Pradhan, the spokesman of the event, while a major objective of the *paja* was to bring peace to Sikkim, its ultimate aim was to bring about peace and tranquillity in the whole world. Followers of the different religions each had their own room and altar at which they could perform appropriate religious activities for their faith.

Nepali is now well established as a lingua franca in Sikkim. Among Sikkimese Newars, the practice of speaking the Newar language at home is extremely low: most use Nepali as their mother tongue. In particular, those families who have lost contact with Kathmandu Newars have completely lost the ability of speaking the Newar language. Only a few families in Gangtok, Rhenock, Namthang, Namchi, Jorethang, Legship, Tashiding and Geyzing still do speak Newar. Tashiding, a small village situated in West Sikkim, is the only place where I found several families still speaking Newar with one another. However, with the establishment of the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi*, Newars of Sikkim have begun to feel it necessary to learn their ancestral language. In a bid to teach Newar to Sikkimese Newars, the *Sikkim Newāḥ Guthi* started sending students to Kathmandu to learn Newar and also invited language teachers from Kathmandu to Sikkim to teach the tongue. From 1998, the *Guthi* also supplied two Newar language schoolteachers: one at Aritar in East Sikkim and another at Mallidanda in South Sikkim. Sadly this venture did not last long. In February 2000, the Institute of Newar Language and Culture was established in Namthang Kothi in South Sikkim to revive the Newar language and its culture. The government also introduced the Newar language as a subject at some schools, appointed Newar language teachers and published course books in the Newar language.

The *Newar Organisation of Sikkim* is also keen to maintain cross border contact and cultural exchange between the Newars of Nepal and Sikkim. Prominent Newar leaders, such as Padma Ratna Tuladhar, Malla K. Sundar, Naresh Bir Shakya and Laksmidas Manandhar have been

invited to Sikkim to participate in their programmes. On occasion, cultural teams from Nepal, and well-known Newar language, dance and music teachers, have also been invited. Similarly, Newar leaders in Sikkim have visited Nepal to participate in programmes organised by the *Newar National Forum* (NewāX De Dabu) and the Newar Association (Nepālbhā\_ā MamkāX KhalaX) of Nepal.

The emergence of the *Sikkim Democratic Front* (SDF) as the largest party in the Legislative Assembly of Sikkim has played an important role in empowering the state's ethnic groups. The SDF government introduced various regulations in favour of the different ethnic groups of Sikkim, including giving equal rights to all languages spoken in the state. In 1994, the local government designated Newar to be a state language along with all other languages spoken in Sikkim, and further introduced a regulation permitting Newar to be spoken at meetings of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA). In this regard, since 1994 the SLA has employed a Newar language translator and editor and has been publishing proceedings of parliamentary meetings in the Newar language using Newar scripts. I was able to collect a *Proceedings of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly* translated into the Newar language using the Newar script, an important document because it speaks of the Sikkimese government's practical commitment to supporting languages from different communities. Sadly, no other Newar language proceedings have been published since. *The Sikkim Herald*, a government weekly, is released in Newar and other official languages of the state, another example of Sikkim's liberal policy towards minority languages.

In 2003, the Sikkim government included the Newars in the Other Backward Class (OBC) category, together with Bahuns, Chetris, Sanyasi and Jogis. This means that the government now reserves a total of fourteen percent of jobs and seats for higher studies for these groups. While the State Government of Sikkim has now recognised these groups as OBC, the Central Government of India has yet to do so.

## Concluding Remarks

I have found the people of Sikkim to be generally happy about the State Government's policy towards their languages and cultures, and most believe that this policy has increased mutual understanding between Sikkim's different ethnic groups. At first glance, one notices peaceful and harmonious relations between the different ethnicities in Sikkim, but competition and envy among these groups can be sensed as soon as one delves a little deeper. Almost all communities in Sikkim have their own ethnic organi-

sations and are actively organising themselves to struggle for their rights.

Some are of the opinion that the policy of empowering small communities with rights to their languages and cultures is divisive. They believe that the Nepalese communities of Sikkim were for a long time seen as one group but are now fragmented because each one is seeking a separate and distinct ethnic identity. Only politicians, they argue, benefit from such a 'divide and rule' policy. Kumar Pradhan, a prominent Nepalese scholar in India expresses a similar opinion about Darjeeling (2005: 24). The majority of Nepalese in Sikkim are nevertheless pleased with the State Government's policy towards their cultures.

Nepalese populations in Sikkim, who have been living there for almost one and a half centuries, believe themselves to be no less indigenous than those officially declared as indigenous. The Bhutia and Lepcha populations of Sikkim are considered to be the most indigenous and the Indian government has consequently accorded them the status of Scheduled Tribes meaning that a higher percentage of government jobs, higher studies and political seats are reserved for them. All the Nepalese communities, such as the Bahuns, Chetris, Rais, Limbus, Tamangs, Gurungs, Magars and Newars are generally considered to be outsiders, despite their long term residence in the state. Consequently, a division between the Nepalese communities and the Bhutias and Lepchas can be felt, and the Nepalese communities feel themselves to be somehow closer to each other than to the Bhutias and the Lepchas. Not everyone agrees with such a perception, and some Newars suggest that their food habits are much closer to those of Bhutias and Lepchas than to a traditional Bahun or Chetri diet.

The Newars in Sikkim are proud to be referred to as Newar. With their long history of a distinct culture and language hailing from the valley of Nepal, the Sikkimese Newars want their heritage to be accorded due respect wherever they live. While they are legally Indian, Sikkimese Newars are culturally Newar and since the 1990s have been actively researching their roots and are presently striving for a reinforced sense of their Newar identity.

## Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the Managers of the Frederick Williamson Memorial Fund, whose generous grant enabled me to carry out this research in Sikkim in 2004. I am also fortunate to be the first post-doctoral fellow at the Centro Incontri Umani, Ascona, Switzerland (2004-2006), which gave me the opportunity to write up my Sikkim research and produce this paper. I am most indebted to the executive members of the

Centro Incontri Umani, particularly to Professor Bruce Kapferer and Dr. Angela Hobart for their support. Thanks are due to Dr. Giovanni and Laura Simona for their untiring assistance and warmth during my Ascona residence. I am grateful to Professor J.D.M. Platenkamp of Münster University for inspiration and his support of my research. I am grateful to Professors J.C. Heesterman and D.H.A. Kolff, and drs. Han F. Vermeulen of Leiden University, Professors Axel Michaels and William Sax, and Dr. Martin Gaenszle of Heidelberg University, Professors Jean Claude Galey, Corneille Jest and Gérard Toffin of CNRS, Paris, Dr. David N. Gellner of Oxford University, Dr. Nathan Porath in the UK, Professors Tirtha Prasad Mishra and Nirmal Man Tuladhar of the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, and folklorist Kesar Lal Shrestha, Nareshvir Shakya and Malla K. Sundar of Kathmandu, for their encouragement and support of this research. Thanks are also due to Dr. Anna Balicki-Denjongpa and Mark Turin and the anonymous reviewer for reading an earlier version of this article and providing me with helpful comments. The hospitality and the care I received in Sikkim were tremendous. With much respect I express my gratitude to all those who welcomed me. I would particularly like to thank Guru Suryavir Tuladhar, Bhanu Prakash Marmik, Rajiv Shankar and Rachana Shrestha and Krishna Basnet of Gangtok, Gajablab and Surendra Pradhan of Legship, Deepak Pradhan of Pelling, B.N. Pradhan of Demtang, and Yogvir Shakya of Kalimpong for their kind hospitality and help. I am indebted to Kalpana and Deepak Pradhan, Dhruva Pradhan Bhansari and Pradhuma Shrestha of Tadong for providing me with copies of documents in their possession. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Srilakshmi and our children Amu, Aju and Nugah for their support, love and tolerance for the periods I was absent from home during my research.

<sup>1</sup> In 2004, noted Nepali folklorist, Kesar Lal Shrestha kindly supplied me with an unpublished family note written by Cakraraj Timila.

<sup>2</sup> The 1861 treaty obliged Sikkim to comply with British

wishes relating to internal and external affairs. See Basnet (1974: 192-98), Appendix 'B', for the full text of the treaty.

<sup>3</sup> The letter was dated 20/10/1889, but there is mention of a land lease received about 22 years earlier. See Jha (1985: 56 & 128) Appendix I. See also Sharma and Sharma (1997: 13) Vol. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Jha (1985: 55-7 & 128-29) Appendix II and III. See also Sharma & Sharma (1997: 13-14) Vol. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Jha (1985: 130-32) Appendix IV. See also Kotturan (1983: 82)

<sup>6</sup> See Sharma and Sharma (1997: 53-55) and also Basnet (1974: 46).

<sup>7</sup> See Jha (1985: 130) and Sharma and Sharma (1997: 56).

<sup>8</sup> The text is reprinted in Sharma and Sharma 1997: 49).

<sup>9</sup> See Bhattacharyya (1984) for more on coinage in Sikkim.

<sup>10</sup> See the genealogy published by one of his descendants in Pradhan (1997: 1).

<sup>11</sup> Family documents in the possession of Mrs. Kalpana and Mr. Deepak Pradhan of Tadong.

<sup>12</sup> This was the first census conducted in Sikkim, see Risley (1972: 27).

<sup>13</sup> See Gellner (1992: 235-47); Nepali (1965: 191-7); Regmi (1967: 2) and Shrestha (2002: 32-35).

<sup>14</sup> See Toffin (1984: 209-13); Quigley (1985: 30-49) and Ishii (1996) for the functioning of *sī guthis* in Nepal.

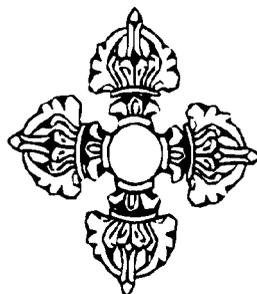
<sup>15</sup> See Kesar Lal Shrestha (2004: 3) for more on this *guthi*.

<sup>16</sup> See van den Hoek (2004: 23).

<sup>17</sup> Balicki-Denjongpa has elaborated secular and Buddhist perceptions of the mountain deity Kanchenjunga among the Lhopos (Bhutia) of Sikkim (2002: 31).

<sup>18</sup> See the *Smarika* (2000) published on the occasion.

(This article has been reproduced from Bulletin of Tibetology [Vol 41, No.1, May 2005], published by Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, India)



# Buddhist Hymns and the Renaissance of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

*The renaissance of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal began in the early 20th century amidst the previously existed Newar Buddhism and other forms of Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism. Newar Buddhism preserved Sanskrit as their canonical language, whereas Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism used the Tibetan vernacular. Later, when Theravada Buddhism was reintroduced into Nepal in 1920s, Pali was added as another canonical language. However, Pali, being an unfamiliar language, was not popular enough to use widely in the propagation of Theravada Buddhism. Therefore, as an alternative to Sanskrit and Pali, Nepal developed the use of Nepal Bhasa vernacular in translations, commentaries and devotional songs. Among all the religious works in Nepal Bhasa, Buddhist hymns have a unique and significant role in the Theravada Buddhism renaissance. Moreover, it has an indirect implication to Nepalese politics and social reflections of the time of the renaissance. Gyanmala, which literally means 'Garland of Wisdom', are Buddhist hymns which have a special place in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. One of the earliest Buddhist hymns was composed in 17th century. The singing of Buddhist hymns can be sung as devotional chanting but often accompanied by musical instruments. However, Theravada monks are excluded from singing the hymns if it is accompanied by musical instruments. Still nearly 40% of Buddhist hymns are composed and authored by Theravada Buddhist monks. This paper will investigate how those Buddhist hymns have been used as a powerful instrument in the renaissance of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal.*

## I. Introduction:

This paper is an exploration about a new aspect of Buddhist studies. Within Theravada monastic context, music and singing are something considered as a 'taboo' or a breaking precepts. However, I see that singing and music are important aspects of emotional, psychological and devotional reflection of people in the society. Therefore, devotional songs can be a simple tool of delivering message of awakening and/or the reflection of socio-political aspect of the society. However, I see that the study of hymns and music are another aspect of Buddhist studies that seems to be neglected subject. Accordingly, I am looking at the role of the Gyanmala, Buddhist devotional hymns within the context of Theravada Buddhism revivalism in Nepal and to see how Nepalese Theravadin community have developed an assumed Theravadin 'taboo' to be 'singing for salvation.'

The Gyanmala is a modern Buddhist hymn that originated as a part of the Theravada Buddhism revivalism in Nepal

in 1920s. It is a unique type of Theravada Buddhist liturgy as it is a text comprising of words, music, chanting verses and actions used in rituals and ceremonies, whether privately or publicly, in vernaculars<sup>3</sup>. According to Peter Skilling<sup>4</sup> liturgy in the Buddhist sense is "an individual's and a community's participation in Buddhism, and to a degree their identity as 'Buddhist.'" Moreover, he describes, "Liturgy is a social act, an integral part of living Buddhism, and it is a key to what ideas were abroad during certain periods. It is also a teaching vehicle for both monastics and lay followers. That is, it is through chanting that they express themselves as Buddhist, relate to the Triple Gems, and learn the fundamentals of Buddhism." The Gyanmala in the modern Nepalese context functions not only as a religious or devotional hymn but also as a reflection of the psychological and socio-political facts of people of the time.

The Gyanmala is sometimes referred as a type of Bhajans. Bhajan is a song or a music composition, for worship or offering prayers to the deities, popular among Hindu,

Sikh and Buddhist communities. The songs are simple in melody, but use soulful language celebrating the many splendours of God and expressing the deep feelings of love for God or the deities. Although the Gyanmala can be categorised under the age-old tradition of bhajan, it has its own unique style of singing and rhythm. Unlike bhajan, the Gyanmala is not fixed for a particular festival, day or time, nor is it a hymn to praise any god. It can be organised and sung anywhere regardless of occasion, time, or religious affiliation. Everyone can participate in the Gyanmala hymn-singing without preparation because the Gyanmala 'in itself, nothing necessarily or essentially Theravadin in the act of singing such hymns means that the participants include both the most ardent Theravada activists and other Buddhists who have a much more variable and ecumenical attitude toward Buddhism.<sup>5</sup>

Although one of the oldest substantial pieces of written Pali to survive in the world (dated c. 800) is found in the Kathmandu Valley,<sup>6</sup> Pali is a relatively new Buddhist canonical language for Nepal. When the revival of Theravada Buddhism began in the 1920s, Pali was unfamiliar among Nepalese. To ease the transmission of the Buddhist doctrines among Nepalese, the pioneers of Theravada revivalism invented the Gyanmala which basically translate Pali verses and discourses into vernaculars and more specifically in the style of simple hymns. The vernacular translations include basic verses from taking refuge in the Triple Gems, observing five precepts to the life of the Buddha and his doctrines (see Appendix I). Beginning with the Gyanmala, other new vernacular translations of Pali Canon have been translated and used in Nepalese Theravada monastic communities as an alternative to the Pali.

## II. Theravada Revivalism in Nepal

Traditional Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley is known as 'Newar' Buddhism, a name which reflects the ethnicity of its adherents, the Newars. The Newar or Newars are a given name for the indigenous people of the Valley and Newar Buddhism is the Valley's unique brand of Buddhism generally categorised under the Vajrayana Buddhism. The other dominant type of Buddhism which exists in Nepal is 'Highlands' Buddhism, and its main adherents are Tamang, Sherpa, Magar, and Gurung ethnicities who live along the Nepalese highlands, and are influenced by some forms of Tibetan Buddhism.

The Kathmandu Valley is famous for as a source of Sanskrit and vernacular (i.e. Nepal Bhasa) Buddhist texts. The Buddhist world is much indebted to the British resident Brian Houghton Hodgson for his collections of Sanskrit and vernacular Buddhist manuscripts from the Valley, which he sent to the Société Asiatique in 1837

and other parts of the world. Huge collections of those manuscripts are still available in British Library. Based on those manuscripts in 1844 Eugène Burnouf stressed the fact that Indian Buddhism had to be studied on the basis of the Sanskrit text from Nepal and the Pali texts from Ceylon<sup>8</sup>. In addition to Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts used by Newar Buddhists, of course, among the highlands Buddhism Tibetan vernacular is their base of canonical language. This may raise the question on the role of Pali language in Nepal. It seems that Pali is not used by any form of traditional Buddhism existed in Nepal prior to its introduction by recently revived Theravada Buddhism. Despite the existence of a few old Pali manuscripts in the Manuscript Departments of Nepal, the Pali language is unfamiliar among Nepalese. This changed after 1920s, when the long-lost Theravada tradition was reintroduced in Nepal with its more 'Protestant' form of Buddhism.

Theravada Buddhism was reintroduced in Nepal in the late 1920s. The renaissance of Theravada Buddhism took place in Nepal together with the first stirrings of modern Newar ethnic activism<sup>9</sup>. Nepal in 1920s was ruled by the Rana Regime which was pro-Hindu in terms of religious affiliation and politically it was a traditional autocratic state. Despite the suppression of the pro-Hindu government, the revival of Buddhism in Nepal was ignited by Jagat Man Vaidya who later changed his name to Dharmaditya Dharmacharya. In 1921, he was exposed to the Theravada Buddhism in India when he met Anagarika Dharmapala. Since then he dedicated himself to learning Pali and towards revival of Buddhism in Nepal. It is speculated that he might be the first Nepalese to reintroduce the Pali language in modern Nepal. In 1923, he attempted to establish an organization for the revival of Buddhism (Buddha Dharma Uddhar Sangha) and basing himself in Calcutta, India he began to translate and publish Pali texts into Nepal Bhasa vernacular in his magazine entitled '*Buddha Dharma wa Nepal Bhasa*' (Buddhism and Nepal Bhasa vernacular) and other magazine named '*Dharmaduta*' (Dharma Missionaries).

Some of the Pali discourses first appeared in Nepal Bhasa vernacular was the translations of discourses from Sutta-pitaka or 'Basket of Discourses.' For example, *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta* (Discourse on Turning the Wheel of the Dharma in motion), *Sigalovada sutta* (Discourse on Layperson's Code of Discipline) and *Jivaka sutta* (Discourse on Being a Lay Follower) were translated and printed between the years of 1925-30. In 1931, the Dhammapada from Pali texts was first translated and published in Nepal Bhasa vernacular. It was translated by Dr. Indra Man Vaidya, a brother of Dharmaditya Dharmacharya and was published by Sadhu Man Bhisakacharya in Calcutta, India. Although the first attempt of this translation was not well translated and was

not a complete version it could be considered as one of the first vernacular versions of the Pali Canon in modern Nepal. These publications were printed in Calcutta and discreetly imported into Nepal. In 1940, the first publication entitled '*Paritrana*' (the Book of Protective Blessings) which comprises of the popular discourses for chanting in Pali together with its translations in Nepal Bhasa vernacular was published. In 1942, the complete version of the *Dhammapada* text together with its new translation in vernacular (by Bhikkhu Amritananda) was published. In 1946, with the publication of the book entitled '*Dharma wa Vinaya*' (Doctrines and Disciplines) in vernacular introduced Nepalese about the Pali translations of *Abhidharma* and book of Discipline (vinaya).

This revival of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal was coincided with the visit of a charismatic Tibetan Lama known as Kyangste Lama. In 1924, the Lama's sermons encouraged five Newars<sup>10</sup> to follow their Tibetan teacher to Tibet and join the monastic order. When they returned to Nepal as newly ordained monks, it raised a big debate within the ruling government, who finally ruled that the ordination was an unlawful conversion. As a result, while those newly ordained monks were collecting their alms on the street they were arrested and exiled from the country in 1926. When Buddhism was publicly disallowed by the ruling government and everyone was forced to follow Hinduism, it raised dissatisfaction among the Buddhists. This dissatisfaction later turned to be a positive force for reviving Buddhism in Nepal.

In 1926, Mahapragya (Prem Bahadur Khyahju Shrestha), the senior most of the five exiled monks re-ordained as a Theravada novice-monk in Buddha Gaya under the preceptorship of a Burmese monk U Kosala. Following the footsteps of Mahapragya, Karmasheel (Kul Man Singh Tuladhar) who was also previously ordained in the Tibetan tradition in 1928 later re-ordained as a Theravada novice-monk in 1930 in Kusinagar<sup>11</sup>. After being re-ordained in Theravada tradition, Karmasheel first returned to Nepal and, shortly afterwards, the exiled monk Mahapragya secretly entered the country to begin the work for revivalism of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal.

### III. What is Gyanmala?

This spirit of reviving Buddhism in Nepal gave birth to the Gyanmala hymns, a public devotional singing composed based on the life of the Buddha and teachings of the Buddha. This was regarded as a revolutionary action not only in the field of renaissance of Buddhism in Nepal but it has directly developed to be an educational tool for awakening the indigenous people of Kathmandu Valley socially, politically and religiously. Today, Theravada

assemblies, at all times and in all places, begin with the Gyanmala devotional hymn-singing. Although Theravada monastic codes (e.g. eight precepts) seems discourage singing, it must be regarded as one of the fundamental constituents of the modern Nepalese Theravada teaching and transmission of the Buddha's doctrines. Among Theravada community in Nepal, devotional hymn-singing are not considered as breaking the precepts. On the contrary, most of those hymns and liturgies were composed by Theravada monks themselves and they were encouraged to sing widely in public or private as a means of path to salvation.

It can be said that the Gyanmala hymn provides better access to Buddhism for the masses than sermons. Most Theravadin assemblies begin with a public hymn-singing of Gyanmala mainly accompanied by the harmonium and tabla. In modern context, this might be added with additional musical instruments such as electronic piano or even a guitar. The singing is done in a group and in public. It is sung ahead of the Buddhist ceremonies, for example, Buddha veneration ceremony (Buddha Puja) or any Buddhist programmes as a crowd pulling mechanism. They have also developed the Gyanmala hymn-singing in various Buddhist places on a daily basis. Moreover, hymn-singing of Gyanmala is not limited only in monastery grounds but it is also sung in different religious processions. Now it has become the most popular Buddhist activity widely performed both in and out of the Valley and developed to be the quintessential part of the modern Theravada Buddhism in Nepal.

The Gyanmala handbook itself went through numerous reprints (over 17 editions from its inception). The Gyanmala hymn-singing becomes a prominent feature of Buddhist community life which is stimulated by regularly scheduled competitions among different hymn-singing groups all over the country. The numbers of Gyanmala hymns are increasing in numbers composed by both monastic and lay. Importantly, in terms of its participation the Gyanmala hymn-singing functions as a gathering point of all Buddhist groups without any discrimination of their personal affiliations. However, lyrics of Gyanmala hymns are mostly focus on the historical Buddha and his doctrines rather than local deities or Vajrayana Buddhist deities.

The term 'Gyanmala' literary means 'Garland of Wisdom' ('gyan' means 'wisdom' + 'mala' means 'garland'). Later it becomes the specific name of the Buddhist hymn book. The present publication (the 17th edition) of the book includes 237 Gyanmala hymns. Its name is a reminder of the hymns, based on the sacred teaching of the Buddha. Some argue that the term Gyanmala in Nepalese context has a different connotation. The term Gyanmala is made

of two words: 'gyan' which means 'knowledge' and the vernacular term 'mahla' which means 'do you need.' Accordingly, it was a question asking people who do not understand about Buddhism that whether they would want to be a wise? This is because Gyanmala hymns are filled with the Buddha's wisdom<sup>12</sup>.

There is also another connotation of Gyanmala. Some say that it was not a question of asking someone whether he/she wants to be a wise or not. But the term 'mala' should be reinterpreted in vernacular as 'malah' which means searching and selecting. Accordingly, Gyanmala means 'a group of selected teachings of the Buddha.'

However, Bhikshu Amritananda, a pioneer of Nepalese Theravada Buddhist monks claims that he was the one who changed to the current name 'Gyanmala' from previously called 'bhajanmala' in 1944<sup>13</sup>. He also warned that do not use these hymns to indulge oneself on music, tunes, rhythm or lyrics of the hymn but as a source of salvation and a philosophical reflection. One should put full attention on the words they sing and practice accordingly after singing those hymns. Therefore, Gyanmala's main purpose is to 'sing for salvation' not for entertainment per se.

Regarding its historicity, Gellner<sup>14</sup> writes that the first attempt to compose a Gyanmala was done by Prem Bahadur Khyahju Shrestha or later known as Bhikshu Mahapragya in early as 1920s. It was recorded that he was asked by his friend Dalchini Manandhar to compose those Buddhist hymns. In order to help him do so, Manandhar gave him a copy of Nepal Bhasa version of the Lalitavistara, the life of the Buddha which was printed in Calcutta in 1914, through which he became a devout Buddhist and joined monastic although based on his family background he was a Hindu.

#### **IV. Bhajan verses Gyanmala**

Bhajan or devotional hymn is a song or poem set to music in praise of a divine or venerated being. It is widely popular among Hindu and Sikh religions. Hymns from India, the Sanskrit Rig-Veda, survive from c.1200 B.C.<sup>15</sup>. In Hinduism, the groundwork for bhajans was laid in the hymns found in Veda in the Hindu scriptures. They are distinguished from the Sanskrit shlokas (hymns that accompany religious rituals) by virtue of their easy lilting flow, the colloquial renderings and the profound appeal to the mass. These are sung in a group comprising devotees, with a lead singer. The fixed tunes, repetition of words and phrases lend a kind of tonal mesmerism. Anecdotes, episodes from the lives of Gods, preaching of saints, description of God's glories have been the subject of bhajans.

Bhajan khalahs (hymn-singing groups) that have been in existence since the beginning of the Bhakti Era have proved to be great social leveller where individuals unhesitatingly participate in the singing, relegating their petty differences to the background. The words, tunes, rhythms and the typical repetitive style of the bhajans give a certain sense of joy.

Gellner<sup>16</sup> writes that the modern style of hymns, known as bhajan, was only introduced into Nepal in the 1880s from India. He states that 'at first the songs were entirely in Hindi and were Hindu in affiliation.' This, however, contrasts with the fact of existence of Newar vernacular what Lienhard<sup>17</sup> called religious poetry. Some of those Buddhist religious poetries which are included in modern Gyanmala hymns dated back to early as the late 17th century. The context of those religious poetries comprise of praising the Buddha or different scenarios of the life of the Buddha. There has been an age-old tradition of singing those hymns accompanied with indigenous music or without. For example, one of the oldest hymns which was composed in 1865 entitled 'Buddha's descends to Lumbini' (see appendix II for the hymn) is a popular hymn sung widely in all times.

Prior to the introduction of Gyanmala in Nepal, it is recorded by Pradhan<sup>18</sup> that there were already a group of devotees performing regular bhajan or hymn singing accompanied by harmonium and tabla in an inn atop of the sacred Swayambhu stupa of Kathmandu. But these hymns were mostly about amorous activities of Hindu gods and goddesses. The daily visitors to the Swayambhu stupa early in the morning unflinchingly saw these people singing in the chorus.

When Theravada Buddhism was introduced in the Kathmandu Valley, many younger were inspired, so much so that in 1937, they began to conduct the recitation of Buddhist hymns regularly at the Swayambhu stupa, the very place where Hindu hymns were sung. However, since there was no book of Buddhist hymns in the vernacular, they took Buddhist songs from a book in Hindi and few very old Buddhist religious poetries (hymns)<sup>19</sup>. In the beginning, Bhikshu Mahapragya composed some of the Buddhist hymns in Hindi and vernacular. It quickly got very popular among Nepalese mass. Gradually, Gyanmala hymns in vernacular were composed and became very popular.

Although the Gyanmala can be considered as a development of the Bhajan in some ways, it is different in its nature and context. The Bhajan has more of a devotional or Bhakti character with hymns praising of God or deities, while the Gyanmala is unique in its message of awakening, self-conscious and the absence of references to God. Most

Gyanmala hymns are composed based on the Buddha's teaching or the life of the Buddha. It is used alternative to the sermon because Gyanmala can educate singers and listeners to be aware of Buddha's doctrines as well as a means of religious politics campaign.

In the beginning, Gyanmala was often used to educate the mass about the awakening from ignorance and encourage people to keep five precepts. However, there are also few hymns which indicate the praising for the king (after his demise). Some of those hymns have an indirect effect of arousing patriotic feelings. Still, some hymns teach about the gender equality in Buddhism which have again indirect effect upon the negating the Hindu ideas prevailing at that time. As a whole, the Gyanmala pervades around the whole Buddhist ideas of 'freedom from suffering', 'doing well for the sake of the majority', 'conceptualizing the principle of impermanence' etc. Accordingly, it became a very effective tool of Theravada revivalism in Nepal. Many Gyanmala hymns emphasise on abstaining from alcohol which is a part of Newar Buddhism rites and rituals. The simplicity of vernacular language and the context of each hymn are very powerful to convince the crowd. Crowd of any aged group and regardless of their educational background can enjoy these hymns. Wherever there is a Gyanmala hymn-singing crowd is easily drawn into listen. Gyanmala hymn became the most popular means to convey the Buddha's doctrines to the mass and a very effective means of transmitting Theravada Buddhism.

## V. Monks and Music

The Gyanmala is the product of the Theravada revivalism in Nepal and monks themselves composed most hymns, however, Theravada Buddhist monks are forbidden by the Vinaya, or monastic code, to participate in Gyanmala hymn-singing if it is accompanied by music. Based on eight precepts and monk's 227 monastic rules music is prohibited for one who observe those precepts.

Despite these restrictions, the history of Theravada Buddhism shows that hymns and music have been part of Buddhism. For example, at Wat Bovoranives, a 200 years old royal Thai Theravadin temple in Bangkok, Thailand, there is a tradition of beating a Klong Mahoratuek (rain-drum, frog-drum, Karen drum) before the daily morning and evening chanting of monks by a layman while a monk of a certain rank lights ceremonial candles before altar. This is still being practised now. I was also told by His Holiness Somdet Phra Nyanasamvara, the Supreme Patriarch and the abbot of Wat Bovoranives (who is currently 93) that, in fact, in old days together with the drum beating there was also the tradition of blowing conch shell which has been lost now.

Going back further, if we look at the canonical texts we find several sources of singing hymns and music. The form of praising the Buddha or Triple Gem has been age-old practice within the Buddhist culture and it was practiced even when the Buddha was still alive. There are so many records in Pali Canon which tell about the hymn-singings. For example, there is a story in the Pali Canon<sup>20</sup> that once the King of the Gods (Sakka) wishes to see the Buddha who was residing and enjoying the bliss of meditation in Magadha. Therefore, asked Pancasikha, a musician god (*gandharva*) in heaven to inform Buddha with his melodious music and songs. Pancasikha with his yellow *beluva*-wood lute approached where the Buddha was residing near the Indasala Cave and from not too far away Pancasikha, to the strains of his lute, sang verses extolling the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Arhants, and love. The Canon further states that it was appreciated by the Buddha himself: 'Pancasikha, the sound of your strings blends so well with your song, and your song with the strings, that neither prevails excessively over the other.' This clearly shows that the Buddha was listening to Pancasikha's music with his careful ears so that he was able to give his comment on it.

Another sources in the Pali Canon<sup>21</sup> states that a Brahmin named Pingiyani sung praising the Buddha to another Brahmin named Karanapali until the later overwhelmed with the praising and took refuge in the Buddha.

In the Mahavagga of the Vinaya-pitaka of Pali Canon also refers that the newly enlightened Buddha went to visit King Bimbisara. Upon their meeting King Bimbisara was overjoyed with the teaching of the Buddha. King invited the Buddha together with his monks for lunch at his palace for the next morning. It states that when the Buddha and the monks were in their way to the palace, the King of the God (Sakka) transformed himself to be a young man and led the Buddha and monks with singing and praising all the way to the palace. Along the way, people were wondered that who Sakka is, whose appearance is very handsome and his praising hymn is very melodious. The Sakka answered their questions in hymn that he is the servant of the Buddha. In fact, the modern tradition of having music bands leading Buddhist processions was probably descended historically from this incident where the Buddha and his disciples were led by hymn-singing of Sakka.

Likewise, it is also states in the Pali Canon that after the cremation of the body of the Buddha the Mallas honoured the relics for a week in their assembly hall, having made a lattice-work of spears and an encircling wall of bows, with dancing, singing, garlands and music<sup>22</sup>.

These are only few examples of hymn-singing and

music in the Pali Canon. Therefore, although monks are forbidden from singing them it shows that it is okay to ponder, listen and engage in one way or another if those hymns were religious or spiritual not leading to delusion and ignorance. These age-old styles of praising hymns within Buddhism might be categorised under the bhajan because most of these hymns are praising the Buddha or Triple Gem. And it can be considered as the prototype of the Gyanmala in the context of the Nepalese Theravada Buddhism. Most of those hymns were very poetic, simple to understand and easy to sing as hymns.

Although monks may not engage in Gyanmala hymn-singing when it is accompanied with music but many Gyanmala hymns have been always chanted by monks as a part of their daily chanting in private and public.

## **VI. History of Gyanmala Hymn**

In 1930s, the novice-monk Karmasheel (later renamed as Sangha Maha Nayaka Pragyananda Mahasthvir) started the work of Theravada revivalism in Nepal and not too long he was succeeded in convincing many inhabitants of the Valley, especially the younger, about the truth of Buddhism and Buddhist identity. Shortly afterwards, Mahapragya joined him in the revivalism work. One of the remarkable things they did in their revival work was encouraging Buddhist hymn-singing in vernacular. After seven years of hard work, in 1937, there were few Nepalese who were inspired by Theravada Buddhism and courage enough to imply hymn-singing and music into the revivalism of Buddhism.

The first edition of Gyanmala was published in 1938 under the title of 'Bhajan-mala' (Garland of Hymns)<sup>23</sup>. It was printed in India by Bhikshu Pragyabhivamsa (a penname of Bhikshu Dharmaloka of Nepal) at Kasia Matha Kunwar, Kushinagara in India. It had no name on the front page in order to avoid troubles with the Ranas' censors. It was discreetly brought into Kathmandu by Bhikshu Dharmaloka and was first sung on the Swayambhu stupa.

The first edition of the Gyanmala book was of 13 pages with 18 hymns. However, it was republished in 1941 with 20 pages. A year later in 1942, the first edition was republished under the new title named 'Gyanmala' with 45 hymns. The publications of Gyanmala till the year of 1946 were all printed in India. Since then the Gyanmala book has been keeping reprinting till now. The latest edition of Gyanmala book is the 17th edition published in 1998. The over all copies of the printed Gyanmala is over 40,000 copies since its inception in 1938. Although in each publication some of the hymns might miss out there are also adding of new hymns in each publication. The over all numbers of hymns in total is around 250 hymns

since its introduction.

With the invention of unique Gyanmala book and 'invention of tradition' of Gyanmala hymn-singing in 1938, an association named 'Gyanmala Bhajan Khalah, Swayambhu' (Gyanmala Hymn Group, Swayambhu) was also established. Two years later a similar group was formed in Kwa Baha, Lalitpur, and it named itself the Taremam Sangha<sup>24</sup>. Later many similar groups had sprung up everywhere both within and out of the Valley. The latest numbers recorded of such group is 73. From 1943, both the Gyanmala books and the Gyanmala Hymn Groups became known by the generic term 'Gyanmala' (Garland of Wisdom)<sup>25</sup>. Despite its inception in 1938, the national level of such association was just officially registered with the government of Nepal in 2002 under the umbrella name of 'National Gyanmala Association' (Rastriya Gyanmala Samiti). In addition, it has extended to other Nepalese communities living in India too such as in Kalimpong. Through Gyanmala Buddhism slowly became more accessible to people. The new generation, especially the educated people, became more and more attracted towards Buddhism. At the same time, it became very popular among old generations because it is easy to understand and to remember without reading books. Most of older generations, particularly women, are illiterate and by participating in the Gyanmala, it enables them to remember and understand Buddhism. Consequently, the Gyanmala Hymn Group became all the more popular. People began to attend in large numbers wherever the singing were held.

## **VII. Gyanmala and Political Activities**

The success of Gyanmala enraged the pro-Hindu Rana Regime. By the year 1944, people in large numbers, began to attend not only the Gyanmala hymn-singing but also other Theravada sermons in different places. Bigger masses of people gathered whenever occasional ceremonies were held at any Buddhist monastery. Such gathering of people was not favoured by the ruling Rana government at all.

In 1944, the government ordered eight Theravadin monks and novices in the Kathmandu Valley to sign an undertaking that they would desist from teaching, performing ordination, or worshipping the Buddha. When they refused to comply, the Prime Minister, Juddha Shamsheer, exiled them to India. The harsh punishment by the Rana Regime enraged devout Buddhists, especially the Gyanmala Hymn Group.

The Gyanmala Hymn Group, in its turn, decided to parade

a protest in the city with Gyanmala hymn-singing from Swayambhu Hill top to the temple of the Lokeshwar at Jana Baha, Kel Tol. On the full moon day of February (Magha) unusually large numbers of Buddhists gathered together at the Swayambhu Hill top and they protested in procession by singing Gyanmala along the way into the town. This protest enraged the police even though it was done in a religious way with peace and devotion.

In November 1945, police invaded the Swayambhu Gyanmala Hymn Group just after their daily hymn-singing. Police seized all Gyanmala books and some books were thrown away. Police charged people who were singing Gyanmala that they were using illegal books which were printed in India and they were charged for forsaking Nepali, the national language. While there was chaos in arresting some discreetly collected the discarded Gyanmala books before the police could notice and disappear from the scene. Police harassed the Gyanmala singers and listeners badly and released them only on bail. The police also charged the sellers of Gyanmala books. Ultimately in 1947, the charged members of Gyanmala Hymn Group were told to present themselves before Padma Shumsher, the Rana Prime Minister. Fortunately, the Prime Minister did not uphold the charge by police and ordered the police to give them freedom in their religious beliefs and hymn-singings in their own vernacular. Since then the Gyanmala book written in Nepal Bhasa vernacular come to be legalized.

To celebrate the triumph, the Gyanmala Hymn Group organised a Gyanmala singing in downtown near the house of the Police Superintendent. The gathering became a big crowd and with a great enthusiasm hymns from the Gyanmala book were sung in Chorus. It was observed that the melodious voice of singers resounded throughout the locality. Large numbers of people crowded around the choir. Trays, bowls, containers of various items of food were brought by the neighbours for the participants. The hymn-singings went on almost for the whole night.

As the Gyanmala Hymn Group obtained the governmental approval to function they began to expand their activities. Having listened to the sermons of Theravada monks Gyanmala Hymn Group expanded their activities as a part of practicing Buddhism from hymn-singing in various places to different charity works and social services. Remarkably, some members of the Gyanmala Hymn Group rendered enthusiastic service to the suffering victims of the epidemic of Cholera which had broken out in Kathmandu during the summer of 1947.

Likewise, in 1948, in Lalitpur the Taremam Sangha joined with Hindu singers organised by Tulsi Meher to sing Buddhist songs and 'Hare Ram' around the city of

Lalitpur as a protest against the political repression of the Ranas. The police arrested about 150 people on that occasion<sup>26</sup>.

This developed the culture of Gyanmala not only as a hymn-singing culture for salvation but as a means of social welfare and political protest.

## VIII. Context of the Gyanmala

The Gyanmala in Nepalese context is not functioned simply as a vernacular Buddhist text alone, but it is influencing over several aspects of society. Although most contexts of Gyanmala are dealing with the various Buddhist doctrines based on Pali text there are also some hymns which indirectly hint about religious-political awareness. The current Gyanmala book is the 17th edition printed in 1998. It includes 237 hymns of various contexts which can be classified as follows:

	CONTENT	TOTAL IN NUMBERS
1	Devotional	61
2	Life of the Buddha and Disciples	35
3	Buddhist Teaching	25
4	Education and Moral Education	38
5	Inspirational	29
6	Moral Stories	18
7	Religio-politics	9
8	Miscellaneous	22
	Total	237

Out of 237 Gyanmala hymns, 34.6% (82 in total) are composed by Theravadin monks. Among those Bhikshu Mahapragya (27 hymns), Bhikshu Subhodhananda (22 hymns) and Bhikshu Amritananda (15 hymns) composed most of those Gyanmala hymns. However, Mahapragya later disrobed and lived as a Buddhist hermit until his demise. There are only 2 hymns composed by a Buddhist nun (Anagarika Madhavi). 23.6% (56 in total) of the Gyanmala hymns are without the name of the composers. Out of those unknown composers some hymns are dating back as early as 1864 (see Appendix II: 'Buddha Descends to Lumbini').

Although there are many Gyanmala hymns of devotional types they are different from bhajan style. Most hymns praise the Triple Gems in the sense of a role model rather

than divine figures. For example, see the lyrics in the appendix I ('Wishes' and 'Recollection of the Buddha').

The Gyanmala hymn-singing is a very effective and powerful tool in transmitting the Buddhist doctrines. Many Gyanmala hymns teach about five precepts (e.g. see Appendix I: 'Homage to the Buddha'), eight precepts, wheel of life, suffering, karma, compassion, mindfulness, endeavour, detachment, peace, impermanence (e.g. see Appendix: 'Good Friends!'), morality, meditation, wisdom (e.g. see Appendix I: 'The Light of Wisdom has extinguished'), anger, choosing good friends, craving (e.g. see Appendix I: 'Mental flame'), selflessness (e.g. see Appendix I: 'Why Pride?'), Nirvana etc. Although many hymns are not direct translations of Pali they are based on main Buddhist doctrines in Pali. Nevertheless, there are few hymns which are direct translations of original Pali to vernacular. For example, some Gyanmala hymns are direct translations of the Dhammapada and Discourse on 38 blessings (Mangala sutta).

Many Gyanmala hymns are composed based on the life of the Buddha, his previous lives (specifically Vessantara), and the lives of main disciples both monks and nuns (e.g. see Appendix: 'Rahul on the lap of Princess Yasodhara,' 'Sundari's Love,' 'AmbraPali's wishes'). This is to make Nepalese aware of the life of the Buddha as a human not a divine. Specially, there are a group of hymns that educate audience about Lumbini, the birthplace of the Buddha and its location in Nepal. It was recorded that it was only by Dharmaditya Dharmacharya, in 1920s, Nepalese Buddhists were informed about the location of Lumbini as in Nepal. Because of Hindu influenced the location of Lumbini was not emphasised among Nepalese Buddhists although in the history there are evidence that Malla Kings from the Valley knew about the existed of Lumbini in medieval period.

Still, there are few Gyanmala hymns which emphasise on patriotic value among Nepalese and to love the King, the head of the country. This is to educate audiences about the opposition towards the Rana Regime who ruled the country for 104 years in total. In addition, few hymns convey message about loving one's country and Buddhism. And some hymns encourage the importance of vernacular and ethnic identity. In general, many hymns give a message of being a good member of society by practicing Buddhist doctrines in their daily lives.

## IX. Conclusion

Bhikshu Amritananda, one who coined the term 'Gyanmala' warns in his foreword of the Gyanmala hymns book that those who participate in Gyanmala hymn-singing and listening should not entertain themselves on rhythm

of the hymns or propagate a purely devotional attitude, but impart Buddhist wisdom. This is firm evidence that although the Gyanmala hymn has its nature similar to age-old tradition of Bhajan but in practicality it is used differently. The Gyanmala hymn is the first attempt to transmit Buddhist doctrines in the vernacular and used as alternative to the Pali in daily religious activities of Nepalese Theravada community. Pali is used and useful in a very limited literate group but the majority of Nepalese Buddhists, particularly women, are illiterate, therefore, the very efficient way to convince them about Buddhist doctrines is through Gyanmala hymn in the vernacular.

In the modern period, the Gyanmala hymn has developed into the digital world as there are so many Gyanmala hymn CDs and cassettes from different Gyanmala hymn-singing groups available in market. These liturgies are not only limited in Buddhist temple or Buddhist programmes but can be heard from radio and television broadcasting. All age group who participate in Buddhist ceremonies can memorise many of those hymns and many even use as a part of their private daily worship in the house. It is also sung in several cultural and religious parades and processions. Everyone sings those Gyanmala hymns with a great veneration and learn many Buddhist virtues from them.

As a final word, the Gyanmala hymn is one of the most successful inventions of Theravada revivalism in Nepal and one of the most popular among Buddhist devotees to use as an alternative way to transmit Buddhism to the masses. It has truly developed from being merely devotional hymns to be a means of salvation. Recently, the popularity of Gyanmala hymns has expanded into wider Nepalese population by translating and composing such Gyanmala hymns in Nepali, the official language. A Gyanmala Hymn Group of Pokhara already succeeds this attempt and many other groups based in Kathmandu Valley.

## Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> This paper is presented under the title of 'Buddhist Hymns in Theravada Buddhism in Nepal' in the First International Buddhist College Buddhist Studies Conference organized by Than Hsiang Temple, Penang, Malaysia 11-13 August, 2006
- <sup>2</sup> Phra Sugandha (Anil Sakya), Assistant Secretary to His Holiness Somdet Phra Nyanasamvara, Supreme Patriarch of Thailand, graduated from Cambridge University and PhD in social Anthropology from Brunel University, United Kingdom with the royal scholarship from the King of Thailand. Currently, he is Deputy Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences in Mahamakut Buddhist University and Visiting Professor at Mahidol University in Thailand and Santa Clara University in California, USA.

- <sup>3</sup> A dictionary definition of 'liturgy' is a particular set of the words, music and actions used in ceremonies in religions.
- <sup>4</sup> Skilling, Peter. 2002. 'Power, Compassion, Success : Random Remarks on Siamese Buddhist Liturgy.' A paper presented at UKBAS Day Conference, 3 July 2002.
- <sup>5</sup> LeVine, S. and Gellner, D. 2005. *Rebuilding Buddhism: The Theravada Movement in Twentieth-Century Nepal*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. P. 124
- <sup>6</sup> Gombrich, R. 1995. *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*. Malaysia: Synergy Books International p. 8-9
- <sup>7</sup> The correct word should be 'Newah.' Newar is the term used with prejudice by non-indigenous people when they refer to the indigenous people of the Kathmandu Valley. However, as the term has been used widely in most literature I am following the same suite in using Newar instead of Newah.
- <sup>8</sup> de Jong, J.W. 1997 *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*. Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co. p. 25
- <sup>9</sup> Whelpton, J. 2005. *A History of Nepal*. Cambridge: CUP p. 155
- <sup>10</sup> They are 1. Prem Bahadur Khyahju Shrestha (aka. Nanikaji Khyahju Maske) renamed in Tibetan as Kalsang Serup (Mahapragya) 2. Buddharatna Shakya renamed in Tibetan as Kalsang Dawa (Mahachandra) 3. Dalchini Saymi renamed in Tibetan as Kalsang Chulting (Mahagyan) 4. Bekharaj Shakya renamed in Tibetan as Kalsang Chundi (Mahavirya) and 5. Gyan Shakya renamed in Tibetan as Kalsang Norbu (Mahashanti).
- <sup>11</sup> Mahapragya and Karmasheel (at the age of 32) later got full ordination as a Theravada Bhikkhu in Myanmar in 1931 and 1932 respectively.
- <sup>12</sup> An explanation given by Sukram Maharjan, the chairman of Hnyaiyu Gyànmalà Bhajan Khalah of Kirtipur. Quoted by Shantaratna Shakya in his article on 'the narrative of Gyànmalà Bhajan' (in Nepal Bhasa) published in the Gyànmalà souvenir publication on the occasion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Gyànmalà Conference in Tansen, Palpa in 1996.
- <sup>13</sup> Bhikshu Dhammalok Mahasthavir and Bhikshu Amritananda (eds) 1992 *Gyanmala Bhajan: Buddhist Devotional Song Book*. Kathmandu: Gyanmala Bhajan Association, Swayambhu. p. preface
- <sup>14</sup> Gellner, D. N. 2004. 'Three Buddhist Hymns from Nepal' *Guthi Nepal Sambat 1125:12-13*, 16 (<http://www.ppguk.org/guthi/david.html>) searched on 21 August 2005.
- <sup>15</sup> The Oxford World Encyclopaedia (computer version)
- <sup>16</sup> *ibid.* Gellner 2004
- <sup>17</sup> Lienhard, S. 1992. *Songs of Nepal: An Anthology of Nevar Folksongs and Hymns*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas Publishers Private Limited.
- <sup>18</sup> Pradhan, Bhuwan Lal. 1996. 'Jnanamala Bhajan Khalah' in Gyanmala (a souvenir). Kathmandu: Gyànmalà Mahasangha Nepah pp.32-38
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> Walshe, Maurice. 1995. *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Digha Nikaya*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society. pp.321-324
- <sup>21</sup> Nyanaponika Thera and Bhikkhu Bodhi. 1999. *Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: An Anthology of Suttas from the Anguttara Nikaya*. Oxford: AltaMira Press. pp. 146-7
- <sup>22</sup> Walshe, Maurice. 1995. *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Digha Nikaya*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society. p. 275
- <sup>23</sup> According to the late Bhikshu Sudarshan it was entitled 'Buddha Bhajan' (Buddha Hymns). This is mentioned in his foreword for the Gyanmala Liturgy book entitled Shree Annapurna Gyanmala Bhajan Khalah, printed in 1998 by Gyanmala Liturgy group of Asan, Kathmandu.
- <sup>24</sup> *ibid.* Gellner 2004
- <sup>25</sup> *ibid.* Gellner 2004
- <sup>26</sup> *ibid.* Gellner 2004

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## Appendix I

Out of 237 hymns in the current edition of Gyanmala hymns book I have translated here 11 most popular hymns. Out of those eleven hymns five are composed by Theravada monks and the rest by laymen. All eleven hymns are of different themes and context. This shows as an example that what sort of message are there within the Gyanmala hymns. These hymns are not able to give exact date but these are the recent production of the six decades of Theravada revivalism in Nepal.

### 1. Homage to the Buddha By Bhikshu Mahapragya

This hymn is an equal to the Pali verses of venerating Buddha and taking refuge in the Triple Gem.

Chorus:

Firstly, we are here with devotion to take refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

Being afraid of the danger of sins here and now I venerate (to Triple Gem).

If the Buddha would not be compassionate to me I will be suffering here and now.

My human life is going to be wasted in this world and will enter into the hell again.

Five Precepts

I will never kill living beings and will not work as stealing.

Oh Lord! I will never commit adultery and sexual desires again.

I will not speak untruth and drink distilled and fermented liquor.

Oh Teacher! I surely will abstain from these and keep the precepts.

### 2. Wishes By Bhikkhu Amritananda

This hymn has a style of praying to the Buddha but of course with a Dharmic understanding flavour. After wishing things from the Triple Gem, it is interesting to see that the hymn wish for a good king and future

development of Buddhism.

Chorus:

O Lord Buddha! Give us an audience,  
Give refuge to us, the ignorant.

Bless us Lord with Enlightenment,  
Give us wisdom that benefits the world.

Show compassion to us, the Compassionate One,  
Give eyes of wisdom to us, the blinds.

By the power of the Buddha may all living beings be happy,  
By the power of the Dharma may we all be peaceful.

By the power of the Sangha may the loving-kindness be grown,

May we be able to devote to the Triple Gem everyday.

May the King of Nepal be the righteous minded,  
And be able to make all living beings happy everyday.

May our defilement be ceased with the growth of doctrine and discipline.

I beg, Your Lord! May I attain the state of immortality (Nibbana).

### 3. Recollection of the Buddha By Bhikshu Subodhananda

This hymn informs the audiences about the birthplace of the Buddha as in Lumbini and the place of enlightenment.

Chorus:

Lord Buddha who came to make peace in the world,

We are here to see you with the flower of hearts.

You were born in Lumbini to become the Buddha.

You came to give peace to all gods, men and living beings.

You renounced all royal luxuries to search for wisdom.

You are the Saint who came to cease the suffering of all sufferers.

You were the One who was enlightened under the Bodhi tree at Buddha Gaya.

You gave the very wisdom to the world, the good current of peace.

You were the revolutionary who endured in patient to give the peace.

You destroyed all violence, untruth, and corruptions.

You were the one who equally showed wisdom of non-violence, precepts, and truth.

You were the one who showed the path of peace to the suffering people.

#### 4. Good Friends! By Kanchabuddha Vajracharya

This hymn emphasizes on the Buddha's teachings on self-consciousness and impermanency.

Chorus:

Eh! Good friends! Why you are too egocentric in this impermanent world?

Life is like a dream so give up your pride.

At the end, no body will come with us not mother, not father or brothers.

Nothing is permanent, one day we have to leave all wealth, people, happiness, and property.

At the time of singing hymn to the feet of the Lord Buddha.

Seeing through the mental eyes and recollecting the impermanent world.

Life becomes invaluable when one clears the net of becoming and lives in peace and happiness.  
Our life is like a gem so leave the pride.

#### 5. Rahul on the lap of Princess Yasodhara By Cittadhara 'Hridaya'

This hymn depicts the very event when the Buddha first

returned to his hometown after enlightenment and how Princess Yasodhara described the Buddha to her son, Rahula.

Chorus:

Like the moon amidst the stars,  
Like the commander of the Dharmic army,  
That man preceding the Order of monks  
Be known, my son, he is your father.  
Like a fluttering flag in spring breeze,  
Like a suffusing fragrant of beautiful flower,  
That man preceding the assembly of monks  
Be known, my son, he is your father.

Like a sharp point of a spear,  
Like the mind preceding the senses,  
That man preceding the group of monks  
Be known, my son, he is your father.

Like the yoke preceding the wheels,  
Like the needle preceding the stitch,  
That man preceding the group of man  
Be known, my son, he is your father.

Goal of austerity is the supreme Enlightenment,  
Morality precedes meditation and wisdom,  
That man preceding all the rest  
Be known, my son, he is your father.

Like the face of patient and compassion,  
Like the kinsmen of all sufferers,  
Discloser of the latest and simplest path,  
Be known, my son, he is your father.

My son, go and beg him with your two hands,  
'Oh! Great Sage! Give me my share of inheritance.'

Owner of massive gems, wealth, and property  
Be known, my son, he is your father.

#### 6. Mental flame By Durgalal Shrestha

This hymn is another warning message for self-awaken and be aware of mental defilements.

Chorus:

I beg you, O people, do not agitate  
While my mind is blazing with desire.

Understand, O people, do not jump around  
While danger and unhappiness chasing you after.

Abandon, O people, the selfishness and pride  
Be understood, it is suffering even though it looks  
happiness.

Learn, O people, to live in peace and happiness,  
By recollecting the Buddha even only for few days  
of living.

Like the wheels follow the ox's hoof,  
Death follows the birth, O people.

One day we have to seek refuge from him,  
O people, although we dislike the death.

## 7. The Light of Wisdom has Extinguished<sup>i</sup> By Bhikshu Mahapragya

This hymn explains about the excellence of Buddhist  
teachings and how one can appreciate it.

Chorus:

Wind came through the window, the light just went  
out.

Oh mother! How shall I close this window?

The eighteen good human qualities are missing,  
While trying to find them, the light just went out.

Exceedingly beautiful, the jewel of understanding is  
lost;

Searching searching, you cannot find it; the light just  
went out.

The house of the five elements [i.e. the human body],  
it is so beautiful,

It may be beautiful, but it has no grace; the light just  
went out.

If there is a window bolt I could have closed it,  
But there is no bolt of understanding; the light just  
went out.

Oh devotees, listen to what the followers of the  
Buddha have said:  
[Peering out] through the window, the five senses  
have spoilt the mind.

## 8. Sundari's Love By Dharmaratna Yami

This hymn describes about the love of Sundari with her  
fiancée Nanda whom Buddha convinced to ordain as a  
monk instead of marriage.

Chorus:

I am following Nanda, my beloved and beautiful one,  
swimming across the ocean of love.  
I will blissfully wear the robe,  
(after) floating this royal garments.

The Well-Gone (Buddha) established the Sangha  
In which includes all refugees of the world,  
Lived in there hoping to cease the suffering  
I am going there today holding the alms bowl.

Once I entered there with the wings of eagerness  
I will try to be free and pure.  
Reaching there I will be able to cut  
The thorn of life with a dharma knife.

I subdue this sorrowful flame with the cooling  
precepts  
Being restraint I kill it blissfully.  
I will keep this cutting wound in my mind  
Just like the dust from my beloved feet.

Spending daily life happily  
In this royal luxuries  
I don't want to die playing the braving music  
Neither through listening to tasteful entertaining  
songs.

But in a scary graveyard or side rode rest house  
If not in a deep thick jungle  
Tiding once mind in the middle or side ground  
I die hearing that Nanda attained Arhat.

## 9. AmbraPali's Wishes By Asharam Shakya

This hymn tells about a part of Ambrapali's life.

Chorus:

I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in Dharma, I  
take refuge in Sangha.

Be understood, be understood that life is  
impermanent,  
It is full of craving, ignorance and anger.  
Casting the net of love and pride I curse myself

O Master! I am here to take your refuge,

Burning the mental defilement with the light of wisdom,

We dedicated our supreme life for others

The truth and non-violence becomes me,  
After seeing through your teachings,

O Master! I take your refuge having distant from  
desire and ignorance.

## 10. Why Pride? By Abhayananda

The hymn emphasizes on the principle of impermanency.

Chorus:

O Mind! don't talk with such a big pride  
Why there is unnecessary desire just to live for few  
days?

Why such a pride claiming this is mine, this is  
mine?  
The king of death chases in no times

Look! This world is not stable and it is  
impermanent.  
It is going round and round just like the potter's  
wheel.

Consider good company and good wisdom  
Be generous and restraint the five senses.

Devotion will cultivate once you have the wisdom  
Having devotion you will attain liberation.

Listen, all good men, said by Abhayananda  
Finally there is nothing despite what you have done  
(so far).

## 11. Remembering the Buddha By Samanera Sudarshan

This hymn not only talks about the awakening of the  
Buddha but also some sense of patriotic feeling among  
singers.

Chorus:

It's dawn, dear friends, let us go to take refuge in the  
Buddha and Dharma.

To bring world peace, loving-kindness and unity let  
us wake up now.

Remembering the Buddha's birth, our sleeping time  
is over now,  
Living in darkness up to now, don't you have to see  
the light?

Remembering the Buddha's enlightenment, wake up  
all Nepalese;  
don't you need to wake up?  
Stand on your own feet; you will attain your own  
path of deathlessness.

While we are busy talking He (the Buddha) has died,  
aren't you going to wake up with understanding?

## Appendix II

The following hymns are ancient religious poetries dated  
as early as 17th century but some of these hymns are also  
included in the current Gyanmala hymn book and widely  
sung in different occasions. These hymns are recorded by  
Lienhard<sup>ii</sup> in his book Songs of Nepal: An Anthology of  
Nevār Folk songs and Hymns.

### 1. Buddha descends to Lumbini

The Bodhisattva passes from his abode in the Tusita  
Heaven, in order to be reborn as Gautama Buddha, and  
Gods and Lokapalas hasten to pay him respect. The song  
was composed in A.D. 1865 during the reign of Surendra  
Vīra Vihrama Saha (A.D. 1847-1881)

Homage to the venerable Buddha is arriving at the  
grove of Lumbini.

He arrives and causes Brahma to sweep the ground  
before him; Sarasvati to spread a carpet; Kubera,  
the king of the town of Alankapuri, to throw about  
money and wealth;

And causes the God Vayu to fly his fan; the god Agni  
to burn incense, the king of the Nagas, Varuna, to  
make streams of water flow;

Mahadeva to beat his drum; Narayana to blow his  
conch; King Yama to take his staff in hand and clear  
the way;

Indra holds an umbrella over him; crowd of monks  
to fan him with chowries (whisk made of Yak's tail);  
heaven to rain a shower of flowers. He arrives with  
feelings of joy.

He arrives, borne by Sesanaga, together with Nairrta, Jnanakara and others, and accepts their worship.

This song was composed in the year 'forest-elephant-jewel' (i.e. 1865) when the glorious Surendra was King. The singer, a poor man, says: I take refuge in the Teacher.

## 2. Buddha Sakyamuni

A song, describing the beauty and the virtues of Buddha Sakyamuni, composed during the reign of Srinivasa Malla of Patan (A.D. 1681-1684) V. 4 probably alludes to Buddha's meditation before attaining enlightenment and to his temptation by Mara.

Most beautiful is the son of Maya Devi. He protects the universe.

Golden is his complexion and infatuating are the auspicious marks on his body; and extremely fitting is his ochre robe.

His eyes shine like lotus petals. He is beautiful, he, the Lord with curly hair.

He delights in doing good to others, making happy whosoever has been miserable.

When thousands of beautiful women came to the place where he practiced Yoga and meditation, he made them fail in their attempt to distract him by the power of his love.

He has no longing for worldly things. He always remains serene. He has attained the highest path of enlightenment.

Srinivasa Malla, king of Nepal, is the hope of the distressed people in this world.

## 3. Siddhartha Gautama addresses Yasodhara

Siddhartha Gautama addresses his wife Yasodhara before leaving home. The song was composed by Amritananda Pandit, a Sakyabhikshu by birth, who, because of his outstanding knowledge, was later promoted to the rank of Vajracarya. Amritananda is also known to have written the continuation of Asvaghosa's Buddhacarita. He assisted B.H. Hodgson in his research-work on Nepal. The song was composed in A.D. 1832.

You should not feel sorrow, Yasodhara. In adversity it helps to be composed.

Intending to eliminate dying, being born, growing old, and sickness, I am now leaving home and shall attain knowledge.

I shall frighten the hosts of Mara. I shall kill the Ego-maker, and shall destroy all the sufferings of this world.

I shall come again in time. Sons I shall make monks, and then speak about dharma.

In order to close the path of evil, I shall lead the people to the path of dharma. I shall rejoice in the city of salvation.

Let us now see the year of the Nepal Era which is, let us say, 'eye-arrow-opening.' One may forgive the faults (made) by the speaker.

## 4. Yasodhara

Yasodhara, Siddhartha Gautama's wife, here speaks to a female friend, expressing her apprehensions after Gautama has left home and entered upon the religious life. This song, too, was composed by Amritananda Pandit.

Oh friend: how will my Lord remember me?

He is the jewel of the noble race of the Sakyas. He is the Lord of the three worlds. In this world there is no wise man like him.

He may see their beautiful bodies, and, while looking, his mind may be attracted. He may sit in the company of the heavenly maidens.

I have become his royal consort, I am pregnant and miserable.

This life of mine, a sinful woman – how is it to be saved?

I, the singer, am an ignorant person. He is the Lord of all bliss.

The numbers 'forest-suffering-ocean' will reveal the year.

## References:

<sup>1</sup> Translated by David Gellner see Gellner 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Lienhard 1992

# Newar Classifiers:

## A Summary of the Literature

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### 1.0 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The primary goal of this paper is to illustrate the classifying system in Kathmandu Newar. To do so, I will review the previous studies devoted to Newar classifiers and add my own observations or comments, based on data received from a Newar consultant<sup>2</sup>. I will summarize at the end of the paper and discuss how Newar classifiers fit the typology described by Aikhenvald (2000). Namely, I will conclude that Kathmandu Newar has a numeral classifier system consisting of roughly twenty general classifiers, as well as some unique classifiers (used somewhat arbitrarily for only one lexical item) and 'repeaters' or 'reduplicative' classifiers. Newar classifiers are used primarily in numerical noun phrases, but I will show that the domain in which they are used is somewhat broader than this. Thus the system falls into what Aikhenvald (2000) refers to as a multiple classifier language. This study will also necessarily briefly mention two related systems: one that perhaps could fall under the category gender, and another that has been described as one of verbal classifiers. The former seems intricately tied to the system of numeral classification, while the latter is completely disparate.

### 2.0 Background

#### 2.1 Newar

Newar is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal, primarily in the Kathmandu valley, by approximately 690,000 speakers (Hargreaves 2003). Of the roughly ten dialects of Newar (Shakya 2000), Kathmandu Newar is often considered the 'standard'; however, even this exhibits much variation and has not been standardized (Genetti 1992). The placement of Newar in within Tibeto-Burman has been controversial, although it seems most sources agree it falls within Bodic.

#### 2.2 Classifiers

Classifiers have been the focus of many studies in modern linguistics, especially over the last 30 years, the current interest perhaps piqued by Greenberg (1972). Craig (1986) seems to be the beginning of examining classifiers in terms of typology, followed up in Craig (2000) and Aikhenvald (2000). The remainder of this section is drawn exclusively from Aikhenvald (2000).

Not all languages of the world use classifiers, but those that do tend to be in geographic proximity to other languages with classifiers. Languages can employ many types of classifiers, including noun classifiers, numeral classifiers, classifiers in possessive constructions, verbal classifiers, and locative and deictic classifiers, all of which are distinguished from a noun class or gender system of the Bantu (noun class) or Indo-Aryan (gender) type, for example.

Noun classifiers help to distinguish nouns in a noun phrase and are defined primarily by the fact that their presence is independent of any outside constituent. Further, the choice of the classifier is based on semantics and one noun may take different classifiers depending on fluid pragmatic semantic notions. More than one noun classifier can co-occur in the noun phrase, and they can be used anaphorically. Finally, the size of the inventory can vary from a relatively small, closed set, to one that is larger and fairly open. Noun classifiers have been observed in Australian and Mesoamerican languages. The data in (1-2) below, drawn from Craig (1986b:264) illustrate noun classifiers in Jacaltec.

- (1) *caj*            *te7*            *tahnaj*    *ixpi:x*  
      *red*            *NCL*            *ripe*        *tomato*  
      '*The tomato is ripe*'

- (2) *xil ix ix hune7 hin*  
*no7 txitam tu7*  
*saw NCL woman one my*  
*NCL pig that*  
 'The woman saw that one pig of mine'

Numeral classifiers are the most recognized type of classifier, found canonically in languages of East and Southeast Asia. Newar, like other languages in the area, employs a system (albeit expanded) of numeral classifiers. Numeral classifiers appear next to the numeral inside a quantified noun phrase. The choice of classifier is predominantly based on semantics, and it is often the case that different speakers use different classifiers for the same noun, as is illustrated in Inoue (2000). In her study on Japanese classifiers, Inoue found that speakers who had lived outside of Japan for an extended period of time had different classifiers than those who had not left Japanese culture. A final property of numeral classifiers is that not every noun need be associated with a classifier. The Yagua data in (3-4) illustrate numeral classifiers (Payne 1997:108).

- (3) *tin-kii vaturu*  
*1-CLS woman (married)*  
 'one married woman'
- (4) *tin-see vaada*  
*1-CLS egg*  
 'one egg'

A third category Aikhenveld (2000) discusses is categorization in possessive constructions. In such a construction, the possessed noun can be categorized, the semantic nature between the possessed and the possessor can be categorized, or the possessor can be categorized, all of which are relatively independent of each other. The classifiers characterize the noun in terms of semantics, such as animacy, shape, size and structure. They are not found outside the possessive noun phrase, and every noun in the language will not necessarily take a classifier. Languages that use classifiers in possessive constructions are found in North America, South America, Oceania, and Micronesia, but not in Eurasia or Australia. Some languages with multiple classifying systems also report classifiers in possessive constructions, such as Hmong and other related languages (Hyslop ms and Aikhenveld 2000:147), and Newar. An example of a possessive classifier is shown below in (5) (Aikhenveld 2000:128).

- (5) *y-uku-n wanë*  
*1SG-CL:LIQUID-GN honey*  
 'my honey (mixed with water for drinking)'

Verbal classifiers are found on the verb, rather than in

the noun phrase. They characterize a referent in terms of semantics, often based on the familiar notions of shape, size, consistency, structure, and animacy. They always refer to an argument in the predicate, usually an S argument in an intransitive, or an O argument of a transitive predicate. The number of verbal classifiers in a given language can vary from two to perhaps close to one hundred. Languages with verbal classifiers are found primarily in North America, Australia, South America, and are extremely widespread in Papua New Guinea. The data in (6-7) illustrate verbal classifiers in Mayali (Australian: Evans 1996 in Aikhenveld 2000:5).

- (6) *ga-yaw-garrm-e al-daluk*  
*3/3-GEN.CL:BABY-have-NPCLII-woman*  
 'she has a baby girl'
- (7) *ga-rrulk-di an-dubang*  
*3NP-GEN.CL:TREE-stand(NP) CLIII-ironwood.tree*  
 'An ironwood tree is there' (lit. a tree-is there an ironwoodtree)

Locative classifiers are found only in locative noun phrases and are chosen based on properties of shape, dimensionality and boundedness of the head noun, but interestingly, not animacy. This type of classifier is rare; the only examples Aikhenveld gives are from the South American languages Palikur, Lokono, Carib and Dâw. An example of the phenomenon in Palikur is shown below in (8) (Aikhenveld 2000:173).

- (8) *pis keh paha-t*  
*arab pi-wan min*  
*2SG make one-NUM.CL:VERT shield*  
*2SG-arm on.VERT*  
 'You make a shield on your arm'

The final type of classifying system Aikhenveld addresses is one of deictic classifiers. They occur obligatorily with deictic elements such as demonstratives and articles. They are chosen based on the familiar properties of shape, size, animacy, and also position in space. Deictic classifiers have been reported in the American languages within the Eskimo, Yuchi, Siouan, and Guaicuruan families. Deictic classifiers can appear on the noun itself, or fused to the demonstrative, as in the case of Eskimo. Citing Vidal (1997), Aikhenveld (2000:180) gives the examples in (9-10) to illustrate deictic classifiers. The classifier *da7* gives a vertical orientation to the noun it precedes, and *ni7* provides a 'sitting, non-extended' orientation to its following nouns.

- (9) *da7 siyawa di-kiyana-a*  
*da7 ganaat*  
*DEIC.CL:VERT person 3SG-eat-OBJ.AGR*

DEIC.CL:VERT knife

'That person (standing) is eating something with a knife' (i.e. He/she shows the knife which is in a veritcle position)

- (10) *ñi7*            *siyaq*        *netawe*  
*ñi7*            *emek*  
CL:NON.EXT    *animal*        LOC  
CL:NON.EXT    *house*  
'The animal is inside the house'

### 3.0 Newar Classifiers – Previous Studies

Classifiers in Newar have been the focus of a number of studies. The first study of which I am aware is Hale and Shresthacharya's (1973) article which used Greenberg's (1972) criteria to ascertain that Newar indeed utilizes noun classifiers. Since their paper, a small number of subsequent studies have appeared, adding to the observations that Hale and Shresthacharya made. A few have offered different analyses or broadened the term 'classifier' to cover separate phenomenon. I will take each study in turn, concluding with the most recent study Shakya (1997).

#### 3.1 Hale and Shresthacharya

In their study, Hale and Shresthacharya (1973) take each one of Greenberg's implicational universals for classifiers and consider its relevancy for Newar. According to Greenberg, a classier language must have 'non-unit counters'. Hale and Shresthacharya demonstrate this with data such as shown in (11) below, e.g. (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:2).

- (11) *saphuu*            *cha-pā*  
*book*                *one-stack*  
'a stack of books'

Greenberg also noted that no classifier language would lack 'quasi-unit counters' and that among these 'counters' are two types: those naming countable units lacking in wholeness, and those which 'function as particulates' (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:2). English examples given by Hale and Shresthacharya are 'slice of bread', 'piece of meat' and 'sheet of paper', where 'slice', 'piece' and 'sheet' are examples of the former (units lacking wholeness). A Newar example of the former is illustrated below in (12) (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:3).

- (12) *lā*            *cha-kuu*  
*meat*            *one-piece*  
'a piece of meat'

The 'particulates' to which Hale and Shresthacharya refer are exemplified by the English 'grain of sand' and 'blade of grass'. They give the data in (13) as an example from Newar (1973: 3).

- (13) *la:*            *cha-phuti*  
*water*            *one-drop*  
'a drop of water'

Hale and Shresthacharya also consider Greenberg's 'measure constructions' in terms of Newar. Measures differ from the previously discussed constructions in that measures themselves do not have a 'reality apart from the numeral and noun head' (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:3). They use 'ounce' as opposed to 'apple' to illustrate the difference. Such a construction is demonstrated by the Newar data below.

- (14) *kāpa:*        *cha-sā:*  
*cloth*            *one-bolt*  
'a bolt of cloth'

According to Greenberg (1972), true classifiers will possess the following characteristics:

- (a) They are overt expressions of unit counting.
- (b) They are used with reference to structured units which are normally counted as individuals.
- (c) They impose a semantic classification upon the head noun.
- (d) They function as individualizers of a head which is indeterminate for number
- (e) They have no reality outside of the numeral expression

Hale and Shresthacharya show how Newar fares with regard to each of these criteria.

A classifier must be used when counting, as shown in (15).

- (15) *chē*            *cha-kha*  
*house*            *one-CL:HOUSE*  
'one house'

\* *chē cha*

The semantics of the data in (15) exemplify the second point listed by Greenberg. That is, the nature of a 'house' is a whole, countable, individual entity. A structured unit according to Hale and Shresthacharya (1973) is defined as something that, once broken in half, is not seen as two units, but rather one (broken).

Greenberg's third criterion is exemplified by a homophonous set which is disambiguated by separate classifiers. This is shown in (16) and (17) in which the classifier imposes a sense of 'roundness' for 'earthen pot' (16) or 'animateness' for 'woman dwarf'.

- (16) *bhega:*                      *cha-ga:*  
*earthen.pot*                      *one-CL:ROUND*  
*'one earthen pot'*
- (17) *bhutu*                      *cha-mha*  
*woman.dwarf*                      *one-CL:ANIMATE*  
*'one woman dwarf'*

The fourth point Greenberg named is that the classifier will individualize a head noun which would otherwise be indeterminate for number. Thus the data in (18) are completely acceptable (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:8).

- (18) *ji*                      *saphuu*                      *nyae*                      *mā*                      *du*  
*1 [gen]*                      *book*                      *buy*                      *need*                      *is*  
*'I have to buy book [one or many]'*

For the final point Hale and Shresthacharya note that only one classifier is also used outside of the classifier phrase; *mha*, in addition to being the classifier for animate beings, it also means 'body'. The remaining 37 pose no problem, and, as we shall see, *mha* turns out to be exceptional in more ways than just this apparent polysemy.

Once establishing the presence of the classifying system Hale and Shresthacharya identify seven semantic classes of true classifiers (animate *mha*, geographic feature,

activity, state, miscellaneous *gu*, round, container, house part *ga*, *gwa*<sup>3</sup>, flat, paired *pa*, long, thin, literary form *pu*, flower shaped *phwa* and circular *ca*.) They also identify a total of 31<sup>4</sup> idiomatic classifiers, which consist of unique and reduplicative classifiers for a combined total of 38 classifiers.

Unique classifiers are defined as being used for one and only one noun. Hale and Shresthacharya identify the following unique classifiers and their heads: *duwa* for *lukha* 'gate', *kha* for *chē* 'house', *ku* for *gha*: 'wound', *pwa*: for *mata* 'lamp', *tā* for *mari* 'pastry'<sup>5</sup> *tha*<sup>6</sup> for *puja* 'worship' and *thu* for *bana* 'arrow'.

The largest section of classifiers identified by Hale and Shresthacharya are what they refer to as 'reduplicative' classifiers, or in Aikhenvald's (2000) terminology 'repeaters'. Table One below illustrates the Newar repeaters identified by Hale and Shresthacharya. It remains unknown why each of these nouns is not classified by one of the established classifiers.

Newar also exhibits quantified NPs in which the head noun is not present, for example (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:20):

- (19) *la-chi*  
*CL:MONTH-one*  
*'one month'*
- (20) *cha-nhu*  
*one-CL:DAY*  
*'one day'*

**Table One: Repeaters (adapted from Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:12,18)**

REPEATER		REPEATER		REPEATER	
bāli	'field'	phaa	'window sill'	kū:	'corner'
dhwa:	'line'	pii	'nipple'	mā	'plant'
ha:	'leaf'	pu	'seed'	mwa	'sari'
khala:	'association'	putu	'tie string'	palā:	'step'
khwāē	'footprint'	pwaa <sup>7</sup>	'hole'	patī	'finger'

- (21) *dā-chi*  
 CL:YEAR-one  
 'one year'

There are two additional points of interest in the data (19-21). First, the lack of a head noun begs the alternate interpretation that these expressions are actually quantified NPs lacking classifiers. T'sou (1976) notes that units of time are similar to units of weight, volume, distance, etc, which are themselves 'classifiers'. The second point of interest is the difference between (19) and (21) and (20). Note that in (19) and (21) the number follows the classifier and appears as *chi*, rather than *cha*. The reasons for this are unknown. Hale and Shresthacharya do not address it, and my attempts at explanation have been fruitless. In A Dictionary of Classical Newari (ed. Malla) both *chagu* and *chi* are translated as 'one'. An additional entry for *chi* (alternate *chim*) defines it as a 'suffix denoting unit, similarity, etc' (2000:133). This is not the only occurrence of this construction, but no further attempt to understand it will be made in this article

Another observation made by Hale and Shresthacharya is concerning the broad uses of *gu* and *mha*, described in the paper as the miscellaneous inanimate classifier and the animate classifier, respectively. Aside from the expected uses of *gu* and *mha* as a classifier in numeral noun phrases, the authors show how both can be used as relativizers (the authors use the term 'adjectival marker') as shown in the data below. Note that when *mha* is used in (22) it provides the reference for a person while when *gu* is used the referent is inanimate (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:12-13).

- (22) *wa:<sup>s</sup>-mha manu*  
 came-CL:ANIM person  
 'the person who came'

- (23) *wā dhā:-gu khā*  
 3RD.ERG say- CL:INAN COP  
 'the topic about which she spoke'

A further point of divergence for *gu* from the remainder of the inanimate classifiers is the fact that *gu* can be used in place of other classifiers and this use only slightly changes the semantics. This is exemplified by the data below (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:14).

- (24) *chē cha-kha*  
 house one-CL:HOUSE  
 'one house'

- (25) *chē cha-gu*  
 house one-CL:INAN  
 'a certain house'

Hale and Shresthacharya report that speakers differ widely with regard to the acceptability of such constructions. My consultant reports (25) is perfectly acceptable and that it will be used in the instance when the speaker knows to which house they are referring, while (24) is reserved for more general instances in which the speaker does not have a specific house in mind.

Finally, all the examples I have shown are in the order noun-numeral-classifier, with the exception of instances with *chi*, in which the numeral follows the classifier. Hale and Shresthacharya point out that another order is also possible. The data in (26) show the order numeral-classifier-noun (Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:21).

- (26) *cha-kha chē*  
 one-CL:HOUSE house  
 'one house'

To summarize, this first consideration of Newar classifiers describes 38 'true' classifiers based on Greenberg's (1972) criteria. Six of these classifiers are based on the semantic properties of animacy, roundness, two-dimensionality, long thinness, flower-shaped and circular with a seventh generic inanimate classifier that has the broadest semantic range. Hale and Shresthacharya also identified seven unique classifiers, which serve to classify only one noun each, and 24 repeaters, or nouns that classify themselves in quantifiable expressions. Classifiers referring to time were illustrated in noun phrases lacking heads, and within these data we were also shown a unique construction with *chi* serving as the numeral 'one' (rather than *cha*) and following the classifier rather than preceding it. The classifier and noun are always juxtaposed, although it is possible to have the noun occur before the numeral and classifier. Generally Newar classifiers are reported only in quantified noun phrases, although *gu* and *mha* were shown to have a greater functional load.

### 3.2 Malla

In 1985 Kamal P. Malla published The 'Newari Language: A working outline' in which he briefly discusses the classifier system. His definition of true classifiers is as follows:

'overt expressions of unit counting; they are used with reference to structured units which are normally counted as individuals. They impose a semantic classification upon the head noun. They function as individualizers of a head which is indeterminate for number. They have no reality outside the numerical construction.' (p54).

He identifies 29 true classifiers, only nine of which impose a semantic classification. Like Hale and Shresthacharya he includes *mha*, *gu*, *ga*, *pā*, *pu* and *cā*: which correspond to the semantic fields defined by Hale and Shresthacharya. The classifier *pā*: is added and Malla includes it with *pā* in categorizing two-dimensional or paired objects. It is not clear if the two are completely interchangeable. Instead of *gwa*, Malla includes *go* but does not elaborate on the distinction nor show data with *go*. The final deviation from the 1973 study is the use of *pho* in place of *phwa*. These last two deviations seem likely due to either orthographic conventions of the authors or slight phonological differences between the subjects of the study. Thus, in this study no new semantic fields are introduced amongst the true classifiers<sup>9</sup>. Malla also recognizes the same seven unique and the same 25 repeater classifiers as Hale and Shresthacharya, the only difference being rather than *pwa* and *pwaā* Malla lists *pwa* and *po*.

In a more notable deviation from the previous analysis, Malla notes that 'all reduplicated quantifiers are also potentially direct quantifiers . . . they can be quantified without reduplication' (1985:56). The data he uses to illustrate this are shown below.

- (27) *cha ha:*  
*one leaf*  
 'one leaf'
- (28) *cha dho:*  
*one line*  
 'one line'
- (29) *cha bali*  
*one harvest*  
 'one harvest/field'

This observation poses further evaluation of the system. Indeed, my consultant concurs with Malla, and in fact, states that many of the 'repeaters' must be directly quantified, rather than be repeated with the classifier. The potential rationale and ramifications of this shall be speculation upon in section four.

Thus to summarize, Malla adds one classifier, *pā*:, which is used in the same semantic domain as *pā*, and notes that nouns classified with repeaters may occur on their own, without the classifier.

### 3.3 Bhaskararo and Joshi (1985)

In their study Bhaskararao and Joshi make a number of new observations. The first section is devoted to what they call verbal classifiers, which is the first and only study of these morphemes of which I am aware. They also add

to the list of numeral classifiers, expand on the contexts of use and elaborate on *gu* and *mha*. I will address the numeral classifiers here but will not examine the verbal classifiers.

In addition to the more common classifiers identified by Hale and Shresthacharya (1973) and Malla (1985) Bhaskarao and Joshi propose 14 additional semantic classifiers. They maintain *mha*, *gu*, *pu*, *phwa*, *ca*, *gwa* and *pā*, noting that the semantic contexts of *mha* are extended to dolls and other non-animate items resembling animate form. The classifiers they add, *twa:*, *ha:*, *ka*, *ta:*, *thi*, *pwa:*, *ku*, *pa:*, *pāta*, *phuti*, *ma*, *dhiwa:*, will be taken in turn.

Semantically similar to *pu*, (long and thin objects) they examine *twā*: and *hā*:. The semantics of these are similar to *pu*, although based on the translations these could be seen as measures instead, perhaps akin to English 'stick', as in 'a stick of butter'. The authors do not give examples of each used with the same noun, but my consultant supplied the following data.

- (30) *cha-pu* *main*  
*one-CL:LONG OBJECTS* *candle*  
 'one candle'
- (31) *cha-hā:ka* *main*  
*one-CL:LONG.PIECE* *candle*  
 'one piece of candle'
- \**cha-hā:* *main*
- (32) *cha-twā:* *main*  
*one-CL:LONGER.PIECE* *candle*  
 'one longer piece of candle'

As shown in (31), the construction is ungrammatical with *hā*: alone modifying the noun. The meaning of *khā* is unclear and Bhaskararao and Joshi do not mention it. They do supply an example with *hā*:, however, shown below in (33).

- (33) *ni-hā suka*  
*two- CL:LONG.PIECE* *thread*  
 'two longer pieces of thread'

Similar to the above Bhaskararao and Joshi also briefly discuss *tu*, which is used with 'nouns denoting strands of threads that constitute a thicker thread' (1985:26). The example they give follows below in (34).

- (34) *ni-tu* *ka(tu)*  
*two-CL:THREAD* *thread*  
 'two fine threads'

One classifier has a particularly limited use. *kā* is with *lā* 'short path', *sī* 'piece of firewood' and *lhā* 'hand' but the use with this latter is restricted to contexts when denoting hands of a many-handed deity. In other contexts *lhā* uses the classifier *pā* reserved for items occurring in pairs. For example (1985:26):

- (35) *jhi-kā*                      *lhā*  
*ten-CL:KA hand*  
 'ten hands'

It is not obvious that there is a shared semantic sense between these three, nor do Bhaskararao and Joshi mention a motivation; however, the *Newar-English Dictionary* (Manandhar 1986) lists *kā* as being the classifier for 'long, thin objects' (27), and if 'hands' are imagined in the context of connected to arms of a deity (who often have multiple arms), the semantics described in the dictionary could hold.

Another set of classifiers distinguish items falling into a sort of group. According to Bhaskararao and Joshi *thi* 'stands for the number of types in a given group' while *tā* 'stands for the total number of tokens in that group' (1985:26). The authors illustrate with a scenario in which five sweets constitute a group. Two of the sweets are of one type while three are of another. Counting the five items would invoke the classifier *tā* while counting the number of types (two) would invoke the classifier *thi*. The *Newar-English Dictionary* defines *tā* as being the classifier exclusively for *mari*, or pastries, or as a 'quasi-classifier'<sup>10</sup> for 'kinds, patterns' and *thi* as 'kind' or 'class' (1986:89,102).

According to Bhaskararao and Joshi *pwa:* is used for 'soft packets', such as breasts or gall bladders, as shown in (36) (1985:22).

- (36) *ni-pwa:*                      *duru-pwa:*  
*two-CL:SOFT.PACKETS milk-packet*  
 'two breasts'

This classifier also shows up with 'button' in their paper (adapted from 1985:19).

- (37) *ni-phwa<sup>11</sup>*                      *tā:k*  
*two-CL:SOFT.PACKETS button*  
 'two buttons'

For Bhaskararao and Joshi *pā:* is a homophonous classifier, disparate from *pā*. In one sense *pā:* is used for saliently two-dimensional objects which are not edible, such as 'sheet of paper', or 'mirror'. In the other sense *pā:* is used only for 'preparations of clay. No further explication is given regarding this former sense.

Other classifiers that are also reserved for a smaller set of items include *ku*, for bodily wounds, *dhwa:*, for lines and *pwā:/hwa:* for holes (for Hale and Shresthacharya *dhwa:* and *pwa:* were considered repeaters). Amongst this latter pair the main difference is that *pwā:* can be used for natural holes, such as nostrils, while *hwa:* cannot. Interestingly, the apparent phonological and semantic similarity between *pwa:* and *pwā:* should be noted. The former has been attributed to 'soft packets', but data suggest it could also be attributed to round objects. The latter is attributed to 'holes', which tend to be by definition also round. As I will show later, to further complicate the situation, *pwa:* is considered a unique classifier for 'light'.

For small spots *pāta* and *phuti* are used. When referring to small round marks, or spots, such as *sina:* 'vermillion mark', *chap* 'sandal paste mark' or *sitra* 'decorative circular piece stitched on a sari' *pāta* will be used. The only instance of *phuti* given by the authors is with *dā:g* 'spot' (which also takes *pāta* as a classifier).

Bhaskararao and Joshi discuss only two repeaters: *pi* and *phi*, which were not mentioned by Hale and Shresthacharya or Malla. For large knives and trowels *pi* is used while *phi* is used for 'brooms'. Other than the straightforward *khā* for 'house', they also mention one unique classifier, *mā:*, which is used for garlands. Note that a number of Hale and Shresthacharya's unique classifiers fall into semantic categories for Bhaskararao and Joshi. In addition to the above-mentioned *dhwa:* and *pwa:*, *ku:* and *tā* also have a definable semantic domain.

As noted in previous studies classifiers are used in numeral noun phrases. Bhaskararao and Joshi point out that there are some numeral expressions in which the classifier is omitted. Numerals larger than those which inherently seem to refer to uncountable units optionally take the classifier. Thus numerals such as 200 or 1,000 will optionally employ the classifier, as shown in (38) and (39) (Bhaskararao and Joshi 1985:20).

- (38) 200  
*ni-sa:*                      (-*mha*)                      *sā*  
*two-hundred*                      (CL:ANIM)                      *cow*  
 'two hundred cows'

- (39) 2000  
*ni-dwa:*                      (-*mha*)                      *sā*  
*two-thousand*                      (-CL:ANIM)                      *cow*  
 'two thousand cows'

My consultant prefers these data without the *mha*, however.

Interestingly, numerals such as 201, 2002, etc. require a classifier. This seems likely due to the fact that 101 seems inherently more countable than 100 or 1,000. This is illustrated in (40) and (41) below.

- (40) 201  
*ni-sa:-wa-cha-mha*                      *sā*  
*two-hundred-and-one-CL:ANIM*    *cow*  
 'two hundred and one cows'

\**ni-sA-wa-chA sa*

- (41) 2002  
*ni-dwa-wa-ni-mha*                      *sā*  
*two-thousand-and-two-CL:ANIM*    *cow*  
 'two thousand and two cows'

\**ni-dwa-wa-ni sā*

In addition to within numeral noun phrases, Bhaskararao and Joshi point out that Newar classifiers also occur in adjectival noun phrases and with demonstrative and interrogative noun phrases. Some data they give are shown below (198:21).

- (42) *thwa:-ma*                              *swā*  
*that.many-CL:PLANT*                      *plant*  
 'this many plants'

- (43) *gwa:-pā:*                              *lapte*  
*how.many-CL:2D*                              *leaf*  
 'how many leaves?'

- (44) *ta:-rhi-mha*                              *sā*  
*big-height-CL:ANIM*                              *cow*  
 'a tall cow'

- (45) *ta:-jā:-gu*                              *almari*  
*big-height-CL:INAN*                              *cupboard*  
 'a tall cupboard'

The difference between *mha* and *gu*, on the one hand, and the other classifiers, on the other hand is noted by Bhaskararao and Joshi. Specifically they note that while some nominal classifiers can be reduplicated after the noun, doing so with *mha* or *gu* changes the meaning. They can also serve to nominalize (called 'pronominal suffixes') and are used in conjunction with other classifiers in some instances. The data in (46-48) illustrate this first point. Namely note that in (46) the classifier *pwa:* appears to be optional, while the repetition of the classifier in (48) changes the meaning of the phrase.

- (46) *ni-phwa:*                              *tā:k(phwA)*  
*two-CL*                                      *button(CL)*  
 'two buttons'

- (47) *ni-mha*                                      *sala*  
*two-CL:ANIM*                                      *horse*  
 'two horses'

- (48) *ni-mha*                                      *sala-mha*  
*two-CL:ANIM*                                      *horse-body*  
 'two bodies of dead horses'

My consultant agrees with the distinction between (47) and (48) but for her (46) is unacceptable when the classifier is repeated following the noun.

Nominalization with *gu* and *mha* is shown by the data in (49) and (50). Note that an adjective or a verb can attach to both, and that *gu* provides the sense of inanimacy while *mha* denotes animacy.

- (49) *haku* 'black'  
*haku-mha*  
*haku-gu*  
*black-CL:ANIM*  
*black-CL:INAN*  
 'the black one (animate)'  
 'the black one (inanimate)'

- (50) *wa-* 'come'  
*wa:-mha*  
*wa:-gu*  
*come. CL:ANIM*  
*come- CL:INAN*  
 'the one who came (animate)'  
 'the one who came (inanimate)'

In some adjectival, demonstrative or interrogative noun phrases *mha* and *gu* can co-occur with the other classifiers. See for example the data below.

- (51) *ta:-pā-gu*                                      *mari*  
*big-CL:2D-CL:INAN*                                      *bread*  
 'big bread'

- (52) *Apāe-khā-gu*                                      *chē*  
*that.big-CL:HOUSE-CL:INAN*                                      *house*  
 'house that big'

- (53) *gapāe-mā-gu*                                      *ghāē*  
*how.big-CL:PLANT-CL:INAN*                                      *grass*  
 'how big grass'

- (54) *ni-mha-mha*                                      *macā*

*two-CL:ANIM-CL:ANIM*  
*'the second child'*

*child*

Bhaskararao and Joshi refer the second classifier (*gu* or *mha*) as 'connectors', following Hale (1970) but do not further elaborate on them. For my consultant, they provide a sense of specificity. Without the second classifier the phrase would refer to a general or perhaps abstract occurrence of the noun, while the addition of either *mha* or *gu* indicates the speaker has a specific instantiation of the noun in mind.

In sum, this paper expands considerably on the previous studies, although it seems to be cited much less than Hale and Shresthacharya (1973). Bhaskararao and Joshi identified a larger number of classifier, including unique and repeater classifiers. They describe an extended syntactic environment for these classifiers. They demonstrate how classifiers are not used in all numeral expressions, but rather when the number seems inherently less countable. Further, the classifiers are found in adjectival, demonstrative and interrogative expressions. Bhaskararao and Joshi also elaborate on the increased functions of *gu* and *mha*, showing how they can function as relativizers and co-occur with other classifiers (including themselves) in noun phrases. Finally, the classifiers Bhaskararao and Joshi have added deserve further investigation in another study. The extent to which their classifiers are actually measure terms is unclear. Some of the semantics in the translations indicate they are a type of measure (see T'sou (1976), for example). Because the situation is unresolved, I will include only the reported classifiers with straightforward semantics in the index.

### 3.4 Hale (1986)

Thirteen years later on his own, Hale includes a concise description of the classifying system in his User's Guide to the *Newari-English Dictionary* (Manandhar 1986).

Classifiers are suffixed to numerals and this constituent can occur either preceding or following the noun, although the tendency is for the noun to precede. Hale points out that their syntactic domain is slightly expanded from numeral expressions to include a variety of quantifying expressions, as Bhaskararao and Joshi (1985) also noted. What Hale (1986) adds to the study, however, is the observation that in terms of form, classifiers are somewhat noun-like in that they inflect for case. The data in (55) and (56) illustrate the classifier *ga:* being inflected for locative case (Hale 1986:xxxiv).

(55) *thala*    *ni-ga:*    *ana*    *du*  
*pot*        *two-CL:ROUND*    *here*    *COP*

*'There are two pots here'*

(56) *cha-galae*                      *la:*            *du*  
*one-CL:ROUND.LOC*                *liquid*<sup>12</sup>        *COP*  
*'In one of them there is water'*

Newar classifiers, like nouns, are marked for nominative, agentive, associative, dative and genitive case. Ablative and locative forms often show old finals which have been lost elsewhere in the language. For details on case-marking in Newar see Shakya (1992), Genetti (1990), Hale (1985), DeLancey (ms), etc.

Thus, this work provides a brief and concise account of the system, including a coherent illustration of case-marking on the classifiers.

### 3.5 Shakya (1997)

Aware of the distinction clearly noted in Bhaskararao and Joshi (1985) between *gu* and *mha* on the one hand, and the other nominal classifiers, on the other, Shakya (1997) begins his study on Newar classifiers by noting two categories of classifiers in Newar, which he labels 'general', which refer to *gu* and *mha* and 'specific', referring to the others.

Among the 'specific' classifiers, Shakya lists the established *pu*, *pā*, *ga:*, *gwa*, *pwā:*, *phwa:* but does not mention *ca:* (for rings). Like Bhaskararao and Joshi he also includes *twa:*, used for a section of a long object or a long, folded object. Shakya also introduces a number of classifiers not previously discussed in the literature: *thu:* for hollow items, *dhi* for frozen objects, *tya:* for solid cylindrical items, *gwāra* for large solid spheres, *dhā* for solids without a particular shape and *dha:* for circular shapes of liquid.

Like the previous studies he lists a number of repeaters including *ho* 'hole', *pwa:*, 'hole', *gau* 'ankle', *dho:* 'line', *mā:* 'garland', *pu* 'bead', *ta* 'item' and *sa:* 'sound'. Shakya gives the following examples, amongst others (1997:8):

(57) *ho*            *cha-ho*  
*hole*            *one-CL:HOLE*  
*'one hole'*

(58) *ta*            *cha-ta*  
*item*            *one-CL:ITEM*  
*'one item'*

Like the previous instances with 'repeaters', my own consultant tells me the data in (57) and (58) are ungrammatical with the head noun.

Like Bhaskararao and Joshi, Shakya notes that the classifiers *gu* and *mha* can occur with adjectives in non-count noun phrases. He further notes that without the corresponding classifier the adjectival noun phrase is ungrammatical, as shown by the difference in (59) and (60) below:

(59) *haku-mha manu:*  
*black-CL:ANIM man*  
 'a black man'

(60) \**haku manu:*

My consultant disagrees with this analysis, however. For her, (60) is acceptable in the context when discussing black men in general. When referring to a specific black man (59) must be used.

Shakya also notes the interesting observation that in numeral noun phrases containing an adjective the classifier will be used twice. For example consider (61) and (62).

(61) *haku-gu saphu: swā-gu*  
*black-CL:INAN book three-CL:INAN*  
 'three black books'

(62) *thike-gu bhō pye-pā:*  
*expensive-CL:INAM paper four-CL:2D*  
 'four expensive papers'

Note that the classifier attached to the numeral in both (61) and (62) is the one expected based on the semantic properties of each, while *gu* is affixed to the adjective in both instances.

Some adjectival noun phrases require both types of classifiers, even when not in a numeral phrase, as evidenced by the data below.

(63) *ta-pā-gu saphu*  
*big-CL-CL book*  
 'a big book'

(64) *ta-gwa:-gu bal*  
*big-CL:2D-CL:INAN ball*  
 'a big ball'

(65) *ta-dhi-mha manu:*  
*big-CL:?-CL:ANIM man*  
 'a big man'

When a numeral is used the semantic classifier (as opposed to *mha* or *gu*) is affixed to the numeral as expected. An example follows below in (66).

(66) *ta-khā-gu chē swa-khā*  
*big-CL:HOUSE-CL:INAN three-CL:HOUSE*  
 'three big houses'

As Shakya notes, the data in (62-66) serve to cement the notion that *mha* and *gu* differ from the remaining classifiers, at least in some contexts.

In addition to the above-described environments, classifiers can be used in genitive noun phrases. Shakya notes that when the possessor is a pronoun the form is pronoun-classifier-possessed. According to Shakya, classifiers are obligatory when the possessed noun is inanimate; thus both (67) and (68) are allowed, but note that in (69), the classifier is obligatory (Shakya 1997:15).

(67) *john-yā-mha kae*  
*John-GEN-CL:ANIM son*  
 'John's son'

(68) *john-yā kze*  
*John-GEN son*  
 'John's son'

(69) *john-yā-gu chē*  
*John-GEN-CL:INAN house*  
 'John's house'

When the possessed noun is animate ((58-59) above) or inalienably possessed ((70-71) below) the classifier is optional (Shakya 1997:15).

(70) *john-yā-gu chyā*  
*John-GEN-CL:INAN head*  
 'John's head'

(71) *john-yā chyā*  
*John-GEN head*  
 'John's head'

Newar classifiers are also used when questioning amount of countable items, as shown in (72-74) below (Shakya 1997:16).

(72) *go-mā*  
*how.many-CL:PLANTS*  
 'how many plants?'

(73) *go-mha*  
*how.many-CL:ANIM*  
 'how many plants?'

(74) *go-gu*  
*how.many-CL:INAN*

*'how many things?'*

The general classifiers to which Shakya refers can also be used as nominalizers, as Bhaskararao and Joshi noted. Shakya demonstrates how *gu* and *mha* can be used to relativize subjects, direct objects and indirect objects, which could easily be the topic of an entirely new study.

Shakya's (1997) work, as indicated in the title, focuses on the syntactic properties of Newar classifiers. In doing so he adds a number of classifiers previously unmentioned, and illustrates their distribution outside of quantified expressions, including genitive NPs. Like the previous studies, he distinguishes *mha* and *gu* from the others in terms of function. As he has shown, they have syntactic functions that deviate from the typical classifier

## 4. Summary and Conclusions

Newar utilizes a classifier system when numerating, or in other instances when mentioning certain nouns in adjectival, demonstrative, interrogative or possessive noun phrases. The system consists of perhaps fifteen common classifiers that are chosen based on inherent semantic features of the noun, such as a salient one, two- or three dimensional nature, being round or flat, animate, inanimate or plant. In addition, Newar displays roughly 10 'unique' classifiers, which are reserved for classifying usually only one or a few unique nouns. In at least some instances, these classifiers can be replaced by the classifier reserved for generic inanimate objects, leading to difference between an abstract and specific reference. Newar also reports a large set of approximately 25 'repeaters', or nouns which are repeated to classify themselves. These are also the least obligatory; some linguists mention they are optional, and for at least one speaker they cannot be used, which means in some instances in Newar there remain nouns which are still not classified. This could be inferred as evidence the system is at a point in development in which not all of the nouns yet have an obligatory classifier. The system seems to be at least 700 years old, however, considering the fact that Dolakha Newar (considered at least 700 years divergent) also has a system of nominal classification (Genetti 1990). Due to different authors having different analyses, and my consultant sometimes disagreeing with each, it is hard to ascertain exact figures for the number and type of classifiers in Newar. This is probably representative of the fact that classifiers in Newar seem to be a relatively open system, and as Kathmandu Newar is spoken by so many people, without an established standard, there is bound to be a great deal of variation. The final point on which I have not been able to satisfactorily comment is the presence or absence of a generic classifier. Most languages with a numeral classifier system have a 'general' or 'generic'

classifier that can be used in place of other specific classifiers. While it could seem *gu* would fit the bill in Newar, not enough research has been conducted on this point.

Two of the classifiers, *gu*, for inanimate nouns, and *mha*, used for animate nouns, have an extended function. These have both been shown to nominalize/relativize, and can occur with other classifiers in noun phrases. Perhaps another way to conceive of these morphemes is as being polysemous; they could belong to a system of classifiers on the one hand, and a different system on the other. I will not explore the nature of this second system, except to mention it consists of a set of morphemes that can nominalize/relativize and are found in noun phrases with other classifiers. DeLancey (ms) mentions these two, along with *pī*, (plural animate) are sometimes described as marking gender. Indeed this seems a plausible description. One study, Bhaskararao and Joshi (1985) mention verbal classifiers, which I have not examined in this paper; they have different forms than the nominal classifiers.

Because of the extension of numeral classifiers to genitive, demonstrative, interrogative and adjectival phrases, Aikhenvald (2000) considers Newar a 'Multiple Classifier' language typologically. Such a use of classifiers is typical of Southeast Asia (Aikhenvald 2000:211 citing Goral (1978)). Multiple classifier systems are also found in languages such as Awará (Papuan), Ignaciano (South Arawak), and Kilivila (Austronesian) (Aikhenvald 2000). What has been difficult to do in this study is tease out the classifiers from what could be a gender system and a set of relativizers. Another area to explore more fully in the future are the areas where my consultant disagreed with the analyses posed in the previous studies. Most involved cases of purported optionality that for my consultant represented different meanings. Often times, for her, it seemed classifiers were serving to specify, rather than address something abstractly or vaguely, and I cannot help but wonder if this could not be part of the motivation for the system to spread from numeral expressions to a wider distribution of noun phrase types.

## Footnotes:

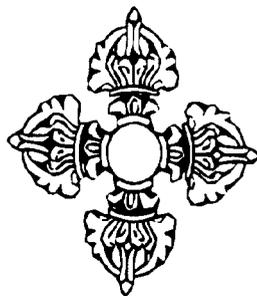
- <sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Rinku for patiently sharing her language with me, and to Daya Shakya for introducing me to the Newar language and taking time to share ideas.
- <sup>2</sup> The consultant for this study is a female in her late 20s from Kathmandu, Nepal, but had recently relocated to Eugene, OR, USA. Newar is her mother tongue, but she also speaks Nepali, Hindi and English.
- <sup>3</sup> Both are shown with 'bread ball' and 'potato' but only *ga* can occur with 'pot' or 'pitcher'. My consultant tells me this is because while *ga* can be used with round-

ish items, *gwa* must be used only with items that are completely round.

- <sup>4</sup>Assuming my conflation of *pwaa* and *pwaa*.
- <sup>5</sup>My consultant tells me that *mari* refers to 'pastry' in the broad sense of any bakery item made from flour, not exclusively the sweet ones.
- <sup>6</sup>For my consultant *tha* has a special meaning of its own; it refers to a unique location.
- <sup>7</sup>I have collapsed what Hale and Shresthacharya refer to as two disparate classifiers. They show *pwaa* with 'crotch of a tree' and 'abscess' while *pwa:* is used with 'cat hole'. My consultant tells me both simply refer to 'hole' in each context.
- <sup>8</sup>This is not grammatical for my teacher; for her, 'come' is *wala*.
- <sup>9</sup>Rather than *gwa* or *phwa*, Malla describes *go* and *pho*. As it is not clear what phonemic value Hale and Shresthacharya attribute to their choice of symbols, I am assuming this difference is solely one of orthographic convention. This seems to hold true elsewhere; where Malla has <o>, Hale and Shresthacharya have <wa>
- <sup>10</sup>In his *User's Guide to the Newari Dictionary*, Hale defines quasi-classifiers as 'used to count unstructured units' and 'not overt units of counting' (1986:xxxiv).
- <sup>11</sup>The classifier here differs from (27) in regards to length of the vowel. Because *pwA* is not explicitly mentioned in the paper, but *pwa:* is, I assume that this is either a typo, or that the difference in length in this instance is not important to the meaning.
- <sup>12</sup>Hale does not interlinearize either (46) or (47). I used Manandhar's dictionary to find a gloss for *laa*, which gave me 'saliva' or 'thick liquid with a shimmering surface' (1986:225). However, Hale offered *water* in his translation of the sentence, thus I glossed *la:* as 'liquid' following the dictionary but kept Hale's translation.

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## Appendix A: Newar Classifiers

CLASSIFIER	SEMANTICS	EXAMPLE NOUNS
<i>mha</i>	ANIMATE	manu 'person', bhutu 'woman dwarf'
<i>gu</i>	INANIMATE	salī 'matchbox', culyā 'elbow'
<i>ga</i>	ROUNDISH	thala 'pot', bheгаа 'earthen pot'
<i>gwa</i>	ROUND	laddu 'laddu (bread ball)', ālu 'potato'
<i>pā</i>	FLAT	saphu 'book', culya 'bracelet'
<i>pā</i>	PAIRS (when counted individually)	<i>tuti</i> 'leg', 'shoes'
<i>pu</i>	LONG AND THIN	<i>kii</i> 'bamboo nail', <i>wā</i> 'Otooth'
<i>phwa</i>	FLOWER.SHAPED	<i>bū</i> 'blossom', <i>swāā</i>
<i>cā</i>	CIRCULAR	<i>ghaa</i> 'millstone'
<i>ka</i>	LONG	<i>lā</i> 'short path', <i>sī</i> 'piece of firewood'
<i>thuu</i>	HOLLOW	
<i>dhi</i>	FROZEN	
<i>tyā</i>	SOLID CYLINDRICAL	
<i>dhā</i>	SOLID WITHOUT PARTICULAR SHAPE	
<b>REPEATERS</b>		
<i>bali</i>	FIELD	
<i>kūū</i>	CORNER	
<i>dhwa</i>	LINE	
<i>pīi</i>	NIPPLE	
<i>ha</i>	LEAF	
<i>khalaa</i>	ASSOCIATION	
<i>khwaa</i>	HOOF	
<i>khwāē</i>	PRINT	
<i>kicāa</i>	SHADOW	
<i>kīi</i>	BAMBOO DAM	
<i>kīi</i>	IRON NAIL	
<i>palāā</i>	STEP	
<i>patīi</i>	FINGER	
<i>pau</i>	SHEET	
<i>tau</i>	POT.BASE	
<i>pu</i>	SEED	
<i>pwaa, ho</i>	HOLE	
<i>gau</i>	ANKLE	

<i>pu</i>	BEAD	
<i>pau</i>	HOOF	
<i>tu</i>	THREAD	
<i>phi</i>	BROOM	
<i>tā</i>	ITEM	
<i>saa</i>	SOUND	
<b>UNIQUE</b>		
<i>kha</i>	chē 'house'	
<i>ku</i>	ghāā 'wound'	
<i>tā</i>	mari 'pastry'	
<i>ihā</i>	puja 'worship'	
<i>ti</i>	bala 'arrow'	
<i>pi</i>	cupi 'dagger'	
<i>maa</i>	mala 'garland'	
<i>pwā</i>	mata 'lamp'	
<i>phyaè</i>	māsi 'female genital'	
<i>duwa</i>	lukha 'door'	



# Taboo Words and Expressions in Newar Language

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## 1. Introduction

Taboo words and expressions in the Newar language reflect the values and belief systems rooted in the social and cultural practices of the Newar people. The taboo words in this sense serve a conventional purpose in speech and writing, and are characterized by many fixed forms known as prefabricated or formulaic language with specific or implied meanings. This paper seeks to discover the social, religious and psychological bases for the uses of such taboo expressions and attempts to classify them in a wider contextual framework, including the semantic bleaching of taboo words in changing social conditions.

The two sets of examples given below distinguish between linguistic taboos and assumptions or unfounded beliefs commonly known as superstitions.

- (1) *na-ye ma-jyu 'prohibited to eat'*  
*eat-Inf Neg-permit*  
*The eating of meat or egg during the mourning period is prohibited.*
- (2) *nhyā-ye ma-tya: 'forbidden to wear'*  
*wear-Inf Neg-forbid*  
*It is forbidden to wear leather shoes or belt inside the temple or during worship.*
- (3) *wan-e ma-jyu 'prohibited to go'*  
*go-Inf Neg-prohibit*  
*It is inauspicious to leave for a foreign country on a Saturday or Tuesday.*
- (4) *kan-e ma-tya: 'forbidden to tell'*  
*tell-Inf Neg-forbid*  
*It is forbidden to tell the words of a secret mantra to others.*

## 2. Taboo and Superstition

The examples (1 – 4) all contain verb phrases where the taboo meanings are expressed by the negativized auxiliaries *ma-jyu* and *ma-tya:*. I am however assuming that (1) and (2) are taboo expressions while (3) and (4) are based on superstitious beliefs. Admittedly, it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between the two belief systems. Where does taboo end and superstition begin? It is said that superstition begins when understanding ends, and in our examples the actions disallowed by social or religious norms are taboos while superstitions clearly imply psychological barriers that defy logical reason. Some may also take the view that taboo and superstition do overlap and they may well be right. I would like in this connection to cite two instances from my personal experiences relating to inauspicious day of departure for a foreign country, and the strict code of silence on the secret mantras.

- 2.1 *This incident took place prior to my departure for England in 1967 on a British Council scholarship. My parents were horrified to learn that I was to leave for that far away 'Bilaayat' country on a Saturday. This to them was a highly inauspicious day to undertake such a long journey and asked me to try and change the date. Since my airline booking and other travel arrangements had been made well in advance and I was supposed to reach London in time for an orientation course, I was reluctant to request the British Council to re-schedule my flight. When I confronted my father with a negative reply, he came up with an ingenious solution. He suggested that the leave-taking ritual should take place before sunrise on Saturday morning, then walk with my luggage to a relative's house near-by and wait there till it was time for me to leave for the airport. I interpreted*

this arrangement to imply that sunrise marks the beginning of a new day and my leave-taking from home actually took place on Friday, and to leave for the airport from another house on a Saturday was no longer inauspicious. I of course did not insist to my father that Saturday really began after midnight for fear of missing my flight to London.

**2.2** The circumstances described here relates to the socio-religious convention derived from Tantric Buddhism. The coming-of-age ceremony called *Kaetaa-pujaa* in Newar or *Bratabandha* in Sanskrit is a ritual for boys, and *Baarae-taegu* ritual for girls. Following these elaborate rituals, the family priest (Vajracarya or Shakya among the Buddhist Newars) officiate in another tantric ritual to pass on a secret 'mantra' (a brief prayer or incantation) which is whispered to the ear of each young man and woman. We were required to memorize the mantra and recite it silently as a form of prayer or meditation every morning before breakfast. It is strictly forbidden to communicate the content of this mantra to anyone else within or outside the family. A warning is given that dire consequences will follow should anyone reveal the contents of the secret mantra which perhaps was in Pali or Sanskrit and I failed to understand a single word of its short text. It is not known whether the mantra differs between males and females. No one has dared to check this out even today when many young people do not recite the mantra anymore. I too do not remember the mantra as I have not used it for many years. Obviously there is no harm in forgetting it, and I am at least free of the risk of verbalizing the magic words to others either deliberately or inadvertently. The Japanese anthropologist Professor Hiroshi Ishii was aware of this practice, and when I was in Tokyo he asked me about the words in the mantra. I told him that I had completely forgotten them, but I doubt if he really believed me.

**2.3** Another tantric ritual for a select group of older men and women known as *dekhaa biye-gu* is conducted by a team of elderly Vajracarya priests. All non-participants are excluded from this ritual which a very elaborate function is lasting the whole day. I have not undergone this ritual practice but I am told that it involves tantric worship, prayers, meditation and discourses on ways to attain physical well being, intellectual strength and spiritual knowledge. As far as I know, no written texts are available on the *dekhaa bi:-gu* ritual as they still form a part of taboo language, a closely guarded secret discourse not accessible to the general public. I am fairly

certain that the Vajracarya priests do retain sacred documents that are strictly taboo to laymen.

### 3. Classification of Taboo Language

#### 3.1 Taboo on the use of personal names

##### (1) Prohibition of Deceased Person's Name:

A dead person is normally referred to as *diba-gata ju-mha* 'one who has passed away' or *ma-du-mha* 'one who is no more' especially in the presence of the deceased person's relatives. Naming the person is either impolite or redundant as the context would clarify which person is referred to. This practice, in other words, is meant to show respect to the dead person as well as to his / her next of kin. This is a prohibition common to many communities in South Asia and other parts of the world.

##### (2) Prohibition Against the Use of Husband's or Father-in-law's Name:

This practice is also very common among most ethnic groups in Nepal. A wife would normally refer to her husband as *mija-mha* 'the man of the house', *abu-mha* 'one who is the father' or if there is a grand child as *baajyaa-mha* 'one who is a grandfather'. The husband too does not normally call his wife by her name but as *misaa-mha* 'woman of the house', *maā-mha* 'one who is a mother' or *aji-mha* 'one who is a grandmother'. A wife when calling her husband also uses the son's or daughter's name to get his attention. These forms of address are known as 'teknonyms' < 'teknonyms'.

##### (3) Prohibition in the Use of Older Person's Name:

It is considered impolite or inappropriate to use the name of a person who is older than the speaker. The speaker in this case refers to the man or woman as *thaakali* 'the head of house or gutli organization, and to the woman as *naki:-* 'the wife of the head person / eldest woman of the house'. Any other person older than the speaker is normally referred to, for example, as *Purna-yaa kakaa* 'Purna's younger uncle' or *Timilaa-yaa ta:dhi paaju* 'wife's elder brother' etc.

#### (4) Avoidance of Names in kin Relations :

The names of elder brother-in-law or sister-in-law have restrictive uses. They can be used only as reference but not as forms of address. For example, my two daughters-in-law refer to my eldest son as Deepak-daai

'elder brother Deepak' in conversations among themselves : Deepak-dāi ma-jhā-ni 'Elder brother Deepak has not come (hon) yet'; but drop the name when addressing him directly : dāi-yāta jyānā- tā-e la ? 'Elder brother, shall I serve you lunch?'.  
They simply use the names of deities as names, either ignoring or without knowing the older socio-cultural values and beliefs. Old people still aware of the older prohibitions often comment that members of the younger generations want to turn the world upside down". A point of parallel interest can still be seen in many Newar communities today which continue the practice of ancestral worship as mark of socio-cultural identity. The names of deified ancestors tend to be handed down to succeeding generations without social or moral stigma.

#### (5) Taboo On the Use of One's Secret Name:

All Newars have secret names recorded in the horoscope which the astrologer determines as appropriate according to the time of birth. This name cannot be revealed to anyone and is kept secret throughout one's life. This belief is apparently an influence of Hindu culture which believes that to know the secret name of someone is to have control over the person. The horoscope document itself is not copied or given out to others except in the case of a prospective bride in a marriage proposal where the two horoscopes need to be matched..

#### (6) Prohibition On Use of King's Name as Personal Name:

The king of Nepal is revered as the incarnation of God Narayan or Vishnu, and the taboo against the use of the Royal name by a commoner obviously has a religious motive, and also dictated by the upper ruling class. Today however, this restriction has broken down completely as we do find people with names such as Mahendra Ratna, Tribhuvan Dhar, Birendra Shakya, Dipendra Maharjan, Gyanendra Tuladhar etc.

#### (7) Taboo Against Use of Names of Deities:

In the past, a person could not be named after a deity worshipped by the family or the whole community. It was considered a sacrilege or a blasphemous act to use the sacred names of the deities. Today many people adopt the names of Hindu gods and goddesses like Ram, Krishna, Vishnu, Saraswati etc, or be named after Buddhist divinities such as Buddha Saymi, Tara Devi, Manjushree, Dharma Bahadur, Sanga Ratna etc. Pramodini (2004: 97) makes an interesting observation that "the use of the deity names is simply a mark of their self-identity.

#### (8) Avoidance of Using Fruit or Flower Names as Personal Names:

It was generally believed by the older generation that a person with the name of a fruit or flower is likely to have a life span as short as the fruit or flower itself. This belief too has broken down completely, and it is fairly common for some Newars today to be named after fruits and flowers such as gulaaph 'rose', campaa 'jasmine', paleswaan 'lotus', angur 'grapes', anaar 'pomegranate', mewā 'papaya', musum 'citrus fruit', ambah 'gooseberry' etc.

### 3.2 The Use of Euphemisms

Some common uses of euphemisms have been cited above in connection with indirect references to deceased persons, elderly family members and various in-law kin relations. We saw that in each of these cases the direct uses of personal names are prohibited and speakers devise certain euphemistic expressions to communicate with each other. One common example is to say wan-a 'has gone' or manta 'is no more' to refer to a person who has passed away, and this to my thinking is a universal tendency to disguise or soften the painful memory of a person's death. We thus choose to use non-taboo words to replace the tabooed words or expressions. Bloomfield (1935 / 1985: 401) in this connection remarks that "the problem with euphemisms is that in time euphemisms themselves gradually become strongly associated with the taboo and thus become taboo themselves". The old Newar words for dangerous diseases like cholera and typhoid are lhoka-phaka and haku-jwar, but people tend to use borrowed words like haija or jhada-banta for cholera and periphrastic expressions like taco-gu jwar 'a serious fever' for typhoid. As a result, the original Newar words are no longer used today and the alternative words and expressions have acquired taboo connotations. The following Table 1 provides some examples of euphemisms frequently used by

**Table 1 : Newar Euphemisms and their Meanings**

Word	Gloss	Euphemism	Gloss
1. sit-a	died	mant-a	is no more
2. khū	thief	lhā tāhaka-mha	one who has long arm
3. nae-dya:	greedy person	nhutu tapwā-mha	one with a large mouth
4. phattā	habitual liar	ni pwā nhutu du-mha	one who has two mouths
5. waē	mad man	hāwā syā-mha	one whose air is spoilt
6. nāga:tugah	criticism	nhāepā hi:-ye-gu	the ears to be burning hot (from listening to criticisms)
7. luccā	rascal / cheater	jhanga lāi-mha	one who catches a bird
8. ka:mi	carpenter	nhutu ka:mi	a talkative person
9. phattā	liar	phae-gā	a wind-bell
10. alsyi	lazy	tuti ma-du-mha	one who has no leg

Newar speakers.

Euphemisms are also known as semi-taboo words which are used to avoid embarrassment, offence or even anger in listeners. The speaker thus deliberately chooses not to use the taboo words or expressions to show respect and politeness in formal social discourse. There are also several euphemisms connected with sex. For example, the male and female sexual organs are known as *mijā co phāe-gu* 'male urinator' and *misa co phāe-gu* 'female urinator', whereas sexual union is euphemistically referred to as *thapu-kwapu* 'the act of one body above the other'. The monthly menstruation in a woman is also regarded as an unclean period when she is referred to as *thi: ma-ji -gu* 'to become untouchable'. This implies that a woman during her menses is forbidden to worship any deity, to eat together with other family members and to sleep with her husband. Among some non-Newar communities in Nepal, the ordeal of prohibition during the menstrual period is much more severe, when women are forbidden to enter the house and are required to eat and sleep in a separate shelter or cow-shed away from the family's kitchen and living quarters. This discriminating practice known as *chaupadi* is widely prevalent in the Far-West and Mid-Western regions and also in the Mahottari district in the Central region of the country. A recent news report described how the unclean period is also obstructing the normal school education of girls in the western districts of Nepal. The following constitute the gist of the report: "Girls living in various villages of Palpa district are not allowed to touch their textbooks during menstruation period, let alone go to school. People living in Koldanda and Kodhadi VDCs hold the belief that girls commit a grave sin

if they touch books during menstruation. They also regard it as sin if such girls happen to touch others". [The Kathmandu Post, November 5, 2005] Such prohibitions seem to be deeply engrained among many marginalized communities in the country.

The influence of such linguistic and social taboos has given rise to other related taboos. Thus a pregnant woman is called *pwātha-e du-mha* 'one with (a child) in her stomach' although there is a word for 'womb' in Newar called *maca chē* 'the house of the (unborn) child'. A married woman who has an adulterous relationship with another man is given the infamous name of *lyewa-tini* or *lyewa-singh* 'one who associates with a paramour'. If, on the other hand, a man marries a woman outside his caste (especially from a lower caste) the wife is socially ostracized as *ma-thyā-mha* 'the one who is excluded' where the woman is excluded from certain social or religious activities such as *guthi* functions and feasts, or prohibited from entering the secret shrine of family deity (known as *agama*) and to participate in its ritual worship. In case she is a co-wife of her husband, her status in the family is much lower to the first wife and is generally referred to as *ma-thya-mha lithu* 'an excluded second wife'.

#### 4. Taboos in a Process of Change

Although many of the taboos described above are still maintained, there is evidence that a number of them are no longer strictly enforced, as indicated above in a few cases. The process of breakdown in the use of some taboo words and expressions can also be seen despite the embarrassment and offence still caused by direct uses of

such words in certain social contexts. There are obviously several factors that have contributed to gradual changes in the direct uses of taboos together with their linguistic and implied meanings. Some of the most prominent factors in this process can be cited as follows:

### (1) Spread of Education and External Contact :

*The spread of education and external contacts have certainly brought about a good deal of change in the decline of taboo language and belief in superstitions. Many well educated couples now tend to live in nuclear families where husband and wife have begun to call or address each other by their first names. The use of teknonyms as a result is minimal in such families. Good education and training at home or abroad have also brought affluence from well-paid jobs, leading to a near-total loss of the traditional outlook. The younger generation in the Newar society today is also witnessing a growing number of inter-caste marriages which have naturally prompted many couples to question the social and religious discriminations against such marriages. Although some Newar communities continue to exclude low-caste wives, a progressive movement has emerged to advocate a more tolerant view on the matter. Mentions have been made above about the complete breakdown in the taboos relating to the uses of names after the royalties and deities, and more lenient attitude to social conventions and ritual practices. It must however be noted that the elder generation of Newars still maintain strict codes of conduct in matters of cultural and religious traditions. This is reflected in the retention of many taboo words as a part of their belief systems.*

### (2) Influence of Euphemistic Expressions :

*The use of euphemisms represents a shift in language use to make taboo words more palatable and acceptable to listeners without altering their inherent meanings. Taboo and euphemism in this sense are 'two sides of the same coin', and the periphrastic device of euphemisms has tended to generalize certain*

*details of meaning by the omission of key words and the use of borrowed words. For example, the case of a woman during her menses is given a general meaning of 'one who becomes untouchable' which, although not specific, conveys the intended meaning without any ambiguity.*

### (3) Use of Borrowed Words :

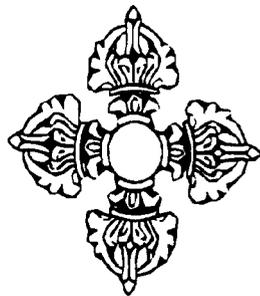
*The many taboo words related to sex or their euphemistic equivalents are generally avoided, and most educated people today tend to use words from languages like Nepali or English instead of the native words. The words related to sexual relations and pregnancy (macā pwaṭha-e da-ye), abortion (macā ko-kā-ye), or birth of an illegitimate child (lewa macā) are often expressed in foreign words as the native words sound quite vulgar and impolite.*

## 5. Conclusion

The use of taboo language is subject to change along with changes in social and cultural conventions. Taboos may have originated from superstitious beliefs based on fear, ignorance and insecurity. Today the taboo expressions that have evolved and survived reflect a sense of social decency or etiquette rather than the fear of adverse consequences. Promodini (2004: 108) rightly points out that "inhibition, rather than prohibition, is the key to understanding the very intricate nature of the verbal restrictions of modern times". The present-day taboos therefore are matters of proper communication through use of appropriate language to maintain social harmony and understanding. In the final analysis, taboos in Newar are by no means obsolete but remain an integral part of its socio-cultural life. This view would warrant further investigations on verbal taboos in other languages and societies of Nepal.

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# Kumari in Newar Culture

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## 1. Introduction:\*\*

Celebrating the Kumari tradition in Nepalese community is the worship of a virgin girl that had been actively instituted from the ancient period. Traditionally, anywhere from one girl to thousands of virgin girls are invited to be worshipped as part of 'Kumari Puja,' a kind of ritual dedicated to virgin girls. Kumari is presented as unique feature of Newar culture of Nepal, and most westerners know the "living goddess of Nepal". In Newar culture, a virgin girl is shown to have a sense of purity, calmness, truth, reality and many other good characteristics. Hence, it is believed that such type of virgin girl symbolizes the divine entity in human society. The Mahayana Buddhists accept Kumari as the sacred image of *Vajradevi* in human form and Hindu tradition sees her as the superior goddess 'Taleju Bhavani.'

The goal of this paper is to present a discussion on how the tradition of Kumari is maintained and how the tradition can be amended in the modern context of belief.

## 2. Evolution of Kumari

### 2.1 Kumari as a Puddle Hole:

The Kumari is prevalent throughout Newar towns and localities as a site of protective force. Her shrine is represented by a relatively large egg-shaped formless idol that is installed in a rectangular puddle below ground level. It is assumed that the tradition of Kumari was actually started with the

installation of formless idols during the early periods. One such installation of formless idol is discussed in an essay by Thakur Lal Manandhar (NS 1104/1984 AD), which describes the adoption of installing lineage shrine, the 'Digu Dyah', during ancient times. It is assumed that the locality of these idols in puddles indicates a Newar settlement. In later periods, these puddle holes began to be decorated with girl-faced images. One such example is at Balkumari in Kathmandu where there is a shrine installed in the streets near Ason. More discoveries of Kumari shrines were made in various locations throughout Kathmandu such as Khichapokhari, at Shanti Nikunja High School compound, in an old office of Kamana Publication in Chikan Mugal area and at Kumari Gāla. Not only Kathmandu, but Kumari shrines were also discovered at Balkumari in Patan and in various places in Thimi and Bhaktapur as well. Furthermore, the Chandeswari shrine of Banepa in Kavre district is also known as the Kumari temple.



Kōsima Tree

### 2.2. Kumari as a 'Kōsima' tree

Another physical representation of the divinity of Kumari is the *Kōsima* (oak tree). Newars worship it believing that the spirit of Kumari lands at the bottom of the tree. Eventually the tree itself is considered as the divine symbol of the Kumari and therefore it is forbidden to cut down such holy tree. When the growth of the *Kōsima* tree is identified, Newars do not plant anything in the surrounding areas

believing that the Kumari may visit the place for amusement with friends. Such locations are acknowledged throughout various localities in Kathmandu. A unique special feature of *Kōsima* tree is stretching of its underground roots. It

is believed that these stretched roots protect the land and sometimes a small amount of water cumulates around this tree creating a miniature pond. It is upon this pond where a water fountain, called *hiti*, is built. A wonderful example of the divine *Kōsima* tree is at *Gāhiti* (a fountain below the ground level) in Hanuman Dhoka Palace in Kathmandu Durwar Square and also at the *Budhanilkantha* shrine. In ancient times, an irrigation system kept *Kōsima* tree vibrant at *Budhanilkantha* shrine, however urbanization and modern housing development has caused the water surrounding the shrine to become dehydrated.

## 2.4. Place of Kumari in Dyah Pyākḥā

The symbol of Kumari can also be found in various Newar dance dramas where she holds a special role. *Harsiddhi* in Kathmandu is home to many *dyah pyākḥā* (dance of gods and goddesses), which is also one of the oldest *pyākḥā* (dance) in Nepalese tradition. Prem Bahadur Kansakar (NS 1084:1974AD) mentions that the Nepal's *Harisiddhi pyākḥā* can be traced back to Kaligat 2060 about 150 years BC. One such dance is the *Jala Pyākḥā* which, according to Linda Iltis (NS 1110:1990), originated around the Bikram calendar as a literary drama. *Jala Pyākḥā* is still practiced today and it still continues its tradition of being staged once in every twelve years in all three cities of the Kathmandu Valley. In *Jala Pyākḥā*, the Kumari plays the central character in this dance drama, which is also known as *Kaumari*.

One of the festivals where one can witness a Kumari dance drama is during *Yen Yāh* (*Indra Jatra*). *Halchowk Sawabhaku* dance is one of these dance dramas which is presented by three dancers, upon which Kumari plays one of the characters. In addition, once in every twelve years the *Halchowk Sawabhaku* dance transforms into a grand gala. During this time, the small dance drama becomes a big extravaganza with dancers performing as many as twelve different deities in which the Kumari plays the main role. Another dance drama performed at the Indra Jatra festival is the *Dee Pyākḥā* or *Devi Pyākḥā*. According to Kashi Nath Tamot (NS 1101:1981AD), *Dee Pyākḥā* tradition originated during the Lichhavi period. A well-known dramatist, Vijaya Malla (NS 1112:1992AD), is famous for having written many creative dramas. Based on *Dee Pyākḥā*, he wrote and modernized many of the old Kumari dramas. In one of his drama, Kumari, with her *shakti* power, triumphed over *Daitya* 'Devil' which secured her virginity and kept the philosophy of Kumari tradition alive.

## 3. Kumari and Mahayana Buddhist Tradition

In any kind of high degree of *puja* organized from birth to death by Buddhists, the place for Kumari is very important. The tradition of honoring a virgin girl as Kumari has been common among the Newar Buddhists of Nepal. Mary Slusser (NS1102/1982) indicates that in Nepalese Mahayana Buddhist tradition of worshipping of a virgin girl was already started in the 13th century.

It is in the 13<sup>th</sup> century that the Vajrayana Buddhist tradition was established in the Vajrayogini shrine of *Sako*. One can consider the sacred *bahās* and *bahis* (Newar monasties) of Kathmandu Valley as a source of Vajrayana Tradition in Nepal. Any kind of religious function is conducted first through the *bāha* and *bahi* located throughout the Kathmandu Valley. The process of attaining to enter the *baha* or *bahi* and any Vajrayana related religious activities is through *Cudakarṇa* (initiation) ceremony. Without instituting the *bāha* and *bahi*, the sense of *Vajradevi* cannot be identified. It is in this Vajrayana Buddhist tradition that Kumari plays a very significant role. Hence, Newars Buddhists believe that Kumari is the human form of *Vajradevi*.

## 4. Origins of Kumari

On the basis of hand-written manuscript found in Keshar library, Bhuwan Lal Pradhan (NS 1113/ 199/BS 2049) mentions the selection of Kumari from Shakya girls (Gorkhapatra 2048 Ashoj 5/1991AD) in 13<sup>th</sup> century. It can be assumed that the tradition of selection of Kumari among the Buddhists of Nepal must have already been established before the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Although there is no historical date of when Vajracharya family gained control in the selection process of the Kumari, this family played a significant role in choosing the Kumari at the *Kwabaha* and *Mabaha*, monasteries in Kathmandu.

Even though the Kumari remains significant in the Newar culture, at the *Kwabaha* and *Mabaha* (monasteries in Kathmandu), the tradition of selecting the Kumari from Vajracharya family was discontinued approximately twenty-two years ago. The worldwide famous Kumari of present day is the *Laeku* (Royal) Kumari, who is chosen amongst the Shakya family. One can still visit *Kwabaha* and *Mabaha* as it once held the divine Kumari. In modern days, Kumari is still considered highly respectable in terms of their intuitional power. When the *Laeku* Kumari becomes sick, the care-takers offer a puja to the *Mabaha* Kumari. If that does not help, they offer another puja to *Kwabaha* Kumari. This proves that the tradition of *Laeku* Kumari is much newer than the tradition of *Mabaha* and *Kwabaha* Kumari.

Moreover, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a hand written manuscript named *Tribhumik Vidhya Peeth Pratistha*, the method of

*puja* is mentioned in a section of Kumari. In that section, it is mentioned that the Kumari should be given a bath, comb hair, smear mascara and aromatic sandalwood paste in forehead and decorate with ornaments. This tradition of beautification is still followed for the Kumaris until today.

#### 4.1 Khwapa( Bhaktapur) Kumari

In NS 444, Gaya Suddhin Mohamad of Simraun Gad attacked Karnatak. Fearing his life, the king, King Hari Singh Deva, fled to his in-law's house in Bhaktapur. During his escape, King Hari Singh Deva managed to bring along a scared emblem, *śreeyantra*, of *Taleju Bhawani* or *Taleju* to Bhaktapur. (Source: Tya-Matya text preserved in Asha Archives). In later periods, during the period of Devala Devi and Raj Malla Deva, this *śreeyantra* was installed in a shrine and later became known as *Duimaju* devi or *Taleju* shrine in Bhaktapur. Afterwards, in NS 737, King Jagarjwoti Malla visited this shrine of *Taleju* and communicated with the divine spirit on a regular basis. One day, the spirit of *Taleju* was not present for their regular conversation and a suspicion grew inside the king. However, King Jagarjwoti Malla later had a dream in which *Taleju* told him that if he starts to select a virgin girl from Shakya family to be worshipped as Kumari, she will resume their communication (Shrestha NS1121). Since then, the Kumari became the human equivalent of the divine spirit of *Taleju* and since then the Kumari was selected amongst the Shakya family.

#### 4.2 Yen (Kantipur) Lāeku Kumari:

When King Hari Singh Deva brought the *śreeyantra* of *Taleju* to Bhaktapur, it had a profound impact on Ratna Malla, the son of Yatshya Malla. When Ratna Malla started to rule the Kantipur region, he brought this concept of *śreeyantra* of *Taleju* from Bhaktapur to Kantipur as the lineage deity of his family in NS 612 and later King Mahendra Malla erected a shrine for the *Taleju Bhawani*. Like King Jagarjwoti Malla, King Amar Malla brought a replica of *Taleju* to his palace compound and he too communicated the divine spirit. But, one day King Malla's daughter discovered that her father was secretly communicating with the *Taleju*. From then on the communication ended between the divine spirit and the king. However, she will invoke a virgin girl from a Shakya family and thus they can resume their communication. Since then, the selection of Kumari is continued from the Shakya family (Shrestha: NS 1121) in Kantipur.

#### 4.3 Yala (Patan) Kumari:

In Yala, the *Taleju Bhawani* was established by

King Siddhi Narsingh Malla. Like the previous King of Bhaktapur and Kantipur, King Siddhi Narsingh Malla also had secret conversations with the divine *Taleju*. But in his case, the secret was discovered by his wife and the *Taleju* told him that she is going to be born in *Dhusah* family as Kumari. The King Siddhi Narsingh Malla was to select a virgin girl from *Dhusah* family to establish the Kumari and worship her divine spirit. In later period, the tradition of the Kumari tradition was passed down to the Vajracharya family and to this day, the Kumari is selected from Vajracharya family in Yala region (Shrestha NS 1125).

#### 4.4 Kumari in Various Castes:

Jayasthiti Malla was a Hindu king and historical evidence shows that an institute of Kumari was available in each caste group even before his imposition of caste system. Thus, we can predict that the Kumari was chosen from each of the *Brahman*, *Chhetri*, *Vaisya* and *Sudra* group before the Malla period. Eventually, *Brahman* Kumari became considered from a *Vajracharya* family, *Chetri* Kumari from *Shakya* family, *Vaisya* Kumari from *Jyapuni* family and *Sudra* Kumari from *Dhobi* or *Dyala* family. But this concept of Kumari from various castes is no longer practiced in later period; however the mention of existence of Kumari from various castes is noted in the *Rudra Mala Yantra (Tantra)*.

“*Naro kapalani vaisyarjani nāpitangmatha  
Brahmani kanyas gudrancha tatha gopala  
kanyaka Malakarasya kanacha nawa kanya  
prakartita*”

(Source: Kumari NS 1121:62)

In the above text, the institute of Kumari in *Gopala* dynasty is also mentioned. Even these days, there is a tradition of arranging two right and left seats for the Kumari or virgin girls during the festivals of *Maha Laxmi*, *Bhairava*, *Ganesh* and *Adi Narayana*. During the ceremony performed to worship the *Bhairava*, virgin girls are invited to perform the *ihī puja*. Also during the *Bhairava puja*, the host desires to fulfill four wishes consisting of *Siddhi*, *Yasa*, *Dhana* and *Birth of Son*. The four wishes are represented by the four Kumaris that are invited from four different ideal castes. These castes consist of Brahman Kumari for *Manoratha* or *Siddhi*, *Chhetri* Kumari for *Yasa*, *Vaisyha* Kumari for *Dhana*, *Sudra* Kumari for *Birth of Son*. (Sharma: Kumari 1121: 79) In Newar tradition, existence of Kumari from various castes installed as virgin goddess in *Yen*, *Yala*, *Khowapa* and *Bunga* is as follows:

*Yen Lāeku Kumari*  
*Mā bāha Kumari*

*Shakya*  
*Bajracharya*

*Kwa bahā Kumari*  
*Tana Bahā Kumari*  
*Kilaga Kumari*  
*Cokāche Galli Kumari*

*Cābahil Kumari*  
*Yala Lāeku Kumari*  
*Khwopa Lāeku Kumari*  
*Bunga Kumari*

*Bajracharya*  
*Jyapu*  
*Jyapu*  
*Rajopadhyaya*  
*Brahaman*  
*Shakya*  
*Bajracharya*  
*Shakya*  
*Bajracharya*

## 5. Kumari and Religious Harmony

The Kumari is considered to bring religious harmony amongst the Hindus and Buddhists of Nepal and both sector of Hindu and Buddhist tradition worship Kumari as deity of protection. The tradition of daily *pūjā* is performed according to both Hindu and Buddhist rituals. Presence of *Pancha Buddha* in procession of Kumari chariot during the *Indra Jatra*, which is considered to be a Hindu festival, indicates this harmonic relationship with both Hindu and Buddhist tradition of Nepal.

Both Hindu and Buddhist tradition recognizably worship Kumari as the tantrik deity as *Taleju* and *Vajradevi* respectively. According to *tantra sāstra*, the age of Kumari is divided into three as follows:

- a. 1 -- 12 years
- b. 12 -- 16 years
- c. 16 -- old age

During the period of age group (b) Kumari may evoke as various forms of deities.

It is mentioned in the text titled '*Tribhumik Bidhyapith Pratistha Vidi*' from 13th century that when a *Kumari Puja* is performed, each and every part of the body is worshipped as a place of deity.

<i>Head</i>	<i>Brahmayani</i>
<i>Eyes</i>	<i>Rudaryani</i>
<i>Nose</i>	<i>Vaisnavi</i>
<i>Mouth</i>	<i>Varahi</i>

Even these days, the tradition of setting *pancha kanya* is observed for good luck in receiving the guests in welcome ceremonies. The *pancha kanya* represents *Tara*, *Laxmi*, *Saraswati*, *Bhagavati* and *Maha Laxmi*. All of them are considered as the *shakti* of each deity. The *Basundhara* is also worshipped as the Kumari on the day of *Bhadra Krishna Tritiya*. Among the three faces of *Basundhara* only one of it is honored as the Kumari.

Kumari is worshipped for *siddhi prapti* (acquiring skill), *rog nash* (eradication of epidemic), *aiswarya prapti*

(spiritual fame), *mokshya prapti* (Liberation), *smridhi shali* (intellectuality), *shakti pratik* (symbol of power), eliminating unwanted activities, and as protector of the country.

## 6. Selection Process of Kumari

### 6.1 Kathmandu Royal Kumari

In the selection process of choosing the Royal Kumari in Kathmandu, there are few requirements that must be met. First, the parent's marriage should have been arranged within the one of the eighteen *Maha Vihars*. The candidate's horoscope must also match with current King's horoscope. There is a horse that is kept at *Hanuman Dhoka* that belongs to Kumari. The auspicious time of the horse's birth and soon-to-be Kumari must also be matched. When it becomes time to replace the Kumari, the caretakers of present Kumari is sent to all 18 *Maha Vihars*. A call is made to interested parents to bring their daughters to be installed as Kumari. The royal astrologer's wife then inspects all the girls that brought in. The royal priest's wife examines the scars in the candidate's body, looking for any birthmark and such. Then the horoscope of the girl is sent to the palace for the king to decide on the ideal candidate. Once a girl is selected, she is placed in the sacred *agam chen* (sacred house) to perform the midnight ritual ceremony during the *Mohani* festival.

### 6.2. Selection of Kumari in Bhaktapur

The selection of Kumari in Bhaktapur is rather very simple. A flower from *Ekanta* first touches the candidate's head, and then the flower is placed in an isolated place at the candidate's house for four days. If the girl does not show any symptoms of illness then she is eligible to be selected.

### 6.3. Selection of Kumari in Lalitpur:

When it becomes time for selecting the Kumari, a messenger is sent to all 15 *Maha Vihars* announcing for the parents to bring their daughters to *Ratnakar Maha Vihar*. The royal priest's wife then examines the body for scars on each girl. Then the royal priests examine the horoscope of each candidate and the best horoscope is then recommended for selection.

## 7. Kantipur Royal Kumari as Symbol of Social Unity

When Prithvi Narayan Shaha, a Gorkha king, invaded the

Kathmandu Valley, the Malla king, King Jaya Prakash escaped from nearly being imprisoned His escape put Kumari tradition in jeopardy, however King Shah promised to keep the Kumari tradition alive and later he became king of *Nepal Mandala*. Since then, the Shah Kings still honor the Kumari with respect and great devotion by declaring a government holiday.

## 8. Exit Rules for Kumari

A Kumari does not have the same liberties to freely go out from her house. However, there are some occasions where the Kumari is allowed to go out of her house for entertainment and social activities.

### 8.1 Exit Rules for Royal Kumari

Occasion	Place and/or Time
<i>Chaita Dashain</i>	<i>Mu Chuuka Agam</i> in Hanuman Dhokha Palace
<i>Janamahadyo Jatra</i>	Lagan Area on the day of Pulling the Chariot
<i>Janamahadyo Nhawan</i>	Jana Bahal on day of <i>Paush Sukla Astami</i>
<i>Changu Narayana Jatra</i>	On the day of <i>Paukhs Sukla Poornima</i>
<i>Dathu Saya</i>	On day of <i>Saparu</i> to visit <i>bahi dyo</i> for observing.
<i>Pachali Bhairab Jatra</i>	<i>Aswin Sukla Panchami</i> in Laykuu
<i>Ghoda Jatra</i>	<i>Tinkhyah</i> near RNAC building
<i>Mohani</i>	<i>Kalratri Nawami</i> for <i>Kaal Ratri Pooja</i>
<i>Misa Samyak</i>	Every twelve years on the next day of main <i>Samyak</i> festival.

In Kantipur, the *Mu Baha*, *Kwabaha* Kumari and *Jyapu Kumaris* are allowed to go out to attend the special rare *pujas* organized by private party such as *Acha Guthi*, *Sinha Puja* and *Chatis Samarth* etc..

### 8.2 Exit Rules for Lalitpur Kumari

Occasion	Place and/or Time
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<i>Bunga Dyo Nhawan</i> (Ceremony for Bath)	Lagan Khel
<i>Puchwo Gabaha</i>	On the day of Pulling Chariot
<i>Nuga</i>	Lagankhel/Kamari Pati
<i>Bhoto Jatra</i>	Jyawalakhel
<i>Mohani</i>	Inside Taleju area

### 8.3 Exit Rule for Bhaktapur Kumari

Bhaktapur Kumari is allowed to leave her home at anytime if she is invited. On the Day of Magh 11, 2059 BS (2002AD) Lila Bhakta Munakarmi invited Kumari as chief guest for debut of his book '*Taleju Bhawani Kotha Puja wa Parva Puja Vidhi*'.

## 9. Divine Power ( Daibiya Śakti) of Kumari

One has to believe in the celestial power of Kumari in order to see the heavenly spirit within the Kumari, something the non-believers fail to see. Rewards, in a form blessing of divine spirituality, are given to those who worship Kumari as a goddess. Her divinity is evident in the following factual testimony and events that reveal Kumari as source of daibiya śakti.

1. It is believed that when Kumari becomes ill, the care-takers of Kumari offer puja to *Mu Baha Kumari*. Soon she miraculously will recover from her sickness.
2. Rama Pande, a devoted researcher working on her doctoral on Kumari, expressed her belief in Kumari as goddess in her interview to Kantipur.
3. Badri Lal Shrestha felt the divine daivya shakti when Kumari from Kilagah was invited to his house.
4. A puja is offered to Taleju Agam (Sacred shrine) from her side.
5. She is able to drinks alcoholic beverages without harm.
6. The divine daivya shakti caused a girl from Watu Tole to recover from an incurable eye infection.
7. Former Kumari, Rasmila Shakya, once confessed about the divine power in her interview.

8. Michael Allen explains the spiritual aspect of Kumari in his book 'The cult of Kumari virgin worship'.

## 10. Kumari's Dress Code

It is not mandatory to have Kumari wear red clothing all the time. When Kumari takes a tour of city, she is allowed to wear skirt made of golden Tinkha fabric. It is also unnecessary for a Kumari to be adorned and decorated to look like a typical Kumari. She does not necessarily have to decorate her forehead with red vermilion powder or put on the dibya dristi (the third 'eye') all the time. However, during the nitya puja, the decoration is kind of mandatory as sign of discipline. Furthermore, Kumari's variant types of uniform corresponds to the various meaning in traditional Mahayana Buddhism.

## 11. Financial Support to Kumaris

Sunita Shakya was chosen to be Kumari during NS 1088-1098 but when it became time for her to step down, she was not ready to descend from her throne as the Kumari. In order for her smooth transition into the real world, the government made some special provision of retirement allowances. Ex-Kumari receives Nrs. 300.00 per month until the age of 21 or until a marriage takes place. She also gets Nrs. 1000.00 for *Ihi* expenses and lastly, Nrs. 10,000.00 for her wedding expenses. Sunita Shakya was the first Kumari who secured such benefits and from then all ex-Kumaris from then till now receives these benefits from the government. There have been few changes to this benefit, for example the amount was amended from Rs. 300 per month to Rs. 1882.00 per month until her death. Another benefit was added to include education allowance of Rs.1000 and since 2057 BS/2000 AD this was again amended and set as follows until now:

Current Kumari	Nrs.6000.00
Education allowances	Nrs. 1000.00
Ex Kumari until death	Nrs. 3000.00
Ihi Allowance	Nrs. 1000.00
Marriage allowance	Nrs. 50,000.00
Paid baby sitter	

Annual allowances from Guthi Sansthan 36.75 Muri rice

Continuation of employed baby sitter (care taker) that was started in NS 876/ 1756AD. The first one was Shree Luxmi Shakya

## 12. Suggestions and Recommendations for Kumari

The ancient tradition must be amended according to current atmosphere and situation. The provision should be good for good not just for current situation. Kumari tradition belongs to Newar society; she should not be abandoned from getting education on language and culture of Newar people. She should be offered a scholarship for her education from the very beginning until she wishes to study in higher education. There should also not be restriction in choosing a field. The educational programs and schedules for Kumari should also be equally balanced to her physical, intellectual and mental development. She should be given education on modern technology by providing access to use of computer. Furthermore, a special scholarship should be established to promote her education from the kindergarten to highest level giving her choice of field.



### 12.1 Provision to parents of Kumari

The parents including immediate family members should be allowed to visit Kumari *chhen* (house) whenever they desire. The parents of every current Kumari should be given the choice to live with her in

the Kumari house.

### 12.2 Kumari's Rights

Even after stepping down from the Kumari life all Kumari should be given opportunity to lead and organize woman's development programs to secure her honorship in the society. She should be given exposition as guest on child right activities and program. She should also be given equal opportunity to develop, as children need to develop relating to intellectual, physical, educational program. She should also be given a place in every religious and cultural program instead of just focusing on her during the *yen yaa* (*Indra Jatra*) festival. Since she is considered as a human form of *Taleju Bhawani* she should be given opportunity in meetings relating to formulation of rules

and policy development for protection of the nation.

### 13. Discussion of Ex-Kumari's Experience

In Sandhya Times ( 1122 Yanla Thwa 7), Late Heera Devi Shakya, 88 years young at the time, has expressed her feelings on riding the chariot as goddess as a pleasant moment in her life as a Kumari from 1041-1042 NS.

Harsha Luxmi Shakya said it was nice to be worshiped and ride the chariot as goddess. She found it very enjoyable during her period of becoming Kumari in 1075-1081 NS. She was invited as the chief guest on annual function organized by the Nepal Heritage Society.

Rashmila Shakya the Kumari of 1104-1111 NS has written the following paragraph as her own experience.

*"It is wonderful to think back those times and it is remarkable at that time everything seem so normal, women came to pray to me for the health of their children, the king came to worship me, people came from all over the world to see me, a huge crowd came out to see me at Indra Jatra.... Looking back I am proud to have had these unique experiences."*

(Rashmila 2005 page 143)

Padma Sumana Shakya of Bhaktapur expresses her feeling that being Kumari was one of the greatest luck in her life.

### 14. Conclusion

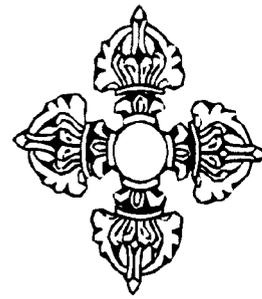
The tradition of Kumari is not a matter of abolishment but it's a matter of promotion as primary source of philosophical and cultural integration and need to keep it alive for many years by enhancing the new idea and technology of modern world. This is the necessity of the current situation and path of ideology for future generation who might follow it as culture of dignity and respect to Newar tradition. This is identity of Newars and their philosophy that is based on religious harmony and cultural integration. It should be comprehensive to all as a rising sun that stays all day where various kinds of activities take place during its life.

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\*\* The Nepal Bhasa version of this paper was presented in the symposium organized by the Central Department of Nepal Bhasa, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu on July 23rd, 2005.



# Newah Solidarity Campaign

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Some months ago some of my local friends and I had a guff on Nepal's history. We recalled the golden and glorious period of rule of we Newah people. But we were soon saddened by the fact - loss of our state -the healthiest, wealthiest and the most prosperous, civilized and independent state of the time – due to our own disunity and indifference. When people lose their state, they (except some renegades and collaborators) lose everything. Their history is distorted, their property is looted, their women and children are molested, they are described as cowards, they are treated as slaves and what not? The only salvation for them is to regain their own lost state, their own independence.

Can we regain our lost glory, dignity and independence? We stormed our brain and found that it was not impossible. When Jews can establish Israel, when Bengalis can have Bangladesh out of Pakistan, when the state of Jharkhand can emerge out of Bihar, why can't we Newah people regain our lost state of Nepal Mandal again? Yes, we can. 236 painful years have passed since we lost our state and there have been great many changes in the world. Current ground reality says: we can regain our lost state only when other indigenous nationalities also can regain their lost domains. That too is possible only when Nepal will have been restructured as a federal state.

The concept of federal Nepal has now become a strong demand of several political parties and organizations of almost all indigenous nationalities of Nepal. Our own Newah Dey Dabu is also advocating the same for the autonomy of Newah people. When the conquered peoples stand and struggle united, nothing can stop them from winning freedom.

Once convinced with this great idea, we felt we have our duty towards realizing this noble demand of federal Nepal. There are many small things that play important roles in

achieving a big success. So, we thought of doing away with our own genetic traits first - disunity and indifference – by launching a campaign – Newah Solidarity Campaign. Newah Solidarity Campaign is an effort to bring all Newah people around the world into a strong bond of unity and fraternity through direct person-to-person contacts by sharing their happiness and sorrows, by raising voice for justice when they fall victim to injustice and to provide possible relief to a Newah in the dire need of assistance.

The Campaign does not consider religious belief, political ideology, geographic location, linguistic variation, financial position, social stratum, caste and creed to which a Newah may belong. To Newah Solidarity Campaign, a Newah is only Newah, a dignified member of the glorious Newah nationality/community. Newah Solidarity Campaign was launched in the beginning of 2005 and is still in the stage of developmental concept. I believe that with your cooperation and involvement the Campaign will take a concrete shape of an authentic institution in the near future will help a lot in attaining autonomy to Newah people.

Besides a large number of Newah contacts in Nepal, the Campaign has established live contacts with Newah people in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA. Contacts with Newah people in Australia, England and India are progressing. Contacts in other parts of the world are in the search.

The Campaign will be given a suitable name and a final shape once contacts will have been established in (at least a dozen or so major countries where Newah people are living in a considerable number. Basic activities of the Campaign are to collect Newah related information from various sources, process them into a suitable format and send them as Request Solidarity Messages to Newah people around the world calling for an action - sending

best wishes to a Newah for his/her noble/heroic/historic undertaking, congratulating a Newah on his/her success-achievement, sending condolence messages to a bereaved Newah, comforting a Newah who has fallen victim to an injustice and raising voice for justice by demanding attention and action of government authorities of any country. In near future, the Campaign will also try to raise charity fund for a Newah who is in an urgent need of assistance and who makes appeals for such assistance publicly.

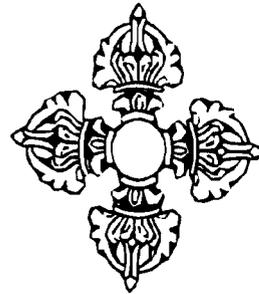
Functions of Newah Solidarity Campaign largely depend on use of media and telecommunications means. Contacts in person depend on an individual. As of now, the Campaign is totally dependent on emails and phone calls. When it grows strong, it will have to have access to print (newspapers), audio (radios) and visual (TV and websites) media as well. But it all depends on our own effort. In order to execute its activities, the Campaign plans to locate focal points (main contact persons) district-wise in Nepal and country-wise (more if needed) in the rest of the world until next arrangement. Functions of a focal point at this stage will be to (1) collect Newah related information from various sources in his/her area of responsibility, process them into a suitable format and forward them with a request for solidarity to Newah contacts in his/her area of responsibility and to other focal points, (2) receive request solidarity messages from other focal points and forward them to Newah contacts in his/her area of responsibility, and (3) do other things as appropriate and as needed.

The solidarity messages will be written in two languages: Nepal Bhasa and the English language simultaneously to allow for that Newah who have difficulty in understanding and writing Nepal Bhasa. The request solidarity messages should essentially contain (1) full name of the person to which solidarity is to be sent, (2) his/her shortest possible introduction, (3) the briefest description of the event, (4) his/her location, email address and phone/fax numbers, and (5) where applicable, name/s, position/s of the authority/ies, location/s, email addresses and phone/fax numbers if they are also to be addressed to demand an action by them.

Until next arrangement, I myself will be acting as the focal point for whole of Nepal. Mr. Suresh Bhakta Shrestha, a gentleman doing PhD at Tokyo University, has offered to become focal point for Japan. Dr. Bal Gopal Shrestha is helping a lot from the Netherlands. Mr. Tribhuvan Tuladhar is even displaying the Campaign's matters in NOA website as well. The Campaign is in search of focal points for other countries.

Dear friends, I have tried my best to explain to you the objectives and modus operandi of Newah Solidarity Campaign. As I already said, it is still in the stage of concept. You can be one to define and set its objectives and to frame up its structure and improve its modus operandi. So you are most welcome to join Newah Solidarity Campaign and march ahead to unite the glorious Newah people. Inviting again to join Newah Solidarity Campaign and looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Circulated on 4-25-2005 - @ 13:15



# Viewpoint On Nepal Sambat

Roshan Shrestha

One of the most innovative and extraordinary work of our great ancestors and their leader Mr. Shankhadhar Sakhwa is the establishment of an era devoted to nation and people - the Nepal Sambat- unlike many other eras of their time devoted to a powerful king (or political/religious leader). The popular hear-say story behind Nepal Sambat that tells how Mr. Shakhadhar Sakhwa became rich overnight is often questioned but few questions are asked how people of Nepalmandal survived debt free for centuries unlike others in the neighboring areas.

My gut feeling says, only the consequences in the story might be true not the whole story. It is to be noted that we are talking about the society of a millenium year ago in this topic where feudal politics was deep rooted and religious norms were the core values of the society. Yet the nation displayed a unique unity to establish a new era displacing another era named after the great ancestor (King Manadev) of then ruling King Raghavdev. This single fact springs out a lot of hypotheses and poses a huge research issue to unravel the hidden truth behind the whole episode of transitioning Nepalese society into a new era.

King Manadev formed a strong country expanding Nepal to larger area than the great ancestor PN Shah of current King had done. So, it is quite logical to assume that King Raghavdev would be unhappy for demolishing the Era named after his forefather. Some people argue that the King brought the idea of new year to revamp the social balance after suffering badly from natural disasters like earthquake, cholera break-out and prolonged drought which might have compelled him for a great change. But, I think other way. The public dissatisfaction must have led to a massive revolution just like we had one recently in Nepal that weakened feudal control in the society and degraded public faith toward the feudal centers. Such a massive deterioration of public trust might have inspired the society to dedicate newly establishing era to the nation and public

rather than suffixing after unpopular name of the King. Just recall how people changed names of schools, bridges and public service sectors recently in Nepal that were named after royal members while they were strong in power.

Nepal Sambat was absented from its official use by Prithvi Narayan Shah to indicate the end of Malla dynasty, and later on the Rana regime banned using it in all official records. The rana regime brought Vikram Sambat. The movement to revive Nepal Sambat started once again after Ranas exited from power. There is discussions going on to bring back the Nepal Sambat in official use again, which however could pose some trouble because of its none-standard time-shifting system. Current world requires a 24-hour uniform daily cycle and seasonal syncing months, which does not exist in Nepal Sambat. I think, this problem has no solution except adopting the Gregorian days and months that is used all over the world. It would turn out to be unique and practical too. We can take example of Japan in this case. Japan has adopted Japanese year and gregorian month and days for official use. For example, a birthday falling on NS 1094 Chaulathwo Saptami turns to be 2029 Chaitra 27 and 1973 April 9. Converting dates among these three calendars is complex mathematical problem, and simply out of capacity for ordinary people. It may be unpractical to go through such complex change for daily-use purpose, where we seek to have a uniform calendar compatible with the system adopted elsewhere. The japanese calendar converts this date to S48-04-09 (where SYY=YYYY-1925), which is simple once the Gregorian date is known. We can also write our date in the same format such as N094-04-09 (where NYYY=YYYY-879). This format can be used in all practical purposes without any conflict.

The Nepal Sambat movement is at its high time these days as increasing mass have started to recognize the worth of its contribution for New Nepal. It is our responsibility

to understand the norms and values of Nepal Sambat, participate in arguing for and against its merits and demerits, help in research and educating our younger generation in our capacity such that we would not lose one

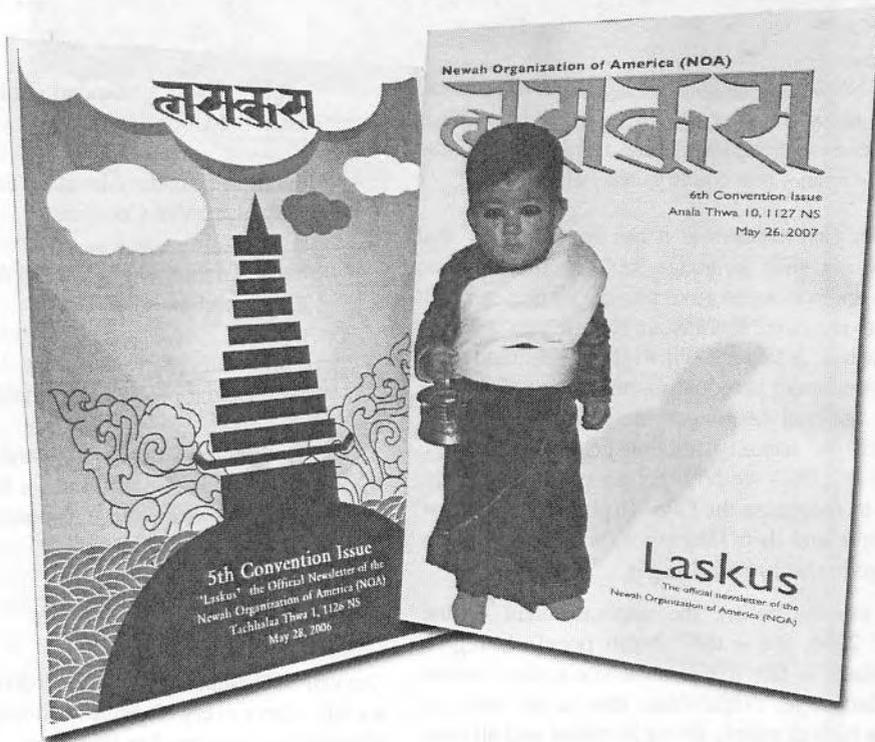
of our decent achievement in our history and the pioneering work of our ancestors toward having a justice society.

NHOO DAN YAA BHINTUNAA

Publication  
Announcement

# LASKUS

A Publication of Newah Organization of America  
[www.newah.org](http://www.newah.org)



# Nepalbhāsa Online Founded for Newah Language and People

[www.nepalbhāsaonline.org](http://www.nepalbhāsaonline.org)

Our website is [www.nepalbhāsa.org](http://www.nepalbhāsa.org); since it is not open to public and being worked on, Ubin-ju has kept it also under [www.designtemple.com/nepalbhāsa](http://www.designtemple.com/nepalbhāsa).

Nepalbhāsa is spoken mostly by the Newah people, natives of the Kathmandu Valley and the surrounding villages, cities and territories also known as Nepal Mandala. It has its own script and dialect with rich literature. Before the rule of the Shah dynasty, Nepalbhāsa was an official language of Nepal Mandala. For the last 237 years of Shah and Rana dynasties, Nepalbhāsa and also other national languages of Nepal have been intentionally discriminated and suppressed by the country rulers in favor of Khas language (later named as Gorkhabhāsa and Nepali) under the so-called slogan – one country, one language.

In light of our past experience it has become clear that the future of our own language, culture and tradition depend on us and not on the government. Hence, our own contribution to revitalize and sustain Nepalbhāsa is highly critical. However, it is our Civil Rights to demand from the Nepal government of equal treatment and rights for all Nepalese national languages including Nepalbhāsa. In the context of recently announced “Parliamentary Proclamation – 2006”, we feel that an environment has been created to recognize the Civil Rights of indigenous Nepalese people and their languages, but there is still a long way to go in institutionalizing it.

Even many months before the announcement of the Proclamation 2006, we – the Newah people living in the Unites States – felt a historical obligation toward our mother language, Nepalbhāsa that is the soul of identity of the Newah people living in Nepal and all over the world. As a result, Nepalbhāsa Online (NBO) was founded on November 12, 2005 in San Antonio, Texas and registered on December 28, 2005 with the State of Texas as a non-profit organization for the purpose of providing online resources mainly to the Newah people

in order to revitalize, preserve and develop Nepalbhāsa in this information age of Internet.

An action committee comprising of 5 coordinators, was established for legally representing Nepalbhāsa Online and for executing its responsibility as determined. The coordinators are as following:

- \* Gyanendra Hyoju (Salt Lake City, Utah):  
Information Coordinator
- \* Rajat Gopal Rajbhandari (El Paso, Texas):  
Editorial Coordinator
- \* Suchitra Bahadur Shrestha (San Antonio, Texas):  
Organizational Coordinator
- \* Suraj Krishna Shrestha (San Antonio, Texas):  
Financial Coordinator
- \* Ubin Malla (New York City, New York):  
Web Development Coordinator
- \* Dr. Swoyam Prakash Shrestha, a visiting scientist at Southwest Foundation for Biomedical Research was given a responsibility of a Special Ambassador of NBO.

## Our Vision:

Our vision of Nepalese society is a diversified multilingual society where every Nepalese nationality has the rights to education in their mother language.

Equal rights to all Nepalese national languages and communities including Nepalbhāsa and the Newah People create a peaceful and harmonized society.

Diversity is unity. Diversity is the strength, not division of Nepalese society. Nepalbhasa – the soul and identity of the Newah people.

Literacy in Nepalbhasa among the Newah people is empowerment.

## Our Objectives:

- \* To provide an online resource to revitalize, preserve and develop Nepalbhasa.
- \* To develop the Nepalbhasa Online website (www.nepalbhasa.org) in phases with targeted tasks towards achieving the main objective.
- \* To create online web community in learning

Nepalbhasa.

- \* To promote literacy in Nepalbhasa by strengthening morale of the Newah people in its use.
- \* To disseminate community activities information as widely as possible in Nepal and abroad.
- \* To raise awareness of Nepalbhasa both inside and outside the community through all possible media by introducing language maintenance programs.
- \* To raise funds for well-defined Nepalbhasa Projects.
- \* To establish friendship and co-operation among other nationalities in Nepal and abroad for common causes.

The screenshot shows the Nepalbhasa Online website. At the top, there is a navigation menu with links for Home, Login, Register, About, and Contact. Below this is a search bar and a secondary menu with links for e-learning, Downloads, Articles, Personalities, Directory, and Forum. The main banner features the text "Introducing नेपालभाषा नेपालभाषा Online Your Guide to Nepalbhasa and Newari culture" and three Nepali characters: दा, ऊ, व. Below the banner, there are several content sections:
 

- Community:** Forum, Directory, Personalities, Nepalbhasa Blog.
- Learning Center:** Learning Center Items, Vowels, Consonants, Joint Letters, Simple Words.
- Nepalbhasa:** Events/Activities, News, Photo Gallery, Contribute, Resources.
- News:** 1 million march for immigrants across US-05-01-06, Los Angeles - More than 1 million mostly Hispanic immigrants and their supporters skipped work and took to the streets Monday, taking their... continue.
- Latest Articles:** News of the Nepal Valley - Dr. Mala Malla. Dr. Malla presents a cultural history study of Newah people of Nepal Valley in this analytical article which was published in the journal History Today (Journal of the Indian History and Culture Society) No. 2, 2001, pp.51-55... continue.
- History of casting technology of Nepal** - Dr. Mala Malla. This article was published in Puratattva (Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society) No. 32, 2001-2002, pp.166-169... continue.

 On the right side, there is a "Join our mailing list" section with an email input field and a "GO" button. Below that is a "Word of the day" section showing "Jwajalaba" and a "Learn more words" link. There are also sections for "ANA Convention '06" and "Details | View all events" with "View photos" links.

# Book Review: **Newār (Nepāl Bhāshā), Languages of the World Materials 256**

By Dr. Austin Hale and Kedar P. Shrestha  
Published by: Lincom GmbH  
GmunderStr. 35  
D-81379 Muenchen, 2006

Dr. Austin Hale and Kedar P. Shrestha are not new in the study of Newar Language. Dr. Hale appeared in this field with introduction of Conjunct and Disjunct pattern of verb inflection similar to pre established Atma and Para distinction referring to self and non-self variation in native literature. His appearance in his field is genuine and highly appreciative for his detailed study of Newar language that is made available to all including the linguistic circle of Himalayas.

The current volume is one of the most valuable outcome of his long term study of the Newar language. It is one of the greatest updated resources of information in Newar language studies. One of the most striking images I got from this publication is the title 'Newar (Nepal Bhasha)'. Both of these terms hold truth in historical perspectives. Once, it was ill fully labeled 'NEWARI' following the misguided scholars of Brain Hudson and Hans Jorgensen. The term was copied by several foreign and native scholars until the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since then it took a different turn and realized the native speakers' concern on naming of language by foreign scholars. From this respect it is certainly a plausible joint step.

Focusing on the subject matter of the book, it is noticeable that the current volume describes the entire feature of human language available in Newar. There is a difference in writing the grammar of any language by a native speakers and alien scholars. The current volume meets at the juncture of both type of works. Therefore it is one of the most valuable guideline for the study of Newar linguistics. However, as it appears in the translation of the text materials, the co-author does not seem much involved in dissemination of technical features of linguistics rather than orthographical input on his native tongue. From this point of view the current volume lacks the accuracy of translation in terms of semantic and pragmatic meaning of text materials to some extent. The book is based on the

Kathmandu and Patan Dialect (as categorized by Shakya 1992) which is considered the standard and also used in the media. The similar kind of study can be conducted in each and every dialect and sub dialect. The analysis of the text is given in interlinear data base throughout the volume. In order to prepare the current volume, the authors have cited an extensive number of reference in the related field from 1841 to 2005 AD. The book discusses the phonology, morphology and syntactic features available in Newar language. It includes many features such as anti-deictic, pronoun derivatives, intentional action, mutational inflection, head contrast on case marking, group inflection, semantic space, versality, concatenation, affinities, apposition' type of auxiliaries (such as participle link, infinitive linked, and long stem linked), receptive, equative, and descriptive copular clauses, backward spreading, short stem subordination, co-relatives, infinitival and finite subordination etc. Introduction of all these terms certainly inspires the native linguists to dig into more details of syntax and semantic universalities of human language.

Some of the unclear gloss and translation found in the book have been marked here for precise inherent semantic value. The contrastive sets given in 1.2.2 and 1.3.1 need more specific gloss or need to be selected different words with phonetic variation besides the following examples.

*KA, taka, pA: pu. ga: bi, ta. khine, jaye, jwa, jhA:,  
jaye, thaye, phaye, nwaye*

The usage of lateral and taps (page 8) are still sketchy. Since no contrast is available in initial and final position a debate may occur on whether 'rami' is loan to Newar or vice versa. The example of 'lakhe' could be a colloquial form of Sanskrit rakshyaka (guard) instead of rAkshyasa (ogre).

It is also questionable that whether the glides mentioned on the fifth page are breathy (yh) or actual glide (hy). Some examples such as *wa* (s/he), *wa:* (cake) *waha* (silver) who / *hwo* (hole) needs to be verified with more specific sound analysis. Similarly, *yAun* (not heavy) *hyAun* or *yhAun* (red) should be free from native orthographic influence.

The explanation on alternative stem in nouns given in pages 27-32 is much clearer in this volume. This feature is very tricky that causes confusion to the contemporary learners. Without consulting to classical form of the modern words this topic may not be transparent. The word '*mha*' (body) is analyzed in multilinker approach discussed in 2.2.3 with examples 2.4.2.5 and 2.4.2.8. The later one is identified as *anti-dietetic*. To my knowledge it was not discussed anywhere else. The anti-deictic '*mha*' has a plural form '*pin*' based on occurrence and function, but the writers have claimed that the anti-deictic by control has only one single form. It can be reexamined for further clarification. Introduction of /-na/ in 2.2.8 as pronoun derivatives is also mentionable here. It is also possible to find '*-kana*' as a variant that may lead to underlying form. As a native speaker I feel comfortable using the '*pAa*' as an underlying form for inanimate classifier mentioned in 2.3.2.1. Moreover, *swa-kwan* (as by it self) *phu-kwan* (as a whole) *dak-wan* (as existed) *wa-kwan* (as a whole cause of coming) and *wan-kwan* (as a whole cause of going) may need to verify with suffix '*kwe*' in 2.3.3.1. Discussion of mutational form of verb inflection is plausible. The identification of stem final in class 2 verb need further examination rather than based on co-author's personal interpretation. The section on adjectives in 2.5 is very short. Where as the discussion on various types of auxiliary such as participle linked, infinitive linked, long stem linked is worthy to mention here. Previously they were simply examined as multi functional auxiliary verbs and it is obviously creditable how different they are in syntactic structure and semantic relationship. Labeling

of various types of auxiliaries is unmatched invention on complexities of auxiliary verbs in 4.4.

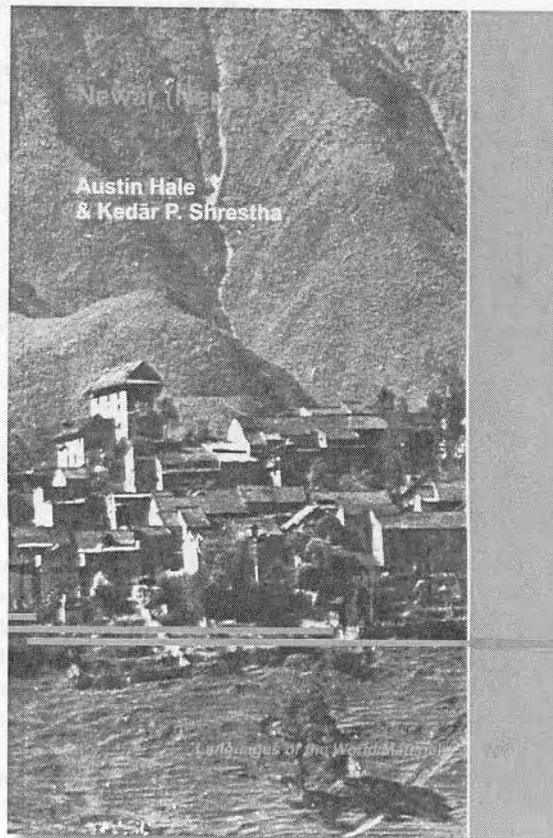
Discussion of versatility in 3.6.2 in reference to the word '*thAe*' (place) is certainly a note worthy to mention here. Previously this type of usage is identified as simple way of presentation similar to English 'there'. Semantic embedding of versatility discussed in the book may lead to another chapter of detail study of narrative discourse. Besides, it also talks about post positional concatenation in addition to verb concatenation available in most TB languages claimed by Delancey (1984), is subject of noteworthy for further study of Newar discourse. In example 4.9 the word '*gapate*' is precisely external but 'throat' may have a sense of internal part. As disputed with KPS, the example 7.4 would be more specific and precise as follows.

*manu nan bazAre dugu myugulin wa misAn kApanyAe phata.*

In translation, a cause of being able to buy clothes is buying of goat by others whereas in the text the cause is not reflected. It seems like a transcribing error.

Discussion of clause combining device in chapter 7 and topicality in 8 also throw light on discourse analysis. Identification of '*dhAsA*' as land mark topicality is noteworthy.

In sum, the book is undoubtedly an extensive study of Newar linguistics. It is certainly an excellent guide line for further study of Newar syntax and semantics. The chapters on phonology and morphology could be Newar specific features but the features of syntactic construction may need to deal with influence of the dominating language or the aerial or regional attributes that leads to unfold another whole chapter in study of Newar linguistics.



## Book Review:

# Caturmāsa Celebration of Death

**Writer: A W Van den Hoek**

**Editors: J.C. Heesterman, Bal Gopal, Shrestha,  
Han F. Vermeulen and Sjoerd M. Zanen**

**Published by: CNWS Publications Leiden , The Netherlands, 2004**

## Table of Content:

Kathmandu as a sacrificial arena  
Ritual cycle of Kathmandu  
Gatham mugah: Expulsion of demons,  
Gai Yatra: the day of entry to heaven,  
Indra Yatra: the captive king of the gods,  
The start of Dashain: Pachali Bhairav Yatra,  
The dying gods: the divine dances of Gathu  
The conclusion of dashain: sacrifice and Sword  
procession  
Tihar: the turn of the ritual year.

The book itself is out spoken about four months long period of festivals. Beginning on *hari sayani ekadai* and ending on *hari bodhini ekadasi* ( 11th day of bright half of the month of Dilla in June/July and 11<sup>th</sup> day of the bright half of *Kachala* in Oct/ November is traditionally called the Chaturmās in Newar cultural heritage more specifically it is the core festival time in Nepal Mandala. Before or after these festivals no other specific and significant occasion is observable. 'Caturmās' is the mirror of Nepal Mandala inhabitants the Newars. Therefore the focus on title Caturmās is very relevant and significant in context of Newar culture I have heard from many Newar personals that the chaturmās is already started auspicious occasion of getting married is not possible easily, What it means here is that during these four months people freely do not organize *lasata* activities but dedicate to devotional one. So festival of death period is not so auspicious. The secondary title of the book is the 'celebration of death'. When a death occurs certainly it is not a joyful moment the book discusses the four month festivals from *Gathamuga* to *Tihar*. It is certainly mixed matched information in the current context of Newar heritage. No Newar community celebrates *Tihar* instead of *Swonti*. From this perspective the book has limitation on choice of words and adopted common terms that was taught during Panchayat period.

During this period a massive suppression from govt. and system was active hence the ethnic awareness was marginalized by calling every thing Nepali and the writer was also influenced with this suppressive opinion gathered from native people. The editors should have filtered these influences and make the book core cultural exposition. Use of *Gaijatra*, *Indra Jatra*, *Dashain* and *Tihar* certainly do not reveal the core subject of Caturmās tradition. Instead *Sayah*, *Yen yah*, *Mohani* and *Swonti* are the appropriate terminology to discuss by keeping the core culture free from diluted with khas tradition.

## PRESS RELEASE

Official Book Presentation at the Research School CNWS, University of Leiden, The Netherlands

On 18th of January 2005 at 17:00-17:30 (Nepal Samvat 9 Pohela 1125 and Vikram Samvat 5 Magha 2061 at 21:45-22:15 Nepal time) the Research School CNWS, University of Leiden has presented an important book by the late A.W. (Bert) van den Hoek in Leiden.

The book's title is Caturmāsa: Celebrations of Death in Kathmandu, Nepal (Leiden 2004). It is an anthropological study of religious festivals in Kathmandu by the late Bert van den Hoek (1951-2001), a Leiden based anthropologist and indologist having twenty years of research experience in South Asia, who was affiliated to CNAS at Tribhuvan University, Nepal until his sudden departure from the present world. On 1 December 2001, Bert van den Hoek passed away in Mumbai (Bombay), India after a tragic accident.

On 18 January 2005, the program began with a short welcome speech by the director of the CNWS, professor Barend te Haar. Professor J.C. Heesterman, one of the editors presented first copies of the book to Professor Dirk

Kolff, former director of the CNWS, and to Mrs. R. Kamps, mother of the deceased. Professors Heesterman and Kolff also highlighted the significance of the book. This festive occasion took place in the presence of professors and teachers of the CNWS, the Kern Institute, many colleagues and friends, including distinguished guests such as the Consul General of Nepal, Cas de Stoppelaar. In his written message, His Excellency Ambassador of Nepal to the Netherlands and Belgium, Narayan Samsher Thapa expressed that 'the event will remain important for the promotion of the culture of Nepal in this part of the world'.

This book presents an in-depth view and analysis of the religious festivals celebrated in Kathmandu during the four months (Caturmāsa) period of the year. The book is based on long-term fieldwork and presents an inside-view how religion works in a society where several castes must cooperate, and where both Buddhist and Hindu rituals are practiced in order to cope with death. The book focuses on the relation between religion and political power in Nepal and deals with Kathmandu as a sacrificial arena. Its central themes are death as the ultimate sacrifice, and the eminent role of kingship in a ritual

context.

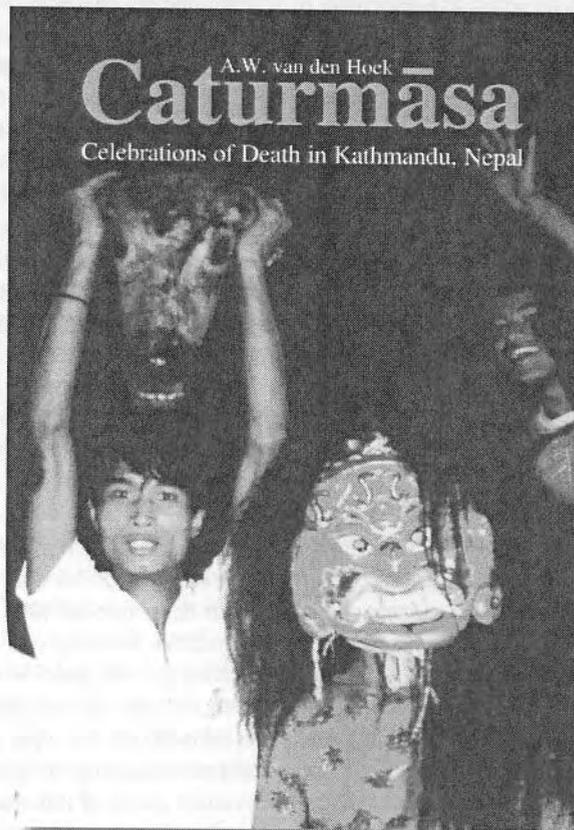
The book represents an important contribution to the study of South Asian rituals. Caturmāsa: Celebrations of Death in Kathmandu, Nepal is of interest to students of cultural anthropology and of South Asian, particularly Nepalese culture, society and ritual.

Details of the book:

A.W. van den Hoek, Caturmāsa: Celebrations of Death in Kathmandu, Nepal. Edited by J.C. Heesterman, Bal Gopal Shrestha, Han F. Vermeulen and Sjoerd M. Zanen. Leiden: Research school CNWS (CNWS Publications Vol. 133), 2004. xiv + 188 pp., 25 ills., maps, diagram, glossary, index. ISBN 90-5789-098-4. Price € 20.

Orders can be placed at: CNWS Publications, e-mail: [cnws@let.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:cnws@let.leidenuniv.nl)

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# Introducing an Unusual Book in Nepal Bhasha (Oral tradition of Newar Buddhism)

**Upadesh Sangrah**

**Told By: Heera Maya Vajracharya**

**Written and Published By:**

**Sthabir Jog Ratna Shakya, Kathmandu**

Guruma Heera Maya Vajracharya is one of the most influential teachers in my life and I hold a humble and profound respect for her. I can still remember meeting her for the first time how I immediately felt her divine presence deep within myself. It was her motivation that gave me so much success in my own life. Because of her profound wisdom and inspiration, it became a daily routine to pay her a visit. In fact, if I happen to miss a day, we both started experiencing a sense of longing and lacking in our daily routine. Therefore, I set a time to visit her on a daily basis for several years.

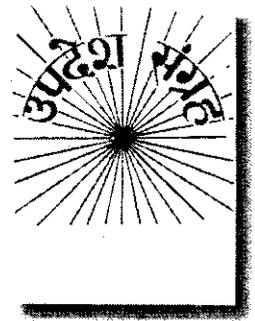
During this period of visit, she encouraged me to make more use of our time together. She challenged me have an inquisitive mind beyond talking about unnecessary worldly desire. She wanted me to be more thoughtful and to think deeper for more valuable question. She, in return, promised to answer my question by calling upon her intuitional knowledge gained from praying to almighty goddess.

At that moment, my limited knowledge left me speechless. I did not know which question to ask during an invaluable sermon. She recognized my discomfort and told me first to start by learning about *Karma Lekha* or existence of all living and non-living beings, and their usefulness in human society. With this foresight, her lessons began with origin of the universe including each and every items used in our daily lives that were within the range of my vocabulary. While delivering these sermons, other people also started to take deep interest in her teachings and they too started to visit her on a daily basis. At that time, modern recording technology was not available and so I wrote to take traditional notes and then sometimes I would write them up at home as I remembered. She made it mandatory

for her audience to be vocal and therefore, an incompleteness of this is merely due to lack of my vocabulary and knowledge. Although I am regretful now, I ask myself who is going to give us lessons on undocumented subjects?

At the beginning, I must admit that it was very boring to take notes on each and every items discussed. But as time passed by, my interest blossomed along with my attention and I found importance in each subject. To believe whether or not that every state of being is result of Karmic cycle is a matter of personal interpretation. It is also personal to accept any facts to be believable and to be disregard due to its lack of credibility. Because there is some degree of truth on unbelievable facts too, it is unfair to claim her teaching is baseless and truth less even if some of the incidents matches with ones own life style.

After the sudden demise of the King Mahendra in 2028 BS, King Birendra took over the sovereignty of Nepal. With deep interest and success of his ruling, Guruma prayed for his long life and stability in the country by delivering the auspicious teaching to her disciples. First, she prayed for goodwill to all living beings and mentioned that we wish no living beings should be left out from attaining enlightenment from this teaching, is the main focus of this teaching. Knowing the facts and feature of each (existential) Jataka element in which it is our duty to use that element in appropriate field. As a result, we receive the gift of that element. She assured to all the attendants that we must follow the rule of nature and protect our lives by utilizing all the Jataka



elements in proper way and respect their existence. It is good not to waste any living substance in improper way. If an element is not good for health, it is simply due to its karmic nature. We must accept this fact and utilize them in association with other good elements rather than neglecting and destroying them. By doing this we can improve our lives and ultimately we attain the path of peace in mind and make it easy to approach the way of Nirvana. This is the main focus of this book.

In some cases, she explains her teaching through short stories accompanied by a description. I consider this methodology of teaching to be one of her great intellectual ability in presenting the sermons. If I had not painstakingly written down in pieces of papers, I would not be able to present it in the form of the book. I feel very fortunate to have the opportunity to write her sermons for all of you. One of the reasons why this was not published, even after ten years of her death anniversary, was solely due to disarrangement of notes and lack of my own knowledge on documentation procedure. This lacking caused me lots of hassle in putting together in serial organization. After compiling all the notes into one large volume of hand written book, I presented this *dibya vani* to well-known Pundits such as Late Dharma Nanda Vajracharya, Late Amogha Bajra Vajracharya, Purna Harsha Vajracharya, and Satwa Tara Vajracharya. All of them have read the book thoroughly and compared the content with other *purans* and *thya saphus*. Then it was also read out to her disciples including Swayambhu Sikhrakar, Panchabir Singh Tuladhar, Nani Mayeju and Jagatdevi. Then in request of many other disciples who missed the occasion at her residence, I summoned once again in my house for four months. During these occasions many of attendants have made a special request to make compilation available to many more. Therefore, it is published in the form of this book. At that time even though request was made, a sufficient financial support was not available. Therefore it was published only in lithographed form. Even though the Guruma had begun to deliver this sermon ten years ago in 2027 BS, I was rushing to complete it for public in time for the 12<sup>th</sup> year festival of the Vajrayogini shrine in Pharping. I am fully responsible for delay in bringing this book out.

It was very unfortunate that the book did not come out during her lifetime. After the completion of teachings, Gurma asked me if there was anything else that I wanted to know. I was once again speechless and could

not remember any other subject that I did not touch. It was very noticeable that she took long breathe of satisfaction and she did what she was supposed to do in her life. As a blessing from her, I was chosen to the position of 5th Thaepra (Sthavir) of the Kesh Chandra Maha Vihar (Itum Baha) and secured my place in the Sacred Agam of my own lineage Vihar. Finally, she took her last breathe on 2031, Phalgun 21. The living legendary person passed away with fulfillment of Nirvana. The sudden demise of Guruma stunned all her disciples who were left speechless and fear for further guidance. I also went through lots of hassle in my life. My beloved wife was also tremendously shocked and she could not bear to see her absence. Finally, she left me with six precious children in difference of less than six months. In such a way I gained some knowledge but on the other hand my composite *Prajnopaya* was broken. I consider it as the result of my Karmic resemblance.

Even until all the typing work was done the book was not named. I was simply referring it as Jatak Mala but since it is solely based on her teachings I thought of naming it as collection of her teaching hence I called it the "Upadesh Sangrah".

The book contains the following 27 chapters and various Topics:

1. Namaskar and Vandana (Salutation to Divine Beings)
2. Shristi Jnaana (Evolution of the the world)
3. Pyangu yoni prani utpati wa sthabar prani (Evolution of four types of beings and vegetation)
4. Kita Patang prani (Insects)
5. Andaja prani ( the beings born from eggs)
6. Jarayuja praani (The animals)
7. Jaraayuja Jantu Janawar (Wild animals)
8. Puspala Mala ( Flower world)
9. Phalataa (fruit world)
10. Masala pwa (Nuts)
11. Anna Buuba (Beans and grains)
12. Paka Masala Spices (Spices)
13. Sag Sabji( Green Vegetables)
14. Sthabar Jharpaat ( Plant beings)
15. Kalpa Vrikshya Sthabar (holy plants)
16. Khat Gati praani (six Type of beings)
17. Sumeru Mandala Dwipa upadwipa (Celestial region and arena)
18. Bhumandala yaa pyemha Juju (Four Devine Kings of Earth)
19. Bichitra Dhanga yaa praani (Unusual Beings)
20. Lakshyan Ukta Pyapu Kathi (Four Holy sticks)
21. Naag Raja (The Serpent beings)
22. Asta Ratna Jnaana (Eight Noble Gems)
23. Punyaatma Jnaana (Welfare souls)
24. Griha Laxmi Shiil Sobhawa (Lyaajyaa)
25. Kosha yaa khan ( story of Dowry)
26. Durgati Mochan yaa khan
27. Manju Shree Mahatmya

# Miscellaneous Materials

## **Newah Organization of America (NOA)**

**NOA Press Release:**

**Nepal Sambat 1128 Thinlathwo Khasthi**

**Dated Dec. 13, 2007**

Newah Organization of America (NOA) celebrated 1128 year of Nepal Sambat this Dec 9, 2007 here in the Metropolitan Washington to highlight the significance of the indigenous Era of Nepal as the true Sambat of Nepal. Cross-section of the local Nepalese community was present at this event some 120 individuals and supporters. Master of the ceremony, Mrs. Babita Shrestha, asked the Chief Guest Mr. Kali P. Pokharel, counselor of the Embassy of Nepal, to inaugurate the program by lighting the traditional "Twaadewaa". Welcoming the participants Mr. Tribhuvan R. Tuladhar, President of Newah Organization of America (NOA) said that Nepal Sambat is the era borne in our homeland Nepal, and recently Prime Minister of Nepal Mr. Girija P. Koirala had said that "Nepal Sambat belongs to all Nepalese, and he would include the datum in the official letter pad of the office of the Prime Minister of Nepal for all correspondences". Mr. Tuladhar said that this commendable action must be followed by all Ministries, Government departments and institutions of Nepal, and asked the Embassy of Nepal here in the US to follow the same. He called on all media to include the Nepal Sambat datum in all their transmissions in a voluntary manner which will set the right set of examples for the entire Nepalese people to follow. He said despite broad understanding of this issue, substantial opposition still remains that need to be removed. Mr. Tuladhar also said that Nepal Sambat is our Common Heritage for all Nepalese that will unite us in building a NEW NEPAL. President of NPPA Mrs. Meera Shrestha, President of ANS Mr. Prem Sangraula & Coordinator of ANWA, Mrs. Madhavi Karki spoke at the occasion with new years Greetings on the occasion of Nepal Sambat 1128. Chief Guest Mr. Kali P. Pokharel spoke on the occasion and highlighted the contribution of

Nepal Sambat. Vote of thanks was delivered by Mr. Eros Tuladhar to all participants and contributing individuals and well-wishers for their continuing support.

Next session of the day's program highlighting the Nepal Sambat and speakers spoke eloquently about the significance, history and importance of Nepal Sambat. Mr. Beda Pradhan, past President of NOA, spoke about the significance of Nepal Sambat, its long history of 1128 of continuing use in Nepal. He said that it is the longest running and used Sambat in Nepal for all purpose of cultural and traditional celebrations or events in every community in Nepal. Only the ruling class has adopted an era that is brought from India and uses them in the government. Mr. Hariman Shrestha, General Secretary of NOA, dug deep into the history and legend of Nepal Sambat and its origination, and said that it is the most appropriate era to adopt for the New and Emerging Nepal at the time when we are coming out of a suppression of a feudalistic society into a free and democratic one which Nepal Sambat as an Era so well exemplifies. He said that people will realize this and understand it more and will adopt Nepal Sambat with pride for its uniqueness and authenticity. Dr. Maheshor Vaidya, Md. an ardent social activist of the community deciphered the various Eras in use in Nepal and established the true role of Nepal Sambat in the history of Nepal. He said that Bikram Sambat actually has no relevance to any part of history of Nepal whatsoever, and was introduced by Chandra Sumsher Rana of the past Rana regime for personal selfish gains and so it has to be taken out completely. Mr. Ishwar Rajbhandari, director of NOALC (NOA Language Center) teaching Nepal Bhasa to the kids of the Newar Community here in the Metropolitan area reiterated that parents must teach their mother language to their kids and the new generation to keep culture and tradition alive. He said that the right name for the mother tongue is Nepal Bhasa. The conquering rulers of the past changed the name of Nepal Bhasa to Newari and calling their Khas language - Nepali, as the state language. For the last four years the classes has been going on and development in children's language capability has been improving along with singing Newah songs. He asked parents to bring in their kids to the classes. Mr. Rajesh Shrestha, Prime

promoter of NEPALFEST '07 a unit of NOA promoting Nepalese Music and Artists in the US which has number of successful musical events recently, thanked all those who helped and assisted in making the programs successful. He said he missed the opportunity to do so at the events.

Power point presentation of recent events on Nepal Sambat around the world was sent by Mr. Daya Shakya, VP of NOA, and NOA Chapter in Oregon was presented and a 25 minute long tele-film "Sankhadhar" was presented for the audience.

An the concert and songs section Mr. Shyam Shahi presented an authentic and captivating Manjushri dance with a tradition Newah dance by Anuja Tuladhar, singer like Rajesh Shrestha, Biswamber Shrestha captivated the audience with Love songs. Most of all lyrical and melodious songs of Mr. Dinesh Bhandari stole the hearts of the audience for quiet some time. Participants enjoyed the traditional Samay Bajee and "Swadishta" Momocha – a taste of tradition Newah cuisines. NOA thanks all those who took time to participate in the celebration and thanks all volunteers and contributors for the event.

NOA thanks all media present and their help in getting the news across, namely, Sagarmatha TV, NepalHorizons.com, Radio Dovaan, Bishwa-Parikrama, Bishwa-Sandesh, Nepalipost, DC Nepal and all others.

LET'S CELEBRATE NEPAL NEW YEAR - NEPAL SAMBAT 1129 next year together! NHU DAN YA BHINTUNA! NOVOBARSHA-KO-SHUVAKAMANA! HAPPY NEW YEAR NOA will be organizing its Annual Convention and General Meeting this coming May 25, 2008 during the memorial day Holidays. All are requested to join in and actively participate in it programming and events. NOA chapters were established in California, Mariland, and Oregon. For other news about NOA activities please visit [www.newah.org](http://www.newah.org).

## Preserving and Promoting Newah Heritage

### Nepalipost Report

Washington DC, May 31, 2007

A cross-section of the Nepalese community in the U.S and their guests from Nepal participated in the sixth annual convention and general meeting of the Newah

Organization of America (NOA) on May 26, 2007 in Maryland.

Breaking from tradition, the convention was inaugurated by a representative of the Nepalese embassy, First Secretary Harish Chandra Ghimire. The traditional *Twadewa* was lit and puja to Lord Ganesh was performed.



NOA Organized Gala

Welcoming all guests, heads of organizations, and participants, NOA President Tribhuvan Tuladhar thanked all the dedicated people for their invaluable help and

support. He called upon the government of Nepal to fulfill the pronouncement made last year by Prime Minister of Nepal Girija Prasad Koirala to officially establish Nepal Sambat as the national calendar and called on the entire Nepalese community here in the US to join hands with NOA to celebrate Nepal Sambat 1128 as the true Nepali new year. He reiterated that Nepal is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-lingual country, the diversity of which is unique. Mr Tuladhar urged all the community members to keep supporting the organization as they have done before in order to grow and develop it into a strong and relevant organization.

At the NOA general meeting session, General Secretary Hariman Shrestha presented the NOA annual report for 2006-07. He called upon the Newah community to give their feedback and suggestions to make the organization more responsive to the needs of the community. NOA Treasurer Mr. Balamram Joshi presented the organizations annual financial report.

Speaking from the podium, NOA President Meera Shrestha called on the organization to work together to achieve common goals. Ms. Bishnu Thapa of ANWA indicated that we are all Nepalis first and should be able to work together to promote our culture and arts. Mr. Netra Ghising of ANS also spoke at the occasion. Likewise, Dr. Sumitra Manandhar Gurung and Dr. Krishna Bhattachan from Nepal spoke about the Newah culture at length and the audience was captivated by their discussions.

At a talk program titled "Newah Culture and People-where we are," panelists Dibya R Hada, Dr. Roshan Shrestha, Dr. Sumitra Manandhar Gurung and Dr. Krishna Bhattachan spoke in length about the issues of the Newah ethnicity and traditional values and the Newah peoples

way of life through the ages.

This year, NOA introduced the "Song & Music Contest" and some 15 new emerging performers threw their hats in the ring. The "Emerging Star Award" went to Zizbia Shrestha, a talented 13 year-old who wowed the crowd with a great dance performance. The "Best Performance Award" went to the Newah class group who sang a Newah song, followed by the "Favorite Song Award" going to the local upcoming group, the "Mirage Band".

Well known artists like Srijan Tamrakar "OKELY", Sandeep Pradhan and the "Angles band" also entertained the audience to their delight. The Event concluded with the traditional Newah Bhoys as usual.



cuisine buffet. The program ended with presentation of charya spiritual dance by Helen Appel and her friends along with a Dhimay dance by Prajwal Bajracharya.

The Portland Chapter of Newah Organization of America (NOA) was formed in 2006 in collaboration with local Newah community. The main objectives were to bring awareness on Newah cultural heritage of Nepal in the leadership of Prajwal Bajracharya, along

with Dr. Rabin Man Shakya, Ekamananda Bajracharya, Pradeep Bajracharya, Sunil Tamrakar, Pramod Karanjit, Surendra Shakya, Diwakar Maharjan and Rajesh Maharjan.

## **Newah Cultural Heritage Program Portland, Oregon, June 3rd, 2007**

On Sunday, June 3rd, 2007, Dance Mandala and Portland chapter of NOA (Washington DC-based Newah Organization of America) jointly organized an evening program on 'the Newah way of Life' in Portland, Oregon. The program began with a slide show and a presentation by NOA vice president and prominent Nepalese language teacher and linguist, Mr. Daya Shakya, on the topic 'Divine and Sacred Sites as Source of Security and Safety in Nepal Mandala'. He emphasized the importance the Newar culture on issues of safety and security in spiritual aspect. Following Mr. Shakya, a graduate student of ethnic musicology at Washington University, Mr. Brent Bianchi, did a presentation along with a demonstration of various types of Newah drums and instruments. These musical instruments included Khin, Dhaah, Dabada, Bhushyaa and Tinchhu. Along with Brent, Mr. Suva Shakya, a graduate student from Oregon State University, shared his experience of participating in the Gunla festival in Kathmandu, Nepal by including a demonstration of the Newah drum, 'Dhaah'. The final presentation was a lecture by a prominent master dancer, Mr. Prajwal Bajracharya, on how the teachings of Dance Mandala combine the importance of dance and its relationship with gesture and mental aspect. Several people from the Newah community attended the evening gala along with their American friends. On the occasion, cultural and religious artifacts that included clothing, ritual items, idols and books, were on display. For the program, the Newah families of Portland also prepared a sumptuous Newah

## **Mha Puja in Portland November 2007**

For the occasion of Nepal Sambat 1128 acknowledged last November, the traditional Newar ritual, Mha Puja, was performed at Dance Mandal in Portland, Oregon. The ritual for purification for the coming year was officiated by Newar priest and president of the Oregon chapter of the NOA, Prajwal Ratna Vajracharya. Shri Vajracharya was joined by a group of Westerners, some new to the Newar tradition. Each participant had a mandala at their seat made of soybeans, puffed rice, and other grains and beans with a goza [a stupa representation made of flour] in the center. The main mandala at each place represented the participant's body, speech, and mind. Brass plates held the representations of the five elements; rice and fruit for earth, water contained in a copper cup, wicks for fire, flowers for air, and incense for space. There were also other offerings for purifying the 5 elements of one's own body mandala. Shri Vajracharya chanted from the Sanskrit text and guided the participants in English to engage in their own purification process while he explained the significance and meaning. For the end of the ritual egg, fish, and wine [khayn sagan] were shared.

After the ritual, a festive Nepalese dinner was served to the attendees and for Newar guests. The evening was a beautiful example of how these two distinct cultures of East and West can integrate, as well as appreciate and benefit each other.

## **Nepa Pasa Pucha Amerikaye**

## **(NPPA)**

**PRESS RELEASE: Sunday, November 25, 2007**

On Saturday, November 17, 2007, the 16<sup>th</sup> Annual NPPA meeting was held coinciding with the celebration of Nepal New Year Sambat 1128 at Shady Grove Middle School, Gaithersburg, Maryland. This year's theme was "Culture & Diplomacy." During the annual meeting, the yearly issue of NPPA's DABU publication was launched and distributed.

The event began with "GANESH POOJA" followed by a traditional Newah SAMAY BAJI. Master of the Ceremony Ms. Sharmila Uprety welcomed the guests and participants to the celebration and requested the chief guest His Excellency Dr. Suresh C. Chalise, Ambassador of Embassy of Nepal to inaugurate the event by lighting the traditional TWADEWA (oil lamp stand). His Excellency Ambassador, in his speech, praised NPPA and other Nepalese community residing abroad for their continued efforts in promotion and preservation of Newah and Nepalese culture and encouraged building a Nepal Center.

Mrs. Meera Shrestha, President of NPPA, gave a welcome speech and highlighted the Nepal Sambat, the progress NPPA has made in promoting Newah culture, the support it has received from its fellow friends, and the importance of media and Internet to educate and motivate the new generation. She also promoted the idea of creating a network of Newah organizations in the United States and other parts of the world. She also highlighted the current activities of NPPA, particularly the upcoming concert of Indian Idol III - Prashant Tamang Live-in-Concert to be held in collaboration with Vishwa Sandesh on December 1, 2007 at Oakton High School in Virginia.

The invited distinguished guests at Bhintuna included Honorable Mrs. Sharada Shrestha, judge of Supreme Court of Nepal, and Honorable Laxmi Das Manandhar, Member of Parliament and chief guest His Excellency Ambassador Dr. Suresh C. Chalise.

The invited heads of Organizations included Mr. Tribhuvan Tuladhar, President of Newah Organization of America (NOA), Mr. Prem Sangruala, President of America Nepal Society (ANS), Dr. Bidya Ranjeet, President of Nepali Women Global Network (NWGN), Dr. Narayan Rajbhandari, Former President of Nepalese Association in Southeast America (NASeA), Dr. Tulsi Maharjan, President of Friends of Nepal (FON-New Jersey), Mrs. Madhavi Karki, Coordinator of America Nepal Women's Association (ANWA) in DC and Mr. Ram C. Kharel, NRN Media coordinator of North America.

The program started out with the Honorable Laxmi Das Manandhar speaking about the importance of understanding historical evolution of Newah culture and Nepal Sambat. This was followed by the Honorable Mrs. Sharada Shrestha delivering the keynote speech of Newah culture. Mr. Sugandha Tamrakar, Treasurer of NPPA, next presented the NPPA financial report. Mr. Laxman Pradhan, Vice President of NPPA, then gave concluding remarks and expressed sincere thanks and gratitude to all of the participants and dedicated members who made the celebration a great success. He emphasized that active participation as well as working as a team is critical for the success of any organizations.

Dr. Devendra Amatya moderated a forum on "Culture and Diplomacy" in which the panelists Jackie Young and Tony Prebula presented their discussion. Jackie is a volunteer with Green-Tara Foundation and Tony is a University of Maryland student with the CISV program. Dr. Amatya also moderated a session on "NRN issues and The Transfer of Technology". Dr. Shyam Karki, an invited speaker, updated about the current status on Non-Resident Nepali (NRN) issues based on the recent NRN Convention in Kathmandu, Nepal. Another invited speaker, Dr. Narayan Rajbhandari, presented ideas on culture and technology transfer. Mrs. Sheila Shrestha organized the Youth Activity forum.

The participants were then entertained by a lively and thrilling cultural program with Newah and Nepali music, songs, and dances including the vibrant and entertaining music by famous Nepalese artists Aanupama Prasai, Shrijan Tamrakar, Yaman Shrestha, Sanjeep Pradhan, and Shyam Khadki.

The DC Nepali School team sang the welcome song "Upahar tho Matina ya Bintuna". Other talented artists, Sarana Shrestha, Manish Pokharel, Nabin Shrestha, Manaswi Sangraula, Aakriti Khanal, Rajesh Shrestha, and Rosi Joshi (from Minnesota) performed various popular Newah and Nepali songs and dances. Mrs. Saroj Prajapati and Mr. Ravi Lamichhane successfully moderated the cultural program.

NPPA President, Meera Shrestha recognized life members Mr. Raju Shrestha and Mr. Pancha Shrestha for their outstanding services to NPPA and also recognized new life members.

The election committee chairman and the former NPPA president Dr. Devendra Amatya announced Mrs. Meera Shrestha as re-elected President, Mr. Laxman Pradhan and Mr. Bijaya Shrestha as first and second re-elected Vice Presidents respectively, and Mrs. Magan Shrestha

as Treasurer of the newly elected NPPA executive committee for the 2007-09 term and congratulated them all. Dr. Devendra Amatya announced that Mr. Shankar Ram Shrestha would continue as General Secretary until a new one is nominated and thanked all outgoing executive members for their hard work and dedication to the NPPA in their tenure.

President Mrs. Meera Shrestha delivered an acceptance speech thanking all members for the trust and confidence they have bestowed upon the new executive committee and her commitment to move NPPA toward its goals and mission. She then finished by awarding certificates of appreciation to the outgoing executive committee members Mr. Shankar Ram Shrestha (General Secretary) and Mr. Sugandha Tamrakar (Treasurer) for their outstanding services to NPPA.

About 350 members participated in this Nepal Sambat (year) 1128 and Bhintuna celebration. Special feature of the day was a traditional Newah "BHOYE" (feast). NPPA volunteers served the sitting guests with a variety of typical Newah dishes traditionally used in BHOYE. The Newah "Samay Baji" and the "BHOYE" was catered by Himalayan House restaurant from Baltimore, Maryland. Also bringing the event to a close, were some raffles and door prizes.

Sagarmatha TV, [www.NepalHorizons.com](http://www.NepalHorizons.com) and various media and other representatives were present in this celebration. This marked the sixteenth-year that the NPPA has successfully held a Nepal Sambat 1128 (Mha Puja Bhintuna) celebration coinciding with its annual meeting.

The NPPA, established in 1991, is a Newah organization based in the metropolitan Washington, DC. Its primary mission is the preservation and promotion of Newah cultural heritage, traditions, and customs in the USA.

For more information please contact Mrs. Meera Shrestha ([shrem002@yahoo.com](mailto:shrem002@yahoo.com)) or visit [www.nppa-usa.org](http://www.nppa-usa.org).

## **Newa Dey Daboo Japan Organizes Talk Program on Newah Society and Nepal Bhasa**

**June 6, 2004**

**Speaker: Dr. David Gellner**

On June 6th 2004, Sunday, a talk program on Newa Society and Nepal Bhasa was held at Jingumae Ondenku Kaikan, Harajuku in Tokyo. This talk program was the

first activity of Newa Dey Dabu, Japan. The speaker of the program was Dr. David Gellner who is an anthropologist and a professor of Oxford University. He is currently in Japan as a visiting professor of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. He spoke on the title "Bhasa mwasa jati mwai (If language is kept alive, the community speaking that language will also be alive)".

Dr. David Gellner said, "Only Nepal is preserving old Buddhism." He commented on the custom developing among the newas, which encourages young generation of Newas to speak Nepali language rather than Nepal Bhasa. Because they fear that their children would not be able to speak good Nepali Language. This tendency of using Nepali Language at home while talking with children has decreased the number of Nepal Bhasa speakers. He had pointed out on this matter that Newas, themselves should be aware of it and should try to preserve their language. He said that in the present context, children could learn Nepali Language at school and from other media. So, it is not necessary to speak Nepali Language at home. Instead they should put a tradition of speaking Nepal Bhasa at home. Further more, he added that he was impressed with the Newas custom of not putting *Phuli* (nose pierce).

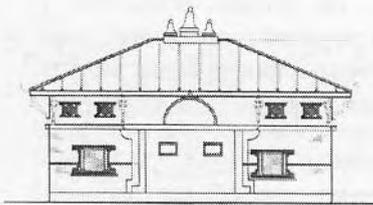
Dr. Gellner gave his speech in Nepal Bhasa. At the end of his speech, a discussion session was held. Dr. Dinesh Manandhar conducted this session. Both Newas and Japanese audiences participated in the discussion session enthusiastically asking several questions regarding Nepal Bhasa and Newah culture.

At the beginning of the program, secretary, Subarna Lata Tuladhar of Newa Dey Dabu, Japan introduced the motives of Newa Dey Dabu. She also gave an introduction of Dr. David Gellner. After that, treasurer, Suwarn Vajracharya gave an opening remark. He talked on the importance of speaking Nepal Bhasa among Newah community. Mr. Madhav N. Manandhar, president of Newa Dey Dabu, Japan, has chaired the program. A book "Nepal Bhasa Chhapala (Nepal Bhasa Step-1)" written by Mr. Suwarn Vajracharya was inaugurated (Bimochan gariyo) by the president. The book is published under the Newa Dey Dabu, Japan. Then Mr. President presented one copy of this book to Dr. David Gellner. Dr. David Geller was honored by handing a Letter of Appreciation. The whole program was conducted in Nepal Bhasa. The work of Master of ceremony was done by Subarna Lata Tuladhar and all the program was translated into Japanese by Shovana Bajracharya.

The program went smoothly despite of rainy day. There were about 50 audiences (Newah, Japanese and other foreigners). After the talk program, a reception was done at a Japanese Restaurant.

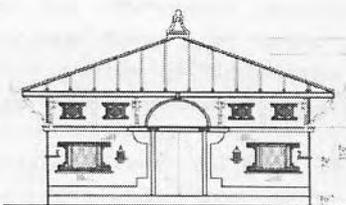
# NEWAR BUDDHIST VIHAR

A SHRINE TO BE BUILT  
IN PORTLAND, OREGON



OPT EAST ELEVATION  
SCALE: 1/4"

**FRONT VIEW**



OPT EAST ELEVATION  
SCALE: 1/4"

**SIDE VIEW**



*Prajwal and Dance Mandal are in the planning phase of construction of a small Nepalese/Newar temple in the courtyard of our new location.*

THE NEWAR BUDDHIST TRADITION, distinct in its rich sacred arts and architectural traditions, is grounded in experiential practice and esoteric Vajrayana ritual and yet is accessible to all through its emphasis on the energies and interactions of the five elements. It is the last living current of Sanskrit Buddhism still actively practiced in Asia today. Long hidden from those outside the tradition due to the secrecy surrounding Vajrayana practice, it has only recently come to scholarly attention and public view.

PRAJWAL VAJRACHARYA has devoted his life to the fulfillment of his father's vision of bringing Newar Buddhism and especially Newar temple dance out to the world so that many may benefit from observing and

practicing this wondrously beautiful and transformative tradition. Establishing a Newar temple in the West will be a major step forward in the preservation, expansion and exploration of Newar Buddhist art and dance, meditation and ritual, while welcoming other traditions of sacred art and practice to share the space.

We will give updates on the progress of the temple, now only in the planning stages. DONATIONS of any kind – helping hands, finances, resources, etc. will be gratefully accepted to support the building of this small temple.

THANK YOU! We appreciate your interest and hope to see you at the new space!

Please Contact Us  
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source: dancemandal.com

# Existence of Nepal Mandala

वज्र तयाः सर्कसितं पूजाभः धीके । गुदं गं धानाः संकल्प वाक्यं व्वने ।

ओं अद्य श्रीमत् श्रीशाक्यसिंहतथागतस्य बुद्धक्षत्रे भद्रकल्पे वैश्वतमन्वन्तेर हिमवत्पर्वत दक्षिणपार्श्वे सत्यत्रेताद्वापरान्ते कलियुगस्य प्रथमचरणे जम्बुद्वीपे वासुकीक्षेत्रे आर्यावर्तपुण्यभूमौ नेपालदेशे वाग्मत्याः दक्षिण भागे मणिरौहिण्याः पश्चिमभागे प्रभावत्याः उत्तरकोणे केशावत्याः पूर्वकोणे गोपुच्छगिरिवरे सुदुर्जयाभूमिभागे उपच्छन्दोहपीठे श्री हेरुकविरुपाक्ष खगाननाधिवासिते अनेक देवालयास्थाने श्रीस्वयम्भूचैत्य धर्मधातुवागीश्वरसन्निधाने ॥ अष्टमासानामद्येह षष्टिसम्बत्सराणां मध्ये अमुक नाम सम्बत्सरे श्रीसूर्यदक्षिणायणे । उत्तरायणे अमुक ऋतौ अमुक मासे शुक्लपक्षे । कृष्णपक्षे अमुक पुण्यतिथौ अमुक नक्षत्रे अमुक योगे अमुक कर्णामुहूर्ते अमुक वारसरे अमुक राशौगते भास्करे अमुक राशौगते चन्द्रमसि दानपतिर्यजमान भूमण्डलान्तर्गते नेपाल मण्डले अमुक महानगरे । ग्रामे अमुक टोले विहारेऽवस्थित कुलोत्पन्न श्री.....प्रभृति प्रमुखानां यजमानस्य सकल परिवाराणां रक्षाउद्धारकामनार्थे (अथ वाक्य कायेवले धाय स्वयाः कायेगु खः । गयेकि स्वयम्भुद् जूसा स्वयम्भू महाचैत्य दृश्याके माल । अथे तुं जनवहाः, श्रीघः विहार व मेमेधायया करुणामये आदि नृत्यायाय जूसां अन अन यागु हे खं स्वाके माल) अस्मिन् दिने श्री श्री अद्योभ्यः तथागत अवलोकितेश्वरादि आर्यतारादेव्याश्चरणे सप्तविधानुत्तर पूजा निमित्त्यार्थे पुष्यतारा, धूपतारा, दीपतारा, गन्धतारा, रसतारा आदि भावनायै पूर्णकलश अष्टमंगलादि दीप मकुट सगुण आदि पूजा देवता आह्वान कामनार्थ यत्पुण्येन सम यजमानस्य शरीरे नानारोगभयेत्यादि मंगला-पिंगला, भ्रामिका, भद्रिका, उल्का, सिद्धा, शङ्खादि योगिनीवशा,

*Om adhya śrīmat śrīe śākyasingha tathāgatasya Buddha-kshatrae bhadrakalpe vaisvata manwantera himabat parvata dakṣiṇa pārśvāe satya tretā dwāparānte kaliyugasya prathamā charanāye jambudvipa vāsuki kshetre āryavarta punya bhumi nepāla deśe bāgmatyah daśiṇa bhāge manirohinya pāścima bhāge prabhāvatyā uttarakone keśāvatyā purva kone gopuchha giribare sudurjaya bhumi bhāge upchandoha pīthe śrī heruka virupākṣya khagānanādhivāsīte aneka devālayasthāne śrī swayambhuchaitya dharmā-dhātu-bagiswara-sannidhāne adhya-mahasānamadhyeha śasthisambatsarānā madhye amuka(1) nāma sambatsare śrī suryadak-shināyane/ uttarāyane amuka(2) ritau amuka(3) māse śukla pakṣya/ kṛśānapakṣye amuka(4) punya tithau amuka(5) nakshyatre amuka(6) yoge amuka(7) karnamurhute amuka(8) barasare amuka(9) rāśūgate bhaskara amuka(10) rāśūgate chandramasi dāna patiryajamāna bhūman- dalāntargate Nepāla mandale amuka(11) mahānagare/ grāme amuka(12) tole / bihare vasthite kulotpanna śrī...śrī...śrī (13)...*

The phrases below are to be replaced with their corresponding number. These phrases can be interchanged with date and time based on lunar calendar.

- 1 śārbarī nām sambatasara
- 2 hemanta ritau
- 3 thinla gā māse
- 4 navami punya tithau
- 5 hasta nakṣetre
- 6 ati gandha yoge
- 7 gara karma murhute
- 8 mangala bare
- 9 dhanu rāśi
- 10 kanya rāśi
- 11 kāntipura
- 12 name of locality / vihar or tole
- 13 Host person's name

The Newar Buddhist community still chants this Sanskrit verse to not only announce the host person's presence but also to welcome and invite the recipient deity to participate in this auspicious occasion. During the ritual, the host person's cosmic address, including date and time of occurrence of ritual, is announced. Furthermore, the word amuka, meaning etcetera, is replaced by its corresponding listed phrases. The listed phrases were calculated for the early morning of January 1, 2008, which coincidentally is also the date of debut of this issue of the journal. The above Sanskrit verse, reproduced from the book titled Saptabidhaontara Pooja Bidhi by Ratna Kazi Bajracharya, has no historical date of origins. However, the mention of Nepal Mandala is one of the many invaluable resources to its existence.

# Census Report on Practice of Religion in Nepal

Comparative figures of various religious groups of Nepal censuses 1981, 1991 and 2001  
VALUE OF DEMOCRACY TO RELIGIOUS GROUPS OF NEPAL

## DISTRIBUTION OF NEPAL'S POPULATION BY RELIGION

RELIGION	CENSUS 1981	CENSUS 1991	% CHANGE	CENSUS 2001	
Hindu	13445787	15996953	+ 18.87	18330121	+14.58
Buddhist	799081	1439142	+80.10	2442520	+69.72
Islam	399197	653218	+63.63	954023	+46.05
Kirat	--	318389	+100.00	818106	+156.95
Christian	3891	31280	+704.12	101976	+226.01
Sikh	--	--	--	5890	+100.00
Jain	9438	7561	- 19.89	41.80	-45.69
Bahai	--	--	--	1211	+ 100.00
Others	365445	26416	- 92.77	78979	+198.98
None	--	18138	+100	--	- 100.00
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>15022839</b>	<b>18491097</b>	<b>+23.09</b>	<b>22736934</b>	<b>+23.10</b>

Source :

*District Development Profile of Nepal 2001, Informal Sector Research & Study Centre  
Population Census 2001 National Report, Central Bureau of Statistics  
Statistical Year Book of 2001, Central Bureau of Statistics*

Notes:

1. Increase of Hindu population is below national average in 1991 and 2001 Census.
2. Population of other religious groups increased dramatically in 1991 and 2001 Censuses.
3. Kirat, Sikh and Bahai religions and non-believers were not recognized in 1981 Census.
4. Sikh and Bahai religions were not recognized in Census 1991.
5. Non-believers were either not recognized or mixed up with "Others" in 2001 Census.

Made available by the NESOCA Nepal, Kathmandu, Nepal

# बिस्केट जात्रा र विक्रम संवत्

सुभाषराम प्रजापती

वैशाख संक्रान्ति अर्थात् मेष संक्रान्तिलाई नेवार संस्कृतिमा एक पर्वको रूपमा मनाइन्छ । यस दिन उपत्यकाका धिनाच्च, सिच्च, र फूच्च डांडाहरू चढ्ने र मेला भर्ने जाने गरिन्छ । यहि दिन चिगडतो राखी बनाइएको 'खाई क्वाति' (तीतो क्याँटी) खाने चलन पनि छ । त्यस्तै मकर संक्रान्ति पनि नेवारहरू क्याँटी, घिउ, चाकु र पालुंगो खाई महत्वका साथ मनाउँछन् । यी दुई संक्रान्तिहरू (नेपालभाषामा खाई सल्लु र हाम्यः सल्लु) बाहेक नेवारहरू वर्षभरिका सम्पूर्ण परम्परागत चाड, पर्व, जात्रा, उत्सवहरू चन्द्रमासको तिथि अनुसार मनाउँछन् । नेपालमा विक्रम संवत् भित्रिनु अघिदेखि नै संक्रान्ति, पूर्णिमा, अष्टमी आदी मनाउने गरेको कुरा पाचौं शताब्दीका लिच्छविकालीन अभिलेखहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

मेष संक्रान्तिलाई केन्द्र बनाएर मनाउने बिस्केट जात्रा सौर्य मास पात्रो अनुसार मनाइन्छ । बिस्केट जात्रालाई विक्रम संवत्सँग जोडेर विक्रम संवत् अनुसारको नव वर्षको उपलक्ष्यमा गरिने जात्रा भनेर पनि प्रचार गरेको पाइन्छ । बिस्केट जात्रा र विक्रम संवत्बीच के कस्तो सम्बन्ध छ ? के विक्रम संवत्को उदय संगसंगै बिस्केट जात्राको उदय भएको हो ? अथवा विक्रम संवत् र बिस्केट जात्रा एकै व्यक्तिले एकै समय चलाएका हुन ? यी प्रश्नहरूको उत्तर खोज्न आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

प्रथमतः प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक घटनावलीहरू र अभिलेखहरू हेर्दा पहिले पहिले बिस्केट जात्रा सौर्यमासको पात्रो अनुसार नभई चन्द्रमासको पात्रो अनुसार मनाइने कुरा ज्ञात हुन्छ । मल्लकालको मध्यतिर पनि बिस्केटमा भक्तपुरमा लिङ्गो उठाउने र भैरवको रथ तान्ने जात्रा समेत चैत शुक्ल पूर्णिमाको दिन गर्ने गरिन्थ्यो । नेपाल राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालय स्थित हस्त लिखित ग्रन्थ लगत नं १६९६, माइक्रोफिल्म नं ए २०१को १२ को पृष्ठ संख्या २ मा ७८१ चैत शुक्ल पूर्णिमाको दिन भैरवको रथ भाचेंको र लिङ्गो ठड्याइ पूजा गरेको कुरा वर्णित छ । यो घटना संहितको घटनावली बाहेक विस्तृत अध्ययन र विश्लेषण चन्दा वज्राचार्यको 'मध्यकालया छु

घटनावली छगू अध्ययन' पुस्तकमा दिइएको छ ।

बिस्केट जात्राको सम्बन्धमा एक प्रचलित किम्वदन्ति अनुसार लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेवको पालामा पुर्वोत्तरबाट किरातहरूले हमला गर्दा शंखर आचाःजु नाम गरेका एक पुरोहितले हजारी बाघको रूप लिई तिनिहरूलाई धपाए । आफ्नो पति बाघ हुन सक्ने कुरा सुन्दा अर्चामत भएका शंखर आचाःजुकी पत्नीले आफ्नो पति अजिगर भएको डच्छा प्रकट गरिन् । पत्नीको डच्छा नकार्न नसकी शंखर आचाःजुले पत्नीलाई तन्त्र मन्त्र रागी एक मुठी अक्षता दिदै भने –म अजिगरको रूप लिन्छु, तिमी नडराई हेरेर हेर्ने पुगेपछि यहि अक्षताले हान्नु । यति भन्दै शंखर आचाःजु अजिगर बने । अजिगरको भयंकर रूप देखेपछि उनकी पत्नी त्यस ठाउँ छाडेर भागिन । अजिगर बनेका शंखर आचाःजु पनि पत्नीले अक्षता हान्छिन् कि भनी उनको पछि पछि लाग्न थाले । भीमकाय अजिगरले आफ्नो पिछा गरेको देखेर अर्थात् उक्त अक्षता मुखमा हालिन । पछि उनी पनि अजिगर भए । दुवै पति पत्नी अजिगर विरक्त भई आत्महत्या गरे । पछि यो कुरा शिवदेव राजाले थाहा पाई तिनिहरूको सम्मान स्वरूप यिनीहरूको सम्झनामा दुवै अजिगरको लाश लिङ्गोमा भुण्ड्याई बिस्केट जात्रा मनाइ भनिएको छ ।

यो किम्वदन्तिलाई विश्वास गर्ने नगर्ने भन्ने आफ्नो ठाउँमा छुदैछ र विश्वास नै गरिने पनि यहा भनिएका शिवदेवको बारे पनि जान्न जरुरी छ । नेपालको इतिहासमा देखापर्ने तीन जना शिवदेव राजा मध्ये यहाँ भनिएका शिवदेव द्वितीय हुन भनिन्छ । यहि शिवदेवले विक्रम संवत् चलाई बिस्केट जात्रा चलाए, भन्नेहरू पनि छन् । शिवदेव द्वितीयको ६९० ई. देखि ७९८ ई. सम्मका शिलालेखहरू भेटिएका छन् । यस हिसाबले शिवदेव द्वितीयले विक्रम संवत् चलाए, भन्नु हास्यास्पद देखिन आउँछ । नेपालको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा पुस्तकमा लेखकले अशुवर्मा विक्रम संवत् का प्रणेता विक्रमादित्य हुन ? भन्ने प्रश्न खडा गरेका छन् । विक्रम संवत्का प्रणेता भारतको उज्जैन शहरमा जन्मेका विक्रमादित्यलाई

मानेको पाईन्छ अर्थाप यसबारे अबै बाँट अध्ययन हुन बाकि नै छ । राजा विक्रमादित्यलाई तीन चोर्ट मरेर पनि पुनर्जीवित हुन सफल राजा भनिन्छ । भापा वंशावलीमा राजा विक्रमादित्यको वर्णन पाईन्छ तर यही वंशावलीमा बिस्केट जात्राको प्रचलन जराज्योति मल्लले चलाएको कुरा उल्लेख छ । गोपालराज वंशावली अनुसार ने.स. ८१८ (वि.स. १२५१) मा युवराजीनी विरमदेवीले इन्द्रकूट बनाउन तिनका छोरा श्री जयशोक्त देवले इन्द्रध्वज आरोहण गरे भनिएको छ । त्यसै बेलादेखि नै भक्तपुरमा लिङ्गो ठड्याउने वा ध्वजोत्थान गर्ने गरिएको भनिन्छ ।

माथिका सम्पूर्ण कुराहरुबारे अनुशीलन गर्दा विक्रम संवत् र बिस्केट जात्रा एकै व्यक्तिले चलाएको होइन भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ साथै विक्रम संवत् र बिस्केट जात्राको शुरुवात पनि एकै समय होइन भन्ने पनि जानकारि हुन्छ । नेपाल संवत्को तिथि अनुसार मनाउने भएकोले र बिस्केट जात्रा

सम्बन्धी घटनावली र अन्य अभिलेखहरुमा मिति उल्लेख गर्दा विक्रम संवत्को उल्लेख नहुनुले पनि बिस्केट जात्राको सम्बन्ध विक्रम संवत्सग नभएको थाहा हुन्छ । पहिले लिङ्गो ठड्याउने र हाले मात्र गर्ने जात्रामा अन्य जात्राहरु पनि थपी मल्ल कालको उत्तरार्द्धतिर आइपुग्दा नौ दिन आठ रातको जात्रा भए जस्तै पछि मात्रै बिस्केट जात्रा मनाउने तिथिसा पनि फेरबदल भएको स्पष्ट छ । यसको कारक तत्व धार्मिक ग्रन्थहरुको प्रभाव भएको आभाष हुन्छ । गौतमी पुराण र मनुको वचनमा चैत मसान्तको दिन ध्वजोत्थान गर्दा दुःख विनाश भई सबै शत्रु क्षय हुन्छ र वैशाख संक्रान्तिको दिन ध्वज हाले गरेमा शत्रु नाश हुने कुरा उल्लेख छ । यहि गौतमी पुराण र मनुको वचन अनुसार चैत मसान्तको दिन लिङ्गो ठड्याउने र संक्रान्तिको दिन लिङ्गो हाले गरेको देखिन्छ । अतःएव बिस्केटलाई विक्रम संवत्साग जोड्नु प्रयास मात्र हो भन्नु युक्ति सगत देखिन आउँछ ।

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# नेपालको गौरवः नेपाल संवत्

महेश्वर श्रेष्ठ

## नेपाल संवत्को सामान्य परिचय

काल गणना बेगर इतिहास जान्न पनि सकिन्न र भविष्यको कल्पना कोर्न पनि सकिन्न । त्यसैले सभ्य मानव समाजका लागि काल गणना एउटा अत्यावश्यक वस्तु हो । मानव सभ्यताको उदयसँगै काल गणनाका दुई मुख्य प्रविधिको विकास भएको पाइन्छ - चन्द्रमाको गति अनुसार गरिने काल गणना र सूर्यको गति अनुसार गरिने काल गणना । ती प्रविधिहरूलाई सोही बमोजिम चन्द्रमानक पात्रो र सूर्यमानक पात्रो भनिन्छ । संसारमा अहिले पनि सूर्यमानक र चन्द्रमानक दुवै पात्रो चलनचल्तीमा छन् । ती मध्ये कुनै एउटा पात्रोको आधारमा एउटा विशेष कालखण्डलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने प्रथालाई संवत् भन्ने गरिएको छ । विश्वमा प्रचलित संवत्हरू मध्ये अधिकांश संवत्हरू कुनै धर्म, धार्मिक नेता वा शासकहरूको नाममा प्रचलनमा ल्याइएका छन् । चन्द्रमानक पात्रोमा आधारित नेपाल संवत् विश्वको एक मात्र यस्तो संवत् हो जुन देशको नाममा प्रचलनमा ल्याइएको छ । नेपालमा अत्यन्त हसोल्लासका साथ मनाइने चाडपर्व मध्येको एक दिपावलीको रमाइलो पर्वको बीच इस्वी संवत् २००७ नोभम्बर १० तारिख तदनुसार विक्रम संवत् २०६४ कार्तिक २४ गते शनिवारको दिन नववर्ष नेपाल संवत् १९२८ शुभारम्भ हुन गइरहेको छ । यस सुखद अवसरमा नेपाल संवत्बारे इतिहासका केहि घटनाका साथै यस बारे लिइनु पर्ने सही दृष्टिकोण सम्बन्धमा यो आलेख तयार गरिएको छ ।

## नेपालमा प्रचलनमा ल्याइएका संवत्हरू

नेपालको प्रारम्भिक इतिहास अत्यन्तै अस्पष्ट र अनुमान तथा किम्वदन्तीहरूले भरिएको छ । किरात कालमा नेपालमा कुन संवत् प्रचलनमा थियो भन्ने कुरा अहिलेसम्म थाहा हुन सकेको छैन । लिच्छवी शासनको प्रारम्भसँगै नेपालमा निम्न संवत्हरूलाई प्रचलनमा ल्याइएको पाइएको छ । शक संवत् भारतका शक वंशीय शासकहरूको नामबाट चलाइएको संवत् हो जुन आज पनि भारतमा राष्ट्रिय संवत्को रूपमा प्रचलनमा छ । अहिले शक संवत् १९२९ हो । नेपालमा यस संवत्को प्रारम्भिक प्रयोग ५२७ (ई.सं. ६०५) सम्म कायम रह्यो । त्यस पछि महासामन्त अशुवमाले राजा मानदेव द्वितीयको नाममा मानदेव संवत् चलाए जुन २७६ वर्ष (ई.सं. ८८१) सम्म प्रचलनमा रह्यो । त्यस पछि

राजा राघवदेवको पालामा नेपाल संवत् चलाइयो जुन ८८८ वर्ष (ई.सं. १७६९) सम्म अविच्छिन्न रूपमा प्रचलनमा रह्यो । नेपाल संवत् ८८८ अर्थात् ई.सं. १७६९ मा नेपाल माथि विजय प्राप्त गरे पछि गोर्खाली राजा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले शक संवत्लाई पुनः प्रचलनमा ल्याए जुन १२२ वर्ष (ई.सं. १९०१) सम्म कायम रह्यो । त्यस पछि राणा प्रधानमन्त्री चन्द्र शमशेरले भारतीय उपमहाद्वीपका एकजना रजौटा विक्रमादित्यको नाममा चलाइएको विक्रम संवत् प्रचलनमा ल्याए जुन आजसम्म कायमै छ । अहिले विक्रम संवत् २०६४ हो । नेपालमा विक्रम संवत्ले सरकारी मान्यता पाएको १०६ वर्ष मात्र भएको छ ।

## नेपालमा भारतीय संवत् प्रयोगको प्रसंग

किरात शासन कालमा कुन संवत् प्रयोगमा थियो भन्ने थाहा नभएको प्रसंगमा लिच्छवी शासकहरूले भारतमा प्रचलित शक संवत्लाई नेपालमा प्रयोगमा ल्याउनुलाई अनौठो मान्नु पर्दैन । मानदेव संवत्को प्रादुर्भावले तत्कालीन शासकहरू भारतीय सांस्कृतिक प्रभावबाट मुक्त हुन खोजेको प्रतीत हुन्छ । नेपाल संवत् प्रादुर्भावको घटनाले नेपाली राष्ट्रवादले उच्चतम सांस्कृतिक विकास गरेको पुष्टी हुन्छ । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले देशकै नामबाट प्रचलित नेपाल संवत् परित्याग गरी शक संवत्लाई पुनः प्रयोगमा ल्याउनुको कारण अलि बेग्लै छ । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले नेपाललाई एकीकरण गर्ने भनेर कहिल्यै भनेनन् । उनको मृत्यु पछि संकलित उनका महावाणीहरूमा पनि नेपाललाई एकीकरण गर्ने आसय भन्कने कुनै कुरा कतै छैन । बाँचुन्जेल उनले आफ्नो जीवनको उद्देश्य नेपाललाई "असली हिन्दुस्तान" बनाउने बताउँदै रहे । सोही अनुरूप उनले "हिन्दुस्तानी" शक संवत्लाई नेपालमा पुनर्जीवित गरेको कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । त्यसै गरी चन्द्र शमशेरले विक्रम संवत् प्रचलनमा ल्याउनुको पछाडि दुईवटा कारण रहेको देखिन्छ । भारतको एकजना रजौटाको नाममा स्थापित यो संवत् प्रयोग गर्दा नेपाललाई "असली हिन्दुस्तान" बनाउने भावना जीवित राख्ने एउटा उद्देश्य पूरा हुन्थ्यो । चन्द्रमानक शक संवत्को प्रत्येक तस्रो वर्ष १३ महिनाको हुन्छ र सोही अनुसार राष्ट्रसेवकहरूलाई तलब दिनु पर्थ्यो । सूर्यमानक विक्रम संवत्को सबै वर्ष १२ महिनाको हुन्छ । सूर्यमानक संवत् अपनाउदा राष्ट्रसेवकहरूलाई प्रत्येक वर्ष १२ महिनाको तलब दिए पुग्ने भएको हुनाले महाधूर्त चन्द्र





मानव समाज एउटा ठूलो परिवारमा परिणत हुँदै गइरहेको छ । राम्रो नारागो जे भए पनि नेपाल त्यस प्रकृयाबाट अलग रहन सक्तैन । यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा नेपालले विश्व समुदायसंग सम्पर्क गर्न र राजकीय कामकाजलाई विश्वस्तरमा एकरूपता कायम गर्न दुई-संवतको नीति अपनाउनु पर्छ । यसका लागि हामीले संसारभरका मुलुकमा प्रचलित ईसवी संवतलाई सरकारी तथा संस्थागत कामकाजको संवत (*Business Calendar*) को रूपमा अपनाउनु पर्छ । यसलाई हामीले अघोषित रूपमा अपनाउादै आएका पनि छौं ।

नेपालले विश्वसम्पर्क र सरकारी कामकाजका लागि हाल प्रयोगमा रहेको विक्रम संवतको प्रयोगलाई नै निरन्तरता दिएमा पनि फरक पढैनथ्यो

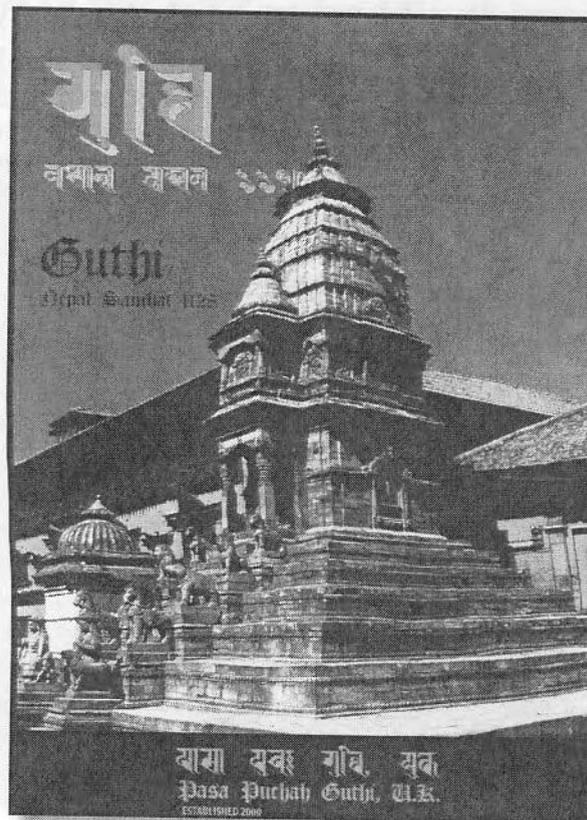
। तर विक्रम संवतको उदगम थलो भारतमै पनि त्यसको प्रयोग अति सिमित ठाउँका सिमित मानिसहरुले सिमित प्रयोजनका लागि मात्र गर्ने भएको हुँदा हाम्रो उद्देश्यका लागि त्यो उपयुक्त छैन । तसर्थ नेपाल संवतलाई राष्ट्रिय मान्यता र उच्च सम्मानका साथ सरकारी तथा संस्थागत कामकाजको संवत (*Business Calendar*) को रूपमा ईस्वी संवतलाई मात्र प्रयोग गरिनु पर्छ र विक्रम संवतलाई विस्थापित गरी नेपाली जनतालाई हरदम तीन तीन वटा संवत मान्नु पर्ने भनभट र वाध्यताबाट मुक्त गरिनु पर्छ । अस्तु ।

२००७ नोभेम्बर ०६

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## बुद्ध साय्मी

जातजातिहरूको समाजमा राजनैतिक वितृष्णा छाएको हालको नेपालको अवस्थालाई पुनःउत्थान गर्न एकमात्र उपाय आत्मनिर्णको अधिकार सहितको जातिय स्वशासन र संघात्मक गणराज्यको स्थापना । जसले गर्दा आदिवासी जनजातिहरूको गिर्दो मनःस्थितिलाई उकास्न मद्दत पुर्याउने र राज्यले शक्ति संचय गर्ने अवसर प्राप्त गर्ने वताउनु भयो ।

अन्तर्क्रिया कार्यक्रममा सहभागी हुनु भई लोकबहादुर शाक्य, दुर्गाबहादुर

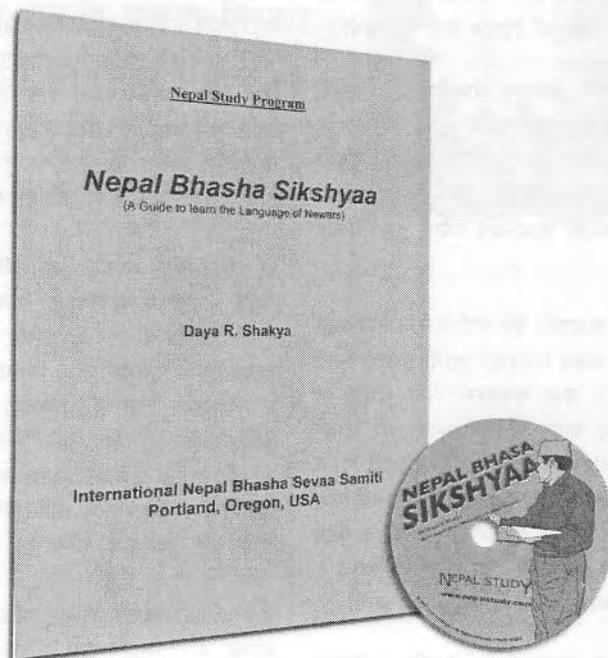
श्रेष्ठ, हेरारत्न शाक्य, जुलुमलाल चित्रकार, शाक्य सुरेन ज्यूहरूले आ-आफ्नो विचार व्यक्त गर्नु भई देशमा शान्ति र आत्म निर्णय सहितको जातिय स्वशासन मार्फत संघात्मक गणराज्यको स्थापनार्थ आवश्यकीय सवैखाले दवाव मूलक कार्य गर्न आह्वान गर्नु भएको थियो ।

कार्यक्रमको सभापतित्व अध्यक्ष सुरेश प्रधान, स्वागत मन्तव्य सचिव शाक्य सुरेन र संचालन उपाध्यक्ष किरण शाक्यले गर्नु भएको थियो ।

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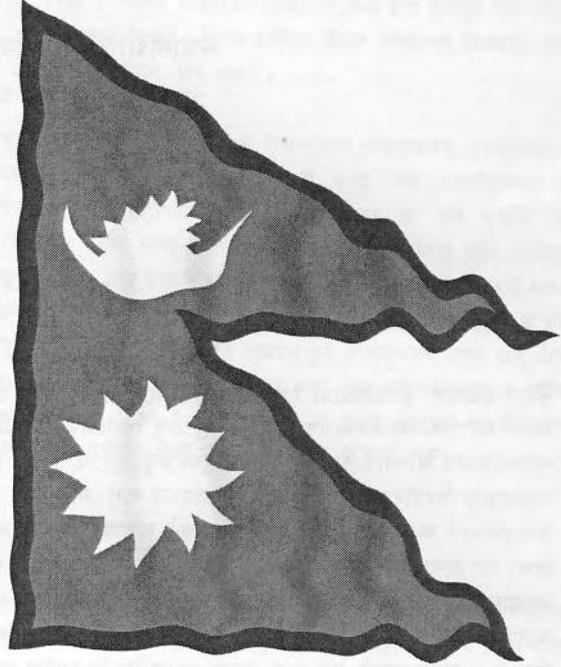
गायक प्रेमराजा महत, यमनकृष्ण श्रेष्ठ तथा रवि लामिछाने, लगायतका बालबालिका, किशोर(किशोरी), युवा र प्रौढहरूले गीत(संगीत र नृत्य अनि हास्यमा भाग लिएका थिए।

नेपालीपोष्ट प्रतिनिधि वासिङटन डीसी

जून १, २००५

## नयां राष्ट्रिय गीत

सयौं थुङ्गा फूलका हामी, एउटै माला नेपाली  
सार्वभौम भइ फैलिएका, मेची महाकाली ।  
प्रकृतिका कोटी कोटी सम्पदाको आचल  
वीरहरूका रगतले, स्वतन्त्र र अटल ।  
ज्ञानभूमि, शान्तिभूमि, तराई, पहाड, हिमाल  
अखण्ड यो प्यारो हाम्रो मातृभूमि नेपाल ।  
बहुल जाति, भाषा, धर्म, संस्कृति छन् विशाल  
अग्रगामी राष्ट्र हाम्रो, जय जय नेपाल ।



















अवधारणा प्रस्तुत २०६२ श्रावण ७ कोपुण्डोल, अकिराको हल

- राष्ट्रियभाषा नीति सुभाष आयोगको प्रतिवेदन वि.सं. २०५०
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- श्री ५को सरकारले भाषा सम्बन्धमा व्यवस्था गर्न बनेको ऐन २०५८ (मस्यौदा विद्येयक)
- श्री ५ को सरकारको राजपत्र २०८२ वैशाख १
- श्री ५ को सरकारको राजपत्र वि.सं. २०५० पौष १३
- श्रेष्ठ निर्जिरोस - नेपालभाषा केन्द्रिय विभागया विकास, नेपालभाषा ल्या २, अड्ड २ नेपालभाषा केन्द्रिय विभाग, ने.सं. ११२५ पृ ९२-९८
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*.HMG of Nepal, Ministry of Law and Justice-1963*

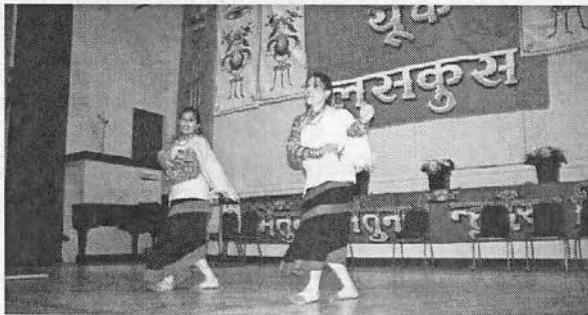
*- Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous peoples'*

\**(विराट नेपालभाषा साहित्य सम्मेलन गुधि, स्वपपाखे रवसा: रव:गु 'भाषा विचलनया सवाल व शैक्षिक पाठ्यक्रमय् राष्ट्रिय भाषाया स्थान'या विचा: गोष्ठीस न्हयव्व:गु ज्यापौ)*

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Pasa Puchah Guthi U.K.





जाति उमित विस्थापित यायां हयाचंगु दु ।

सन् १९८९ या तथ्याक कथं सिक्किमय् २७ प्रतिशत नेवाःतयके ५ एकड स्वयां म्हो जग्गा दु । भूमि हे मनुपिं नेवाःत ६६ प्रतिशत दुसा १० प्रतिशत नेवाःतयके जक शहरी लागाय सम्पत्ति दु । अथे हे सन् १९९४ या छगू सर्वेक्षण कथं अन ३३ प्रतिशत नेवाःत अशिक्षित दुसा ५ प्रतिशत जक र नातक पास यानातःगु दु । व्वनातःपिं अप्वः यानाः राजधानी गान्तोकय च्वनीपिं खः । अप्वःसिनं छु विचाः याइ धायेबलय सिक्किमया नेवाःत तसकं धनी व शक्तिशालीपिं खः । तर सिक्किम नेवाः गुथिया पुलांम्हा नायः केशवचन्द्र प्रधानया कथं यथार्थ धाःसा अथे मखु । न्हापा जुजु चोग्यालय इलय कुल नेवाः मध्यय ५ प्रतिशत दरवारय ज्या याइपिं खः । उपिं धाथे शक्तिशाली व धनी नं खः । तर बांकी धाःसा फुक्क हे गरीव । छगू सर्वेक्षण कथं ४० प्रतिशत नेवाःतय आम्दानी दैय ५०० भारु जक दुसा ४ प्रतिशतया आम्दानी जक करिब २५,००० भारु दु ।

नेपालय ला नेवाःतय थीथी थर दु । तर सिक्किमय् सकले नेवाःतयसं 'प्रधान' जक च्वइ । लक्ष्मीदासयात ब्रिटिश सरकारं वयागु वांलाःगु ज्याया कदर यासें वयात 'प्रधान' उपाधी व्यूगु व लिपा लक्ष्मीदास हे सकले नेवाःतयसं 'प्रधान' च्वये दयेसाः धकाः इनाप याः कथं सरकारं अज्याःगु

अनुमति व्यूगु खः धइगु धापू दुसां गुलिं धाःसा नेपाःगालं विस्यु वःपिं नेवाःत सकस्यां थःपिनि म्हासीका सुचुकेगु लागिं 'प्रधान' च्वयेगु या धइगु लक्ष्मीदासया उज कथं सकस्यां प्रधान च्वयेगु शुरु याःगु खः धाडपिं नं दु ।

न्हयागुसां थौकन्हय सिक्किम सरकार नेवाः नापं अनया फुक्क जाति व भापाया विकासया लागिं विशेष ज्याभवः हःगुयात सामान्यतया सकर यां लसकुस याःगु दु । खतुं सरकारया थ्व पलाख न्हापा छधी जुयाच्वपिं सिक्किमी जनतायात आः थीथी जाति व भापाय विभाजित यानाविल धाडपिं नं मनुगु मखु । सरकारया थ्व ज्याभवलं यानाः सिक्किमया नेवाःत थौकन्हय अतिकं उत्साहित जुयाः थःगु भाषा, लिपि, कला, संस्कृतिया उत्थान यायेगु ज्याय लगे जुयाच्वंगु दु । सिक्किमया नेवाःत कानुनी रुप भारतीय नागरिक खःसां सांस्कृतिक रुप उपिं नेवाः खः व उमिसं थःत नेवाः धायेकेगुली हे गौरव नं यानाच्वंगु दु । साभारः- सन्ध्या टाइम्स

(थौकन्हय नेदरल्यान्डय च्वनादीम्ह च्वमिं भाजु श्रेष्ठं सिक्किमया नेवाःतय बारे आः तक्या यानादीगु वृहत् अध्ययन खः ।)

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# बाजं बोल दुनेया नेवाः लोक साहित्य

सुभाषराम प्रजापति

छु न भायया साहित्यय् उगु भायया लोक साहित्यन महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका मिहताच्चंगु दइ । समाजया सुख दुःख, थजाः क्वजाः, मनुतयगु चिन्तन मनन, तर्क विचाः आदि खं लोक साहित्यय् प्रतिबिम्बित जुयाच्चनी । लोक साहित्यया सृजना शास्त्रवेत्ता, विद्वानत वा उच्च वर्गपाखें स्वयां सर्व साधारण जनतातपाखें जुडगु जूगुलिं छु न समाजया तत्कालीन समाजिक यथार्थ चित्रण व जनभावना, जनजीवनया सही प्रशुति लोक साहित्यय् हे जुड । उर्कि लोक साहित्य - सामाजिक अध्ययनया छगू मुख्य अध्ययनश्रोत खः । लोक साहित्य लोक संस्कृतिया अभिन्न अंग खः । 'लोक साहित्य धयागु वालाःगु छगू क्यब जूसा व क्यबस अन क्ययाच्चगु थीथी स्वाफवः मध्यय लोक साहित्य धाःगु वालाःगु छफवः स्वा खः । अले थुज्वःगु स्वाफवःया समष्टि रूप हे लोक संस्कृतिया दम्बु खः' । लोक संस्कृतिया छगू अपरिहार्य तत्व लोक साहित्यय् लोक संस्कृतिया थीथी पक्षत समाहित जुयाच्चनी ।

नेवाः समाजय् व्याप्त लोक म्ये, लोक बाख, लोक नाटक, ख्याल, छुनाखें, खंत्वा, खंभाय, क्वाः आदि नेवाः लोक साहित्यया दम्बु खः । थुकिया अतिरिक्त नेवाःतयसं थाना वयाच्चंगु थीथी बाज थयेगु हासि (टोक्नक) कथं छयला वयाच्चंगु थीथी कथया पद्यात्मक रचना न नेवाः लोक साहित्यया मेगु छगू महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष खः । स्वयेबलय् तसकं सामान्य छभ्वः वः निभ्वःया म्येया भ्वः वा छुं खं, खंभाय थें जक च्वसां बाज व प्याखं ख्यलय् थुकिया तःधंगु महत्व दु । नेवाः लोक साहित्यया ज्वःमदुगु थुज्वःगु छभ्वः निभ्वःया पद्यात्मक रचना न नेवाः लोक साहित्यया समृद्धि क्यनाच्चंगु दु । तर विडम्बना, आःतक थुकिया छु हे अध्ययन अनुसन्धान जुड फयाच्चंगु मद्दिन ।

नेवाःतयसं हरेक तःधंगु चीधंगु नखःचखः, संस्कार, भव्य, उत्सव, जात्रा, पुजाय् छु न छुं कथया बाज छयला वयाच्चंगु दु । व सकतां बाजया बोल, ताल लुमकेत बोल, ताल च्वयेगु चलन न नेवाःतयकें मदुगु मखु । थुज्वःगु थीथी बाजया बोल ताल च्वयातःगु गुलिखें पुलांगु ध्याःसफू राफ्टय् अभिलेखालय, आशा सफूकुथ लगायत व्यक्तिगत संग्रहलय् सुरक्षित जुयाच्चंगु दु । राफ्टय् अभिलेखालय दुने दुगु १२३ गू संगीत सम्बन्धी ग्रन्थय् ९ गू ग्रन्थ मुदङ्ग बाजया बोल ताल च्वयातःगु ग्रन्थ खनेदुसा बाजे विशेषया मेमेगु ग्रन्थ खनेमदु १। आशा सफूकुथया सफू धलः कथं

अन खिं बोल, खिं बोलि, प्वंगा बोलि व पंयताः बोलिनाप यानाः बाज बोलिया १८ गू सफू दु ।

थुकथं बाज बोलि च्वयेगु परम्परा मल्ल कालय् हे दये धुंकूगु खःसां नेवाःतयसं बाज स्यनेगुलिङ्ग मौखिक परम्परा हे कय्च्याना वयाच्चंगु दु । त्रिचिहाकःगुनिसें ततःहाकःगु त्वारा तालत सकता हे थौतक नेवाःतयसं न्ववयंका थयेगु यानाच्चंगु दु । वास्तवय् नेवाःतयसं थःगु जीवनय् बाजयात थुलि प्यपुकातःगु दु कि दक्व थैथे सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक, रीतिरिवाज, व्यवहार व कर्मकाण्डय् बाज छयलाः वयाच्चंगु दु । उर्कि बाजया बोल ल्वःमनी धयागु इमिंत चिन्ता हे मदु, अले इमिसं बोलत च्वया तयेगु आवश्यकता न मतायेक । अथे न सकता बोलयात न्याडपुक ताःईतक लुमका तयेत नेवाःतयसं थःगु हे मौलिक पहःया विकास याःगु दु । व खः - बाजया बोलयात छुं म्ये वा म्ये कुचाया रूपय् लुमकेगु । थुज्वःगु पहःया मुख्य ध्येय बाजया बोल ताःईतक लुमकेगु खः । थ्वयालिसें थुकिं मचायक हे नेवाःतयगु लोक साहित्ययात न तःमि यानाव्युगु दु ।

थुज्वःगु म्येया कुचा गुलिं गुलिं अश्लील पहःया खनेदुसा गुलिं ख्यालि न्हिलि जाःगु व गुलिं सामान्य जन जीवनयात न्हयव्वङ्गु कथया खनेदु । जनजीवनय् प्रचलित अश्लील बाज बोलयात दक्कले न्हापा प्रकाशन याःम्ह शंभवतः वेग्नर खः । वयकःया 'द थिमय् बाजा अफ भक्तपुर' ३ नाया सफूलिङ्ग थुज्वःगु छुं छुं बोलत दुथ्यानाच्चंगु दु । गथेकि -

धंचा मेचा मलेबता नायः पेंचा लक धें धें

धें जक धेक च्वं धया मैचा नय् जक मरुसा सुकुमुकु चिं

डापु तासि नं स्वफवःस्वां साप फस्व धें धें

धेंधें मैचा फुसा वुः माया नातिखुति खुं खुताताक ४

न्हयथगु सफूलिङ्ग तसकं अश्लील बाज बोलत न न्हयव्वया तःगु दु । थुज्वःगु बोलत दुथ्याःगुलिं हे थुगु सफू त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयया संगीतया स्नातक तहया पाठ्यक्रमय् दुथ्याकें मफुत ५ । थुगु सफू लिपा पिहांवःगु बाज बोलया मेमेगु सफूलिङ्ग थुज्वःगु बोल दुथ्याकेंगु ज्या मजुल । लिच्वः कथं थुज्वःगु बोलत जनजीवनय् हे जक ल्यनाच्चन । थुकिया अध्ययन अनुसन्धानया ज्या न न्हयायें मफुत ।



थिर्मिया भैलः प्याखनय ताल लुमकेत छयलातःगु छु म्यंगवः थुकथ दु -

१. नैक्याः मैचा छु यायेता

घः भव्य नके बलय् थ्वे लुकेता

छुसि मद्दु बलय् मि दुयेता

२. निम्ह भौमचा ब्याहा याना हयाः

छम्हसिया मचा दत

कायूमचा दुम्ह भौमचा

चवने मफुत स्व

३. छके दत्तले छके नये

छके मदयेवं जिंके नये

छके जिंके मदयेवं छेँबुँ मियाः नये

४. हयाउँथे हयाउँथे वाउँथे वाउँथे

गुलाबी रंगया लं

छन्त यःला ल्यासे तता

गुलाबी रंगया लं

५. हुँ सुया म्हायूमचा

ताकुश्वेगिरिया म्हायूमचा

चवय्या म्ये फुकक म्येया क्चा जक मखु । थ्व उगु वाजं ताल थायेत गाःगु  
पूर्वगु म्ये हे खः । म्येया लमय थिर्मिया भैलः प्याखनय मुहाल पुङ्गु थुपि  
म्ये थिर्मिया हे कालासि भैलः प्याखनय धाःसा छु हे वाजं मथासं वाजया  
बोलया रुपय् म्हुतु हे वाजया भाय् पिक्क्याः हालेगु चलन दु ।

स्वयेवलय् थुज्वःगु सकता बोल व म्ये सामान्य खनेदड । तर थुकिड  
दुने दुवालाः स्वलधाःसा यक्व यक्व सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक, राजनैतिक,  
सामाजिक, आर्थिक खंत लुयावड । थ्व केवल वाजया बोल लुमकेत

छयलातःगु पद्यांस मखु, थुकिड दुने समग्र समाजया चित्रण दु । अभ्  
महत्वपूर्ण खँ ता थुज्वःगु बोलया सिर्जना कवि वा लेखकतपाखे मजुसं र  
वयम कलाकारतपाखे जुङ्गु जूगुलि थज्याःगु बोलपाखे डाम्गु दुनुगःया  
भाव, समाजय् डाम्गु थाय्, डाम्गु चिन्तन मनन व डाम्गु दर्शन सिङ्का  
कायेफड । परम्परागत कलाकारतयत सांस्कृतिसं थुङ्केगु थज्याःगु नेवाः  
लोक साहित्य त्वःताः मेगु छु हे तत्व मद्दुगु खँ थन विचाः यायेबहः जू ।

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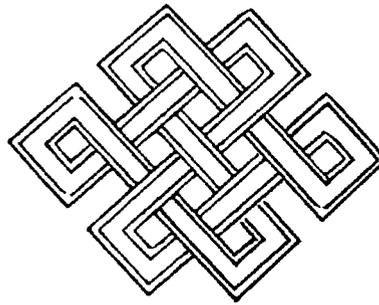
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प्यक्वःगु पिथना नेसं १९२९), पौ ८६ ।

७. क्वखँ ल्या ६, पौ १० ।

८. सुरेन्द्रमान श्रेष्ठ, नेवाः सस्कृतिया नखःचखः, (यें : रामभक्त  
भौम, नेसं १९२९), पौ ९८, ९५ ।

९. यल, आकुबहाःया वाजं गुरु रत्नराज शाक्यया धापू कथ ।

१०. चित्तधर हृदय, नेपालभाषा साहित्यया जात (यें : नेपालभाषा  
परिषद, नेसं १०९९), पौ १५६, १५७ ।







हे खः । थुकिं याउँक हे सी दु कि छम्ह सामान्य मचां प्यता भाय् छुं हे अवरोध बिना सयेकाः छयलाबुलाय् हयेफु । थ्व न्हियान्हिथं अनुभव जुयाच्चंगु खँयात नं भीसं प्रमाण सहित जनमानसय् हयेफत, सकसित थुइके फत धाःसा मातृभाषा आन्दोलनं छगू तःधंगु हिउपाः हइगु खँय् भी सुनिश्चित जुइ फइ ।

मस्तयत मांभासं खँलाबल्हा याकेगु दकलय् तःधंगु दायित्व मांपनिगु खः । मस्तयत दकलय् न्हापां भाय् स्यनीपिं हे मांपिं जुयाच्चनीगु कारणं नं थीथी जातिं ल्हाइगु भाय्यात मांभाय् धकाः धयातःगु जुइ । थथे मां भाय् स्यनेमापिं मापिसं हे मस्तयत मातृभाषा मस्यन धाःसा थ्व मचाया मानव अधिकारया ल्याखं दकले तःधंगु मानव अधिकारया हनन

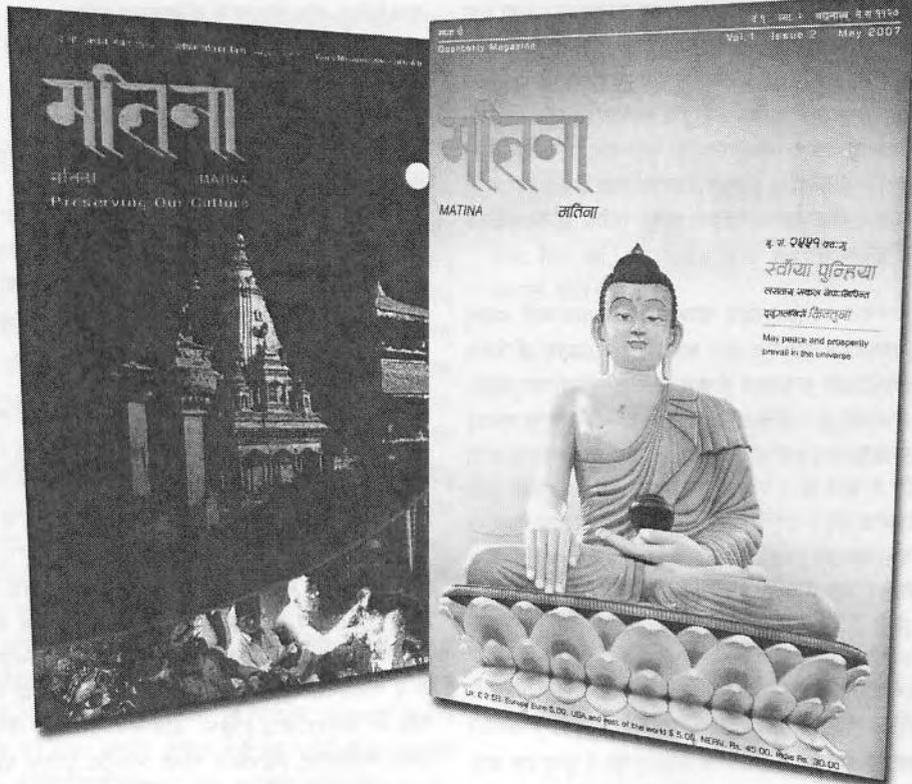
खः । हरेक मांभवुया इच्छा थः मस्तयसं दकलय् अप्वः ज्ञान हासिल यायेफयेमा धयागु जुयाच्चनी । थुकिया नितीं मां अबुपिसं अनेक उपाय, कर्म यानाच्चनी । तर मस्तयत मातृभाषाया ज्ञान मबियाः उमिगु क्षमतायात थःपिसं हे कुण्ठत यानाच्चंगु खँ उमित वाःचायेका वीगु खःसा मातृभाषाया आन्दोलनय् न्हयानाच्चपिं कार्यकर्तातयसं थःपिनिगु आजु याउँक हे लुइके फइगु खँय् भी सकसिनं चिन्तन यायेमाःगु थौया आवश्यकता खः । साभारः- सन्ध्या टाइम्स

nshakya@gmail.com

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## खसान कर्णाली प्रान्त :-

दाड, बाँके, मल्यान, बाँदिया, दैलेख, जाजरकोट, कालीकोट, जुम्ला, हुम्ला तक कयच्यानाच्वगु थुगु साघ सिमाना दुने लागु २०८३८ वगं कि मि क्षेत्रफल दुने च्वगु थोकन्हयया मिल्या: २०३९८८० म्ह दयाच्वगु भूभाग खसान कर्णाली प्रान्त जुड ।

## बझाङ्ग कर्णाली प्रान्त :-

दाचुंला, बझाङ्ग, बाजुरा, अछाम, कैलाली, कञ्चनपुर, डोटी, डडेलधुरा, बैतडी तक कयच्यानाच्वगु क्षेत्रफलया ल्याख १५३९ वगं की मी व मिल्या: कथ २१९१३३० म्ह दुरा क्षेत्र बझाङ्गी कर्णाली प्रान्त जुड ।

## नेवा: स्वशासित प्रान्त (केन्द्रीय राज्य) :-

ये, यल, खप, स्वानरा: दुनेया भूभाग क्षेत्रफल कथ ८९९ वगं कि मि जक कयच्याना च्वमां मिल्या: था:सा १६८५०९१ मलि दयाच्वगु थुगु थाय नेवा: स्वशासित प्रान्त जुड ।

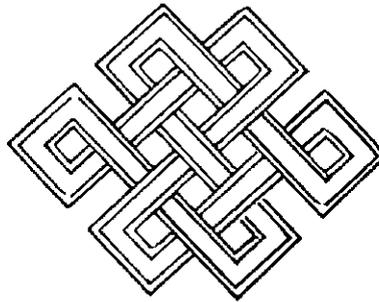
नेपा:या राजधानी न थन हे लानाच्वगु हुनि थन हे केन्द्रीय सरकार न दडगु हे जुल । उकि ध्व थाययात मात्र नेवा: स्वशासित क्षेत्र जक थायगु पार्याछ जुड मखु उकि थुकियात नेवा: केन्द्रीय राज्य प्रदेश कथ न न्हयाके ज्यू ।

केन्द्रीय सरकारयात अलग तया नेवा: स्वशासित क्षेत्र जक कायेमाल था:सा थुगु प्रदेशया दुने पनोती, धौख्य:, भवत, खप, थिमि, ये, यल, किपू,

थक्वा: (थानकोट) पालुङ्ग, तिस्तुङ्ग तकया लागयात नेवा: क्षेत्र वा लाग कथ कायेफड । थुकियात नेवा: स्वायत्त प्रदेश कथ छयलेफु थुकथ नेपा:या भौगोलिक क्षेत्रयात गुब्बय व्वथला: राजधानीड केन्द्रीय राज्य छगु न उकी हे स्वाका: नेपा:यात स्थानीय जनजाति व स्ववासीपिन्त हे विकासया ज्या खं याके विसं नेपा:यात विकासया लक्षय न्हयाके ज्यू ।

माओवादी नेतृत्व व नेपालभापाया न्हयलुवा:पि वृद्धिजीवीर्षालमे थावण ७ गते जूगु अन्तरकृया ज्याभवलय माओवादी अध्यक्ष प्रचण्ड नेपा:या जनता जाति भाषा उत्पीडनय लानाच्वगुलिं हे जनआन्दोलनय थुमिस व्वति कागु ख: । उकि थुगु समस्या मज्यतले हान हान आन्दोलन जुया च्वनी । उकि न्हयगु राजनीतिक पार्टीतयस नं जातीय स्वसासन व क्षेत्रीय स्वशासनया खं न्हवनेमा: धयादीगु दु ।

नेपालय गवलय तक जातीय स्वशासन व आत्मनिर्णयया अधिकार वीमखु अवलय तक ल्वापु नं ज्यनी मखु । उकिं था: जुडगु साँवधान सभाय नेवा: दे दवूया मारा कथ था: नेपा: देशय सघात्मक जातीय स्वशासन कथ न्हयाके दडगु व्यवस्था जुडमा: । जातीय स्वशासन धडगु उलि थापुक गन नं मवडगु हुनिं नेवा:त जक मखु देशया सकले जनजातिपसं न स: ध्वयेका तु च्वनेमा: । बहुजातीय व बहुसंस्कृति दुरा नेपा: थंजागु देशय जातीय स्वशासन हयेगु ध्व हे सुवर्ण मौका ख: । थुगु खंय चुकय जुडमज्यू । साभार:- सन्ध्या टाइम्स ७ । ३० । ०६









५. वयकःया पासा बढीप्रसाद 'इन्दुनाद' मदये धुकूसां न वय कःया कविता छापे याकाः नेपालभाषाया छम्ह उदीयमान कवियात म्हसीके बियादीगु ।
६. थः विद्यार्थी पासापित न कविता च्चकादीगु व २००७ साल लिपा थ्व कविता 'धुलिचा' नाम प्रकाशन यानादीगु ।
७. २००७ या प्रजातन्त्र लिपा पासापिलिसे जानाः नेपालभाषा परिषद् स्वनादीगु । लिपा परिषद्दया अध्यक्ष जुयाः ज्या यानादीगु ।
८. कविताया लिसें निबन्ध व बाखं न च्वयाः सफू पिकयादीगु । विद्यार्थीबलय् संस्कृतया 'स्वप्नवासवदत्ता' नाटक भाय् हिलादीगु । नेपालभाषा अंग्रेजी भाषाय् व अंग्रेजी भाषा नेपालभाषाय् छु कविताया अनुवाद यानादीगु ।
९. न्हापांम्ह पत्रकार धर्म आदित्य धर्माचार्य व जे.एस. मल्ल (जगतसुन्दर मल्ल) या जीवनी च्वयाः पिकयादीगु ।
१०. दुर्लभ जुडधुकू 'बुद्ध धर्म' व 'नेपाल भाषा' पत्रिका फुकं छथाय् तयाः पिकयादीगु ।
११. चित्तधर 'हृदय' यागु जफत जुयाः दुर्लभ जुड धुकू 'पद्य-निकुञ्ज' व 'हृदय-कुसुम' कविता संग्रह थःगु हे खर्च पुनः प्रकाशन यानादीगु ।
१२. सत्यमोहन जोशी सम्पादन यानादीगु 'नेपालभाषाया बःचाधरु खंनः धुकू' थःगु पाखे पिकयाबियादीगु ।
१३. नेपालभाषा एकेदमि धस्वाकेत न्हापां ३ लाख दां बीजधन तयाः नेपालभाषा एकेदमि स्थापना यानादीगु व थ्वया न्हापांम्ह चान्सलर जुयाः ज्या यानादीगु ।
१४. नेपालभाषा साहित्यय तःजिगु ज्या याःपित विडगु 'लाकौल सिरपाः' व नेपालभाषाया एम.ए.ल्य न्हाप जूम्ह मिसा विद्यार्थीयात बीगु 'चैन लाकौल सिरपाः' स्वनादीगु ।
१५. थःगु संकलनय दक्व सफू नेपालभाषां एम.ए.व्वनीपिनिगु लागि योगवीरसिं प्रस्तकालययात लः ल्हानादीगु ।स्वर्गीय वैकुण्ठप्रसाद लाकौल च्वय न्हयथनागु व मेमेगु न आपालं ज्या नेपालभाषायात थकायेत यानादीगु दु, गुगु ज्या लिपा लिपा तक न लुमना च्वनी व लुमके न माः ।

साभारः- सन्ध्या टाइम्स

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सन्ध्या टाइम्स

- 1. The Eclipse (1967)
- 2. The Lotus and the Flame (1972)

**अज्ञेयी कवि**

- १. उपन्यास :
  - रत्न की दरार (सन १९७८)
  - सूर्योदयी की सतय (सन १९७५)
  - जनजला (सन १९७३)
- २. कविता :
  - कविता का जाल (वि.सं. २०५४)
  - अज्ञेयी आकाश (वि.सं. २०५३)

**हिन्दी कविता**

- १. उपन्यास :
  - हिमाल कन्दन (वि.सं. २०२०)
  - राती (वि.सं. २०२१)
  - अविनाश (वि.सं. २०२२)
  - दीपा (वि.सं. २०२३)
  - छातीका बस्ती (वि.सं. २०२४)
  - सभा (समाज) (वि.सं. २०२७)
  - स पउटी गीता (वि.सं. २०४४)
- २. कविता :
  - शूणा २०५३ (वि.सं. २०५३)

**उपन्यास कविता**

- १. कविता :
  - सतीतय अयाअनक न्या
  - न्दयानान्दय शीत लः गेड
  - निमा (वि.सं. १९९३)
  - निमा (वि.सं. १९०५)
  - अगीत (वि.सं. १९०२)
  - नि आतित नि सतः (वि.सं. १९००)
  - माशा (वि.सं. १०८९)
  - फिसया निमः (वि.सं. १०७९)
  - पन्थमा (वि.सं. १०७९)
  - मयू (वि.सं. १०७९)
  - राती (वि.सं. १०७८)
  - पमा (वि.सं. १०७८)
  - सतिता (वि.सं. १०७७)
- २. कविता :
  - सुखाया कविता (वि.सं. १९७७)

- १. बाख :
  - आपकी खा (वि.सं. १०७०)
  - सखा (वि.सं. १०७३)
  - आता (वि.सं. १०७८)
- २. नाटक :
  - विवली (वि.सं. १०७२)
  - ह्याउिनया (वि.सं. १०७५)
- ३. उपन्यास :
  - निमा (वि.सं. १०७८)

**नेपालभाषाया कविता**

- शिवी भाषाभाषाया कविता यतः
  - सुखा
  - विवली शिवी
  - आतित ह्याउिकाअन्य र
  - शिवीत हे
  - अत यकःया
  - आःआक सीमा हे
  - शिवी

शिवी कविताय भाविक आःया उपन्यासय सीमानिक र्त्त । पमा भाषितिलिस्व ताक उद्वलनय वयकःया सीमान्त्त अक खिलन गेड । आः हे उपन्यासया पावनिलिस्व गेड सीमान्त्तया गाल वयकल कनादी । तत जीवनया अन्त्ययाखे वया वयकः शीली कारण निगण उपनिदल । आः आः समाज व आः हेया यथास्थितयुत वयकल विद्वेद न वकादी । अःया हे निगणा वकः।

अदालत नाम उपन्यास अयादीया खः ।

वया नाजाःस पवादी अतिस अमला वयकःया जीवनीयात कयः। नदल यानः वयकल अपाल हेया अमल न यानादीदिकय हे । यत वयकः प्रजापतिअनया गरा न ग्यादीया हे । नेपाली प्रतिनिधिमण्डलय कलिक सदया (कन्वन्स एटडी) (ग) ग्या न यया यानादीया खः । लिस्व १९७२ तिस ७२ तत वयकल आतय निमित्त नेपाली गजुतलवालयय सूरि विवेकवालयय मित्रितहे प्रकययय नय न अकादीया हे । अहे हे सत एम ए यानादीन्त्त वयकल नेपाली शीली कलनय अकःया नाप सूर्याकःया वनात्त हेन्त्त विवेकवालयययय आतय प्रचीन डिलेस व सकेतित गार् खनादीया खः ।

अनमल लयपदी विवेकयि अरियत दीया-अनमल निरया वयकल सतः निरयाः काश्या मित्रि अतिल दीया अनया प्रतिमा निरयाः विवेकयि-इस्वा निरयाः, नेपालभाषा कविकलियात दीया मानकजी राती-वन्द्या निरयाः, विवेकयि अरियत गालया अरियत दीया निरयात दीखनातःया हे । नेपाली भाष उपन्यास अद्विल दीया सघाट, समाज खलय वयकः अन्त्त न शीली

# खँय् भाय्या नेपालभाषा व्याकरण

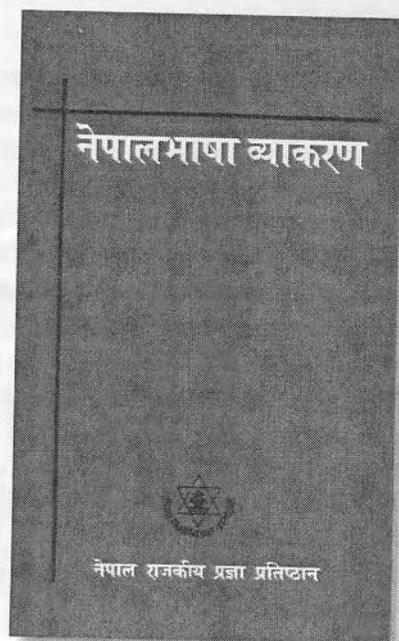
सम्पादकजु 'सन्ध्या टाइम्स'

छिगु न्हिपौया तँसापौपाखें सिउगु ने.रा.प्र.प्र.पिका:गु 'नेपालभाषा व्याकरण' स्वये आपुलु जूगु यक्व हे दत । बल्ल तल्ल थिमिया भाजु सुभापरामपाखें वंगु जनवरी १९तारिखय् ल्हा:तय् लात । सफूया छव: नं सी दु ध्व सरकार १ पह: व: । उकेंसंतुं ने.रा.प्र.प्र.या चिं नं सरकारी पह:यात भन सहिछाप तयाव्यूगु दु । देव: पुइकेवं च्वमि डा. सुन्दरकृष्ण जोशीजु न्हुदँ २००५ या भिन्तुना देख्ना: सहि नं याना त:गु खना: वय्कल जित: लुमनिगु सिल । जिगु सुभाय् दु वय्क:यात । अनलि 'उपकुलपतिको मनतव्य' धका: मोहन कोइरालां सफूनाप स्वापू मदुगु महानवार्णी जा:गु नेपालीकरणया सन्देश वियात:गु दु । वयां लिपा 'प्रकाशकीय' नामं सम्बन्धित विषययात कया: च्वयात:गु दु । थन नेपालीयात राष्ट्रभाषा अले नेपालभाषायात राष्ट्रिय भाषा धका: नालात:गु दु । ध्व सरकारी छाप तया: जनतातय्त ध्वलायेत 'राष्ट्र' व 'राष्ट्रिय' निगू शब्द छयलात:गु खनेदु । गुकेया अंग्रेजी शब्द 'नेशनल' छगू जक जुड । अनं लिपा 'उपोदघात' छयीं तया: ने.रा.प्र.प्र.या सदस्य डा. पन्थी नेपालभाषाया विकास जूगु स्वये मफया: हीमी चा:म्हें च्वक च्वयात:गु खना: जि अजू चायाच्वना । वय्कल नेपालभाषायात बवहयं भावनां स्वया थ:गु मनया खँ प्वकात:गु दु । छाय्घा:सां सन १९९५ पाखें हे नेपालभाषायात 'नेवारी' मध्यायेगु धका: मन्त्रीपरिषद पास जूगु च्यादँ लिपा नं नेपालभाषा धका: सम्बोधन यायेत थाकु चा:म्ह डा. पन्थीजु भिनिंक: (१२) तक 'नेवारी' खँव: छयलातल । ध्व वय्कल मर यूगु खँ ला खहे मखु चायेक चायेक हे च्वयात:गु सी दु । अकें वय्क:या खग्व धूकृती 'नेवारी' शब्द लिक्का व्छये मफुनिगु अवश्य ख: । उलि जक मखु वय्कल नेपालभाषाया भाषिका वारे बालकृष्ण पोखरेलया नां न्ह यथना: वनेपाली, भादगाउँली, दोलखाली, चितलाङ्गी धका: न्हथना दिल । ध्व 'ली' व 'ई' घाना: अनार्य भाय्या नां सूचूका: आर्यकरण याना यकेगु प्रयास स्पष्ट सी दू । नेपालभाषाया भाषिकाय् वनेपाली गनं नं दुथ्याना च्वगु मदु । बालकृष्णया लिधंसाय् वनेपाली दुमथ्या:धका: च्वमियात कुंखनेगु पायेछ मजू । उलि जक मखु डा.पन्थीजु पहारीयात निकटतम भाषिका धका: 'पैभाय'यात लाका काये कथं भ्रमं जा:गु खँत नं च्वयात:गु

दु । अकिं वय्क:या खँ फुक्क तथ्याहन खनेदुगुलिं ध्व पौ च्वया: छिक पिनिनत जानकारी बिया च्वना । सफूया मू च्वमि डा. जोशीजु नं 'नेवारी' नां नेपालभाषाया विकल्प कथं स्वीकार यानात:गु दु । नेवा:समाजं नेवारी शब्द वहिष्कार याये धुका: नं च्वमिजु विकल्प नाला दिउगु पायेछ मजू । ध्व खँ छिकपिन्सं विचा:यानादी धेगु आशा याना ।

दरशा नेवामि,

अमेरिका ।









## **Conference, Seminar, Symposium, Announcements and Reports**

### **26<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference Linguistic Society of Nepal Nov 26-27, 2005**

Dr. Sunder Krishna Joshi  
Nepal Bhasha phonology with special reference to its  
today's writing system

#### **Omkareswar Shrestha**

/-Kari/ a multi porous suffix in Kodpa dialect of Nepal  
Bhasha

#### **Yogesh Raj**

Morpho syntax of the numeral 'one' in Newar language:  
A preliminary study.

#### **Tej Ratna Kansakar**

Taboo words and expression in Newar Language

### **Talk Program**

Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS)  
& Central Department of Buddhist Studies  
Tribhuvan University  
Kirtipur  
July 22, 2005

Speaker: Dr. Dina Bangdel  
Topic: Sacred Arts and Living Treasures of Nepal:  
The Circle of Bliss, Buddhist Meditational  
Art and Newar Buddhist Art and Practice"

### **Talk Program**

Central Dept. of Nepalbhasa  
Tribhuvan University  
July 23, 2005  
Speaker: Dr. Chunda Bajracharya  
Topic: Kumari in Newar Culture

### **Talk Program**

5th NOA Convention  
Washington D.C

May 28, 2006

Speaker: Daya R. Shakya

Topic: Linguistic Analysis of Street and Locality  
Names of Kathmandu

Speaker: Dr. Gautam Bajra Bajracharya

Topic: Preservation of Newar Culture in US Museum

Speaker: Prajwol R. Bajracharya

Topic: Tradition of Charya Dance in Newar Culture

Newar Dey Daboo

Japan

June 6, 2004

Speaker: Dr. David Gellner

Topic: Newar Society and Nepal Bhasa

### **Announcement**

14th Himalayan Languages Symposium  
Göteborg University, Göteborg, Sweden  
21-23 August 2008

Keynote speaker: Scott DeLancey, University of Oregon  
USA

The Himalayan Languages Symposium brings  
together scholars working on languages and language  
communities of the greater Himalayan region: north-  
western and north-eastern India, Nepal, Bhutan and  
the Tibetan Plateau, northern Burma and Sichuan, and  
Nuristan, Baltistan and the Burushaski-speaking area in  
the west.

We invite abstracts for presentations on topics including,  
but not limited to:

- \* Descriptions of lesser-known languages
- \* Argument structure
- \* Grammatical changes in contact situations
- \* Language change and variation
- \* Historical-comparative studies
- \* Typological studies
- \* Field reports
- \* Corpus-based analysis
- \* Language policy and language planning
- \* Ethnology and folklore
- \* Himalayan languages and new technologies

#### **Submission procedure**

Abstracts should be no longer than one page with one-  
inch margins using at least a 12-point font. Along with  
the abstract, please enclose a separate page specifying the  
authors' affiliation, address, and e-mail address. Abstracts  
may be submitted electronically (as an attached file in RTF,  
postscript, PDF or MS Word format). Please send your

abstract to HlsGoteborg at ling.gu.se

conference, send an e-mail  
To HlsGoteborg at ling.gu.se.

**Important dates**

- \* Abstract due: 31 March, 2008
- \* Acceptance notification: 30 April, 2008
- \* Symposium: 21-23 August, 2008

Information about the conference is also available at the  
conference homepage

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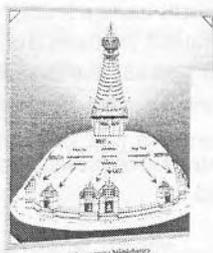
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Number 1 (1991) No. 1

NS 1118 / 1987

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AD 2061/02

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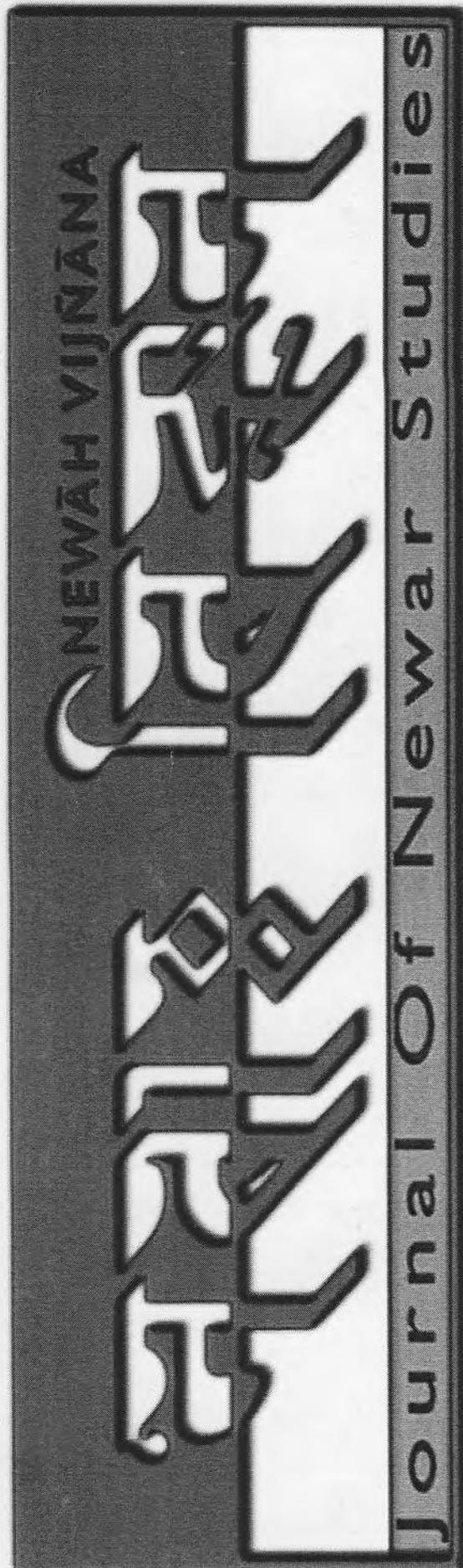
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Newāh Vijñāna, the Journal of Newar Studies accepts contributions for its seventh issue which will tentatively debut in 2009. The journal's aim is to consolidate empirical, theoretical, as well as any work done in Newar language, culture, art, history, custom, tradition, religion, biography, music, architecture, and the information on Newars around the world so as to serve tools to preserve and expose the richness of Newar heritage.

Submissions (articles, abstracts of recently completed dissertations and reviews of any work on Newars, translations of Newar literary works, notes on any work, project on Newars) are invited in English, Nepali and Nepal Bhasha. A hard copy and an IBM – compatible, preferably Microsoft word (two-column format), file on disk or electronic transfer to editors are required. The editors reserve the right not to process submissions that do not serve the goals of the journal.

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