

सूर्यमान तामाङ  
भिम बहादुर तामाङ

डेविड एच. होल्मबर्ग  
क्याथ्रिन एस. मार्च

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नेपाली र अमेरिकीको

दोहोरी नमस्ते  
**MUTUAL REGARDS**

America & Nepal seen through each others' eyes

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Surya Man Tamang  
Bhim Bahadur Tamang

David H. Holmberg  
Kathryn S. March

AMERICA - NEPAL - AMERICA

नेपालबाट अमेरिका र अमेरिकाबाट नेपाल

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- Suryaman Tamang and  
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## आभार

यो पुस्तक तयार पार्नमा धेरै जनाको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको छ र विशेष गरी यो पुस्तकको प्रकृतिले गर्दा सबभन्दा बढी महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्तिलाई समेत धन्यवाद ज्ञापन गर्न गान्छो हुनेछ ।

अमेरिका र नेपालमा हाम्रा घरपट्टीहरू र साथीहरू खासगरी लालबीर तामाङको परिवार, एरिक होल्मबर्ग, जीम र जेन मार्च, लोरा होल्मबर्ग, मार्क वेग्नर र आन होल्मबर्ग, जुडी लेन र किम अट्किन्स, कटी पर्स सबैलाई वहाँहरूको आतिथ्य र खुला दिलको लागि धन्यवाद दिन्छौ ।

सूर्यमान र भीम बहादुर तामाङलाई डिसेम्बर १९९२ देखि जनवरी १९९३ सम्म इथाका न्युयोर्कको भ्रमण खर्चको निमित्त अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सहयोग अनुसन्धान अनुदान प्रदान गरेकोमा कर्नेल विश्वविद्यालयको मानवशास्त्र अध्ययन समाजलाई धन्यवाद छ ।

यो पुस्तकको रूपान्तरणको लागि देव रञ्जितलाई धन्यवाद छ । बानु ओभा र शम्भु ओभा पनि यहाँहरूको सहयोगको लागि धन्यवादको पात्र हुनुहुन्छ । विनसेन आडम्स र धर्मरत्न शाक्य लगायत धेरै सहयोगीहरू, साथीहरू, विद्यार्थीहरूले धेरै नै उपयोगी पाठ्यसामग्रीहरू उपलब्ध गराएका छन् । मुद्रण कार्यमा सम्पूर्ण खर्च डा. डेविड र क्याथ्रिनबाट व्यहोर्नुभयो । यो पुस्तकको प्रकाशन वास्तविक रूपमा जीवन प्रिन्टिङ सपोर्ट प्रेसका रमेश तामाङ, महेश अधिकारी लगायत सम्पूर्ण परिवारको संयुक्त मेहनत र सहयोगबाट सम्भव भएको हो ।

अन्त्यमा यस पुस्तक छपाईको लागतमा धेरै सहूलियत प्रदान गरेकोमा भीम बहादुर तामाङ र उहाँको जीवन सपोर्ट प्रिन्टिङ प्रेसलाई धन्यवाद ज्ञापन गर्दछौ, जसले गर्दा यस पुस्तकको बिक्रीबाट उठेको रकम रसुवा र उत्तरी नुवाकोटका आर्थिक दृष्टिले कमजोर समुदायका केटाकेटीहरूको शैक्षिक क्षेत्रको लागि प्रयोग गर्न सकिनेछ ।

भीम बहादुर तामाङ  
सूर्यमान तामाङ  
क्याथ्रिन मार्च  
डेविड होल्मबर्ग

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many people have been important in the making of this book, especially because of the nature of this particular book, that it will be difficult to thank even the most important.

For their hospitality and openness, we thank all our hosts and friends both in America and in Nepal, especially the family of Lal Bir Tamang, Eric Holmberg, Jim and Jayne March, Laura Holmberg, Mark Wagner and Anna Holmberg, Judy Leon and Kim Atkins, Katy Pearce.

Thanks to the Society for the Humanities at Cornell University for an International Collaborative Research Grant for the travel expenses of Surya Man Tamang and Bhim Bahadur Tamang to Ithaca, NY, in December 1992 - January 1993.

Dev Ranjit deserves special thanks for his translations of the English into Nepali. For their help with translations from Nepali to English, thanks also go to Banu Oja and Shambhu Oja. We thank Dharma Ratna Shakya of Trisuli Bazaar for his patience helping edit the Nepali portions of the manuscript. Many colleagues, friends and students, too, provided useful readings and input, including Vinceanne Adams and Om Gurung. The basic costs of publication in Nepal were borne by David Holmberg and Kathryn March. The actual production of this book was made possible by the excellent staff at Jeevan Support Printing Press, including Ramesh Waiba and Mahesh Adhikari.

And, last but not least, we thank Bhim Bahadur Tamang and his Jeevan Support Printing Press for underwriting most of the production so that we can use the profits from the sale of this book to benefit disadvantaged children in the communities of Rasuwa and northern Nuwakot.

David Holmberg  
Kathryn March  
Bhim Bahadur Tamang  
Surya Man Tamang

## प्राक्कथन

ई.सं. १७ डिसेम्बर १९७५ मा डेविड एच. होल्मवर्ग र मेरो संयोगले धानसीड काउले प्रहरी चौकीमा भेट भयो। उहाँ तामाङ्को रीतिरिवाज चाल चलन सम्बन्धी अनुसन्धान गर्ने हुँदा सहयोगको रूपमा दिल खोली १८ महिना सम्म संगै काम गर्नुभयो। काम सकिएपछि २ अगष्ट १९७७ मा वहाँ स्वदेश फर्किनुभयो।

फेरी वि.सं. २०४४ भाद्रमा डा. डेविड होल्मवर्ग र डा. क्याथ्रिन एस. मार्च नेपाल काठमाडौं आउनु भयो। मलाई काठमाडौं डाक्नु भई उहाँहरूकै खर्चबाट ६ हप्ता अमेरिका घुम्न निमन्त्रणा सहित आउने जाने टिकटको बन्दोबस्त र भिसा समेत मिलाई २०४४ पौषमा स्वदेश फर्कनु भयो। त्यस बेला साथी भिम बहादुर तामाङ् साथमा जाने भएकोले वहाँलाई पनि भिसा मिलाई राख्नुभयो।

काग र बकुलाको हुलभिन्न लाटो कोसेरो भै केही दिनको अमेरिका यात्राको डुलाईमा आफूले देखेका रसरंगहरू बटुली यो सानु जर्नल (डाइरी) सबैको अगाडी प्रस्तुत गरेका छौं। सत्यकुरा खोल्दा तितोपन निस्कन गएको भए सबैले ख्याल राखी क्षमा गर्नु हुनेछौं।

मेरो डायरीलाई अंग्रेजीमा अनुवाद तथा प्रकाशन गरी दिनु हुने कोर्नेल विश्वविद्यालयका मानव शास्त्रका प्रोफेसर डा. क्याथ्रिन एस. मार्च र सोही विश्वविद्यालयका अध्यक्ष प्रोफेसर डा. डेविड एच. होल्मवर्गज्यूमा हृदय देखि कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन गर्दछु। यस पुस्तकको रूपान्तरलाई शुद्धि अशुद्धि शब्दहरू केलाई सहयोग गरिदिनुहुने नु.जि. त्रिशुली बजार निवासी श्री धर्मरत्न शाक्यज्यूमा संकल्पादेखि आभारी छु।

सुख लुकाए लुक्न सक्छ तर दुःख लुकाएर लुक्न नसकिएका गरिब दुःखी बालबालिकाहरूमा यसबाट संकलन भएको आय रकम शैक्षिक क्षेत्रमा सहयोग पुगोस भन्ने मेरो ठूलो आशा छ।

सूर्य मान तामाङ्ग वार्ड नं. २, मानेगाउँ

## PREFACE

On December 17, 1975 I met David H. Holmberg quite by chance, at the police check post at Kauli Thansing. We worked together with open hearts for 18 months on research about Tamang tradition and practices. When the work was done, on August 2, 1978, he returned to his own country.

Then, in Bhadau of 2044 B.S. Dr. David Holmberg and Dr. Kathryn March came back to Kathmandu. They invited me to Kathmandu and made arrangements at their own expense for the roundtrip tickets and visas for me to come visit America for six weeks, then they returned to Their own country in Poush 2044 B.S. At the same time, they also arranged for the visa for a friend Bhim Bahadur Tamang to go with me.

Just like a sleepy owl in a crowd of quick crows and egrets,\* I gathered whatever I saw that pleased me from each days journey of my wanderings in America into this little journal (diary); now we place it before all of you. If, in trying to tell the truth, some bitter facts also emerge, we hope you all will forgive us.

I would like to thank Dr. Kathryn March, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Cornell University, and Dr. David Holmberg, Associate Professor and Chair of Anthropology at Cornell University, heartily, for helping translate my diary into English and bringing it out in this book. I would like to thank Mr. Dharma Ratna Shakya from Trisuli Bazaar, Nuwakot District for his help in combing through the manuscript for any mistakes in the publications of this book.

The comforts of the rich can be hidden and concealed but not so the hardships of the poor; it is my greatest wish to help the children of the poor in their studies with whatever profits this book may bring.

Surya Man Tamang  
Ward No. 2, Manegaon

प्रस्तुत पुस्तक डा. डेविड एच. होल्मवर्ग र डा. क्याथ्रिन एस. मार्चका नेपाल बसाइँको संस्मरणको रूपमा दैनिकीहरूको संगालो हो। श्री डेविड र श्री क्याथ्रिन नेपाली जनजीवन अध्ययन गर्ने क्रममा संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाबाट १९७५ मा नेपाल पार्लु भएको थियो। यो नेपाल अधिराज्यको विभिन्न भागमा छरिएर रहेका कतिपय जनजातिहरूमध्ये तामाङ जातिको जीवन पद्धति/संस्कृति आदिको अध्ययन र अनुसन्धान-बारे वहाँहरूको दैनिकीको संगालोले पुस्तकको रूप लिएको छ। उहाँहरूको अनुसन्धानको कार्यमा सक्रिय रूपमा सघाउनु भएका श्री सूर्यमान तामाङ र म भिम तामाङ्को १९८८ मा भएको अमेरिका भ्रमणमा हाम्रा अनुभवहरू पनि यसै संगालोमा परेका छन्।

उहाँहरूको दैनिकीको यस संगालोको प्रकाशनले अतिथ्यप्रेमी तामाङ जातिलाई अमेरिकी जनताको साथै विश्वमा नै चिनाउने कार्य गर्नेछ भन्ने विश्वास लिएको छु। यस पुस्तकको विक्रीबाट उठेको रकमले गाउँघरको आर्थिक दृष्टिले कमजोरी छात्र-छात्राहरूलाई शैक्षिक अवकाश दिलाउने उद्देश्य लिएको छु।

अन्तमा हाम्रो अमेरिका भ्रमणको लागि सम्पूर्ण सहयोग दिनुहुने डा. डेविड होल्मवर्ग र डा. क्याथ्रिन मार्चज्यूलाई मेरो हृदयदेखि धन्यवादज्ञापन गर्दछु। हाम्रो अमेरिका भ्रमणको बेला आफ्नो अमूल्य समय दिनु भै सहयोग गर्न श्री शम्भु ओझा, बानु ओझा, डिग बहादुर तामाङ्, केटी पियर्स जीम र जेन मार्च, एरिक होल्मवर्ग, मार्क र आनालाई पनि धन्यवाद छ। यस पुस्तकलाई नेपालीमा रूपान्तरण गर्ने तथा पुफ रिडिङ्ग कार्यमा सहयोग गर्नु भएकोमा श्री देव रञ्जितलाई हार्दिक धन्यवाद ज्ञापन गर्दछु। साथै हाम्रो अमेरिका भ्रमणको टिपोटलाई परिष्कृत गर्न मद्दत गर्नुभएकोमा श्री धर्मरत्न शाक्यलाई पनि धन्यवाद छ। अस्तु।

भिम बहादुर तामाङ्ग  
नुवाकोट जिल्ला  
तुप्चे गा.वि.स., साहुगाउँ  
हाल नयाँबजार, काठमाडौं।

This proposed book gathers together the recollections of Drs. David H. Holmberg and Kathryn S. March from their daily life in Nepal. They came from the United States of America to study peoples' lives in Nepal beginning in 1975. From among the groups of people scattered throughout this Nepal sovereign's many districts they studied and researched about Tamang life, its patterns and culture, etc.; this book takes form around this collections of the quotidien. To help make their research work more accurate, Mr. Surya Man Tamang and I went on our journey to America and added our experiences to this book.

I am sure that they would like American people to get to know Tamang people, in the affectionate light of this collection of their daily observations. My goal is to give educational opportunities to impoverished children through whatever profits are realized by this book.

Finally, I would like to give my special thanks to Dr. David Holmberg and Dr. Kathryn March for their kind supports to our journey to America. Our acknowledgements are also due to Mr. Shambhu Ojha, Banu Ojha, Dig Bahadur Tamang, Ketty Pears, Jim and Jan March, Eric Holmberg, Marc and Anna for their help at the time of our American itinerary and Mr. Dev Ranjit for translating the book into Nepali and assistance in proof reading. Mr. Dharma Ratna Shakya for his help in preparing text based on the notes made during our stay in America.

Bhim Bahadur Tamang  
(Originally from Sahugaon,  
Tupche Village Development Committee,  
Nuwakot District, Nepal; and  
now residing in Naya Bazar, Kathmandu.)

\* KSM note: The usual Nepali expression is "like a (white) egret in a flock of (black) crows" evokes a the embarrassment of studying out too notically; here, Surya Man added the 'obe' whose name in Nepali includes the word 'mute' or 'idiot', for which I have added the words sleepy and quick in keeping with our personifications of those birds.

यो सानो पुस्तक बीस वर्षदिखि भैरहेको तामाङ्गहरूको उदार सहयोगको प्रतिफल हो । सन् १९७५ मा विशुली जाने बसमा सूर्यमान तामाङ्ग (निमा कर्मा हिम्दुङ) र डेभिड होल्मबर्गको भेट हुँदा मेरो विचारमा उनको जीवन र काम कति हदसम्म आवद्ध हुनेछ भन्ने कुरो दुवैलाई थाहा थिएन होला । काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको उत्तर-पश्चिम नेपालका मध्य पहाडहरूको बीचमा सूर्यमानको परिवारको जग्गा जमिन छ र त्यसलाई कडा परिश्रम गरी फलाएर फुलाएका छन् ।

मैले डेभिडलाई भेटदा उ एक वर्ष जति सूर्यमानको गाउँको घरको पिँडीमा मानवशास्त्रको स्नातक छात्रको विद्यार्थी रहेर पाहुना बनिसकेको थियो । त्यसपछि हामी वहाँहरूको भैँसीको गोठको माथिल्लो तलामा एक वर्षको लागि सय्यौं (जसलाई हामीले परिवर्तित षलो भन्यौं) । सन् १९७७ मा हामी हिँड्ने बेलामा हामीले सूर्यमानलाई अमेरिका आएर हामीलाई भेट्न भन्यौं ।

माटोले पोतेका घरहरूको अगेनाको वरिपरि गाउँघरका साथी भाईहरूसँगै बसेर कोदोको असल रक्सी पिउँदै तात्तातो खानेकुरा खाँदै धेरै पल्ट यो निम्तो दिइयो । यो बेला र अरु बेलाहरूमा पनि औपचारिक या अनौपचारिक रूपमा दैनिक जीवन साँच्चै नै आतिथ्यपूर्ण हुन्थ्यो । तामाङ्ग गाउँहरूमा आइपुग्ने बित्तिकै त्यहाँका मानिसहरू साँच्चै नै उदार र आतिथ्यपूर्ण हुँदा रहेछन् र (आएको पाहुनालाई जतिपल्ट भएपनि सत्कार गरी नै रहन्छन्) भन्ने कुरा हामीले चाल पायौं । हामी त्यहाँ जानुभन्दा पहिले तामाङ्गहरूसँग उठबस गर्नु "खतरापूर्ण" हुन्छ भनी अरु नै जनजातिहरूका हात्ता नेपाली साथीहरूले सिर्जेको चित्र विल्कुलै भूठो रहेछ भन्ने कुरो हाम्रो अनुभवले देखाएको छ । डेभिडले पहिले त्यहाँ एकलै रहँदा गाउँलेहरूसँग भएको मित्रतालाई कहिल्यै पनि बिसर्ने छैनन् र हामी दुवै वहाँहरूको सहृदयता प्रति कृतज्ञ रहनेछौं ।

हामी अगेनाको वरिपरि बसिरहँदा "अप्सीका" लाई किन "पाताल" भनेको हो र त्यहाँ के के हुन्छ भनी सूर्यमान र अरुले सोधिरहन्थ्यो । हामीले ठूलोला शहरहरू, अग्ला अग्ला भवनहरू र कृषि व्यवसायमा श्रम धेरै जसो यान्त्रिकरण भएको र एउटा गाउँमा भएको जति सबै जग्गा जमीनमा एकैजना किसानले खेती गर्छ भनी बताउने कोशिश गर्दा सबै कुरा बढाइ-चढाइ भनेको जस्तो लाग्यो ।

This little book is part of the harvest of now nearing twenty years of Tamang largesse. When Surya Man (Nghyema Karma Himdung) Tamang met David Holmberg on the public bus to Trisuli in 1975, neither of them realized how entwined their lives and work would become. Surya Man's family runs a farm, made prosperous through much hard work, in the middle hills of Nepal to the north and west of the Kathmandu Valley.

David had lived as a graduate student of anthropology and guest on the porch of Surya Man's family farmhouse for almost a year when Kathryn joined him. We moved and worked then in what we called our "reconverted rural barn" – the upstairs of their water buffalo shed – for another year. When we left in 1977, we invited Surya Man to come visit us in the States.

This invitation was made several times sitting on a straw mats around the open hearth of mud houses drinking good millet raksi and eating hot snacks with village kin-friends. These times and others, both formal and informal, infused daily life with genuine hospitality. We learned almost immediately upon our arrival in Tamang villages that people were warm and generous, a fact that was (and continues to be) reinforced over and over again. This experience countered the image created by many of our Nepalese friends from other ethnic groups who had warned us before we went that it was "dangerous" to live among Tamang. David especially will never forget the companionship of villagers while living there alone, and we are both forever grateful for their kindness to us together.

It was while sitting around the hearth like this that Surya Man and others would ask us to tell them what it was like "down below" in "Amrika." Try as we might everything sounded exaggerated as we described huge cities, tall buildings, and an agricultural system where labor was largely mechanized and where one farmer would cultivate as much land as there was in the whole village.

सामाजिक पद्धतिको वर्णन गर्नु त भन्ने गान्छो थियो । एकातिर जाति प्रथा जस्तो लाग्ने तर रङ्गभेदको तर्कमा आधारित दास प्रथाको इतिहास भएको काला र गोरालहरूको सम्बन्धलाई कसरी व्याख्या गर्न सकिँला । रक्सी, मित्रता र अगेनाको आगोको न्यानोपनामा विभोर हुँदै कुनै बेला सूर्यमान हामी कहाँ आउनु पर्छ भनी बारम्बार भन्थ्यौं । एकलै नआउने बरु मिल्ने साथी जसलाई विदेश यात्राको अनुभव पनि भएको होस् र उसले अंग्रेजी पनि बोल्न सकोस् त्यस्तो साथीलाई संगै लिएर आउनु पनि भन्यौं ।

१० वर्ष बित्यो । यस बीच हामीले नेपालमा काम गर्ने कैयौं मौका पायौं र अन्तमा सन् १९८७ मा उ भीम बहादुर तामाङ्गसँग यात्रा गर्न तयार भयो । भीमको परिवार पनि सूर्यमानको नजीकको गाउँको हो र उसले काठमाडौंमा छाप्ने प्रेस चलाएको छ र यसको लागि उ बैकक र हङ्कङ्ग गैसकेको छ । ई.सं. १९८८ मा वहाँहरू हामीहरूसँग इथाकामा भण्डै एक महिना बसे । यसै बेला वहाँहरू नायगारा फल्स, न्यूयोर्कसिटी र वासिंगटन गए । त्यसपछि वहाँहरू क्यालिफोर्निया सान्फ्रान्सिस्को गए ।

वहाँहरूको भ्रमण रमाइलो र खुशीको औसर थियो । सूर्यमान जहाँ गए पनि नोटबुक लिएर हिँड्थ्यो । दिनभरि उ नोट गर्थ्यो र साँझ विहान लेखिरहन्थ्यो । उसले हरेक कुरा बारे सोध्यो । उहाँले चाहेको सबै कुरा हामीले बन्दोवस्त मिलाई दिन्थ्यौं । सार्वजनिक विद्यालयहरू, प्रेस स्वतन्त्रता र जेलखाना, आयकर र बैकिङ, पुस्तकालय र पार्कहरू ... लामो सूची थियो । सँधै सजिलो पनि हुन्थ्यो, तर आदान प्रदान धेरै नै सूचनामूलक थियो । उदाहरणको लागि एकचोटी हाम्रो कर, बन्धकी, बीमा र तिर्नुपर्ने बिलहरू हाम्रो खाना र रहनसहनको खर्चको आधारभूत मूल्यहरूलाई सूर्यमानले उसले कल्पना गरेको अपार अमेरिकी तलबहरूसित दाँज्यो । फेरि आश्चर्य मानेर उसले भन्यो, "तपाईंहरूसँग त मैले नेपालमा खेति गरेर पाएको पैसाभन्दा पनि कम मात्र नगद हुने रहेछ ।"

To describe the social system was even harder. How could one explain the relations between black and white which was on the one hand something like caste but based on a logic of race and a history of enslavement. In the warmth of raksi, friendship, and the fire, we would usually say that Surya Man had to come visit us some time. We encouraged him not to travel alone, but to find a companion, someone he felt comfortable with, who had some international travel experience, and who could speak English.

It took ten years, during which we had various occasions again to work in Nepal, but finally in 1987, he proposed to travel with Bhim Bahadur Tamang. Bhim's family comes from a village near Surya Man's, but he now owns and operates a successful printing press in Kathmandu for which he has travelled to Bangkok and Hong Kong. In 1988, they stayed with us in Ithaca for almost a month, during which time they visited Niagara Falls, New York City and Washington D.C., then they went to the San Francisco area of California.

Their visit was an interesting and enjoyable turning of the tables. Surya Man carried a notebook with him wherever he went. He jotted notes down throughout the days and spent long hours in both mornings and evenings writing. He asked about everything and we tried to arrange for them to see anything they asked about. School taxes and public schools, freedom of the press and our local newspaper, courts and jails, income taxes and banking, libraries and parks..... it was a long list, not always flattering to one or the other's sensibilities, but the exchange was very informative. At one moment, for example, looking into our tax, mortgage, insurance, and other ongoing bill obligations, as well as our basic costs for food and living, Surya Man compared these expenses with what he had imagined to be our fabulous American salaries. He then remarked with some surprise, "It seems you end up with less cash on hand than I do after farming in Nepal."

सूर्यमान र भीमको संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाको यात्रा र यो लेखको संयुक्त लेखनले साभ्ना अनुभवको भण्डारलाई अझै बढाई दिएको छ । हामीहरू इथाका, न्यूयोर्क हुँदै न्यूयोर्क राज्यको ध्रुवेबाट नाइगारा झरनातिर मोटरमा गइरहँदा सूर्यमानले झ्यालबाट बाहिर हेरेर यो ठाउँ त आँखु खोलाको बाटोमा पर्ने ३,७०० मिटर र ३,९०० मिटर (१२,३३६ फीट देखि १२,७९२ फीटसम्म) बीचमा रहेको उच्च खर्क इलाका "रुपचेत र सिङ्गला" जस्तै रहेछ भनेको कुरा डेविडले सम्झन्छ । अमेरिकी दृश्यहरू पार गर्दै रहँदा सूर्यमानको मनमा खेलिरहेको सम्बन्धहरू र संस्मरणहरू सुन्नु र हास्रो साभ्ना अनुभवको भण्डार छ भन्ने कुरा बताएर हास्रो सम्बन्धलाई अझै गाढा बनाउनु धेरै नै घटलागदो थियो । अहिले भण्डै २० वर्ष पहिले हामीले काम गर्न शुरु गरेका गाउँहरूमा फर्कदा अहिले उता "अभिकामा" कस्तो छ भनी मानिसहरूले सोध्दा हामीले बयान गर्नुभन्दा बढी अर्थपूर्ण रूपमा सूर्यमानले धाराप्रवाह रूपमा आफ्नो संस्मरण बताउन सक्छ ।

त्यस यात्राको नोटबुक हामीले केही वर्ष पछि मात्र हेर्न पायौं । जब सूर्यमान र अरु कुनै व्यक्तिहरू गाउँका लागि शिक्षा आयोजनाहरूका लागि रकमको बारेमा छलफल गरिरहेका थियौं, हामीलाई हास्रो रचनाहरूबाट आएको आम्दानी चन्दा दिन भनियो । हामीले त्यो कुरा सहर्ष स्वीकार गर्नु । तर हामीले वहाँहरूलाई के कुरा पनि बतायौं भने यस्तो कितावहरूको दाम सीमित बजारले गर्दा यस्तो प्रकारको प्रकाशनहरूबाट धेरै पैसा उठ्दैन तर हामीले त्यसभन्दा पनि बढी गाउँमा काम गरेर योगदान गरिसकेका छौं । त्यति मूल्यमा हास्रो सबै रचनाहरू छापेर आएको पैसा भन्दा बढी हास्रो योगदान भैसकेको छ । हामीले के सुझाव दियौं भने उनको र हास्रो व्यक्तिगत नोटबुकमा आधारित लेखहरूको प्रकाशन बढी चाखलागदो होला । नेपाल बारे अनेकौं यात्रा बृत्तान्तहरू छापिसकेका छन् । हामीले पनि एउटा यात्रा बृत्तान्त प्रकाशित गर्ने सुझाव दियौं, जसमा हास्रो सबैको पारस्परिक दृष्टिकोणमा शुरु शुरुमा नेपालमा हास्रो अनुभवहरू र अमेरिकामा वहाँहरूको अनुभव समावेश हुनेछ र यसरी यो पुस्तकको प्रारम्भ भयो ।

Surya Man and Bhim's trips to the United States and the joint authorship of this text expanded what was already a rich reserve of common experience. David recalls that when we were driving from Ithaca, New York to Niagara Falls along the New York State Thruway, Surya Man looking out the window said, "This is just like Rupchet and Singh La," a high pasture area between 3,700 meters and 3,900 meters (12,136 feet to 12,792 feet) on the way to the Ankhu Khola. It was fascinating to hear the associations and memories that worked in Surya Man's mind as we crossed the American landscape and to realize that we had a reserve of common experience upon which we could enrich our relationship. Now, back in the villages where we began working almost 20 years ago, when people ask what it is like "down below" in "Amrika" Surya Man, more eloquently than we, can recount what it is like in terms that make much more sense than ours.

We did not see the notebooks from that trip, however, until some years later. Then, when Surya Man, and some others were discussing possible development plans for the village, we were asked about contributing the income from our writing. We agreed wholeheartedly, but explained that academic publishing is not often lavishly enriching; we had already personally contributed much more to village works than the combined income from all our writings. We suggested that a very different kind of book based upon their more personal notebooks might be of greater interest. Many travel monologues had already been written about Nepal; we suggested undertaking to produce a travel "dialogue:" tales both of our early misadventures in Nepal and of theirs in the United States. Thus began this book.

सूर्यमान र भीमले १९९२-९३ को हिउँदमा फेरि हामीं हास्रो आ-आफ्ना पुस्तकहरूको संकलन, सम्पादन र रूपान्तरण शुरु गर्नलाई भेटे । यसले गर्दा हरेक व्यक्तिको पुस्तकमा भएको उद्देश्य, हरेकको अवलोकन ठीक भए नभएको र हरेकको एक अर्काको समझदारी बारे धेरै छलफल भयो । यो यात्रा हामीले पहिले नै धेरै पहिले नै शुरु गर्नुपर्ने र यसबाट हामीले धेरै कुरा सिक्नौं । सधैं भैं हामी, सूर्यमान र भीमलाई वहाँहरूको धैर्य र मित्रताको लागि धन्यवाद दिन्छौं ।<sup>१</sup> हामीलाई आशा छ यो सानो पुस्तकले हामीलाई जस्तै पाठकहरूलाई पनि एक अर्काको संस्कृति र वैयक्तिक समझदारीबारे केही बोध गराउनेछ ।

डेभिड एच. होल्मवर्ग  
क्याथ्रिन मार्च  
(कर्नेल यूनिभर्सिटी  
इथाका, न्यूयोर्क, यू.एस.ए.)

Surya Man and Bhim joined us again<sup>1</sup> in the winter of 1992-3 to compile, edit and begin translation of our respective journals. The process led to many discussions of each person's goals in the book, of the accuracy of each's observations, of each's understanding of the other. It was a journey we should have embarked upon long ago and one from which we learned a great deal.<sup>2</sup> We especially thank Surya Man and Bhim for their patience and their friendship. And we hope this little book offers its readers at least some of the insights into cross-cultural and interpersonal understandings that it gave to us.

David H. Holmberg  
Kathryn S. March  
(Cornell University  
Ithaca, New York, USA)

1 This time with travel support from the Society for the Humanities at Cornell.  
१ यसपटक कर्नेलको "सोसाइटी फर द ह्युमानिटिज" ले यात्राको खर्च सहयोग स्वरूप उपलब्ध गराएको थियो ।  
2 For a longer discussion of these issues, please see the "Afterward" to this book.  
२ यी कुराहरूको विस्तृत छलफलको लागि यस पुस्तकको "अन्तमा" हेर्नुहोस् ।

## अमेरिका यात्राको संस्मरण

सूर्यमान तामाङ  
भिमबहादुर तामाङ

नेपालबाट अमेरिकासम्म<sup>1</sup>

नेपाल छोड्ने

२०४५ सालको वैशाख ३० गते १२ मे १९८८ का दिन आफ्ना आमा बाबु जहान छोराछोरी सबैसंग विदा मागी अमेरिका यात्राको निमित्त त्रिभुवन विमानस्थलमा पुग्यौं । विमानस्थलमा सबै आवश्यक जाँचबुझ भैसकेपछि विमानस्थलबाट १.४५ वजे विमानमा बसी विमान उडे ।

झ्यालबाट तल जमिनतिर हेर्दा साना साना घरहरू देखिन्थे । अलिमाथि उडेपछि खोला नालाहरू धागोको डोरो जस्तै देखिन थाले । पछि बादल भन्दा पनि माथि पुगेछु त्यतिवेला जमिनबाट आकाशमा बादल देखेभैं माथिबाट तलतिर चादल देखिने भयो ।

जाँदा जाँदा कताहो कता समुन्द्र देखियो । समुन्द्रको बीच बीचमा साना साना (गुरुधुम) म भुवाहरू देख्छु कतै कुइरोको मुस्लो उठेको देखापर्छ्यो । त्यतिवेला आफूले आकाश पाताल केही छुट्याउन पनि सकिएन । अन्यौलमा परे ।

जहाजभित्रै खाने पिउने बन्दोवस्त थियो । तरल पदार्थ (बियर, रक्सी, सर्वत आदि) हरू पनि थियो । कसैले के खाए कसैले कस्तो खाए । आफ्नो इच्छानुसार खान दिए । आफूले पनि केही खाएँ । यतिकैमा चालक कर्मीको आवाज विमान भित्र सुनियो हामी थाइलैण्डको नजिक पुग्दैछु । जमिन तिर हेरे त्यतिवेला कतै हरियो । कतै पहेंलो देखियो मनमनै भनि वालीनाली होला । विमानले बैककको विमान स्थलमा टेक्यो ।

## RECOLLECTIONS OF OUR TRAVEL TO AMERICA

Surya Man Tamang  
Bhim Bahadur Tamang

FROM NEPAL TO AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

Leaving Nepal

On the 30th of Baisakh 2045 (May 12, 1988), we went to Tribhuvan International Airport to take leave from all our families--mothers, fathers, wives, sons and daughters--in order to make my journey to America. After all the official procedures inside the airport were finished, we went to sit in the airplane and it took off at 1:45 PM.

Looking down toward the ground out of the window, little tiny houses could be seen. Flying a bit higher still, the rivers and streams began to look like tracings of thread. Later I got higher even than the clouds. Then, instead of seeing clouds from the ground in the sky above, now the clouds were below and could be seen from above.

As we went farther and farther, wheresoever we looked we saw the sea. In the very midst of the sea, I see a small small island. Here and there thick patches of fog appeared. Then, myself, I couldn't even tell the sky from the land. I was perplexed.

Inside the plane, there was both food and drink service. There were beverages (beer, liquor, sodas, and such like). Some ate this; others ate that. They gave you what you wanted to eat. Myself, I ate something. At that moment, I heard the pilot's voice inside the airplane, "We are nearing Thailand." I looked toward the ground. Then I saw some things that were green; some things, yellow. I thought to myself these must be various crops. The plane landed at the Bangkok airport.

<sup>1</sup> The main body of these texts is displayed in two parallel columns; each is a true translation of the other. The footnotes, however, are different in English and Nepali: in English, we note what a non-Nepalese reader might want to know; in Nepali, we try to clarify points that might be important for a Nepalese reader.

<sup>१</sup> यो किताबमा २-२ कोलम गरी छापेको कुरामा अंग्रेजीलाई नेपालीमा ठिक शपान्तरित गरिएको छ । तर फुटनोटमा छापेको कुरा अंग्रेजी र नेपाली छुट्टाछुट्टै छन् । किनभने अंग्रेजी पढ्न जान्नेको निमित्त अंग्रेजीमा बुझाइएको छ भने नेपाली पढ्न जान्नेहरूलाई नेपालीमा नै बुझाइएको छ ।

## थाइल्याण्डदेखि जापान

हामी दुवैलाई होटल मनाथान सम्मा द्याक्सीले पुन्याइ दियो । हामीले राहदानीको नम्बर दिएपछि हामीलाई होटलवालाले कोठाको साँचो दिएर बाहिर अर्कै रेष्टुरामा गएर खान गयौं । भिमबहादुर पहिले पनि गई अनुभवी भएको हुँदा खान वहाँलेनै अडर गर्नु भयो । खानामा चिप्ले किराको भोल (सुप) र गुडटे किरा जस्तोको भुटुवा आयो । कहिल्यै नखाएकोले खानु पर्दा आँखा चिम्लेर घाँटीमा पनि नछुने गरी मिले । भिमचाही अहा कति मिठो भन्दै आफ्नो लागि अर्को पनि अडर गर्नु भयो । खाइसकेपछि वील आयो वीलमा हामी दुईजनाले खाएको खर्च १७० थाई बाट लागेको थियो ।

१३ मे का दिन विहान ५.४५ बजे हामीले त्यो होटल छाडी बैंकका विमानस्थलमा पुग्यौं । त्यहाँको समय अनुसार ७.०५ बजे विमान उड्यो । निकै माथी पुग्दा आफूलाई वादल माथी पुगेको देख्दा पहिले पहिले ठूला ठूला लामागुरुहरूले देवलोकमा यस्तो वादल माथी नारदेवताहरू विमानमा बसी यताउती जान्थे, भन्ने कुराकानी गर्थे, अनेक प्रकारका दिव्य फलफूलहरू भोजन गर्थे भनि थाइकाहरूमा देखाई उपदेश गरेको कुरा सम्झना भयो । किनभने आफूले पनि विमानमा भित्र अनेक प्रकारको खानपिन र रसरंग गर्न नाचगानहरू पनि सुन्न देख्न पाइरहेको थियो ।

यतिबेला हामी जापानको अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय विमानस्थल टोकियोतर्फ उडी रहेको थियो । मलाई भने विमान भित्रको चलचित्र हेर्नु भन्दा झ्यालबाट आँखाले भेटायसम्मको काँहा के के देखिन्छ सो हेर्न आकाश र जमिन तिरामात्र हेर्न मन परिरहन्थ्यो ।

विमान उडी रहेछ माथी पनि निलो तलपनि निलो देख्दा कुन आकाश कुन समुन्द्र छुट्याउन पनि गान्हो भयो कुकुरको शरीरमा कुनचाहिँ रौ कुन चाही जाठा भनेभै आकाश र समुन्द्र छुट्याउन गान्हो पन्थो ।

<sup>2</sup> In Nepali, a proverb: *Kukur-ka shir-ma chauthi 'rang, kun chauthi 'janTila'* As with all proverbs, this is largely untranslatable, but it makes reference to the fact that, while the various kinds of hair on the human body are called in the Nepali language by different words (thus, hair on the head, facial hair, pubic hair, hair on the feet), on a dog's body, there is only one kind-fur.

## Thailand to Japan

The taxi took us both to the Manathan Hotel. After taking down our passport numbers, the hotel person gave us our room keys and took us to our numbered room. Seeing that our hotel was rather expensive, we went outside to eat in another restaurant. Since Bhim Bahadur had already come here before, he ordered the food. The food came: it was like big grub or slug soup with fried hook-and-roundworms! I had to eat things I'd never eaten before. With my eyes closed, not letting anything touch the sides of my throat, I swallowed. Bhim, on the other hand, said, "Ah... how tasty this is," and ordered some more for himself. After we'd finished eating, the bill came and it seems that we two had eaten 170 Thai baht's worth.

On the 13th of May, at 5:45 in the morning, we left the hotel and went to the Bangkok airport. The plane took off at 7:05 AM, Bangkok time. As we got up high, myself, as I got above the clouds and looked out, I thought: in the beginning, the most important lama-teachers, sitting in divine 'planes,' went back and forth above clouds just like these in the realm of the gods. I remembered the words of the lamas as they preached to us, showing us on their sacred paintings, and saying that the gods feasted upon all conceivable kinds of celestial fruits up there. Therefore, too, myself, inside the plane, it seemed I ate and drank all conceivable kinds of things and listened to all sorts of music and watched all kinds of images with dancing and song.

Then, we were flying toward Japan's Tokyo International Airport. It seemed I preferred to look out the windows at the sky and the land to see whatever I could with my own eyes rather than watch the movies shown in the plane.

It seems the plane climbed higher and higher. Looking at the blue above and the blue below, distinguishing sky from sea became hard. Just as we say, "On a dog's body, which is 'fur' and which is 'pubic hair,'"<sup>2</sup> in the same way, it had become difficult to tell sky and sea apart.

कतै कतै सा-साना टापूहरू देख्नु हेर्दाहेर्दै एक्कासी चालक दलको आवाज सुनियो 'हामी टोकियोतिर आइपुगेको छु ।' जमिनतिर हेर्ने रूख थुम्को घर अनि खेतिपाती लगाई राखेको हरियाली देख्छु । जहाजले जमिनमा टेकियो तेतिखेर जापानको घडीमा ३ बजे को थियो । यसरी हामीले स्वर्गका देवताहरूको कल्पना गर्दै ५ घण्टाको समय आकाशमा यात्रा गर्नु ।

टोकियोमा जाहाज बदलिने समय १/२ आघा घण्टाको समयमात्र थियो केही बेरपछि भुलले अर्को लाइनमा लाइन लाग्न पुगेछु । अरूसंग सोझा होइनको सहयोग पाउँदा हत्तरपत्त कुदेर जाँदा अन्तिम व्यक्तिले हामी हुन पुग्यौं । १ सेकेण्डमात्र ढिलो भएको भए हामी त्यो दिन विमान छुटदथ्यो ।

## अमेरिका पुग्दा

विमानमा हत्तर पत्त गएर हेर्छुत सबै पहिलेका साथीहरू पहिल्यै बसीसकेका थिए । हामी पनि बस्यौ विमान उडे चालक दलको आवाज सुनियो अब हाम्रो उडान थुडिडटोपट तर्फ जाँदैछ । त्यतिखेर जापानी समय अनुसार दिउँसाँको ३.३० बजेको थियो । मैले एक छिन के निदाएको थिए व्युभ्रदा १०.४५ भैसकेको रहेछ । तर झ्याल उघारेर हेर्दा मिरमिरे उज्यालो भैसकेको देखें । त्यतिबेला मलाई भिरमुनी खोलाको छेउमा बास बसेको जस्तो लाग्यो । खोला कलकलाए भै विमानको हुँ हुँ आवाज निन्द्राले आँखा परपराएको ।

केहिछिन पछि एकजना सहयात्री विदेशीसंग सोधे - 'यो कुन देश होला ? त्यसले भन्यो मेरो विचारमा यो क्यानाडा हुनु पर्छ । बाहिरा झ्यालबाट हेर्छु कतै सेताम्य हिउँ कतै कपास बिच्छ्याए जस्तो कुहिरो कतै १०८ कण्डा तीर्थ जस्तै देख्छु । घर बस्ती कहिँ छैन । कहिँ हिउँले खाएका होलान् । रूखको नाम निसानानै छैन । केहिबेर पछि जंगल अनि ठूलो समुन्द्र देखापन्थो । एकजना विदेशीले भन्यो - 'यो समुन्द्रदेखि उता सबै अमेरिका हो । जुन ठाउँलाई मिसिगन भनिन्छ रे । चालकदल भन्छ अब डिडटोपट पुग्नु ६३९७ मिटर बाकिछ । के हो मैले केही थाहा पाएन ।

I saw so many little tiny islands in the sea. While I was looking and looking, suddenly, I heard the voice of the pilot, "We have arrived near Tokyo." I looked toward the ground. I saw patches of forest, houses, and fields planted in green. The plane landed. It was 3 o'clock, Japan time. Thus, imagining ourselves in the gods' heavens, we had travelled for five hours in the sky.

We only had half an hour to change planes in Tokyo. By mistake, we got into the wrong line. Asking others for help, we discovered it wasn't the right line. Hurrying as fast as we could go, we two arrived at the last possible moment. If we had been even a single second later, we would have missed the plane that day.

## Arriving in the United States

The plane took off and we heard the voice of the pilot, "Our flight goes direct to Detroit." At that time, Japan time, it was 3:30 in the daytime; I fell asleep for a moment and when I awoke, it seems it was 10:45 on my watch. But opening the shade and looking out the window, I saw the early morning light. Then it seemed to me as if I had just passed the night at the base of a cliff by a river. The plane's humming noise was just like the roaring of a river; my eyes were scratchy from lack of sleep.

A little later, I asked one of the other foreign travellers, "What country might this be?" He said, "I think it must be Canada." I looked outside the window: some places were blinding white with snow; some places were foggy as if full of cotton; in some places, I saw 108 lakes, just like in the sacred Himalayan pilgrimage places. There wasn't a single house or shed. There wasn't a sign of any kind of tree there where the snow had overtaken everything. A little while later, I came to see forest and a big body of water. One foreigner said, "Beyond that water, it's all America. A place called Michigan." I thought I heard the pilot say, "Now we only have 6397 millimeters to go until we reach Detroit."



## डेट्रॉइट एयरपोर्ट "अमेरिकामा स्वागत"

यसरी ३०-३१ घण्टाको समय २०-२१ घण्टाको हवाई उडान पछि १३ मे का दिन दिउसो २:३० बजे हामी डिट्रॉयट अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय विमान-स्थलमा आइपुग्यौं पूर्व कार्य तालिका अनुसार विमान रातको १० बजे पुगनु पर्थ्यो तर स्याटल नउत्री सिधा डिट्रॉयट गएको हुनाले यति छिटो पुगेको थियो ।

डिट्रॉयटभित्र प्रवेश गराउनेमा एउटी महिला अधिकारी थिइन, जुन हेर्दा हाम्रो धर्को हौडी जस्तै कली थिइन । हामी उन्कै अगाडी उभिन पुग्यौं । उनले राहदानी हेरीसकेपछि प्रश्न गरिन । "अमेरिका किन आएको ? भिमजीले नहडवडाइकन साँचो उत्तर दिए । "हामी डा. होल्मबर्ग र डा. मार्चबाट घुमिफिरको निमन्त्रणामा आएको हुँ" भनि हामी दुवैले निमन्त्रणा पत्र देखाएँ । " उनले अर्को प्रश्न गरिन - "फर्कने टिकट छ कि छैन ? हामी दुवैले आ-आफ्नो फिर्ति बायुयानको टिकट देखाये । उनले फेरी अर्को प्रश्न गरिन - "कति महिनासम्म बस्छौं ? यसको खर्च कस्ले गर्छ ?" हामीले भन्यो - धेरैमा ५-६ हप्ता बस्छु ।

यहाँ वसुन्जेल सम्पूर्ण खर्च डा. होल्मबर्ग र डा. मार्चबाट गर्नु हुनेछ । हामीहरूको स्वभाव र कागजसंग उनी विश्वासी बनिन् अनि अनुमतिको मिति र प्रवेशाज्ञाको छाप हामी दुवैको राहदानीमा ठोकी दिइन र शुभकामना दिदै भनिन् तपाईं दुवैको सुस्वास्थ्य अमेरिकामा राम्रो होस् ।

अनि हामी दुवैले आ-आफ्नो सानु भोला लिई भंसार कक्षाका कर्मचारीहरू भएतिर गयौं भोला हेरेर हामीलाई जानुहोस भनि पठाए । त्यसपछि सेराक्यूस जाने गेट सोधी बोर्डिङकार्ड लिई गयौं । ५:३० बजे सेराक्यूस पुग्यौं । पूर्व कार्य तालिका अनुसार भन्दा ५ घण्टा अगावै पुग्यौं ।

## इथाका न्युयोर्कमा स्वागत

रातको १०:३० बजेपछि डा. होल्मबर्ग र नुवाकोट थानसि काउले बस्ने शम्भु ओभा हामीलाई लिन विश्रामशालामा आइपुगनु भयो । डा. होल्मबर्गको ठूलो हातमा हामी दुवैको सानो हात हराए जस्तै भयो । ओभाजीलाई नेपालको चलन नमस्ते गरे ।

## The Detroit airport: "Welcome to America"

Thus after 30-31 hours total and some 20-21 hours of flying time<sup>3</sup>, on May 13th at 2:30 PM, we arrived at Detroit International Airport. According to our original plans, we should have arrived at 10 PM, but because we didn't touch down in Seattle and came instead straight to Detroit, we arrived this quickly.

Inside the Detroit airport, handling arrivals, there was a woman agent who was as dark as the fire blackened pots at home. We went to her. After looking at our passports, she questioned us, "Why have you come to America?" Without hesitation, Mr. Bhim answered truthfully, "We have come for a visit at the invitation of Drs. Holmberg and March." And so saying, we showed her the letter of invitation. She asked another question, "Do you have a return ticket or not?" We both showed her our return tickets. Then she asked again, "How many months will you be staying? Who will be paying your expenses?" We said, "At most, we will stay 5 or 6 weeks.

While we are here, all our expenses will be paid by Drs. Holmberg and March." Judging both our papers and our character, she trusted us and stamped the entrance permission and date in both our passports. And, wishing us a good trip, she said, "You two have a good stay in America."

So the two of us each took our hand baggage and went towards the customs agents. After checking our bags, he sent us off, saying, "You may go." After this, we asked about the gate for Syracuse, got our boarding cards, and went. We arrived in Syracuse at 5:30 PM, 5 hours before our scheduled arrival time.

## Welcome to Ithaca, New York

So at 10:30 in the night, Dr. Holmberg and Shambhu Oja, who came from our own Nuwakot's Thansing Kauli, both came to get us in the waiting room. Shaking hands, it was as if our smaller hands got lost inside Dr. Holmberg's big ones. Mr. Oja greeted us with a Nepali 'namaste.'

डा. होल्मबर्गले 'अमेरिकामा तपाईं दुवैलाई स्वागत छ भनि गेट बाहिर आफ्नो कारमा राखी ८० माइल (१०० किलोमिटर) पर आफ्नो घर तर्फ कार कुदायो ।

## इथाकामा

### पहिलो दिन

घर पुग्दा डा. क्याथिन मार्चले ढोका खोली मिजास साथ स्वागत गर्नुभयो । गाउँघरको सबै चिने जानेका साथी भाईहरूलाई शुभकामना दिई सोघपुछ गरिन् । डायनिङ्ग कोठामा पुगेपछि निन्द्रा लाग्नुको निमित्त केही भोल पदार्थ सेवन गर्दै रमाइलो गर्दै हंसि डा. मार्च भन्नु हुन्छ "लौ नेपाली दाल भात खान कति मनपर्छ तर म राम्रोसंग पकाउने ढंग छैन भनि आफ्नो सीपलाई छोट लगाएर हसाउँछिन ।

खान पिन गरी सकेपछि सुत्न गए तर त्यो रात निन्द्रा परेन विहानी पख भने भुसुनकै निदाएछु । किनभने नेपालको जुन दिन हो । त्यहाँ त्यतिखेरा रात हुन्थ्यो, नेपालको रात त्यहा दिन भएकोले होला ।

१४ मे को दिन अवेर सम्म निदाएछु उठी डेविडको साथ मोटर लिएर हुलाकमा हवाई पत्र किन्न गएर क्यासपार्कमा<sup>३</sup> डेविडले मोटर रोकियो । बाहिर निस्के आकाशमा हवाई जहाजहरू चिलभै भुनुनु गर्दै उडिरहेको थिए । सडक भरी अनभिन्ति मोटर कमिलाको ताँती भै गुडी रहेको देखे । परन्तु सडक र सडकको पेटिमा एकजना सम्म पनि मानिस हिडेको देखिएन । दुई दम्पति पनि दुइटै कारमा गइराखेको देखे ।

कायुगा लेक भन्ने ठूलो तालतिर आँखा पुग्छ । त्यही तालमा विभिन्न किसिमका पानी जहाज कुनै मोटरबाट चल्ने कुनै खियाउनु पर्ने, कुनै (फिसिङ्ग बोर्ड) माछाको शिकार गर्ने, कुनै होडवाजी राखी पहिला पुग्न कुदाउने यस्ता डुंगा, बोर्ड, जहाजहरू मेरो साना आँखाले भेट्टाउँने नसकिने किसिमसंग छयापछयाप्ती कुदि रहेको देखे । त्यहाँको त्यो रमाइलो दृश्य कहिल्यै नबिसर्ने गरी मुटु र छाति भित्र घुपारी राखेको अर्भै पनि छ ।

Dr. Holmberg said, "Welcome to America," and we went out the gate to his car. He drove his car quickly the 80 miles (100 kilometers) to his own house.

## ITHACA

### Our first days

When we got to the house, Dr. Kathryn March opened the door and welcomed us politely. She greeted us and asked about everyone she knew and all their friends in my house and in the village. After going into the dining room, eating and drinking a little something to make us sleepy, we all enjoyed ourselves and laughed. Dr. March said, "So, would you like to eat some Nepali rice and lentils? Except that I don't know the way to cook it," and so saying, finding fault in her own skill, she made us laugh.

After eating and drinking, we went to bed. That night, I wasn't sleepy; but as soon as it was morning, I fell sound asleep. Because whatever day it was in Nepal, at this time it would have been night there. Perhaps I feel asleep because, although it was day here, it was night in Nepal.

On the 14th of May, we slept late and, after going to the Post Office to buy arograms, David stopped the car with us at Cass Park<sup>4</sup>. I got out: airplanes circled in the sky like so many hawks; the streets were filled with uncountable numbers of cars racing like so many streams of ants. Nevertheless, I didn't see a single person walking in the streets or on the sidewalks. Instead, I saw husbands and wives driving, one by one, in their own separate cars.

My eyes turned toward the large lake called Cayuga. On that lake, there were various kinds of boats: some were driven by motors; some had to be rowed; some were fishing boats; some were racing to see who would be first. My little eyes couldn't take in all the many kinds of barges, boats, and water vessels that were floating in great packs there. The beauty of that scene is still gathered together unforgettably in my heart and chest.

<sup>3</sup> Repeatedly, as we worked out the times for these travels, it became clear that Surya Man and Bhim counted "travel time" only in terms of "time in the air," while I (KSM) tended to think of time for the whole trajectory.

<sup>२</sup> इथाका न्यु योर्क स्टेटमा पर्छ तर न्यु योर्कको ठूलो शहरबाट गाडीमा ७-८ घण्टा टाढा छ ।

<sup>३</sup> इथाका गाउँको एउटा "पार्क", कायुगा तालको किनारमा

## किनमेल र दृश्यावलोकन

त्यसपछि हामी किनमेल (मार्केटिङ्ग) को लागि निकै ठूलो पसलमा गयौं । पसलको नजिकै कार रोकी ठेलगाडा जस्तो वास्केट ठेलेर भित्र पसें । आफूलाई चाहिने सामानहरू भित्रै वास्केटमा राख्दै घिर्च्याउँदै आफूलाई चाहिने सामान पुगेपछि त्यो सामानहरू हिसाब गर्ने ठाउँ (काउण्टर) मा पुग्यौं । हर हिसाब कम्प्युटरबाटै विल निकाली दिंदोरहेछ नगदको लेनदेन रहेनछ, सबै चेकको सिस्टम रहेछ । अचम्म लाग्यो बैकमा पैसा छ छैन कस्तो मानिस हो ? कत्रो विश्वास कस्तो इमान्दारीपना । भावनाको विकास उन्नतीशिल देश भएरनै होला । हामी पसलबाट बाहिर निस्की सबै सामान कारमा राखी डेविडको घर तिर फर्क्यौं ।

दिउसो डेविड र क्याथ्रिनले आफ्नै कारमा राखी उनीहरूले 'पढाउने कोर्नेल विश्वविद्यालय' तर्फ लाग्नु भयो । शहर भन्दा पूर्वपट्टि पर जंगल पहाड भएपनि समतल ठाउँमा बनेको उक्त विश्व-विद्यालयको संस्थापक "एज कोर्नेल हुनु हुँदो रहेछ । उसको सालीक विश्वविद्यालयकै प्राङ्गणमा खडा राखेको देखे । जुन विश्वविद्यालयमा, मानव शास्त्र, विज्ञान, कृषि, इन्जिनियर इत्यादि धेरै विषयहरूको विद्यालय रहेछ ।

भोलिपल्ट आइतबारको दिन डा. डेविड र क्याथ्रिन मार्चको छोरा छोरी अनि हामी पनि फिंगर लेकको माझ समुन्द्रको किनारमा खानाहरू लिएर पिकनिक मनाउन गयौं । फर्किँदा बाटोमा क्याथ्रिन मार्चले हामीलाई एउटा ठूलो पसलमा लगिन् । हामी दुवैको एक सरो लुगा बाहेक अर्को फेरि लुगा लगेको थिएन । त्यसकारण केही कपडा किन्न खोजे पैसा अति खर्चिलो भएर मनपर्ने लुगा देखेन भन्दै किनेनौ अन्तमा केही नकिनी कसरी जाने भनि एक दर्जन मोजा किने । अरू किन्नत के मूल्य सुन्दा भारी पुग्यो । बाटोमा मैले उखान हाले "गोला गोइजेन् म्हे, कपल स्होम्बो" अर्थात् "आइमा लाउने लुगा छैन, खुट्टामा जुता" यो

## Shopping and sightseeing

After that we went shopping at a pretty big store. We parked our car near the store and, taking a pushcart-like-thing, went inside. Taking the things we needed off the shelves ourselves, putting them in the basket, and pushing it. When we had everything we needed, we took those things to the counter where they added them up. It seems that the total cost came out on a bill produced by a computer. It didn't seem there was much dealing in cash; everything was done by check. It seemed strange. Was there money in the bank or not? What kind of person was it? How much to trust, how to measure honesty? Perhaps it was also a mentally developed, progressive country? We went out of the store, put all our things in the car, and went back to David's house.

During the day, getting into their car, David and Kathryn took us to Cornell University where they teach. Even though it seemed there were only forest and hills farther to the east of the city, there, on the ridge, was that university established by Ezra Cornell. I saw his statue standing there in the quadrangle in front of the university, in which university it seems anthropology and social studies, sciences, agriculture, engineering, and many other subjects could be studied.

The next day was Sunday, so David, Kathryn, their children, and we, too, took our food to the shore of a lake in the middle of the Finger Lakes and went on a picnic. On the way home, Kathryn took us to a really big store. Neither of us had brought more than a single change of clothes. So we wanted to buy a few more clothes. Because everything cost so much, saying we didn't see anything we wanted, we bought nothing. In the end, saying how we couldn't go without buying anything at all, I bought a dozen socks. Whatever else we might have bought, whenever we heard the price, it was too much. On the road again, I told a proverb: (in Tamang) *gola goijen mhe kangpala sombo*, meaning: "no clothes covering the body, [but] shoes on the feet." When David heard that

उखान सुनेर डेविडहरू हररर हाँसे ।

१७ मे का दिन विहान जलपान गरेर भिमजी र म मात्र पैदलै कहाँ कहाँ सम्म डुल्ल हेर्न सकिन्छ भनेर निस्के बाटोमा एउटा पसलभित्र लुगा कोठीमा पसे । त्यहाँ एक एक जोर पल्लुड (पाइन्ट) लिए पैसा बुझाउन काउण्टर भएको ठाउँमा आई पैसा बुझाए ।

कम्प्युटरले के गरेको हो हामीलाई थाहा थिएन पाइन्टलाई कम्प्युटरबाट निकालेर हामीलाई दियो त्यसरी कम्प्युटरबाट मार्क नगरेमा ढोकाबाट बाहिर छिर्न नमिल्ने रहेछ । बाहिर गएमा सेनसर (कम्प्युटर) बाट रातो वृत्ति बलेर आवाज दिंदो रहेछ ।

त्यो कुरा हामीले पछि मात्र बुझे । कुनै मुखाले कसैले देखेको छैन भनेर सानतिना कुरा खल्तीमा लुकाएर लगेको भने ढोकामा त्यसरी कम्प्युटरले मार्क नगरेको माल हो भने ढोकामा पक्कै कम्प्युटरले नै समावद्ध रहेछ विकसित देशमा मेशिनबाट नै चौकीबारीको काम गर्दोरहेछ ।

## जन्मदिनको अवसरमा भोज

१८ मे डा. मार्चको जन्मदिन वेलुका हामीसबै डायनिङ्ग रूपमा गोलाकार लिएर बस्यौं । डा. मार्चले खाने पिउने कुराले टेबुल सजाइन् जसमा वियर रक्सी धेरै किसिमका थिए । हामीले कहिल्यै नदेखेका जीवाणु जसलाई लावस्ट्रिक भन्दो रहेछ उसिनेर एक एक वटा चिम्टाले समातेर आ-आफ्नो भागमा राखिदियो । मुख हेर्दा फटेइया जस्तो, औला हेर्दा गंगटा जस्तो जिउ हेर्दा काठभित्रको किराजस्तो थियो । खानेपो कसरी ? मनयने अनकनाएं खौ भने कान्छ बाबुको अनुहार, नखौ भने दिन भरिको शिकार जस्तो भयो ।

proverb, he really laughed.<sup>5</sup>

On the morning of 17th of May, after breakfast, saying that we wanted to see where we would end up if we went out just wandering and sightseeing, Bhim and I went out by ourselves on foot. On the way, we went into a clothes store. There we each bought a pair of pants. We paid at the check-out counter.

What did the computer do? we didn't know, but they took something off the pants with a computer-like device and gave them to us. It seems that if the computer didn't mark the clothes this way, we couldn't pass out the door. If we'd gone out, it seems that a red light would turn on and an alarm would sound.

We only understood these things later. If some idiot said to himself that no one would see and hid some little thing in his pocket to take it, it seems that the computer would know that unmarked things were at the door and catch him. It seems that machines do the work of guards in a developed country.

## A birthday party

On the evening of May 18th, we all sat around the table in the dining room for Kathryn's birthday. Dr. March had placed all the food and drink out festively. There were beer, whiskey and all kinds of things. There was a living creature we'd never seen that they called a 'lobster.' They boiled them, alive and, taking them out one by one with thongs, gave each of us one. The head looked just like a grasshopper; the fingers looked just like those of a crayfish; the body looked just like the grubs in rotten wood. However was it to be eaten?! I hesitated, puzzled. Like the proverb (in Nepali) *khaon bhane, kangcha bau ko anuwar; na khaon bhane, din bhari ko shika*<sup>6</sup>, meaning "If [we] say, 'Let's eat it,' it looks like my younger uncle; but if [we] say, 'Don't let's eat it,' it's been the whole day's hunt."

<sup>4</sup> A city park in Ithaca, NY, on the shores of Cayuga Lake.

<sup>5</sup> Because Surya Man had just bought himself socks when what he really needed was a change of clothing. This Tamang proverb refers to the tendency of people to buy themselves 'luxury' items like watches or shoes whenever they got to markets bigger than those to which they were accustomed, even though they might not have enough clothes to cover their bodies.

<sup>6</sup> This proverb concludes the story of a group of hunters who, having hunted all day long to find a deer, killed a monkey. Looking at the monkey, they couldn't eat it because its face resembled that of a person; but if they didn't eat it, they would have wasted the entire day's hunting.

पछि डा. मार्चले सुपारी फोर्ने सरौटा दिनु भयो । मैले एउटा वुडी औला भिकेर फोर्न खोजे तप सरौटामै भाँचियो फेरी अर्को सरौटाले कोशिस गरी फुटाले अंकुसी सुईरोले भित्रको भाग "मासी" भिकेर अचारमा चोपलेर खान सिकाउनु भयो । त्यसैगरी खाए स्वाद अति मिठो लाग्यो मैले चाही दुइवटा वुडी औला मात्र खाए अरू आठ ओटा औला र सिंगै जिउ प्लेटमा लडाई राखे । त्यहाँ खानेकुराहरूमा सबै उसिनेर राख्ने । नुन मरिच, खुर्सानीहरू वेग्लै पिघेर राख्दथे धू अलगगै राख्दथे ।

जसलाई जे जति चान्छ त्यो इच्छानुसार चोपलेर खान्थे । धेरै जसोले निस्ते खाएको पनि देखे । तर हामीले नुनिलो पिरो मिसाएर खाने गरे । सायद बच्चेदेखि नुन खुर्सानी मिसाएर खाने बानी परेकोले होला ।

खाइसकेपछि डा. डेविड होल्मवर्गले ३९ वटा मैन वत्ति अगाडी ध्युले हायपी वर्ष डे टु यु तेस रोटीमा केक्ले लेखे । सबै वत्ति जलाईकन डेविडले म्याथिनको अगाडी चिरायु कामना गर्दै राखी दिनु भयो । सबैले हेरे डा. म्याथिन मार्चले एकै सासले फुकेर सबै वत्ति निभाईदिए अनि त्यो रोटी सबैलाई बाढी दिए । इष्टमित्रहरूबाट पठाइएका कोसेली (उपहार) हरू खोलेर हेर्नु भयो उनकी आमाले कानमा लाउने यारलिङ्ग पठाएको रहेछ तर हामी चाहिँ दिनेमा होइन खानेमा पन्यो । आ-आफ्नो चलन संस्कृति तैस्तै रहेछ ।

### उद्योगहरूमा निरिक्षण

१९ मे का दिन डा. मार्चबाट एकजना किसानसंग भेटाई दिनु भयो । उनको नाम थियो 'मार्ग वेग्नर' उनले हामीलाई आफ्नो बारीतिर लानु भयो । अंगुर, स्याउको बगैचा घुमाउनु भयो भिमजीले सोध्नु भयो यो जग्गा कति रोपनी छ ? वेग्नर भन्नु हुन्छ । ५०० सय एकर<sup>५</sup> जग्गा छ भन्छन् । फेरी सोध यो अंगुर वर्षेपछि रोप्नु पर्छ कि ?

<sup>५</sup> १ "एकर" को = रोपनी हुन्छ, जम्मा उसको ५००० रोपनी थियो ।

<sup>७</sup> If 1 acre=8 Nepalese ropani.

Then Dr. March gave us utensils like those used to split betel nuts. I took off one of the large pinchers and tried to break it open. But the cracker itself broke. Then when I tried with another nutcracker, I cracked it open. Taking the meat out from inside with a hook, dipping it in the sauce, doing like they taught me, thus I ate it. It tasted good, but I only ate the two large pinchers. I left the other eight legs and the whole body behind there on my plate. All the food was simply boiled and put out there. The salt, pepper, and chili peppers were ground and put out separately. The butter was put out separately.

Whoever wanted however much of whatever they wanted, they simply took as much as they wanted and ate it. I saw most of them eating everything plain. But we ate mixing the salt and hot spices. Maybe it was because we'd eaten salty and spicy things since we were children.

After we were done eating, Dr. David wrote "Happy Birthday to You" in butter frosting on a cake with 39 candles on it. Lighting all the candles, David put the cake in front of Kathryn, wishing her all the best. Everybody watched as Dr. Kathryn March blew out all the candles with a single breath. And then she divided the cake up and gave everyone a piece. She opened up all the presents her family had given her. It seems her mother had sent her earrings. We weren't among the givers, but we were there for the eating. It seems that it is their own custom to celebrate this way.

### Visiting some farms

On the 19th of May, Dr. March introduced us to a farmer. His name was Mark Wagner. He took us to his own fields. He gave us a tour of his vineyards and apple orchards. Mr. Bhim asked, "How many ropani-s of land do you have?" Wagner answered, "Here we don't customarily measure in ropani,"<sup>7</sup> but he said he had 500 acres. Then Bhim asked, "Do you have to plant these grapes every year, or...?"

वेग्नर भन्छन् - एकपल्ट रोपेपछि धेरै वर्षलाई हुन्छ । वर्षेनी कटिङ्ग गरिरहनुपर्छ । फेरी सोध्दा - यतिबित्तिको अंगुर कसरी टिप्ने, कहाँ लगेर विक्रि गर्ने ? उहाँ भन्नु हुन्छ पहिले टिप्ने मेशिन चलाएर प्रयोग गरी देखाएर लाइन लाइन गरेर किला ठोकी तार लाइनमा तन्काएको हुदो रहेछ त्यसैमा लहरिएर गएको हुदो रहेछ । त्यस लाइनमा मेशिनको टाङ्ग मुनी पारेर अर्को लाइनमा ट्रक गुडाई टिप्ने लोड हुदै जादो रहेछ ।

ट्रक भरनासाथ अर्को ट्रक त्यो लाइनमा बस्छ । भरेको ट्रक चाहिँ रक्सी कम्पनी (प्याक्ट्री) मा पुन्याउछ । रक्सी जम्मा २९ थरिका रहेछन् । सबै चाखे त्यसमा पनि २१ वर्ष उमेर पुरा भएको लाई मात्र दिदोरहेछ ।<sup>५</sup> त्यसपछि 'मार्ग' ले मामाको वंगुर फर्मतिर डोराएर लानु भयो । सब भन्दा पहिले भित्र पस्न सिर देखि पाइतलासम्म प्लाष्टिकको खोल लगाएर भित्र पसे । विकसित देशमा बस्तु पाल्न पनि तरिका पुन्याएर पाल्दोरहेछ ।

अन्न खुवाएर पालेकोले होला गन्ध अति सहनै नसकिने भएर छिटै बाहिर निस्के । राख्ने तरिका चाहिँ विक्री गर्नु पर्ने वेग्लै, व्याउन लागेको, अलग्गै, छुतौराहरू वेग्लै थरि थरि गरेर छुट्याई राखेको हुदोरहेछ ।

भिमले त्यस फार्मबालासंग सोधे- जम्मा वंगुर कति वटा छन् ? जम्मा १२०० सयवटा छन् । भिमजीले फेरी प्रश्न गर्नुभयो यस्ताई दाना पानी कसरी पुन्याउनु सक्नु हुन्छ ? उनले खुवाउने तरिका बताउनु भयो । ठाउँ ठाउँमा काठका ठुला ठुला भाँडाहरू हुदारहेछन् । भाँडे पिच्छे पाइप लाइन पुन्याएको रहेछ बाहिरबाट दाना पिनेर मेशिन बाटै ठाउँ ठाउँमा पुन्याएको देख्दा अचम्मा लाग्यो । प्रूफ पनि देखाउनु भयो । वहाँले ती वंगुरहरूलाई खुवाउने दाना सम्बन्धमा फेरी भन्नु हुन्छ मेरो जम्मा २५ सय एकर जग्गा छ । जसमा भाग भाग लगाएर मकै, जौ, गहुँ छुट्टै र त्यही अन्न थिनीहरूलाई खुवाउछौं । बारी जोल्ने मेशिन मल बोक्ने, छर्ने तरिका पनि देखाए । वंगुरको लिडी "पानीमा घोली डिजेल ट्याङ्की जस्तोमा हाली बारीमा छर्ने गर्दो रहेछ । मकै रोप्ने मेशिन सहित छर्ने तरिका, ट्याक्टरबाट तानने फलामे हलो १२ वटा भुण्डायेको हुदोरहेछ । एकैचोटी ५ मिटर जति चौडाई जोतिदो रहेछ ।

<sup>५</sup> न्यु योर्कमा भाईन अनुसार बियर रक्सीहरू २१ वर्ष भन्दा सानोहरूले पिउनु पाउन्दैन ।

So Wagner answered, "Once planted, they'll last for many years. But every year we have to cut them back." So then we asked how he could pick so many grapes and where he would take them to sell. And he answered by showing us the machine he used to pick them: it seems that the machine followed the wires of the vineyard, along the vines, picking the grapes, while another truck followed behind collecting them.

As soon as one truck was loaded, another came to take its place. The filled truck then delivered its load to the wine company. It seems that there are 29 kinds of wine. We tasted them all. But it seems that this wine can only be given to those over 21 years of age. After this, he took us to his mother's brother's pig farm. First of all, in order to go inside, we had to put on a plastic cover from head to toe. In a developed country, it seems they even keep animals in a distinguished fashion.

Perhaps it was because they fed them only grain that the smell was so strong we could scarcely breathe, so we came quickly outside. As for the way the pigs were kept: it seems they kept those that were about to be sold separately, and those that were about to have piglets separately, and the younger ones separately; thus, it seems that they kept each and every different kind separately.

Mr. Bhim asked the farmer how many pigs he had all together. He said he had 1200 all together. Then Mr. Bhim again asked, "How can you get food and water to so many?" He told us everything about how he fed and watered them: here and there were big wooden troughs; for each trough there was a pipeline; seeing the ground-up food sent by a machine through the pipeline from outside to each trough, we were surprised. But he showed us proof. "In order to feed so many pigs," he said, "I have 2500 acres of land, divided into different sections where we plant corn, barley, wheat. Then we fed those grains to the pigs." Then he showed us the machines he used to plow the fields, and the ones for shifting the manure and spreading it. Dissolving the pigs' excrement in a tank of water, it seems they then spread it over their fields. That was how they spread the manure. The corn-planting machine he showed us was pulled along behind a tractor. It seems there were 12 iron plows strung out in a row, some 3-5 meters across.

छुने बेलामा हलोई पिच्छे विउको ड्रमहरू जडिएकोहुदा जोत्नुको साथै नै मकै पनि छुने गरिएको देखे । टिप्ने मेशिन पनि देखाए । त्यसमा मकै टिप्दा गोडा एकातिर खोष्टा र ढोड अर्कोतिर सुर्तिको भारीभै प्याक गरेर ठूलो टाजर (गोठ) हरूमा जम्मा गरी राख्ने र त्यो खोष्टा र ढोड घोडा, गाई फर्मबालाले लगी खुवाउने र विद्युत्वाउनेमा प्रयोग गरिन्छ अनि मकै जति जम्मा गर्ने अन्न भण्डार देखाउनु भयो ।

भण्डारमा राख्दा माथी टुप्पाबाट खसाल्दो रहेछ र फिकने बेलामा विजुली बतिको भै स्वीच दवाई दिनासाथ ट्रकमा लोडर हुने मानिसले छुनु नपर्ने रहेछ ।

सवै मेशिनबाटै हुदोरहेछ । त्यसो भनेर मेशिनलाई काम गर्न जाउ भनेर मेशिन मात्र पठाएर त होइन, मानिसको हातले मेशिनत चलाउने पर्दोरहेछ । तर एकै जनाले हजारौ जनाको काम भ्याउदोरहेछ । त्यसैले सुनेको होला अमेकारमा सयकडा २% ले मात्र खेती गर्छ भनेर त्यो दिन अति सजिलैसंग बित्यो ।

भोलीपल्ट डेविड र क्याथिन विश्वविद्यालयमा काम भएको हुनाले मोहन र माया स्कूलमा छोडिराखी हामीलाई खानेकुरा सवै लाजनमानीकन खानु भनी सुम्पी राखीन । हामी दुई पाहुना भैकन पनि "आफ्नो हात जगन्नाथ भने भै" आफैले फिकी खाइरहेको बेलामा शम्भु ओभा आउनुभयो ।

उहाँले इन्टरलेकन् भन्ने ठाउँमा<sup>६</sup> बेथ गोठ फर्ममा लगी फर्म मालिकको आदेश लिएर भित्र पसे । बाखालाई सुकेको घाँस दिई राखेको बेलामा पुगेछु । हामीले सोधे "बाखालाई हरियो घास किन नदिएको ?" उनले "यहाँ २ महिना मात्र हरियो घाँस पाउछ २ महिना हरियो घास छ भनेर दियो भने नभएको बेलामा फेरी सुकेको घास खाँदैन हरियो खोज्छ" भनिन् ।

At planting time, on top of each plow, there was a seed drum; at the same time that the plows plowed, I saw that the maize seed was spread. Then he also showed us the harvesting machine. With this, the maize seed for the pigs went to one side and the maize stalks went to the other. The same way we pack up tobacco, they put up the stalks in towering barns. It seems that cattle farmers took the stalks to feed their stock. Then he showed us the silos where he put the grain.

It seems they filled those silos by spilling the grain into a hole in the top. And then, when it came time to remove the grain, it seems that as soon as they pushed an electric switch, the load went into the truck without anyone having to touch the grain.

Everything seems to have been done by machines. Even so, saying, "Lo, go, do the work!" it doesn't seem that machines will do it by themselves; even the machines have to be directed by someone's hand. But one person seems to be able to do the work of one thousand. That's how it is, I've heard: in America only 2 out of 100 people farm.<sup>८</sup> And so that day ended pleasantly.

The next day, both David and Kathryn had to work at the university, so, after taking Mohan and Maya to school, they told us, "Please help yourselves to whatever you want to eat without being shy," and left us. Even though we were guests, it was more like the proverb, (in Nepali) *aphno hat jagannath*<sup>९</sup>, and as we were helping ourselves to things and eating, Shambhu Oja arrived.

He took us to a placed called Interlaken where there was Beth's goat farm. After getting the farmer's permission, we went in. We arrived just as the goats were being fed dried grass. We asked, "Why don't you give the goats fresh grasses?" She said, "There are green grasses here for only two months out of the year. If we give them the green grasses during those two months, they won't eat hay during the other months. They'll only want the fresh grasses."

पहिले जस्तै हामीले सोध्न थाल्यो । जम्मा बाखा कति छन् अनि यो के को निम्ति पालेको ? उनले भने - जम्मा बाखा ८० ओटा छन् यी सवै दुहुनो हुन यिनको दुध सवै "चिज" बनाउछु यहाँ गाईको "चीज" भन्दा दोब्बरमा विक्री हुन्छ । हामीले सोध्यो दुध कसरी दुहुने र यति विनाको बाखा छ । यसरी दुहुने भनि दुधको थुनमा रबरको पम्प हाली मेशिन चलाई दियो । मेशिन चलन साथ पाठाले थुनमा भट्टका दिएभै एकै छिनमा ति ८० वटा बाखाको दुध सजिलैसंग दुहे । एउटा बाखाले दिनमा १ ग्यालेन दुध दिन्छ भन्छ ।

फर्किन्दा बाटोमा स्टुवार्टपार्क, वेष्टहिल, पिरामिड महल<sup>१०</sup>, आदि आदि देखाई वेल्सकी साँफ शम्भुको डेरामा खानपिन भयो, पहेँलो, रातो, सेतो आफ्नो इच्छानुसार तरल पदार्थ र लुइचेको सपेटा सेकुवा पकुवा दुवै थिए । त्यसमाथी शम्भु ओभाको श्रीमती वानु ओभाले नेपाली खान दाल भात पनि पकाई राख्नु भएको रहेछ । हामीले जीवनमा विसने छैन । आफ्नो नेपाल सम्झदै खायो । मुग्लानमा बसेर पनि आफ्नै घर परिवारसंग बसेर खाएको जस्तै अनुभव भयो ।

### अरु अन्य स्थानीय दृश्यहरू

२२ मे विहानको खाना खाइसकेपछि डा. मार्चकी छोरा मोहन, भिम र मलाई 'टुगान पार्क' देखाउनु लगे । पार्कमा कार रोकी खोलाको तिरैतिर लाग्यो । खोला धेरै ठूलो थिएन हाँसै गाउको सलाखु खोला जस्तै थियो तर वगर दुगा नभई सिमेन्ट प्लाष्टर गरी रोखेको जस्तै सम्म परेको त्यसमा बालाज्यूमा पालेका माछा भै टन्न माछाहरू खेली राखेको देखे । त्यहा त्यसको माछा सवै एकैज्यू जस्तै टम्म मिलेर बसेको देखेर हामीले त्यहाको फोटो पनि लियौ ।

As before, we began again to ask questions: "All together how many goats do you have? Why are you keeping them?" She said, "All together, there are 80 goats. They're all for milking. I make cheese from their milk. Goatmilk cheese sells for twice as much as cheese from cows' milk." We asked how she could possibly milk so many nanny goats. Saying, "This is how I milk them," she attached a rubber pump to the nanny's teats and turned on the machine. As soon as the machine was turned on, it was the same as if a kid had banged it head against its mother's udder and suckled itself. In just a short while, she could easily milk all those 80 goats. She said that one nanny could give about 1 gallon a day.

On the way home, Mr. Shambhu showed us Stewart Park, West Hill, and Pyramid Mall.<sup>10</sup> That evening, we ate dinner at Shambhu's apartment. There were yellow, red and white drinks and whatever kinds of food anyone could want including stews, tasty dishes and wild fowl drumsticks, both barbecued and stewed. In addition, it seems that Shambhu Oja's wife, Banu Oja, had also cooked Nepalese rice and lentils. We won't forget for our whole lives; we ate of our own Nepalese memories. Even though we were abroad, we had the experience of sitting and eating as if with our own families.

### More local sightseeing

On the 22nd of May, after finishing our morning meal, Dr. March took Mohan, Bhim and me to see Taughannock Park. We stopped the car at the park and walked all along the side of the stream. The stream wasn't very big; it was about the same size as the Salanku River near our village. The streambed wasn't littered with boulders though; it was as smooth as if it had been plastered with cement<sup>11</sup> and I saw it full of playful fish just like those they keep up at Balaju. The fish I saw swimming there were aligned as if in a single body and we took a picture there.

<sup>६</sup> यस ठाउँको नामको मतलब: "तालको माफमा" किनभने त्यो ठाउँ न्यू योर्कको कायूगा ताम र सेनेका तालको बीचमा पर्छ ।

<sup>८</sup> In Nepal these proportions are almost reversed, with 96-98% of the population living as farmers.

<sup>९</sup> Referring to the proverb ending a longer story: there was once a god's image (a juggernath) for whom great quantities of land and foodstuffs had been set aside; but, instead of the god actually eating the food, it was eaten by the people caring for the image. In its proverbial usage, to say *aphno hat jagannath* means that people (rather than the god) themselves were able to eat all the desirable foods they wanted (from among those offered to the god's image). Here they mean that unlike most guests who, on the one hand, should properly be fed by their hosts but, who, on the other, were also expected to wait and accept what was offered, they helped themselves to what they wanted.

<sup>१०</sup> यो सवै इपकाको ठाउँहरू पिरामिड महल एउटा ठूलो किनभेल गर्ने ठाउँ हो ।

<sup>10</sup> These are all localities into around Ithaca. Pyramid is Ithaca's largest shopping mall.

<sup>11</sup> Taughannock Falls are cut out of the shale of Upstate New York in a narrow smoothbottomed canyon.

त्यसभन्दा माथी टुगानु फल भन्ने भर्नातिर लाग्यौ दाया बायाँ शितल हावा पानी अनि हरियाली जंगलले खोलालाई सिंगारिए जस्तै देख्छु । कतै वोत्याङ, जी, किंतु आदि रूखले मानिसहरूलाई गहनले सिंगारिए भैं जंगललाई शोभा दिईराखेको देखे ।

फर्कन्दा कारमा नेपाली लोकगीतको चक्का जोशिलो, जागरण गीतले मनमोहक तुल्याउदै बाटो छोट्याउदै घर फर्क्यौ ।

२३ मे का दिन हामी कोर्नेल विश्वविद्यालयको विश्वभाषा पुस्तकालय देखाउनु लानु भयो हरिहर आचार्य पनि साथैमा थियो । त्यहाँ जम्मा १४ करोड पुस्तक छ भन्छन् । कुन पुस्तक कुन तला कुन कोठा, कति नम्बरको ज्याकमा छ त्यो सबै कम्प्युटरबाट वताउदो रहेछ ।

हामीले परिक्षणको लागी तामाङ्ग भाषाको किताब छ कि छैन हेरूँ भनि भन्यौ । हरिहरले कम्प्युटरबाट टाइप गरे भैं यहाँ तामाङ्ग भाषाको पुस्तक छ ? भनी प्रश्न गरे । मेशिनले अक्षर बाटै छ भनी देखाए । यसको लेखक को हुन भनि सोध्दा अक्षरमा डोरीन टेलर र कर्ण बहादुर तामाङ्ग भनि देखाए । भिम छक्क परेर भन्नु भयो ये हे योत मेरो आफ्नै साखै सहोदर दाज्यू पो रहेछ भनि खुशी मान्नु भयो । हामीले लिफ्टको स्वीच के थिचेको थियो ७ तला माथी पुऱ्याईदियो । त्यहाँ हामी सबै कोठा चेठा हेदै पैदलले तल भरे ।

घुमफिर सिध्याएर हामी दुई घर फर्के । कोठामा नेपाली चलचित्र बदलिदो आकाश भिडियो हेरी आँखालाई काम लगाइ राखे अचानक ढोकामा घण्टी बज्यो । ढोकामा ५० वर्ष जतिको एक जना पुरुष गमलामा धरि धरिका रंग विरंगी फूल सजाएर उभिरको थियो उनले भन्यो यो डा. क्याथिन मार्चलाई दिनुहोला यति भनि उनी गए हामीले त्यो गमला टेबुलमा राखी दियो ।

केही बेरपछि डा. मार्च आईपुगनुभयो । टेबुलमाथीको त्यो फूललाई देखेर आहा कति राम्रो फूल भन्दै मुस्कुराउदै गमला नजिक पुगिन, त्यस भित्र एउटा सानु चिठी थियो, चिठी खोलेर हेर्दा हेदै डा. क्याथिन मार्चको अनुहार मलिन हुँदै आयो ।

We went on to the waterfalls called Taughannock Falls. The breeze was cool; both to the left and right, the green forest seemed to decorate the stream. Just as a person would wear jewelry, so the forest was ornamented beautifully by all sorts of trees.

On the way back home in the car, listening to tapes of Nepalese folk songs and songs of political activism and vigilance, the pleasure they brought to our minds made the trip seem short and we were soon home.

On the 23rd of May, we were taken to see the foreign language collections at the Cornell library. Harihar Acharya accompanied us. They say there are 14 crore<sup>12</sup> books there. Which book is on which floor, in which room, on which numbered shelf: it seems that a computer records it all.

So that we could grasp it all, we asked, "Are there any Tamang books? Let's see." Harihar typed into the computer: Are there any Tamang books? The machine showed characters indicating that there were. When we asked "Who was the author?," the characters "Doreen Taylor and Karna Bahadur Tamang" showed up. Mr. Bhim was taken aback and said, "Oh, ho! That's my very own full older brother!" and he laughed. We pushed the button on the elevator and it took us up to the 7th floor. Then we came back down by foot, looking at each floor and room.

Finishing our wanderings, we two returned home. In our room we turned our attention to watching a Nepali video "Bhalindo Akash". The bell rang at the the door. A 50-year-or-so-old man was standing at the door holding a bouquet of all kinds of colorful flowers. He said, "Please give these to Dr. Kathryn March," and so saying, he left. We put that bouquet on the table.

A little while later, Dr. March arrived. Seeing those flowers on the table, she said, "Oh, what beautiful flowers," and smiling, approached the bouquet. There was a small letter with it. She opened the letter and looked; her face darkened.

अनि उहाँले गन्धौ स्वरले भन्नु भो मेरो छोरा जन्मेको आज ठिक ३ वर्ष पुग्छ भन्दै गहभरि आँसु खसाल्दै छोराको फोटोहरू देखाउनु भयो । जन्मेदेखि मृत्युसम्मको कुनै सुताई राखेको, कुनै काखमा लिएको कुनै डाक्टरि जाँच गरि राखेको कुनै (लालपञ्जा) पाइलाको छाप प्रष्टसंग सहीछाप लगाई राखेको वच्चा ६ महिना मात्र वाचेर परलोक भएको रहेछ । क्याथ्रिन अफ दुःखी भएर भन्नु हुन्छ जन्मैदेखि कान नसुन्ने, आँखा नदेखने, हातखुट्टा नचल्ने थियो भन्छ - हे इश्वर तिमिले रचेर त्यो किन विगाच्यो ।

त्यसपछि आफ्नो पहिलेको सबै दुःख विर्सी नेपालबाट पाएको धर्मपुत्रलाई नै छोरा छोरी तुल्याएर घर उज्यालो तुल्याउनु भयो । हुन पनि बाल बच्चा नभएको घर चरान भएको जंगल भैं सुनसान हुने स्वाभावै हो ।

ग्लास-कोनिङ - २५ मे ३० माइल वरको कोनिङ भन्ने ठाउँमा ग्लास कारखाना देखाउन लानु भयो । त्यहाँ सुरु देखि अर्थात कारखाना स्थापना भएदेखि हालसम्म बनेको सारा सामानको संग्रहालय थियो । हामी त्यो संग्रहालयमा पुग्यौ । त्यस कारखानामा हाल ३५०० कामदारहरू कार्यरत छन् भन्ने त्यहाँको कामदारहरूको भनाई छ ।

त्यहाँ धरि धरिका ग्लास अर्थात काँचका सामानहरू अचम्मा लाग्ने खालका सजाएर राखेका छन् । कुनै बटारिदा पनि नभाँचिने कुनै आगोमा बेसरी डढाउदा पनि नगल्ने, कुनै काँचमै करेण्ट आउने । कुनै हमरले सक्दोबल हिकाउदा पनि नफुट्ने कुनै गोलीले हिकाउदा पनि नछिर्ने यस्ता विभिन्न खालको सिशामा हामीले पनि प्रयोग गरिहेच्यौ । किन्तु परेमा १ डलर देखि लिएर १०,०००/- डलर सम्म मूलिले सामानहरू विक्री कक्षमा देखे ।

खेलौना देखि पकाउने भाँडा सम्मा रहेछ । बनाउन घाली रहेका कामदारहरू कहाँ पुगेर हेर्छु त कुमालेले माटोको भाँडा बनाएको भन्दा पनि सजिलो तरिकाले बनाउदो रहेछ । भित्रहेरी रहुँदा बाहिर पानी परेको पनि थाहा पाइएन । बाहिर निस्कदा मात्र थाहा पाएर त्यहाबाट कारमा बसी इथाका फर्के ।

Then she said sadly, "It's been exactly three years today since my son was born." Then, with tears in her eyes, she showed us photos from his birth until his death. Some were of him sleeping; some, cradled in their arms; some, as the doctors tested him, including the clear official birth footprints. It seems the baby only lived for six months, then passed away. Still saddened, Kathryn said, "From birth, he couldn't hear, couldn't see, and couldn't move arms or legs." Oh, God, after his creation, why did you damage him ?

Then, setting aside their earlier troubles, they found and brought in adoptive children from Nepal, and, making them their son and daughter, their house became bright again. Thus it is that a house without children is like the silence of a forest without birds.

May 25, 1988: They took us to show us a glass factory, called Corning, 30 miles away. There was a collection of all the things made at the factory from its founding to the present. We went to see the displayed collection.

There were all kinds of strange and different glass and crystal things displayed there. There were some that didn't break even when twisted; some that didn't melt even when put in very hot fires; some into which electrical current came by itself; some that didn't break even if you hit them as hard as you could with a hammer; some that even a bullet couldn't pass through. We even got to use and see all those different kinds of glass. We saw things in the salesroom costing anywhere from \$1 to \$10,000.

It seems there was everything from toys to cookware. There are now 3500 workers at this factory, they say. When I went to see where the workers were beginning their jobs, they were making their wares with even more ease than the potter makes clay pots. While we were looking around inside, we had no idea that it was raining outside; we only realized it was raining when we came out. We got into the car and returned to Ithaca.

12 14 crore would be written 14,00,000; in western notation, this would be 1,400,000.

## नाइगारा फल

आज २६ मे इथाका देखि १७५ माइल टाढा पर्ने "नाइग्रो फल" हेर्न डेविड, मोहन र क्याथ्रिनको साथै विहान ७ बजे नै कारमा बसेर गए। त्यहाँ पुगेर हेर्नुत भर्ना सानो होइन नदि १८० मिटर चौडाईको छरे। अमेरिका र क्यानाडाको दोसाँधमा पर्दो रहेछ। जब त्यो भर्ना माथीबाट भर्दा सबै हुस्सु जस्तै भएर खस्कोरहेछ। निकै अग्लो पहाडबाट नदी भएर बग्ने त्यो हुस्सु जस्तो भर्ना हेर्ना लिफ्टमा बसेर मेशिनबाटै आउने जाने हुन्थ्यो। २१ डलर तिरेर डुंगामा बसेर हामी पाँच जना उनीहरूले दिएको एक-एक बटा बर्सादी ओढेर त्यो भर्नाको बीचको तालमा घुम्न गयौं। हामीहरूको साथमा अरूपनि धेरै यात्रुहरू थियो। जब हामी त्यो हुस्सु भित्र पुग्यौं। छपक्कै जिउ भरी पानीले रूफायो। डुंगा घुमाएर फिर्ता ल्याएपछि हामी ओर्ल्यौं।

पारिपट्टि क्यानाडा देखियो त्यहाँ एक ठाउँमा धरहरा जस्तै अग्लो उठाएर त्यसमाथि तीन तल्ला भवन बनाई राखेको अनि त्यसमा कहि चर्खा घुमे जस्तै र कहि ठाडै तल र माथी गुडीरहेका मोटरहरू त्यो खम्बको भित्तामा टाँसिएर गुडीरहेको देखा भित्तामा छेपारो टाँसीएर हिडी रहेको सम्भना भयो। के रहेछ त्यो भनि सोध्दा क्याथ्रिन भन्नु हुन्छ - त्यो होटल हो त्यसमा ती गाडीहरू करेन्टले संचालन गरी राखेको छ। रमाइलोको निमित्त यात्रुहरू त्यस होटलमा आवत जावत गर्छन। नाइग्रोफल हेर्नको निमित्त मलाई लाग्यो केहि गरी इलेक्ट्री गडवडी भयो भने त ती गाडीहरू हाम्रोहातबाट कुशुराको फुल खसे जस्तै हुन्छ होला। तैपनि हेर्न रहर त थियो तर भिसा थिएन।

हामी त्यहाँ बाट ३:२० बजे फर्केर डेविडको आमा कहाँ ६:३० बजे पुग्यौं। खान तयार हुन्जेल हामीहरू "मोहनसंगै माछा मार्न पाशो लिएर ओर्ल्यौं पासोमा परेका साना साना माछाहरू छोडी दियो र ठूलो ३ बटा माछा मात्र लिएर आयौं। आमाको घरमा खाना तयार भयो भनि डान्नु भयो समुन्द्र नजिकै थियो। हामी भान्सा कोठामा पुग्यौं। त्यहाँ कुशुराको सपेटाहरू सिंगो सिंगो राखिएको थियो। हामीले स्यालले भै चिथोरेर सिध्यायौं। बेलुका १० बजे डेविडको घर आएर सुत्थौं।

## Niagara Falls

Today, the 26th of May, we got into the car at just 7 in the morning to go 175 miles away to see Niagara Falls with David, Mohan and Kathryn. After we got there, I saw that the falls weren't small at all. They say the river is 180 meters wide. It seems that they are right on the border between America and Canada. Whatever water comes over the top falls down in a heavy fog. In order to see the misty falls caused by the water that the river had brought down from the high mountains, there was a lift propelled by a machine to take you up and down. Paying \$21, we five went onto a boat and, each putting on the raincoats they gave us, went to see the base of the falls. There were many other travellers with us. When we got to those mists, our whole bodies were drenched with water. After the boat turned around and took us back, we got off.

I saw Canada on the other side. In one place there, there was a thing standing up tall just like Bhimsen Thapa's tower in Kathmandu. On top of this a three story building had been built; it somehow rotated like a spinning wheel and somehow cars attached themselves to the vertical walls of that tower and ran up and down. Seeing this, I remembered the lizards that run up and down the walls at home. Asking, "What's that," Dr. March said, "That's a restaurant. Those cars are powered by electricity. Travellers come and go to see Niagara Falls in that restaurant for pleasure." It seemed to me that if there were any problem with the electricity, those cars would be just like chicken eggs that had fallen from our hand. Even so, we wanted to go see it, but we didn't have the right visas.

Leaving there at 3:20 PM, we arrived back at David's mother's place at 6:30 PM. While the food was cooking, we all took our poles and went down with Mohan to fish. Of the fish that we caught with our poles, those that were small we let go and only kept three big ones. Saying the food was ready, his mother called us into the house. It was near the lake. We went into the kitchen. There she had cooked chicken drumsticks; we finished them off, gnawing on them like so many jackals. At 10 in the evening we got back to David's house and went to bed.

## वासिङ्गटन

२७ मे डा. डेविडले वासिङ्गटन जान एकदिन अगावै कार्यक्रम बनाई राखेको थियो। शम्भुको कार सानु भएको हुँदा हामी दुईको निमित्त डेविडले १८०-डलरमा आर्को मोटर भाडामा लिनु भयो शम्भुको परिवार ४ जना हामी २ जना र रविन्द्र अधिकारी गरि जम्मा ७ जना थियौं। हामी सबै डेविडको घरबाट विहान ९ बजे प्रस्थान गर्थौं। म कार भित्र भएपनि मेरो नजर बाहिर दायो वायाँ घुमिरहेको थियो।

"इथाका" देखि ८१ माइलपर थुप्रै मोटरहरू जंगल भित्र फली राखेको रहेछ। ती फ्याँकिएका मोटरभित्र मानिसहरू पनि देखे र मैले शम्भुदाईसंग सोध्दा उहाँ भन्नु हुन्छ। यो ठाउँको नाउ 'स्कान्टन'<sup>५</sup> हो। त्यो जंगल भित्र फ्याँकिएको मोटरमा सायद अलि राम्रो मोटरको इन्जिन खोजेका होलान भने। मलाई फ्रस काठमाडौँतिर फोहर मैला फालेको ठाउँमा मानिसहरूले कोहि बोटल कसैले प्लाष्टिक कसैले टिनका टुक्राहरू खोजेको सम्भना भयो। शम्भुदाई भन्नुहुन्छ पुरानो मोटरहरू यहाँ फ्याँकने र बुढा बुढी विारमी जति नर्सिङ्ग होममा राख्ने। यहाँको चलन हो।

बाटोमा कार ५५/६० को स्पिडमा दौडिराखेको थियो। "उल्खसबरी" पुगेपछि कार रोकी खाना खान रेप्टुरीभित्र पसे। शम्भुदाईले हामीसंग के खानु हुन्छ भनि सोध्नु भयो। हामीले तपाईंले नै हेर्नुहोस भनेपछि भिमले हडडग र चिसो खान्छौं भने।

त्यहाँ पहिल्यै पैसा दिएर विल लिने अनि विल अनुसारको खाने दिदोरहेछ। खाएर बाँकी रहेको खाना फेरी प्याक गर्नु लगाई भोलामा लिई हिडेको पनि देखे तर हामीले भने ठीक पेटमात्र भर्ने अडकलेर लिए। खाइसकेपछि खानाको स-साना टुक्राहरू पनि टेबुलमा वा भुईँमा भरे टिपेर राख्दोरहेछ। यहाँ सम्मकि टेबुलका तरल वस्तुका धोपाहरू पोखिए पनि सफा गरी आफूले खाएको प्लाष्टिकको भाँडोमा राखी भाँडो समेत उठाएर फोहर मैला राख्ने दबाङ्गमा फाल्नु पर्दो रहेछ। हामीले पनि जसो जसो बाहुन बाजे उसै उसै स्वाहा भने भै अर्काले जसो जसो गरे त्यसै गर्थौं।

## Washington, D.C.

Today, the 27th of May, Dr. David has made arrangements for us to go to Washington. Because Shambhu's car was too small, David had rented another one for \$180. There were four people from Shambhu's family, us two, and one other Nepalese named Rabindra Adhikari; so altogether there were seven of us. We set out from David's house at 9 in the morning. Although I was inside the car, it seems that my gaze wandered constantly to the right and to the left outside.

About 81 miles from Ithaca, a whole bunch of cars were just tossed away in the forest. I even saw people inside those cast away cars there. And, when I asked Shambhu, he said, "This place is named 'Scranton,' Maybe they are looking in the cast away cars for an engine that is still good." Just then I remembered the garbage dumps in Kathmandu where some people scrounge for bottles, some for plastic, and some for little bits of metal. Shambhu said, "Here it's the custom to throw away old cars and keep the old people, no matter how sick, in nursing homes."

On the road, the car went at 55-60 miles per hour. After we got to Wilkes Barre, the car stopped and we went into a restaurant to eat. Brother Shambhu asked, "What do you want to eat with us?" After we first said, "You just order for us," Bhim said, "I'll eat a hot dog and something cold to drink."

There you had to pay for your food first, then you got a receipt, and then they would give you the food ordered on the receipt. I saw some people pack up the food they didn't eat and, putting it into their bags, take it away. But we were able to estimate exactly how much would fill our stomachs and took just the right amount. There, too, it seems that people picked up after themselves the little bits of food and mess they made. It seems, too, cleaning up any drops of beverage or soup that spilled, you must pick up your own used plastic plates and, taking them away, throw them into the garbage can yourself. So it was [like the proverb] (in Nepali) *jušo jušo bahun baje use use swaha*,<sup>13</sup> we did just exactly whatever anyone said.

<sup>५</sup> स्कान्टन एउटा शहर पेन्सिल्वान्यामा भनेको स्टेटमा छ।

<sup>13</sup> Literally, "Do this-and-this, says the old Brahmin; and so like-that-and-like-that let it be," meaning that people do what the Brahmin priest says, even if they don't understand it.

रेपुर्बाट बाहिर निस्की सबै जना कारभित्र पसे । शम्भु दाई भन्नु हुन्छ ए अर्काले ६०-७५ को स्पिडमा लादो रहेछ हामी पनि छिटै जाउ । तर सबैले भने विस्तारै जाउ सुविस्ता साथ पुगी हाल्छ के को हतारो । मेरो मनले उखान काट्यो "दिलै होस छोरै पाहोस्" तर वानु दिदी हुनु भएकोले उखान घाँटीमै गाँठो पन्यो ।

बेलुकी ४.१८ बजे शम्भुदाईले वासिङ्टन भनेको यही हो भन्दै डि.वि. तामाङ्गजीलाई भेटाई १ बोटल रक्सी सगुण भनी हातमा राखी हामी दुई जनाको पनि परिचय गरिदिनु भयो । हामी दुवै रिक्तहात लिएर परिचित भए । तामाङ्ग समाजमा पाहुना जाँदा ओढ्ने खास्टो सहित लिएर जानुपर्नेमा हामी दुई भने केवल खाने मुख मात्रै लिएर पुगेछौं ।

डि.वि. जीले पहिले चिसो कोकहरू दिनु भयो अनि सोध्नु भयो "ड्याङ्गल तै खोर तवि अत्याङ्ग"९ मैले मेरो "हिम्बुङ र उहाँको "थोक्का भनि फेरी उनले" "सोमी भाई खल"१० भनि सोध्नु भो मैले मेरो चाही "गोडपो भिमजीको पाखेन भने ।

मेरो सोध्ने पालो आएपछि सोधे - "तपाईंलाई डि.वि. तामाङ्गले मात्र परिचित पाए । पुरा परिचय पाउं" भन्दा "मेरो नाउ डिग बहादुर तामाङ्ग घिसिङ हो" भन्नुभयो । तीनै जना बसेर वसी वियालो गफ गर्न लागे भिमजीले जीवन भरको दुःख पाएको दुःख पोखाए र अहिले साना तिना प्रेस चलाएको कुरा भने । मैले पनि बाबु वाजेको पीडा धामेर गाउमै खेतीपातिको काम गरेर दुःख भोगेको कुरा बताए । एकै छिनमा खानपिना सबै तयार भयो । बसेर खान थाल्यौं तामाङ्ग चलन अनुसार क्षड खान सबै रमाउने हुँदा हामीले पनि मिठो गफमा क्षड पनि मिसाउँदै रमाइलो गर्दै खाए ।

विहान एउटी नेपाली केटी आइन । माहीलाई देखेर ओहो नमस्ते दाई तपाईंहरू कहिले आजनु भयो भनि सोधिन् । नेपालीको नाताले नचिने पनि सबै विदेशमा एउटै परिवार जस्तो हुँदोरहेछ । डि.वि.जीले डोल्मा वहिनी तिमीले यहाँदाज्यूहरूलाई डुलाउन लैजाउ म खाना तयार पारी रहन्छु भने ।

We all went out of the restaurant and got into the car. Brother Shambhu said, "Everybody else seems to be going 60-75 miles per hour. Let's us go quickly, too." But everybody said, "Let's go slowly. It's enough to get there comfortably. What's the hurry?" Another proverb came into my mind, (in Nepali) *dhlai hos chhorai pahos*,<sup>14</sup> meaning: "Better late than never. As long as it's a son." But because Sister Banu was there, that proverb stayed tied up in my throat.

At 4:18 o'clock, saying, "Lo, this is the place called Washington," Brother Shambhu took us to meet Mr. D.P. Tamang and, carrying a bottle of whiskey as *sagun*<sup>15</sup> in his hand, introduced the two of us to him. In Tamang society, when guests go visiting, they must carry their own bedding; we two arrived with nothing but our hungry mouths.

First D.P. Tamang gave us some cold cokes and then he asked (in Tamang), "What's your clan, Uncle?" I answered, "Mine is Himdung; his is Thokar." Then he asked me, "Which are marriageable clans to you?" I said mine were "Gongpo;" and Mr. Bhim's were, well, "Pakhren."

After it was my turn to ask questions, I said, "I only know you as D.P. Please let me know your full name." Then he said, "My name is Dig Bahadur Tamang Ghising." The three of us sat down to make small talk. Mr. Bhim told about the troubles he'd had all his life, and said he now runs a small printing press. As I told my story of living as a farmer in the village upholding my father's and grandfathers' honor, the food was cooked. So sitting there, we began to eat. According to Tamang custom, while we were all relaxed drinking, we mixed sweet talk with our drink and ate and enjoyed ourselves.

The following morning, a young Nepalese woman came to the door. Seeing us, she said, "Oh, ho... Greetings, brothers. When did you arrive?" It seems that all Nepalese become just like kin when they are in a foreign country. Mr. D.B. told her, "Little Sister Dolma, you take these Older Brothers sightseeing. I will get the food all ready."

## राष्ट्रिय क्याथेड्रल

डोल्माले हामीलाई डुल्दै जाँदा चर्चतिर पनि पुग्यौं । जुन भवन सिङ्ग मर्मरले मात्र बनेको त्यो चर्च बनाउन थालेको ७५ वर्ष भयो रे डिजाइन निकाल्ने इन्जिनियर वित्ती सक्यो आजसम्म बनाउन सिएको छैन बनाउदैछ । साततला सम्म सबै चोठा कोठा हेरीसकेपछि चर्चको ढोकातिर बसेर केही फोटोहरू खिच्यौं ।

## नेपाली राजदूतवास, व्हाइट हाउस र वासिङ्टन स्मारक

फर्केर डि.वि. तामाङ्गसंग खाना खाई सकेपछि हामी तिनै जना कारमा वसी घुम्न गएँ । गफे गफमा हामी "वासिङ्टन डिसी "नेपाल राजदूतावास" पुगेर चारैतिर हेर्नौं त्यसपछि राष्ट्रपति भवन "व्हाइट हाउस" अगाडि फोटोहरू लिए । त्यसपछि ५५५ फिट अग्लो जर्ज वासिङ्टन मोनुमेन्ट घरघर जस्तै घर माथि चडी चारैतिर तल हेरे ।

हामीले चारैतिर हेरे रमाइलो लाग्यो । फोटोहरू खिच्यौं तर दुर्भाग्यवश क्यामरामा रिल नबेरिएको रहेछ । हामीलाई लाज जस्तो भनुं या धोका जस्तो भयो । डि.बी. जीले फेरी रिल बेनुंभयो र फेरी हामीले फोटो खिच्यौं ।

## संग्रहलयहरू

त्यसपछि हामीले इतिहासको शुरुदेखि अहिलेसम्म प्रदर्शन गरिएका हवाइजहाजहरू हेर्न हामी एउटा संग्रहलयमा गयौं । त्यसपछि संसार कसरी घुम्छ, पानी कसरी पर्छ भन्नेबारे सबै कुरा देखायो । "प्लानेटोरियम" भन्ने ठाउँमा हामीले आकाशमा जस्तै माथितिर हेर्नु पन्यो । त्यो चलचित्र जम्मा २० मिनेट मात्र रहेछ । "स्मिथसोनियन"<sup>११</sup> भन्ने संग्रहलयका मुर्तिहरूले अमेरिकाका पहिला वासिन्दा तथा त्यहाँका आदिवासीहरू स्पष्ट रूपमा देखाएका छन् । मैले ती मुर्तिहरूलाई खुब खुशीसाथ नियालेर हेरेँ । यो मेरो जीवनको पहिलो पटक थियो र हुनसक्छ यो सबैभन्दा अन्तिम पनि ।

## रोधी घरभित्र

साँफ करिब १०:३० बजेतिर डिगबहादुर जीले हामी दुईलाई रोधीघरतिर घुमाउन लैजानुभयो । त्यो रोधी घरभित्र हामीले ५० जना जति मानिसहरू देख्यौं । तिनीहरू सबै गोलाकारमा थिए ।

## The National Cathedral

When Dolma took us out walking, we also got to a church. Made entirely of ornamental marble, the building of that church was begun 75 years ago, they said. The engineer responsible for the design had died and they haven't been able to finish the building even today. It seems they are still building it. After we had seen all the floors and rooms up to the 7th floor, we went to stand near the church door, saying, let's take some photographs.

## The Nepalese Embassy, the White House and the Washington Monument

Going back to the apartment, we ate with D.B. and then all three of us got into his car and went sightseeing. Making small talk as we went about Washington, D.C., we got to the Nepalese Embassy and looked around in all four directions. After this we went and took some photos in front of the White House. We took the elevator up and got the to top of the 555 foot tall George Washington Monument.

It looked nice to us in all four directions; we took photos. Feeling happy, we came down. Unfortunately, it seems that the film in the camera wasn't rolling: should we have been ashamed, or were we cheated? Mr. D.B. wound the film in again and again we took a picture.

## Museums

After this we went into a museum to see airplanes from the beginning of their history to the present displayed. Then, we saw all about how the world turned and how rain fell. In a place called a planetarium, we had to look up as if into the sky; that moving picture lasted only 20 minutes. In the Smithsonian Museum, statues clearly displayed the first settlers to America and its original inhabitants. I looked about pretty happily: it was the first time in my life; maybe it was my last time, too.

## A night on the town

At about 10:30 in the evening, Dig Bahadur took us to see a "Rodi ghar."<sup>16</sup> Arriving at the nightclub, we saw some 50 or so men. They sat in seats in circular rows.

९ तामाङ्ग भाषामा "मामाको घर के हो ?"

१० फेरि तामाङ्ग भाषामा "स्वांगी भाई कुन हो ?"

१४ Literally, "Let it come slowly. Let a son-be born."

१५ A greeting or parting offering.

११ अमेरिकाको राष्ट्रिय संग्रहलय हो ।

१६ Rodi Ghar or 'rodi houses' are places where (especially among Gurung people in western Nepal) young men and women would gather to sing and dance. Here, it refers to a nightclub.

बाहिर पसलमा ७५ सेन्टमा पाइने बियर त्योभित्र ३ डलर तिरायो । हामीले हामी आफैलाई यहाँ के हेर्ने हो भनि सोच्नै लागेको बेलामा संगीत बज्यो र बत्ति बल्लसाथ तीन जना १७-१८ वर्षकी होलिन नीर वस्त्रनाङ्गा केटीहरू नाचन बाहिर आए । तिनीहरू केवल केही बेर नाचे अरु केही भएन ।

केही बेरपछि हामी बाहिर निस्क्यौ । त्यहाँ हामीलाई थुप्रै मानिसहरूले देख्यो । हामीलाई त्यहाँबाट निस्केको देख्ने मानिसहरूले के सोचे होलान् । यदि कुनै व्यक्ति भट्टिभित्रबाट दुधै पिएर बाहिर निस्के पनि देख्नेहरूले रक्सी नै पिएर निस्क्यो भन्थान्छ होला । यदि मैले हामी इमान्दार छु सत्यतामा छु भनी शालीग्राम छोएर कसमै खाए पनि कल्ले पत्याउला र ?

### पहिलेको र अहिलेको साथीहरू

२९ मे का दिन डि.वि. तामाङ्को डेरामा डा. रामशरण महत आइपुगनु भयो । उहाँले मेरो घर परिवार बाबा आमा सन्चो विसन्चो सोध्नु भयो । बेसैछ भने । शम्भु ओझा परिवार पनि आउनुभयो । १३ जना नेपालीहरूको जमघट भयो । एकजना सेतो कपाल दारी जुझा फुलेको ब्रह्मचारी जस्तै दारी जुझा पालेको व्यक्तिलाई शम्भु ओझाले उहाँ किरण तिवारी हुनुहुन्छ भनि हामी दुईलाई परिचय गराई दिनु भई तपाईंहरूलाई उहाँ कुन उमेरको जस्तो लाग्छ भनि प्रश्न गर्नुभयो । हामीले उहाँको उमेर भन्नु सकिएन पछि उहाँलेनै (किरण) भन्नु भयो मेरो जन्मस्थल लम्जुङ् हो २००९ साल अषाढको जन्म भन्नु हुँदा महिना गन्दा म भन्दा पनि २ महिना कान्छो पो रहेछ ।

We three also sat down. They charged \$3.00 for beer that cost 75 cents at stores outside; we each took one. Just as we were asking ourselves what we were going to see, three completely naked women of perhaps 17-18 yrs. old came out to dance as music played and lights flashed. They just danced; nothing else happened.

A little while later, we went outside, where we saw lots and lots of people. What did those people who saw us coming out of there think? Even if you go into a bar and drink only milk, when you come out they will say you had been drinking liquor. If I say, "I'm an honest man, a faithful man," touch a sacred ammonite,<sup>17</sup> and even if I swear a sacred oath, who will believe me?

Well, when anyone comes to count up the troublemakers, saying we're among them, we'll be counted too. This one will say so; others will say so; everyone will say so; everyone will know. It was late when we slipped quietly into Mr. D.B.'s apartment and went to bed.

### New and old friends

On the 29th of May, Dr. Ram Saran Mahat also came to D.B. Tamang's apartment. He asked whether my father and mother were well or not. "They're fine," I said. Shambhu's family also arrived. Thirteen Nepalese were gathered there. Brother Shambhu introduced us to someone whose hair and beard had all turned white just like a *brahmacharya*;<sup>18</sup> it was Kiran Tewari. Shambhu asked us, "How old do you think he is?" We couldn't guess his age. Later when he told us, "I was born in Lamjung, in Asard 2009,"<sup>19</sup> I counted the months out, and it seems he was two months younger than I was!

17 Referring to the black stones with ammonite fossils in them worshipped in conjunction with Vishnu. Such stones are used to witness oaths.

18 That late stage of life when people are supposed to attend to spiritual, not familial or material, things.

19 In the Bikram Sambat years used in official Nepal.

२ वजे हामी सबै नेपाली साथीहरूलाई नमस्कार गरी फेरी नेपालमा भेटुला भन्दै हात हल्लाउँदै वासिङ्टनबाट "इथाका" तर्फ लाग्यौ शम्भु ओझाजी चाहिँ रिसल्ला घोडा भै एकनाससंग गाडी कुदाउँदै वाटोमा कहि पिसाप सम्म पनि गर्ने ठाउँ थिएन सबै खपेरै ७.३० घण्टाको वाटो ल्याई पुऱ्याउन भयो । सबैबाट उहाँलाई धन्यवाद ।

### न्युयोर्क

३० मे का दिन डा. डेविड होल्मबर्ग र ब्याथिन एस. मार्च हामीलाई न्युयोर्क शहर घुमाउन अफिस विदा मिलाएर हामीले १२ वजे प्रस्थान गर्नुभयो । ४.५८ वजे हामी न्युजर्ज भन्ने ठाउँमा इथाका देखि २१३ माइल पर चारैतिर जंगलले घेरिए ठाउँ उहाँहरूको साथी "जुडी लेयोन" र किम आत्केस" को धर्मवास बस्नु पुगे ।

३१ मे को दिन विहानै न्युजर्जबाट ६.४५ मा आफ्नो कार त्यही छाडी, साथीको कारमा उडल्किफ लेक" सम्म र त्यहाँबाट बसमा चढी न्युयोर्क शहरतिर लागे ७.५१ मा समुन्द्र किनारमा पुगे समुन्द्र मुनिमुनि हुँदै पारी न्युयोर्क पुग्न ५ मिनेट लाग्दो रहेछ पहिले तलतल लगीकन पछि रिङ्गाएर माथि माथि पुऱ्याएको भै सम्भनामा आइरहन्छ ।

### मन्हतन

त्यहाँबाट शहर परिक्रमा गर्ने अर्को यस शहरभित्र माफ्ती टोलमा पुगी त्यहाँबाट ठडमस् स्कोयर टोल हुँदै एउटा होटलमा पुग्यौ । त्यहीको होटल १८०० सय कोठाहरू छन् एक रातको सुत्ने भाडा २५०।- डलर जनही लाग्छ भन्छन् । अर्को लुगा सिउने टोल त्यहाँ ६०००।- हजार फैक्टरी छन् कामदारहरू ३ लाख जना छन् भनि त्यहाँ हामीलाई बोकी राखेको बसका लेन्चर एकजनाले बताए । त्यस यरिया भित्र ६०,०००।- मानिसहरू कामकाज केही नगरी रक्सी र मादक पदार्थको सुरमा परि रहन्छ पनि भन्छन् । त्यसपछि हामी चाईना टाउन पुग्यौ बुद्धमन्दिर "गुम्वा" बुद्धको दर्शन गर्न पुग्यौ । केहि सुन्तला, स्याउ, ब्याथिन मार्चले चढाउनु भयो हामीले दक्षिण चढाई वन्दना गरे । गुमवाबाट निस्की बस हुँदै अन्त लागे । न्युयोर्क यरियामा मात्र २९ हजार प्रहरी छन् टुर गइडको बनाई छ ।

At 2 PM, we said goodbye to all our Nepalese friends, saying we'd meet again in Nepal, and waving our hands, we headed out from Washington towards Ithaca. Brother Shambhu concentrated on driving like a bull wearing blinders and we drove quickly back. Stopping nowhere even to pee, holding it all in, he brought us back in seven and a half hours.

### New York City

On the 30th of May, Dr. David Holmberg and Kathryn March arranged for vacation from their office and, at 12:48 PM we got into the car and set off. At 4:58 PM we arrived in a place called New Jersey, 213 miles away from Ithaca. We went to spend the night at the house of their friends' named Judy Leon and Kim Atkins; their house was surrounded on all four sides by woods.

On the 31st of May, early in the morning at 6:45 AM, leaving their own car there and getting a ride in their friends' car as far as Woodcliff Lake, we got a bus for New York City. At 7:51 we arrived at the shore, and after going under the river, on the other side, after some five minutes, it seems we reached New York. First the bus took us down and down, then it spiraled up and up; I still remember it.

### Manhattan

From there, in order to tour the entire city, we got into another bus and in the heart of the city, we got to the middlemost square.<sup>20</sup> Going from there, passing Times Square, we got to a hotel, in which it is said there are 1800 rooms and it costs \$250 per person per night. Then we went to another square where the tour guide on our bus said there were 6000 factories making clothing and employing 300,000 people. Within this whole New York area, it was said there are also 60,000 unemployed people with nothing to do but drink and do drugs. Then we got to Chinatown. We got to worship Buddha in his own temple. Dr. Kathryn offered some oranges and apples; we offered some coins and bowed down respectfully. We came out of the temple, got back on the bus, and started up again. The tour guide said there were 29,000 police in just the New York area.

20 Using the expression *Tol*, meaning hamlet (in a village) or square (in a city).



## स्वतन्त्रताको मुर्ति

धुन्दै जाँदा ११-२५ बजे पानी जहाजबाट समुन्द्र बीच भागको सानु टापुमा ठड्याई राखेको मुर्तिनिर पुगे जुन मुर्ति न्युर्याक शहरको बन्दरगाहमा विश्वको सबभन्दा अग्लो मुर्तिका रूपमात्रै होइन स्वतन्त्रताकै मुर्ति मिसलिवर्टी जभिएको रहेछ । मुर्तिभित्र दुप्यासम्म चढेर न्युर्याक हेर्ने पर्यटकहरूको भीड पनि त्यतिकै रहेछ । दर्शकहरूलाई मुर्तिको चुचुरासम्म पुग्न दुईवटा हाइड्रोलिक लिफ्ट र दुईवटा भन्साइ राखिएका छन् । उक्त मुर्तिको बाहिरी भाग तामाको घातुका पाताले ढाकेको देख्छु । त्यति खेर मुर्ति कतै चर्केका किला उक्केकाले माथी जान दिएन ।

दाहिने हातमा सुवर्ण रंगको मसाल र देब्रे हातमा पुस्तक लिएर खडा रहेको मुर्तिले बताउँछ - संसारमा सबैको आँखा देख्नु (उज्यालो) यहि मेरो आश । यो आशा बाहेक उनको अरु केही छैन । उनी दुवै खुट्टामा घातुको साङ्गलाले बाधिएको छन् ।

त्यस ठाउँबाट पर अग्ला अग्ला दुईवटा घर देखे र क्याथ्रिन मार्चसंग सोधे "चङ"१२ त्यो घर कति अग्लो हो त्यहाँ के छ भन्दा उनी भन्छिन् त्यो घर विश्वव्यापार केन्द्र हो । रासायनिक मलबाट यति अग्लो हो । त्यो मल हालेपछि नेपालमा पनि त्यस्तै अग्लो घरहरू हुन्छ भनि हाँस्नु भो । मैले भने मल होइन विश्व बैंकको पैसा हाल्यो भने त हुन्छ होला भनेर हामी सबै खित्का छोडेर हाँसे ।

## विश्व व्यापार केन्द्र

हामी जहाजबाट फर्केर त्यही विश्वव्यापार केन्द्रमा आयौ । भण्डै सगरमाथा जस्तै अग्लो पहाड जस्तो घर भित्र पसे ११० तला अग्लो थियो विश्वको भण्डा र भाषामा नेपालको पनि देखे लिफ्टको ढोकासा स्वागतमहरू र भण्डा देख्दा अति खुशि लाग्यो त्यस घरको १०८ तला सम्म पुगे लिफ्टबाट जाँदा १ मिनेट मात्र लाग्यो । चारैतिर हेर्छु घर महासागर मात्रै बाली लगाएको हरियाली कतै देखिएन ।

१२ तामाङ भाषामा "भाउज्यू"

## The Statue of Liberty

Continuing our tour, at 11:25 AM we took a boat out into the middle of the sea and went to a small island where a statue stood. That statue in the New York harbor is not just the tallest statue in the world, but it stands there for freedom as "Miss Liberty." It seems there were lots of tourists who had come to see New York and who climbed up inside the statue to the very top. They say that there are two hydraulic lifts and two staircases so that the sightseers can get to the top of the statue. I saw that the outside of the statue was made of sheets of copper. At the time we went, however, because the statue was in need of repair and some of the bolts loose or lost, they didn't let us go up.

Holding a bright yellow torch in the right hand, the statue stands there reading from a book held in the left: "Let all the eyes of the world be open; that is my wish. I have no other wish except this." Both feet of the statue were bound by metal chains.

From this place, I saw two very very tall buildings. I asked Kathryn March, "Sister-in-law, how tall are those buildings? What's over there?" She said, "That's the World Trade Center. They are like that because of the chemical fertilizers here. If you could put fertilizer like that on the buildings in Nepal, they would be that big, too," she said to make us all laugh! I said, "No, it's not because of fertilizer. But perhaps it gets like that after you put money from the World Bank on them!" And we all laughed roundly.

## The World Trade Center

After returning on the boat, we went to that World Trade Center. We went into a building that seems just as high, or even higher!, than Mount Everest. It was 110 stories tall. At the door of the elevator, I was pleased to see the Nepal flag and the words "Welcome" in Nepali letters. We went up to the 108th floor; it only took a minute to go up in the elevator. I looked out in all four directions: there were only buildings and sea; I didn't see any planted fields or anything green anywhere.

यो ११० तलाको जमिन मुनि पनि आर्को ३ तला तल रहेछ । दुइवटा रेल दोहरी चलीरहेछ । घरभित्रबाट जनही ४ डलर तिरेर न्युजर्ज तर्फ शहर, समुन्द्र जमिन मुनि मुनि भएर फर्के ।

## इथाका फर्केपछि

"होवोकन" मा उत्री त्यहीबाट न्युजर्ज ४:३० बजे बस यात्रा शुरू गरी ५:३० मा साथीको घरमा आईपुग्यौ ।

न्युजर्जबाट ६ बजे हिडी इथाका रातको १०:३० मा डेविड होल्मबर्ग र क्याथ्रिन मार्चको घर आइपुग्यौ । अनायास मेरो कल्पनाले कविता कोच्यो । कविता -

त्यो नौलो देश त्यो नौलो भेष त्यो नौलो सडकमा

पश्चिमी शहर क्या लाग्दो रह्र देखे है जीवनमा

## इथाका छोड्दा

जून १ अन्तिम भोली देखी न्युर्याक इथाका छाडी पश्चिम क्यालिफोर्निया तर्फ खर्कसेर्ने हाम्रो कार्यक्रम भयो । तसर्थ खान पिना गरेर फेरी कोर्गेल विश्वविद्यालय तेन्हाएर सम्भ्रनाको लागि पुगे । त्यस विद्यालयको छात्राहरूबाट अग्नेजीमा लामो परिभाषा व्याख्या गरेर दिन्छे केही प्रश्न भए गर्नु भन्दथे ढुंगा निचोरे तेल निस्कला परन्तु मुखबाट प्रश्न निस्कने । सोध्ने प्रश्नहरू निकै थिए सबै मनभित्रै ध्वासो लागीरह्यो । लाटो कोसेरो दिउसै पनि आँखा नदेखि टोल्ला हेरे भै म ति छात्रहरूले बोलेको मुखमा आज भोली टि.भि हेरे भै टोलटोली हेरीरहे ।

जून २ - इथाका छोड्ने अन्तिम दिन विहानै "चङ" ले खान तयार पारी पस्काउनु भयो । ८:३० मा डेविड होल्मबर्गले सेराक्यूस तर्फ जान मोटरकार तेसाउनु भयो हामी दुई लगनको वेउली भै अनमाउने बेला भैसक्यो क्याथ्रिन एस. मार्च, नानी बाबु छोरा "मोह" र छोरी "माया" संग विदा लिई अत्र पछि भेटुला (सियु) भनेर बाइ बाइ गरे कार भित्र पसे । डा. डेविड हामेल्मबर्गले कार सेराक्यूस विमान स्थल तर्फ ८० माइल पर १०:१५ मा पुन्याई दिनु भयो बोर्डिङ्ग कार्ड लिई डा. डेविडसंग हात जोडेर विदा लिई विमानको गेटतर्फ लागे ।

Underground beneath these 110 stories, it seems there were three other floors. It seems that two lines of trains ran there. From inside that building, paying \$4 each, going under the sea itself, we left the city to return to New Jersey.

## Going back to Ithaca

We got out at Hoboken and from there went on by bus at 4:30 and arrived back at the friends' house at 5:30.

Leaving New Jersey at 6 PM for Ithaca, we arrived at David and Kathryn's house at 10:30. My imagination scratched out a poem effortlessly:

This strange country, this strange dress, on these strange streets:

City of the West--my heart's desire--I've seen in my life!

## Leaving Ithaca for California

June 1: This is our last day: our plan was to move from Ithaca, New York, to new pastures in California tomorrow. After cooking another meal, we hurried up to see Cornell once more so that we would remember it. Some official guides gave out a long speel in English all about the university. They asked if we had any questions. Maybe oil can be pressed from stones, but from my mouth no questions could be squeezed. There were lots of questions to be asked, but all of them stayed inside my mind like so much soot. Just as the owl, unable to see in the daytime, stares empty out, so too I stared blankly at the faces of the speaking guides as if they were on TV.

June 2: Early in the morning on this, our day for leaving Ithaca, Sister-in-law got the food ready and was serving it out. At 8:30, David Holmberg set the car going straight for Syracuse. The time had come for sending the two of us off just like brides after the wedding. We took our leave from Kathryn S. March, their son Mohan and daughter Maya. Saying, "we'll meet again; see you," we got into the car. Dr. David drove us in the car the 80 miles away to the Syracuse airport by 10:15. We got our boarding cards. We shook hands with Dr. David and took our leave. We went to the gate for the plane.

## सानफ्रान्सिस्कोतर्फ उडान

१०.४५ मा विमान उडी ११.५८ मा विमान "डिट्रोइट" विमानस्थल टेरियो। त्यहाँबाट पूर्व कार्य तालीका भन्दा मौसमको कारणले १ घण्टा ढिला उडियो। जहाज अमेरीकाको बीचबाट उडेको छ भन्छ।

कतै घर बस्ती खेती गरेको देख्छु। कतै पहाड, रूख जस्तै नभएको र कतै साना साना पोखरीहरू देख्छु ३ गुना त खाली जमीन जंगलमा देख्छु।

सेनफ्रान्सिस्कोनिर पुग्दा जमीन तिरा हेर्दा अति लामो आँखा नअटाउने पुल, अनगिन्ति घर बस्ती देख्दै सेनफ्रान्सिस्को समय अनुसार ३.३० मा विमानस्थल टेके त्यति खेर न्यूयोर्कको समय ६.३० बजेको हुँदा समयनै अनौठो लाग्यो। हामीलाई लिन डा. क्याथ्रिन एस. मार्चको आमा, बाबा विमानस्थल ढोकैमा उभिरहनु भएको आँखाको नानीमै टाँसिन आइपुगे। यसरी ६ घण्टाको यात्रा पछि जेम मार्चको कारमा बसी ३० माइल पर उहाँको घर "स्टानफोर्ड" पुगे।

## क्यालिफोर्निया

सेनफ्रान्सिस्कोको समय विहान ९ बजे जिममार्चले खान खुवाई भिम मलाई ग्यारेज भित्रै लगी कारमा बसाए। कार ग्यारेजबाट बाहिर आएपछि भिमजीले भन्नु भो ग्यारेजको ढोका बन्द गर्नुपर्ने। तर जिम मार्चले २ वटा कार अटाउने ग्यारेजको काठको ढोका मोटर भित्रबाटै इसाराकै भर्मा बन्द गराई दियो। हामी दुई तीन छक्का परे कस्तो अनौठोको जादु देखाएको होइन? भिमजीले फेरी एक पटक देखाउनु अनुरोध गर्‍यो। अर्को पल्ट पनि खोलेर बन्द गरि दियो। हामी दंग परि हँसि।

## पेनिन्सुला यात्रा गर्दै

त्यहाँबाट हामी एकदम पहाडतिर पुग्यौ सानफ्रान्सिस्को काठमाडौं जस्तै चारैतिर डाँडे डाँडाले घेरिएको शहर थियो। डाँडाको चुलीमा हरेक किसिमका रूखहरू थिए तर बाँस र निगालो देखिएन। हामी चुलीका ओन्हालो लाग्यौ एउटा सानो शहरनिर आईपुगे। जुन ठाउँको नाउ थियो "सान्तक्रुज"।

21 This was a radio activated automatic garage door.

## The flight to San Francisco

The plane took off at 10:45 and landed at the Detroit airport at 11:58. There, instead of the original schedule, we took off one hour late because of the weather. They say the flight flew across the very middle of America.

In some places, I saw houses and barns, and fields being worked. Then after that I see mountains without a single species of trees on them, and little tiny lakes. Most of all, I saw three times more empty land than worked land--only forest.

As we were nearing San Francisco, looking toward the ground, I saw a bridge that was so long it couldn't be seen in a single eyeful and so many houses and buildings they couldn't be counted. We landed at the San Francisco airport at 3:30 according to their time. Then, because it was 6:30 New York time, such time differences still seemed strange to me. Dr. Kathryn March's father and mother had come to get us; they were waiting so close to the door that the pupils of their eyes were practically stuck to it. Thus, after almost six hours in the air, getting into Jim March's car, we got to their house in Stanford, some 30 miles away.

## In California

The next morning, at 9 in the morning California time, after feeding us breakfast, Jim March took Bhim and me into the garage and we got into the car. After we took the car out of the garage, Mr. Bhim said, "We have to close the garage door." But Jim March shut the wooden door of that two-car garage with nothing but the force of some signal sent from inside our car.<sup>21</sup> It seemed very strange to both of us. Had we seen a bit of magic? Then Mr. Bhim asked to see again how it had been closed. Then he opened and closed it again. Surprised, we laughed.

## Touring the Peninsula

After this they took us up into the mountains. San Francisco is a city surrounded on all four sides by hills just like Kathmandu. We went up to the top of the peaks. I saw every kind of tree in that jungle except bamboo and cane. After this, we went downhill and came to a small city the name of which was Santa Cruz.

त्यहाँ २० सै किसिमको खेलौना रहेछ। मानु काठमाडौंको रमाइलो मेला जस्तै। पहिले विद्यर र पिजा खाइसकेपछि ती खेलौना मध्ये छानेर १.७५ एक डलर पचहत्तर सेन्ट तिरी टिकट लिई करेन्टले चल्ने रेल चढे १० जनाको घुप थियो। रेल चल्थो पहिले केहिबेर घप्प अघ्यारो सुरूडमा पुन्यायो पछि उकालो सुरू भयो टुप्पामा पुगेर फेरी ओरालो शुरू भयो अनि वितोडसंग बेगले कुदायो हामी दुवैको सातो पुत्लो हराउने गरी चार तहसम्म रिगाउदा बडो कठनाई पुन्यो कहिले रोकिएला जस्तो लाग्यो। रेल अडियो हामी ओल्यौं दुवैजना आसु पुछ्दै रून्चे हाँसोमा हाँसै आयौं।

त्यसपछि हामी समुन्द्रको जनावर हेर्न त्यसतर्फ लागे। चुनेर भन्ने ठाउँमा मोटर अडियो। महासागरबाट निस्केको हेर्दा माछा जस्तै देख्नु अनौठो किसिमको "इलेफेन्सिल" भन्ने जनावर रहेछ। महासागरबाट त्यो मरुभूमि बालुबा भएको टापुमा अनगिन्ति पल्टी रहेको देखे घाम तापन आएको होलान फेरी घिघिदै पानीमा पुग्छ तब बल पाउदो रहेछ। पानीको वेगले हामफालेर जाँदो रहेछ।

अन्तमा घर आइपुगे। घरमा चौपायको नाउमा एउटा टाटे पाइग्रेविरा बाहेक अरू केही देखिएन। पालुवा पशुलाई अति माया गर्दो रहेछ।

## सानफ्रान्सिस्को बे र उत्तरी पेनिन्सुला

जून ४ - विहानी ९ बजेतिर हामीहरूको सामन राखी जेममार्च ग्यारेजबाट कारनिकाल्यो। हामी चारैजना उहाँहरूको छोरा भए ठाउँतिर लागे। बाटोमा चारैतिर पहाड समतल सबै ठाउँमा उतिकै घरहरू रहेछ। मुख्य शहर सनफ्रान्सिस्को-निर पुगे। घर न्यूयोर्कको डिजाइनमा बनेको देखे।

22 A metaphorical number in Nepali, meaning "lots and lots".

23 That is a roller coaster.

24 That is, typically, goats and cattle.

There there were twenty kinds<sup>22</sup> of amusements; it seemed just like the "Fun Festival" in Nepal. First we ate some pizza and beer. Then, paying \$1.75 and choosing among those twenty kinds of amusements, we rode on an electric train, in groups of ten people. At the start of the train,<sup>23</sup> they took you into a darkness like your eyes were blindfolded. Then the uphill climb began. Reaching the top, the downhill began! We plummeted in a wild headlong swoop! As if to make us lose consciousness, it went round and around four times, then straightened out. We wondered when the train would stop. Then it stopped and we got out. Both of us were laughing so hard we were crying and wiping our tears.

After this, we went to see the animals of the sea. We got out of the car at a place called Anno Neuvo. There, coming out of the sea, we saw some strange kinds of animals, sort of like fish, but called "elephant seals." We saw so many coming out of the sea onto that little island of nothing but sand that we couldn't even count them. Perhaps they had come to sun themselves. Then they would shuffle back to the water where it seems they found strength again. They would go off, leaping with the currents.

At last we got back home. At the house, in the name of stabled four-footed animals,<sup>24</sup> there was only one mottled cat; we didn't see anything else. People seem to show such affection for the animals they keep.

## San Francisco Bay and the northern peninsula

At 9 AM on the morning of June 4th, Jim March put our things in the car and took it out of the garage. He took all four of us to the place where his son lived. On the way, there were hills and meadows all around, and as many houses, too. We reached the main city of San Francisco. Some of the buildings were built just like those in New York City.

## सान् स्वेनटीन र स्वर्ण ढोका

विश्वमा नाम कहलिएको पुल "गोल्डेन गेट" निर आइपुग्यो त्यो पुलको लम्वाई २ कि.मि. ४ से.मी. रहेछ । साइनबोर्डमा देखे । पुलपारी पुगेर एक छिन कार रोकेर देखाए ।

उहिले नराम्रो सजाय दिनु पन्यो भने कैदीलाई राख्ने जेल सान् स्वेनटीन भनि देखिएको ठाउँ समुन्द्रको बीच हेलिकोप्टर अथवा पानी जहाजले बाहेक आउन जान नसकिने ठाउँ । सुनिन्थ्यो भारतमा पनि नराम्रो सजाय दिनलाई कालापानीमा राखिन्छ रे त्यस्तै होलान । तर अहिले त्यस ठाउँलाई त्यहा सजाय भोग्न होइन । हेर्न जाने यात्रुहरूको निमित्त म्युजियम पार्क जस्तै बनाएर जेल हटाएको रहेछ । त्यहाँबाट जाँदा उहाँको माइला छोरा "जेम कृष्णफरको घरमा पुगे सवैसंग भेटघाट भयो खान त्यही खाइयो ।

त्यहाँबाट २.३० बजे फर्केर सनफ्रान्सीस्को शहरमा डेविडको कान्छा भाई "ऐरक होल्मवर्ग" को निवासस्थान पुग्याइयो । ऐरक र हाम्रो भेटभयो । जेम मार्च जेनी मार्चसंग बाई बाई भनेर विदा भयो ।

## सानफ्रान्सीस्को शहर

ऐरक ३७ वर्ष पुगे भन्नु हुन्थ्यो तर पढ्दै हुनुहुन्छ विहे भएको छैन । खाना सवै अफैले पकाउन लाग्नु भयो । मैले केही सहयोग गरे । खान तयार भएपछि हामी तिनै जना मासु रोटी र रक्सी इत्यादि खाएर हामीलाई सुत्ने कोठा देखाए उनी अर्को कोठामा सुत्न जानु भयो । विद्यार्थी जीवनमा अलि दुखै हुन्छ ।

जून ५ - विहान ७ बजे नै "ऐरक होल्मवर्ग" पढ्नमा जानु भयो । जानु भन्दा अगाडी यी चीजहरू यहाँ छन्, यसरी खानु बाहिर सारै महङ्गो, बाहिर नखानु, भनि सवै देखाएर जानु भयो ।

त्यतिखेरा याद आयो इथाकाबाट विदा हुँदा म डेविड होल्मवर्ग र डा. क्याथ्रिन मार्च भन्नुहुन्थ्यो । मेरो माइती घर र मेरो देवरकहाँ खान पिहिन लाज नमानीकन खानु ।

## The Golden Gate Bridge and San Quentin

Then we reached the world famous Golden Gate Bridge. I saw a signboard that said that bridge was 2 kilometers and 4 centimeters long. After we got to the other side of the bridge, he stopped the car and showed the view to us.

Long ago, if they had to punish someone very severely, he showed us that there was a place called a jail for the prisoners there in the middle of the water that couldn't be reached except by helicopter or boat. It was also said that, in India, there was a Black Hole into which they put their worst prisoners. Perhaps this one was like that. But today this isn't a place for imprisoning prisoners; instead, they've shut down the jail and built a museum and park for sightseers.

We went on and on, and got to his son's-- James Christopher's--house. Everyone met everyone. Then we ate there. Leaving there at 2:30 PM, they took us to San Francisco, to David's younger brother Eric Holmberg's apartment. We said "Bye Bye" to Jim and Jayne March and parted from them.

## San Francisco City

Eric said he was 37 years old but he is still a student and hasn't gotten married. He was all set up to do all his own cooking. I helped him. After the food was ready, the three of us ate meat, bread, liquor and so forth. Then he showed us our bedroom and went to sleep himself in another room. The life of a student is a little bit hard. But according to the custom there [in the U.S.], they say everyone is equal--small, big, rich, poor.

June 5: Eric went to study at 7 in the morning. Before he left he showed us where everything was, saying, "Please eat these. It's very expensive outside. Don't eat out." And so saying, showing us everything, he left.

Then I remembered what Dr. David Holmberg and Kathryn March said as we were leaving Ithaca. "In my parents' house and at my younger brother-in-law's, don't be shy. Eat and drink whatever you want.

बाबा, आमाहरूलाई नेपाली खान पकाउन आउनेन । थाहा छैन पेट भर्ने गरी खानु जस्तो दिनु हुन्छ उस्तै खानु डा. क्याथ्रिन एस. मार्च हाम्रो निमित्त दुःख पीर लिएर भन्नु भयो जति बालकलाई आमाले स्याहार गर्छिन । बालकलाई भै स्याहार गर्नु हुन्छ हाम्रो निम्ती उनी धाई आमा हुन ।

हामी चमेना गरेर न बजेतिर निस्के । टोल भुलिएर भनेर निकै होशियारी साथ सवै ठाउँ सवै ठाउँहरू हेक्का राखी ठाउँ चिन्हल याद गर्दै गयौं । ११ बजे सम्म हिडेको हिड्यै गरे । कतै के के हेर्दै गए परन्तु होटल भने देखिएन । वल्ल वल्ल एक ठाउँमा भेट्टाइयो भोक लागी सकेको थियो । हिड्दा भन भोक जागेको हुनाले होटल भित्र पसी हाले । भिमजीले खानेकुरा अडर गर्नु भयो । दुई जनाको ९.४५ डलर भएछ । खानेकुरा खाइसकेपछि बाहिर निस्केन वेसरी पानी पन्यो । ओढ्ने छाता थिएन कतै पुलमुनी कतै छत मुनि टाउको लुकाउदै विस्तारै वेसुका ५ बजेतिर ऐरकको डेरामा आईपुगे । "ऐरक" पनि दुप्लुक्का आइपुगे ।

वैलैमा खाएर ऐरकले हामीलाई उहाँको साथीको घर तिर डुलाउन लानु भयो । गोल्डेन गेट भन्दा अलिपर रहेछ । त्यहाँ आईमाई केटीहरू पनि निकै थिए । "ऐरक होल्मवर्गले" हाम्रो परिचय आफ्नो साथीलाई दिनु भयो । अनि ऐरकको साथीले मसंग सोध्न भयो । तपाईंको बच्चा बच्ची कति छन् ? मैले जवाफ दिन पाएको थिएन, ऐरकले विचैमा भन्यो - बच्चा बच्ची होइन? श्रीमतीहरू कतिवटा छन् भनि प्रश्न गर्नुपर्छ भन्नुभयो । किन भने ऐरक मेरो घरमा ५ मिहना अगाडी आइपुगनु भएको थियो । र उनलाई थाहा थियो । उनको कुरा सुनेर त्यहाँ भएका केटीहरू वेसरी हाँसे त्यसवेला पो मलाई लाज लाग्यो ।

उसले भने - ए तपाईंको दुई श्रीमती छन् ? लाज मान्नु पर्दैन । अनि बच्चा बच्ची कति छन् ? मैले भने छोरा २ बटा छोरी ३ बटी जम्मा ५ बटा उनले भन्यो ठूलो परिवार भएछ ।

Although they don't know how to cook Nepalese food, please eat your fill of whatever you can of what they give you," said Dr. Kathryn March, worrying about us. Just as a mother cares for her children, so she, too, cared for us. She was like a mother<sup>25</sup> to us.

After making ourselves a snack, we went out about 8 o'clock. Saying we might forget where the place was, and looking around carefully to memorize the marks of the place, we left. We walked and walked until 11 o'clock. We went seeing this and that, but didn't see a restaurant anywhere. Finally, we found one. We were hungry. Because we'd gotten even hungrier walking, we went in. Mr. Bhim ordered the food; it cost the two of us \$9.45. After we'd eaten, as we were coming out, it began to rain hard. We didn't have an umbrella: going from under one bridge to another overhanging roof, covering our heads, we eventually reached Eric's apartment around 5 PM. Eric arrived just afterwards.

In a while, after we'd eaten, Eric took us to visit at his friend's house. It was a little way from the Golden Gate Bridge. There were quite a few women there. Eric introduced us to his friends. Eric's friend asked me, "How many children do you have?" Before I could answer, Eric interrupted, "Don't ask how many children he has. Ask him how many wives he has." Eric knew because he had been to my house five months earlier. Hearing Eric, those women laughed heartily; then, I felt shy, too.

His friend said, "Hey, you have two wives? You don't have to feel shy," and asked, "How many children do you have?" I said, "Two sons, three daughters, altogether five children." She said, "You have a large family."

25 In Nepali, a *dhai ama*, or in Tamang *sobi ama*, is a 'mother' in contrast to the one who gave birth, or perhaps the one who nursed you, this 'mother' is the one who cared for you, cooked and fed, clothed, and generally raised you.

जून ६ - ऐरक सधै ७ बजेनै पढन जानु पर्ने भएको हुनाले त्यसदिन हामी दुवैलाई पनि साथै लिएर सेनफ्रान्सिस्को शहरको चाइना टाउननिर छाडी आफु पढ्ने कामतिर जानु भयो । हराउलान् भनेर "ऐरकको टेलिफोन नं. ब्लक नं. लिएर गएका थियौ ।

सबै ठाउँ बाटोमा हुन्दै जाँदा ठाउँ ठाउँमा देखे केटा मान्छे भन्दा केटीमान्छेहरू वदता लाज पचाएर हिडेका । सिर्फ उनीकी अडमा (जिउमा) कपडाको नाम धरो मात्रै देखे । लगीडी र दुधको दुई धुन मात्र छोपेको तेत्रो लोकभित्र ठिङ्ग ठिङ्ग हिड्छे "हनेलाई भन्दा देखेलाई लाज" उनीहरूलाई मतलबै छैन सडकमा पनि अँगालो मारेर गालामा चुम्बन खाएर हिडेको देख्छ मानिस भन्नु कि ..... ।

मैले विचार गरे पहिले सृष्टि हुदा वृद्धिमान जनावर मानिस भए । मानिसले मासु काँचे खान्थे पोलेर खान सिके, पकाएर खान जाने, एवं रितले खानको विकास हुँदै आए । लाउनुमा पहिले, रूखको लोत्रोले लाज दास्योरे विस्तारै लुगा बुन्न सिके रे लाउन सिके विकास हुँदै आउदा लुगामा पनि डिजाइन निकालेर लाउन सिके बेला अनुसार अब फेरी लगाउन विस्तारै छोड्दै जाने होकी कसो हो कुन्नी सृष्टिको बेलामा भै नाँगै हिड्न पो पुरछ ब्यारे जस्तो लाग्यो ।

घुमी सकेपछि दुवै जना करीव ७ घण्टा पछि डेरामा पुगे । घुमेर आउँदा मासु पसल भेटिएको हुँदा काँचो मासु र चामल लिएर आयौ । अनि मैले नेपाली हिसाबले पकाएको तरकारीहरूमा खोर्सानी बेसी भएछ ब्यारे "ऐरक आँसु खसाल्दै हाइ हाइ गरी मीठो भनि खान थाले । उहाँको पढ्न जाँचको समय थियो ब्यारे तसर्थ उहाँले भन्नु भो- तपाईंहरूको उडान भोली रहेछ । विमानस्थल पुन्याउन म मेरो साथी "नेन्सी" लाई पठाई दिन्छु दुःख नमान्नु होला ।

26 Although people try to relieve themselves in privacy, in a country with few outhouses or bathrooms, one always risks being seen. But, according to the proverb, to stumble across (and see) someone is more embarrassing than to be the one so interrupted. Or, in other words, the one who cannot resist watching is the one who should be embarrassed, not the one who must do what they must.

June 6: Since Eric always had to go to study at 7 in the morning, today he took us both with him, left us off in San Francisco's China town, and went himself off to study. Saying he was afraid we'd get lost, Eric gave us his telephone number and address and we went off.

As we wandered around the streets everywhere, from place to place I saw women casting aside their shyness even more than the men. On their bodies, in the name of clothing, I saw them wearing only strings. They went around just like that, in the crowd, wearing only loincloths and covering only the two nipples of their breasts. Our proverb "the person who sees is more shy than the one who shits"<sup>26</sup> doesn't mean anything to them. When we see them on the street--hugging, kissing--should we call them people or what should we call them...?

I thought, at the beginning of creation, the wise animals became humans. Humans first ate meat raw. Then they learned to roast and eat, then to cook and eat. In this way, the development of cuisine came about. As for clothing, at first, they say they covered their embarrassment with the bark of trees. Slowly, they learned to weave and learned how to wear cloth. As clothing developed, too, styles emerged and they learned to wear them in turn. Now has it come, once again, to giving up the wearing of things? If so, then, will we again reach the beginning and go around naked!?

After wandering around, the two of us only got back to the apartment seven hours later. Because we ran into a butcher's shop on our way home, we got some meat and rice and came back. Then I cooked the meal in the Nepalese way. It seems that the chili peppers were too much. Tears were falling from Eric's eyes as he said it tasted good and we ate. It seems it was the time for his final examinations, so he said, "Your flight is tomorrow. My friend Nancy will take you to the airport. I hope you don't mind."

## सानफ्रान्सिस्को छोड्दै

जून ७ - "ऐरकले" सबैरै उठाएर खाजा पानीको व्यवस्था मिलाई खानेकुराहरू सबै तिनै केटी "नेन्सी" लाई भनी हामी दुवैलाई, तपाइहरूको सफर राप्पो होस पछि भेटुला भनि ७ बजेनै (अफिस) पढ्न जानुभयो । नेन्सीले हामी दुवैलाई खानेकुराहरू खुवाई सके पछि १०.३० मा आफ्नो सानो सफा रातो टोयटाकारमा राखी सानफ्रान्सिस्को विमानस्थल सम्म पुन्याई दिनु भयो कार बाहिर राखेर टिकेटिङ्ग अफिस सम्म मिलाउनु आउनुभयो । विछोडको बेला ती केटी "नेन्सी" ले उनीहरूको आफ्नै चलन अनुसार पहिले मलाई गालामा चुम्बन, अंकमाल गरिन् - भीम खिट्का छोडी आँखैचिम्मा गरी हाँस लाग्नु भयो ।

भिमजीलाई पनि गोम्मा अंकमाल गरी गालामा चुम्बन के खाएको थियो दुवै हात माथी उठाएर प्राण दिएर आँसु खसाल्दै मरी मरी हाँसे नेन्सी पनि हाँसिन म पनि हाँसे । नेन्सी बाइ बाई गरे विदा भएर गइन् पछि हामी विमानमा चढीसकेपछि भिमजी भन्नु हुन्छ हाप्पो समाजमा विदाई गर्दा गालामा चुम्बा खाने चलन नभएकोले मलाई सरम लाग्यो । यो घटना जीवनभर विसन्न होला भन्दै फेरी हाँसथाले ।

## अर्को प्लेन चढ्दै

१२.३५ म सानफ्रान्सिस्को विमान स्थलबाट जहाज उड्यो । एयरहोस्टेज (कामदार) हरूले पिउने खाने चिज, चिज आफ्नो इच्छा अनुसार दिइन् ।

चलचित्र देखाउथ्ये विमान केही गरी अचानक दुर्घटना भयो भने यहाँ यस्तो सामन छ भनि देखाउछन्, यसरी लगाउनु पर्छ मुखमा जिउमा भनि । आँडै सिरिङ्ग हुन्छ । बचपनमा जहाज चढनु पाए भनेर कत्रो रहर लाग्थ्यो । यसवेला यस्तो भयो भने यसरी आफ्नै जिउको सुरक्षा गर्नुपर्छ भन्दा लामो समयसम्म आकाश मै उड्दा दिक्क लाग्यो कहिले जमिनमा टेकुला भै पनि भयो । "सखर" पनि धेरै खाए तितो हुन्छ ।

## Leaving San Francisco

June 7: Eric woke us up early and arranged for breakfast, told his friend Nancy all about the food, and then he said to us, "You two have a good journey. We'll meet again." And so saying, he left at 7 o'clock. At 10:30, after Nancy had fed the two of us, we got into her nice little red Toyota and she took us to the San Francisco Airport. She left her car outside and came with us to arrange things at the ticket counter. When it came time to say goodbye, according to the custom there [in the U.S.], that Nancy woman kissed me on the cheek and gave me a hug. Bhim Bahadur chortled and closed his eyes.

Then, abruptly, she wrapped herself around Mr. Bhim and kissed him smack on the cheek, too. He raised both his hands into the air as if he would give up his life, and we laughed until the tears rolled down. Nancy laughed too. I laughed too. Nancy waved bye-bye and took her leave. Later when were in the airplane, Mr. Bhim said, "Since we don't say goodbye with a kiss or a hug in our society, I was embarrassed. I won't forget these events for my whole life." And we began to laugh again.

## Another plane ride

The plane took off from San Francisco Airport at 12:35 PM. The air hostesses and other employees gave us things to drink and eat, whatever we wanted.

They showed us a film: in case there were any sudden accident, they showed us where the things were; they showed us how to put them on--over your face, on your body. It makes your body shudder to think of what might happen. As children, everyone always wants so much to fly in planes. But if this were to happen, saying that you have to make your own body safe, as long as the plane is in the air, you worry. You wonder, "When will I ever touch down on land again?" As the proverb says, "Even sweet things will taste bitter, if you eat a lot of them."

भन्दा भै जहाजबाट दसौ घण्टा खाली पानी मात्रै देख्दा पाठशालमा गुरूले पृथ्वी गोलो छ, ४ भागमा १ भाग जमिन ३ भाग पानी भनेको यहि होला तर पृथ्वी गोल त देखिएन । यस्तै विचार गर्दैमा जापानको समय अनुसार २.३० टोकियो पुग्यौ । टोकियोबाट ५.४८ मा उडेको जहाज हङ्कङ्ग समय अनुसार वेलुका ९.४५ मा पुग्यौ । दयाक्सी भएर चुकि होटलभित्र हेप्पी गेष्ट हाउसमा बसे एक रातको सुत्ने भाडा १८०- हङ्कङ्ग डलर परेको थियो ।

### हङ्कङ्ग

जून ८ - विहान ६.३० वजे नै उठेर "चिमचाइसुई" पानी समुन्द्रको किनारनिर पुग्यौ चारैतिर दिन भरि घुमफिरमा जताततै अग्ला अग्ला पहाड अग्ला अग्ला घर शहर भित्र भन अग्ला घर, जमिन भरि भराउ मोटरकार, जमिन मुनी रेल, अकाश माथी वायुविमान र समुन्द्रमा पानी जहाज, केही खाली देखेन । भाषा चाइनिज बोल्दो रहेछ । समुन्द्र महासागरले घेरिएको सानो टापु वेलायत सरकारले एकसय वर्षको लागि भाडा लिएको त्यस हङ्कङ्ग एरीयाभित्र जाहासुकै टेलिफोन गर्न बिना पैसाको व्यवस्था रहेछ फोन नम्बर थियो । वेखारत्न शाक्यलाई फोन गरे । भेट भयो । दिनु केही नभएता पनि बाबाको पुरानो साथी विरानो ठाउँ, मुग्लाङ्गमा भेट्न पाउदा निकै खुशी लाग्यो ।

बाबा र परिवारमा सन्चो विसन्चो सोध्नुभयो । कहिले आई पुगेको भन्नु भयो । हामी घर छोडेर बरालिन आएको छ हप्ता भयो भने । जहाँले केही सान तिन सामानहरू खरिद गरीदिनु भयो ।

विमानस्थलमा आई पुग्छ देख्नु नाडीमा घडी, गलामा सुनको सिक्री औलामा औठी ठुला ठुला सुटकेश २-३ वटा नघिसारेको कोही देखेन हङ्कङ्ग विश्वकै मानिसहरू त्यहा पैसा वेचन जादो देखे । हाल त्यस ठाउँलाई सुन्दर शान्त विशाल बनाई राखेको रहेछ ।

For the whole ten hours, only water could be seen outside the plane. When I was in school, the teachers said, "The world is round. Of the four quarters of the world, only one quarter is land and three are water." That's what they said; this must be what I see now. But I didn't see the roundness of the world. As I was thinking this, we arrived in Tokyo at 2:30 PM, local time. Our plane took off from Tokyo at 5:48 PM and arrived in Hong Kong at 9:45 PM, local time. Taking a taxi outside, we went to Chungking Mansion to stay in the Happy Guesthouse. It cost \$180 Hong Kong for a night's sleep.

### Hong Kong

Waking up at 6:30 in the morning, we went to Chimcha Shue by the sea. Wandering all day, we saw no empty spaces in any direction: in every direction there were tall tall hills, tall tall buildings, and even taller ones in the city itself; all over the ground, filling it up, were cars; underground was a train; above, in the sky flew planes; and on the sea were boats. Everywhere everyone is speaking Chinese. The British Government has rented this small island surrounded by water for a hundred years. Wherever you wanted to make a telephone call, within the Hong Kong area, it didn't cost anything. We had Bekh Ratna Sakya's phone number and called him. We met him even though we had nothing to give him. He was my [Surya Man's] father's old friend. He was glad to meet us since he lives so far away abroad.

He asked how my parents were. "When did you arrive?" he asked. "We left home and have been wandering for five weeks," I said. He took us around to buy a few small things.

When we got to the airport, looking at everyone else, everyone had: a watch on their wrist, a golden chain around their neck, a ring on their finger. We didn't see anyone who wasn't towing two or three big huge suitcases. People from all over the world seem to go to Hong Kong to sell their money. These days, there, I saw great beauty and peace.

### नेपाल आईपुग्दा

जून १३- विहानै ८ वजे हङ्कङ्गबाट वैकक भएर काठमाडौं नेपाल दिनको ११ वजे आई पुगे । तेरो दिन मौसम राम्रो थियो वाटोमा वैककबाट आउदा बंगाल, भारतको कलकत्तानिर आइपुग्दा मौसमको खराबीले होला पिच नगरेको गिरखा दुंगा माथी मोटरकार हिडाएभै विमान बेसरी हल्लियो कलिहे माथी कहिले तलतिर गइयाङ्ग मुडुङ्ग गर्दै त्रिभुवन विमानस्थलमा आई पुग्यो । जहाजमा डराए पनि जमिनमा टेकेपछि खुशीले थपडी माउँ निस्के ।

विमानबाट ओर्लेर नेपाल कानून अनुसार सुविधा फाराममा सही गरेर भित्र पसे । मेरो नाम नभाउन्जेल अरूको सामान कसरी के के गर्दोरहेछ हेरीरहे जाचकीहरूले कसैलाई आदर गौरवसाथ सलाम ठोकेर छोडेको देख्नु । कुनैलाई मुसारेर मात्र छोडेको देख्नु । कसैलाई सुन भै घोटेर चामल भै निफान नाफान गरी हेर्दा हो । हुन त नियम एउटै हुनु पर्थ्यो ।

हुनत मानवताको नाताले सबैलाई एकनास गर्नु पर्थ्यो । सबैको उत्तिकै इज्जत थियो । साना ठूलो भन्ने होइन कानूनको निमित्त सबै बराबर हुन पर्थ्यो हामीसंग हङ्कङ्ग देखि सँगै भएको सरकारी उच्च अधिकृत थिए उस्को ठूलो ठूलो दुई पिस सुटकेश थियो । हेर्दै नहेरी चकले सेतो घसोले पास भनि ।

सौतेनी आमाको छोरालाई भै यस्तो पक्षपात देख्दा रिसले चिट चिट पसिना आए के गर्ने छपेरै बसे नातावाद कृपावाद भनेको यहि हो भनि ठाने फेरी एकजना प्रहरीले अन्धकार नजर बन्दी कोठामा लगेर ज्यानमारालाई पनि त्यस्तो गर्दैन होला के के ल्याइस भन नत्र यो मेशिन लगाएपछि थाहा पाउलास भनि केरी रहे । त्यस्को रूखो बोलिले टोपी जुता सबै खोल्न लगाई हेर्दा हो तर मेरो केही थिएन । मेरो केही कसुर नभेटाएकोले पास गरे ।

### Arriving home in nepal

At 8 o'clock on the morning of June 13th, we left Hong Kong. Stopping at Bangkok, we arrived in Nepal at 11 AM local time. For most of that day the weather had been good. Coming from Bangkok, as we got close to Bengal and Calcutta, maybe it was that the weather had gotten bad, but the plane bounced around like a car bumping over rocks on an unfinished road. Sometimes going up, sometimes going down, bouncing all the way, we arrived at Tribhuvan International Airport. As if they'd been afraid in the air, as soon as we touched down, everyone applauded and we got out.

After getting out of the plane, we signed the forms with customs information according to Nepalese law and went inside. I waited there watching how they examined other people's baggage until they called my name. I saw that the inspectors handled some gently sent them off with salutes. Some, they they only stroked. Some, they scraped and rubbed the way a goldsmith tests the quality of gold.<sup>27</sup> And some, they sifted and winnowed through like so much uncooked rice. Actually, the law is supposed to be the same for all.

Actually, all humankind<sup>28</sup> ought to treat everyone the same. Everyone has the same pride. Before the law, everyone should be equal. There was one government official who had traveled with us from Hong Kong. He had two great big suitcases. Without even being looked at, they were marked with chalk and passed on through.<sup>29</sup>

I began to sweat with anger just as if a stepmother had shown partiality to her own son over me. But what could I do except mask my anger? So I said to myself, it seems that nepotism and favoritism can be found right here. Then an agent took me into a darkened chamber; they probably don't even do that to murderers. "Tell me what you've brought, or I'll know after using this machine," he demanded.<sup>30</sup> With this harsh language, he even took off my hat and shoes to look. But I had nothing. Finding nothing to fault, they passed me.

<sup>27</sup> Goldsmiths have true touchstones - black stones against which they rub gold samples to determine their carat-quality.

हुलेर देखेका विकशित देशहरूको वैज्ञानिक विकास देख्दा हामी अझै नाङ्गो मरुभूमीतिर जस्तै छौं । देश, गाउँमा विकासको नारा लिएर चिच्याई रहेछ । विकास त्यसै आकाशबाट हुरर उडेर आउने होइन देशका लागि देशवासीहरूले नै गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने बुद्धिजीवीहरूबाट उपदेशह पाउप्ये । भ्रमण गरेर आउदा सुन, चाँदी तुल ठुला अमूल्य बाण चिजहरू केही ल्याएको थिएन । सिर्फ भविष्यमा नेपालको पनि पश्चिमी देशहरूको जस्तै नभए तापनि, प्रत्येक गाउँठाउँहरू शिक्षा, यातायात, विजुली बत्ति, सन्चार र शुद्ध पानीको सुविधा होस् भन्ने एउटै आशा मात्र बोकेर आएको थियो । यहि मेरो पश्चिमी मुलुक भ्रमणबाट स्वदेश फर्कदाको त्रिभुवन विमानस्थल सममको घटना । अस्तु ।

Having travelled to see all the scientific progress in a developed country, ours is still like a naked desert. It seems that the slogans of development in the villages, in our country, are only noise. It's not that development comes humming from the sky. If the advice of the enlightened were followed, they'd say that those who live in a country must work for that country. Coming back from our travels, we did not bring back any gold, silver or great valuables. We only carried back the singular wish that Nepal, too, would become developed, if not just like western countries, at least so that every village would have the comforts of education, transportation, electricity, communications & water. These are the events of our travels from western countries up until our return to Tribhuvan International Airport in our own country.

The end.

28 Literally, "all the kin of human beings."

29 Upon entering Nepal, each bag would be marked with chalk if it passed the customs inspection.

30 It is important to understand (but impossible to translate directly into English) that the agent in this passage used forms of language properly reserved only for dogs and very low life.

David Holmberg, Bhim Bahadur Tamang and Surya Man Tamang at the Holmberg-March house in Ithaca NY, 1988.

डेविड होल्मबेर्ग, भीम बहादुर तामाङ र सूर्यमान तामाङ होल्मबेर्ग र मार्चको घर इथाका, न्युयोर्कमा, ई.सं. १९८८ ।



A picnic supper in Ithaca with (clockwise around table) Maya (baby), Laura Holmberg, Kath, Anna Holmberg, Mark Wagner, Bhim, Mohan & Surya Man, 1988.

इथाकामा रात्री भोज (टेबलमा बायाँबाट दायाँ एक पछि अर्को रहँदै) साथमा माया, लोरा होल्मबेर्ग, क्याथिन, येना होल्मबेर्ग, मार्क वेग्नर, भिम, मोहन, र सूर्यमान, ई.सं. १९८८ ।

Mohan catches part of supper on Cayuga Lake with Surya Man, Bhim and David.

कायुगा तालमा मोहनले बल्छीबाट समातिएको माछा साथमा सूर्यमान, भीम र डेविड ।





*Bhim & Surya Man pose with the statue of Cornell University's first president, Ithaca, 1988.*

ई. १९८८ मा भीम र सुर्यमानको इथाकाको भ्रमणको सिलसिलामा कर्नेल विश्व विद्यालयको संस्थापकको सालिकको साथमा ।

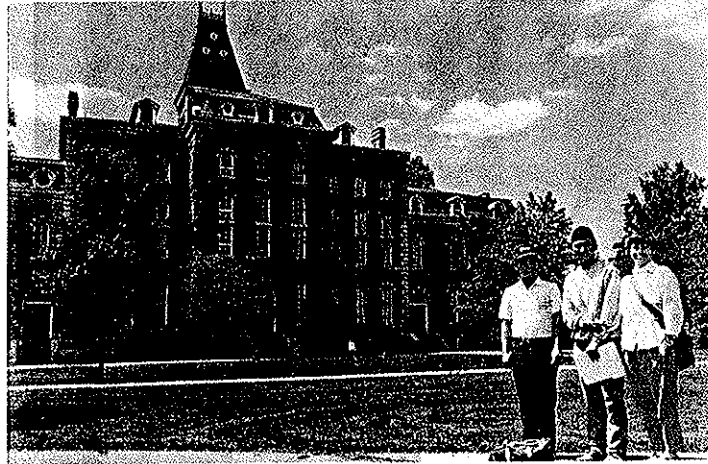


*Bhim and Surya Man try out Mark's grape harvester while Kath and Mark's dog watch, 1988.*

भीम र सुर्यमानले मार्कको अंगुर टिप्ने मेशिन चलाउने प्रयास गर्दै साथमा क्याथिन र मार्कको कुकुर, ई.सं. १९८८ ।

*Bhim, Surya Man & Kath at Cornell Univ., 1988.*

ई.सं. १९८८ मा भीम, सुर्यमान र क्याथिन मार्च कर्नेल विश्व विद्यालयको अगाडि ।



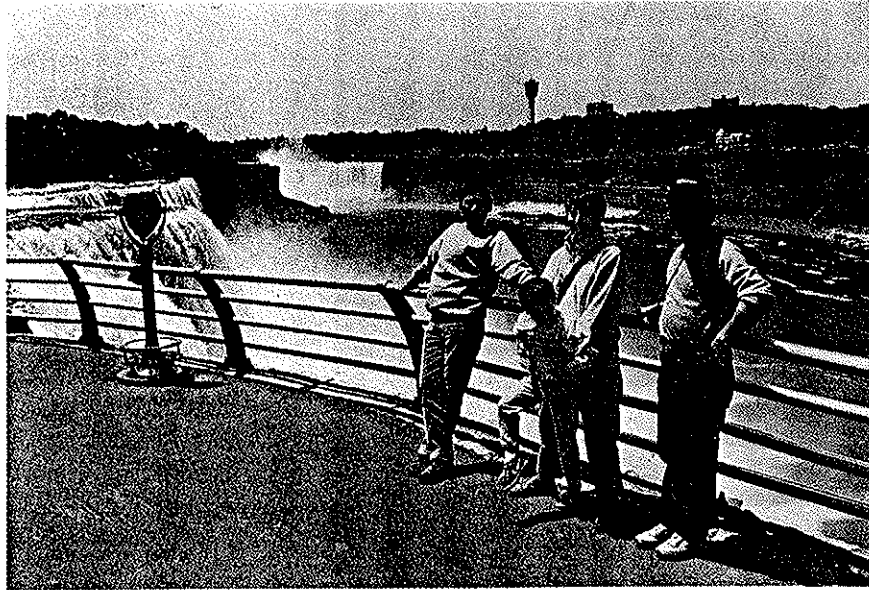
*Surya Man writes notes for his journal at Cornell University while Kath and Bhim watch, 1988.*

सुर्यमान आफ्नो दैनिक यात्राको नयाँ कुराहरू आफ्नो कापीमा नोट गर्दै, क्याथिन र भीम साथमा हेर्नुहुँद, ई.सं. १९८८ ।

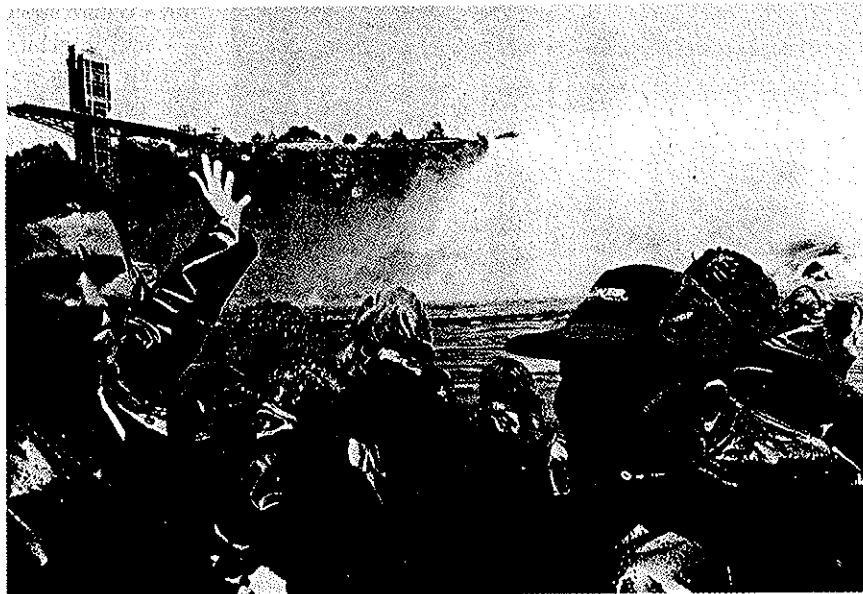


*Bhim, Surya Man, Mark and Kath in some of the vineyards on Mark's farm, 1988.*

मार्कको अंगुर बारीमा भीम, सुर्यमान, मार्क र क्याथिन, ई.सं. १९८८ ।



*Surya Man, Mohan, Kath and Bhim above Niagara Falls, looking down, 1988.*  
ई.सं. १९८८ को भ्रमणमा नाइगारा फलसको दृश्य माथिबाट हेर्दै बायाँबाट सुर्यमान, मोहन, क्याथिन र भिम बहादुर ।



*Surya Man and Bhim on the "Maid of the Mist" boat, looking up at Niagara Falls, 1988.*  
ई.सं. १९८८ को भ्रमणमा नाइगारा फलसको रमाइलो छहरा हेर्दै "कुइरोको कुमारी" नामक जहाजमा ।



*Bhim, Dig Bahadur Tamang and Surya Man in front of the White House, Washington, D.C., 1988.*  
भीम, डिग बहादुर तामाङ र सुर्यमान तामाङ वासिङ्टन डि.सी. राष्ट्रपतिको भवन अगाडि, ई.सं. १९८८ मा ।





*Surya Man and Bhim on tour boat at New York City; in the background is Manhattan and the two tall towers of the World Trade Center, 1988.*

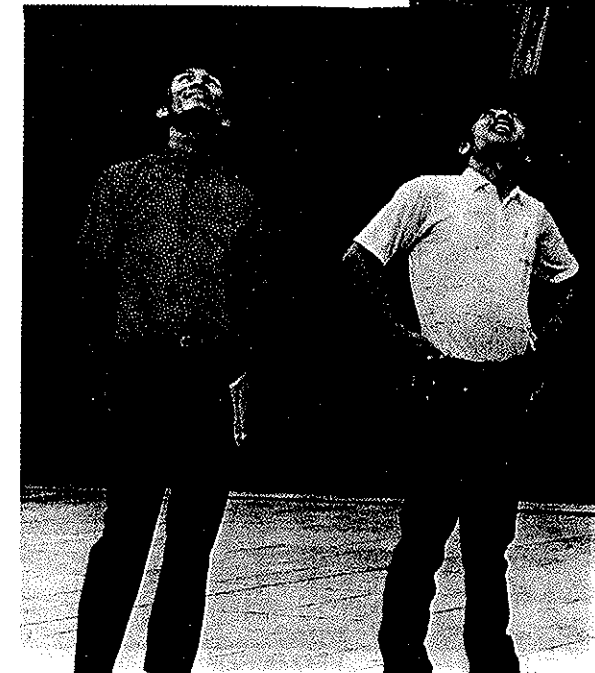
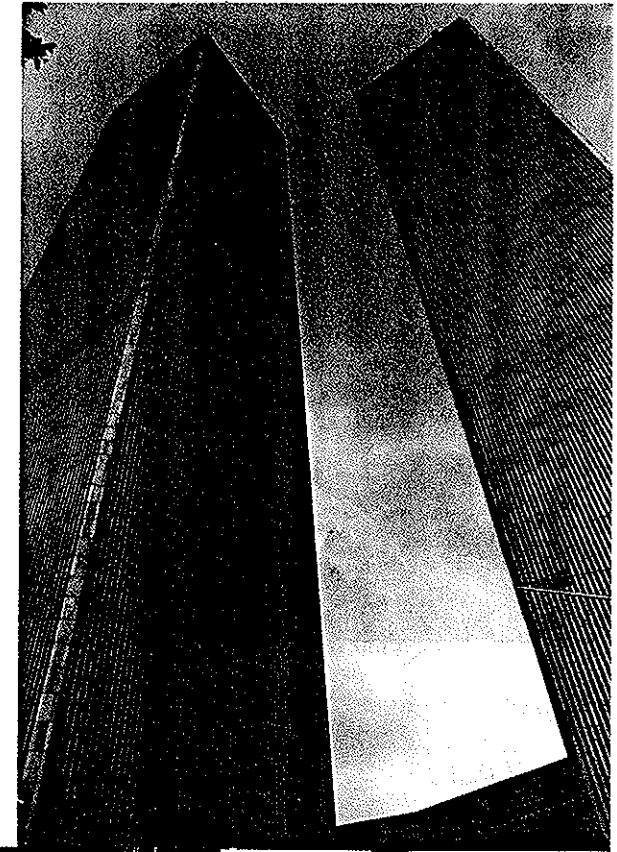
ई.सं. १९८८ मा सूर्यमान र भीम न्यूयार्क शहर भ्रमणमा पानी जहाजबाट पछाडीको मन्हाटन र दुईटा अग्लो घर विश्वको व्यापार केन्द्र भवन ।



*David, Bhim and Surya Man near the Statue of Liberty, New York City, 1988.*

न्यूयार्क शहरको "स्वतन्त्रताको प्रतिमूर्ति" को समीपमा डेविड, भीम र सूर्यमान, ई.सं. १९८८ ।

*The World Trade Center, New York City, 1988.*  
न्यूयार्क शहरमा रहेको विश्वको व्यापार केन्द्र भवन, ई.सं. १९८८ ।

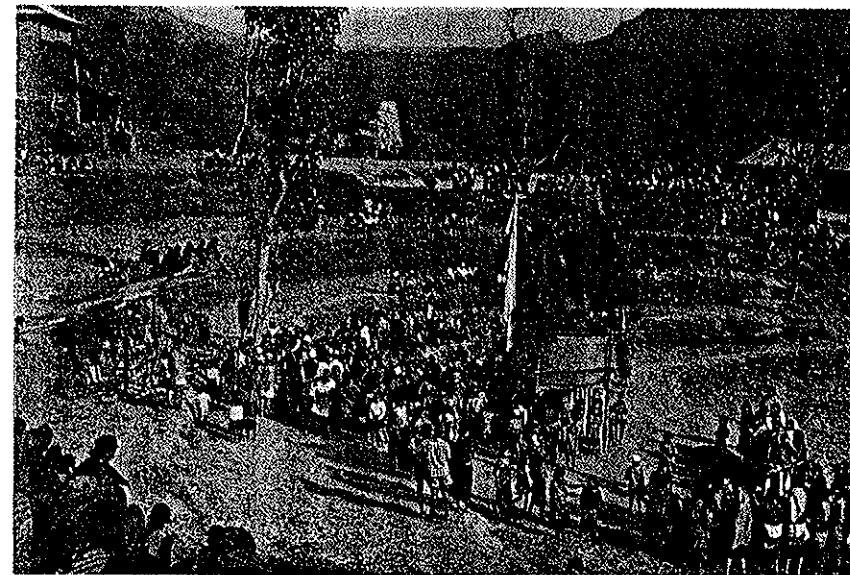


*Surya Man and Bhim try to see the top of the World Trade Center, 1988.*

सूर्यमान र भीम विश्व व्यापार केन्द्रको भवनको टुप्पोतिर हेर्दै, ई.सं. १९८८ ।



David Holmberg and  
Surya Man Tamang pose for  
→ a photo in the village, 1976  
डेविड होल्मबेर्ग (गाउँको पहिरनमा) र सूर्यमान  
तामाङ, १९७६ ।



The day of the Great Dances at Tsche Chhu Dance Drama festival, 1977.  
ई.सं. १९७७ मा छेच्युको ठूलो नाचका दिन जम्घट भएको मेला ।

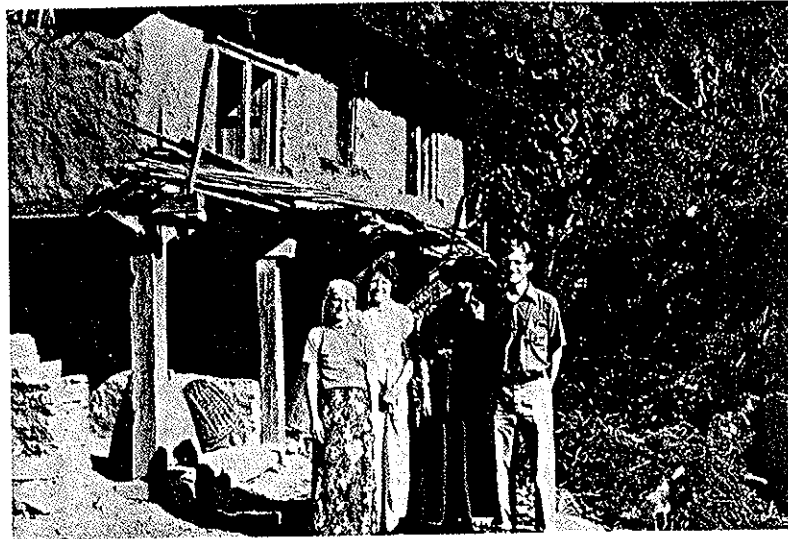
David, Lal Bir Tamang and friends  
drink millet raksi at the Tsche Chhu  
dance drama festival, 1976. ←  
ई.सं. १९७६ मा डेविड, लालबीर तामाङ र  
साथीहरू छेच्यु नाचमा रक्सी खाँदै गरेको ।



Khasa Lama and Hairong dance as  
high mountain herders in the Ya Tsema dance.  
ह्याचेमा नाचमा खासा लामा र हैरोङ, हिमालय याकको  
गोठालोको दृश्य ।



Khamsung and Aiman Singh dance as  
Hindu Shiva ascetics in the Siddha Jogi dance.  
सिद्ध योगी नाचमा खम्सुङ र आईमानसिं नाच्दै ।



*Kathryn March, Peg Richardson, Laura Holmberg and David pose in front of the converted water buffalo shed that was our home in the hills, 1976.*  
 क्याथ्रिन मार्च, पेग रिचर्डसन, लोरा होल्मबेर्ग र डेविड लगायत सबै पारिवारिक रूपमा धनसारमाथि बसोबास गरेको, ई.सं. १९७६ ।



*(Back row, left to right) Lali in arms of Tsirto, Kathryn & David; (front row, left to right) Riuti on lap of Purngi, Wangchyu, Tuli, Phurku, Kali on lap of Santu.*  
 (पछाडिको लाईन, बायाँबाट दायाँ) लाली छिर्तोको काखमा, क्याथ्रिन र डेविड; (अगाडिको लाईनमा, बायाँबाट दायाँ) रिचुती पुरंगीको काखमा, वान्गच्यु, तुली, फुरुकु, काली सन्तुको काखमा ।



*Kathryn March poses for a photo in the village, 1976.*  
 क्याथ्रिन मार्च तामाङ पोशाकमा, ई.सं. १९७६ ।



*Kathryn asking Lal Bir about village life.*  
 क्याथ्रिन गाउँले जीवनको बारेमा लालवीरसँग सोधपुछ गर्दै ।

## नेपाल बसाइँको संस्मरण

डेभिड एच होमवर्ग

### माने डाँडाको पहिलो यात्रा

डिसेम्बर ७, १९७५<sup>१३</sup> : (तामाङहरू बारे मानव शास्त्री खोज गर्नलाई ठाउँको खोजीमा पूर्वी नेपालमा धेरै यात्रा गरीसकेपछि म डिसेम्बर १९७५ मा काठमाडौँबाट माने डाँडाको पहिलो यात्रामा प्रस्थान गरें। आगामी डेढ वर्ष बस्नको लागि ठाउँ कस्तो होला भनेर हेर्न मैले त्रिशुली क्षेत्रको छिटो यात्रा गर्ने निश्चय गरें। यस यात्रामा मेरो साथमा सोलुखुम्बुका एक मित्र पेम्बा शेर्पा पनि थिए। उनले क्याथ्रिन मार्चका फिल्ड सहायक भएर पनि काम गरेका थिए। त्रिशुलीको बसमा हामीले सूर्यमान तामाङलाई भेट्यौं। मैले काठमाडौँमा तामाङ भाषा सिकीरहेको थिएँ। म बसमा सूर्यमानसँगै बसेको थिएँ। ऊ तामाङ होला भनेर मैले अडकी अडकी केही तामाङ शब्दले उसलाई सम्बोधन गरें। मैले भने "तपाईँ तामाङ भाषा बोल्नुहुन्छ?" उनले भने "अँ बोल्छु"। त्यसपछि उनले फेर बोलेको मैले एक शब्द पनि बुझिन र फेरि हामीले नेपाली बोल्न थाल्यौं। म मानव शास्त्री हुँ, तामाङ संस्कृति र समाजको बारेमा अनुसन्धान गर्ने विचार गरेको छु र बस्नलाई एउटा गाउँ खोजी रहेको छु भनी मैले उनलाई बताएँ। उनले मलाई आफ्नो डाँडामा आउन भने र हामी त्यहाँ गयौं। त्रिशुली बजारबाट हिँडेर त्यहाँ पुग्न ४ घण्टा लाग्यो।

मैले पहिलो यात्राबारे पत्रिकामा सानो टिप्पणी लेखें र यसको सम्बन्ध खाली त्रिशुलीको यात्रा खण्डसित मात्र छु, माने डाँडा अथवा हामी गएका छिमेकी गाउँहरूबारे केही छैन।)

### पत्रिकामा लेखिएको

ककनी जाँदा र आउँदा (काठमाडौँ उपत्यकालाई घेरेका पहाडहरूको उत्तरी पाखामा अवस्थित छ) धेरै तामाङ घरहरू भेटिन्छन्। यी घरहरू खालि उपत्यकाको दक्षिणमा (पूर्व नेपालमा) भएका तामाङका घरहरूसित भिन्न छन्।

## RECOLLECTIONS OF OUR LIFE IN NEPAL

David H. Holmberg

### FIRST TRIP TO STUPA HILL

December 17, 1975:<sup>31</sup> [I made my first venture to Stupa Hill from Kathmandu in December of 1975 after having travelled extensively in eastern Nepal in search of a site to conduct anthropological research on the Tamang. I decided to make a quick trip to the Trisuli area to see what the prospects looked like for a place to settle down for the next year and a half. I was accompanied on this trip by Pemba Sherpa a friend from Solu Khumbu who was also working as Kathryn March's field assistant. On the bus to Trisuli, we met Surya Man Tamang. I had been studying Tamang language in Kathmandu and was sitting next to Surya Man on the bus. I thought he might be Tamang so I haltingly tried a few Tamang words on him. I said, "Do you speak Tamang language?" He said, "Yes." I understood not a word he rattled off after that and we switched to Nepali. I explained that I was an anthropologist and was contemplating doing research in Tamang culture and society and was looking for a village in which to live. He invited me to visit his village which we did. It was about a four hour walk from Trisuli Bazaar.

I made only one brief entry in my journal about this initial visit and it concerns the portion of the trip to Trisuli and nothing about Stupa Hill or the neighboring villages we visited.]

### Journal Entry

On the way up to and down from Kakani<sup>32</sup> there are many Tamang houses. The house types match Tamang houses to the south of the Rowaling Valley [to the east of Nepal] with their red mud plaster and thatch roofs.



(Left to right) Lendreg, Dip Bahadur, David, name unknown from Lapdung, Purna Lama and Surya Man in the snow above Tipling at Mergang, 1977.

(दायाँ देखि बायाँ) लेन्द्रेङ, दिप बहादुर, डेभिड, लन्दुङको नाम थाहा नभएको मान्छे, पूर्ण लामा र सूर्यमान हिउँ माथि तिप्लिङको मेरगङमा ई.सं. १९७७।

<sup>१३</sup> शान्केटभित्र भएक सम्बन्ध पत्रिक लेखिसकेपछि सम्बन्धका लागि पनि थपिएको हुन्। अरु सबै अंशहरू त्यसबेला लेखिएका पत्रिक र नोटबाट लिइएका हुन्।

<sup>३१</sup> The portions of text in brackets were added later; the rest of the text comes from my notebooks of this time.

<sup>३२</sup> Which sits on the northern ridge of hills which ring the Kathmandu Valley

यी घरहरू रातामाटाले पोतिएका र खरको छांना छाएका हुन्छन् । ककनी सम्मको बस यात्रा डेढ घण्टाको र त्रिशुलीसम्मको अर्को साढे चार घण्टा लाग्दछ । बाटो पूरै पक्का छ, तर सबै ठाउँमा भरमत्त अथवा पुनरनिर्माण भैरहेछ । त्रिशुली विदुर क्षेत्रमा ठूल ठूला सरकारी भवनहरू छन् (विदुर नुवाकोट जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम हो) । उपत्यकासम्म छ र राम्रा खेतहरू जति पनि छन् । (यहाँ सिंचाई नभएकोले खेतहरूमा हुन सक्ने जति उत्पादन भएको छैन भन्ने मैले थाहा पाएँ) । बाहुन, क्षेत्री, मुसलमान र नेवारहरू यहाँ बसोबास गर्छन् । खास त्रिशुली बजारमा धेरै तामाङहरू कैयौं कारणले आउँछ र आफ्नो विशिष्ट पोशाकले तुरुन्तै चिनिन्छन् । बरिपरिका पहाडहरूमा अनेकौं अनेकौं तामाङ गाउँहरू छन् । आइमाईहरू सबै घरबुना जामा लाउँछन् र पुरुषहरू राष्ट्रिय नागरिक भन्दा अझै पहाडबासी देखिन्छन् । मेरो भेटघाट फ्रान्सिस मानव शास्त्री गेराड टफिनसँग भयो । उनी आँखु खोला क्षेत्रमा विशेष गरी सेर्तुङ भन्ने गाउँमा काम गरिरहेका छन् । केही वर्षदेखि यहाँ फ्रान्सिस बहुमुखी योजना चलिरेहेछ । उनले मलाई गतलाङमा काम गर्नलाई विचार नगर्न भने (यो रसुवा जिल्लाको उत्तरी भागमा छ) तर उनी त्यहाँ कहिल्यै पनि गएका थिएनन् । उनी तामाङहरूको जनजातीय समस्या र ऐतिहासिक सामाग्रीबारे पनि खोजी गरिरहेछन् । उनको विचारमा गतलाङमा केही ऐतिहासिक सामाग्री हुन सक्छ ।

(पहिलो चोटी माने डाँडा जाँदा म दुई रात त्यहाँ बसेँ । त्यसबेला सुख्खा याम थियो । गाउँको सौन्दर्य र सूर्यमान तामाङ र उसको परिवारको आतिथ्य सत्कारले म प्रभावित भएँ । मैले साँढे राम्रा घरबुनाका सामान भेटाएँ- निलो र रातो कपडा, डोको छ्वाली र मकैको पातले बुनेका गुन्दी- रातो माटोको घर अथवा सुख्खा खेतको पृष्ठभूमिमा तामाका र पोलेका माटाका गागीहरूको दृश्य धेरै आकर्षक थियो । पूर्वका तामाङ गाउँहरूका धेरैजसो मानिसहरू काम गर्न अन्तै जान्छन् । तर यहाँ यस्तो थिएन । पुरुषहरू गाउँमै थिए र परिवारहरू पूरै देखिन्थे । हामी एक दिन नजिकका गाउँहरू घुम्न गयौं र भोलिपल्ट काठमाडौं फर्क्यौं । मैले माने डाँडामा बस्ने अझै अठोट त गरेको छैन तर सूर्यमानको आतिथ्य सत्कार र त्यस क्षेत्रको सम्पूर्ण आकर्षणले मलाई त्यतै पट्टि लगिरहेको थियो) ।

33 Bidur is the Center for Nuwakot District.

34 I was later to learn that these were unirrigated and thus not as productive as they potentially could be.

35 In the northern part of Rasuwa District

The bus ride to Kakani is about one and a half hours and the ride to Trisuli is another four and half. The road is paved most of the way although all along it is being repaired or rebuilt. The Trisuli-Bidur area houses a huge government complex.<sup>33</sup> The valley is flat and good fields are in abundance<sup>34</sup> Bahun, Chhetri, Musalman, and Newar seem to thrive here. In Trisuli Bazaar, proper, many Tamangs come through for various reasons and are immediately identifiable by their distinctive clothing. On the surrounding hillsides, there are innumerable Tamang villages. The women all wear hand woven skirts and men still look like hill dwellers more than national citizens. I met Gerard Toffin, a French anthropologist, who has been working in the Ankhlu Khola region mostly in a village called Sertung. A French multi-disciplinary project has been going there for a number of years. He suggested that I consider working in Gatlang<sup>35</sup> although he had never visited it. He has been working on general ethnographic problems on Tamang as well as historical material. He thinks there may be historical material in Gatlang.

[On my first trip to Stupa Hill, I spent two nights. It was the dry time of the year and I was impressed by the beauty of the villages and the hospitality of Surya Man Tamang and his family. I found the rich woven materials - blue and red cloth, bamboo baskets, corn husk and straw mats - and copper and blackened clay jugs against the backdrop of red mud houses or the dry earth of then empty fields visually compelling. In contrast to Tamang villages in the east where many men leave to work elsewhere, the villages here were not empty of men and families seemed complete. We spent one day wandering to neighboring villages and returned the next day to Kathmandu. Although I had not yet made up my mind to live in Stupa Hill, Surya Man's hospitality and my general attraction to the area certainly was pulling me strongly in that direction].

## फरवरी ५, १९७५ माने डाँडामा

(मेरो पहिलो माने डाँडाको यात्रा र म त्यहाँ बस्न थाल्नुभन्दा अघि एकचोटी मैले पूर्वी नेपालको तामाङ वस्तीको यात्रा गरेँ । यस यात्रा पछि माने डाँडा फर्केर त्यहीं अनुसन्धान गर्ने निश्चय मैले गरेँ । मैले तामाङ भाषामा खुब मेहनत गरेँ र प्रस्थानको तयारी गरेँ । सूर्यमान कैयौं चोटी मसँग काठमाडौंमा कुरा गर्न आयो । र हामीहरूले सँगै बसी गाउँमा बनाउने घरको<sup>१५</sup> नमूना तयार पार्‍यो ।

विहान सबेरै केही बेचैनी पछि माने डाँडातिर प्रस्थान गर्नको लागि म उठेँ । आखिरी बेलामा धेरै कुरा तयारी गर्नु थिएन । बस विहान ७ बजे नै छुट्ने थियो तर ७:४५ सम्म पनि हिँडेन । पेम्बा शेर्पाले मलाई र सूर्यमानलाई बस स्टपमा छाडेपछि भविष्यमा गाउँमा के होला भनी चिन्तित भएँ । अब फर्केर जाने कुरै थिएन । बस यात्रा कोचाकोच भरिएको सीट र संघेको जस्तो पटाइलाग्दो थियो । हामी १२:१५ बजेतिर त्रिशुली आइपुग्यौं । हामी धर्मरत्नको घरमा गयौं । त्यहाँ हामी एक घण्टा जति भरियाहरूसँग भारीको ज्यालाबारे मोलतोल गरिरह्यौं । (सूर्यमानले बाक्सहरू उसको साथीको घरमा छोड्ने र लैजानलाई गाउँबाट मान्छे पठाउने कुरा गरिरह्यो । मैले बाक्सहरू छोड्न चाहन्थेँ र सँगै गाउँमा लान चाहन्थेँ । हामीले धर्मरत्नको जेठी छोरीलाई भेट्यौं । उनले शिक्षा शास्त्रमा बि.ए. पास गरेकी छिन् र त्रिशुली माध्यमिक विद्यालयमा पढाउँछिन् । आखिरमा भरियाहरूसँग एउटा सामानको ९ रुपियाँमा माने डाँडा पुऱ्याइदिने निश्चित भयो । स्थानीय हिसाबले यो रकम धेरै नै थियो तर शुरुमा उनीहरूले १५ रुपियाँ मागेको भन्दा बेसै थियो । तर सबै सामान राखेसँग आइपुग्यो ।

हामीले त्रिशुली छोड्दा आकाशमा बादल मडारिरहेको थियो, हावा चलिरहेको थियो र अँध्यारो थियो । माने डाँडा जाँदा आखिर दुई तीन घण्टा पानी पर्ला जस्तो थियो र पन्यो पनि । (हामी त्रिशुली गंगाको तीरबाट हिँड्दा मैले खेतको एउटा कालो ढुङ्गाबाट सेतो चराको एक बयान उडेको सम्भन्धु) । संघेको जस्तो चीसो वर्षा थियो तर उकालो चढनाले पसिना पनि आइरहेकै थियो । अडिँदाखेरी कठघाँघिन्छ ।

<sup>१५</sup> जुन घर हामीले बनाएको छैन, बेसी गोठमाथि बसेँ ।

<sup>३६</sup> But which was never built. Instead, an existing water buffalo shed who slightly modified to provide a single simple but private upstairs room.

## February 5, 1975. Moving to Stupa Hill

[Between my first foray to Stupa Hill and taking up actual residence, I took another trip to a Tamang area in the east of Nepal. After this trip I made up my mind to return to Stupa Hill for research. I worked intensively on Tamang language and prepared for my departure. Surya Man came several times to Kathmandu to speak with me and we drew up a design for a house which we would construct in the village.]<sup>36</sup>

After a somewhat restless early morning, I rose for the inevitable departure to Stupa Hill. Last minute preparations were minimal and not hectic. The bus was to leave at 7:00 in the morning but it did not get off until 7:45. After Pemba Sherpa left Surya Man and me at the bus stop, I felt a anxious about what the future in the village would bring. There was no turning back now! The bus ride was the usual drudgery what with jam packed seats and cigarette smoke. We arrived in Trisuli at about 12:15. We went to Dharma Ratna's house. There we hassled our loads for about an hour trying to negotiate with porters. [Surya Man kept insisting that we just leave the boxes at his friend's house in the bazaar and send people from the village down to get them. I was not going to let them out of my sight and wanted to get them up to the village with us.] We met Dharma Ratna's oldest daughter who teaches in high school in Trisuli and has passed her BA in Education. Final negotiations with the porters yielded an agreement that they carry the loads for 9 rupees a piece to Stupa Hill. It was too much by local standards but better than the 15 rupees they started at! Everything arrived though.

The sky was ominous as we left Trisuli. The wind was blowing and it was dark. It had looked like rain for the last two or three hours to Stupa Hill which it finally did. [I remember distinctly a flock of white birds taking off from a black rock set in field as we made our way along the side of the Trisuli Ganga River.] It was the usual cold rain but because of the uphill it also involved sweat. So you froze when you stopped.

पहिले त मलाई कस्तो अशुभ जस्तो लाग्यो - कालो बादल र मुशलधारे पानी । मैले दिनभरी केही खान पाएको थिइन र भोक लागिरहेको थियो । सूर्यमानको घरमा पुगेपछि मात्र सबकुरा मिल्यो । पानी परेको थिएन र दश पन्ध्र जना उत्सुक टोलाएर हेरिरहने केटाकेटीहरू र बयस्क मानिसहरूले आगन्तुकहरूलाई हेर्न आएको राम्रै लाग्यो । अन्ततः मलाई मीठो दाल भात खान दियो । स्थानीय मानिसहरूसँग भूत, वर्तमान र अमेरिकाको बारेमा कुराकानी गरेपछि म १० बजे सुतेँ ।

(हाम्रो लागि नजिकको घरमा बस्ने बन्दोवस्त नहुँदासम्म म आउँदा तीन महिनासम्म सूर्यमानको घरको पिँडीमा नै बसेँ । पहिले अन्न पात, पराल आदि राख्ने ठाउँमा नै बनाइएको कोठामा म आउँदा १५ महिनासम्म बसेँ । केही दिन मैले आफैले पकाउने कोशिश गरेँ । तर त्यही मानिसले मैले खाएको मेरो खाना नमीठो ठानेर मलाई सन्काहा होकी भन्ने ठाने । मैले सबै कुरा चामल र तरकारी सबै मिसाएर बाक्लो सूप बनाउँथेँ । गाउँलेले मलाई अलग्गै नखान जोड दिए र केही दिनपछि मैले सूर्यमानको घरमा खाना खान थालेँ र त्यहाँ खाना राम्रो हुन्थ्यो । अर्को वर्ष क्याथ्रिन मार्च आइन् र हाम्रो खाना घरमै पकाउन थाल्यौँ । तर मेरी श्रीमती पनि मसँगै भएकोले गाउँलेहरूले पनि हामीबाट आतिथ्यको आशा गर्न थालेँ ।

फरवरी ६, १९७६ - गाउँमा पहिलो व्यस्त दिन म गाउँका भाले बस्ताबस्दै विहान ५:३० बजे उठेँ । त्यो दिन ठाउँ हेर्दा हेर्दै बित्यो । अनुसन्धान गर्नलाई यही ठाउँ राम्रो हो कि पल्लो डाँडा ? मलाई मित्रहरूको सम्झना आइरहेको थियो र आगामी १८ महिनासम्म एकलै कसरी बस्न सकिएला र भनी सोचिरहेको थिएँ । बाँसको रसबाट बनाइएको स्थानीय रक्सी मलाई खान दिए । गाउँमा बाँसको एउटा मात्र धारी भएतापनि माथि अग्लो ठाउँमा भएको जङ्गलमा बाँस पाइन्छ । मेरो लागि यो चियाको सट्टामा पिउने कुरा भयो । गाउँमा कसैले चिया पिउने<sup>१५</sup> पहाडमा सबै ठाउँहरूमा पाइने चियाको पसल परिचमका तामाङ्गहरूको गाउँमा बिल्कुलै देखिँदैनन् । विद्यालय जाने केटाकेटीहरू र सूर्यमानका केयौँ मित्रहरू हामीलाई भेट्दा रोकिन्थे । हामी सबै विहानको खाना नपस्कँदा सम्म बसेर कुराकानी गरिरह्यौँ ।

<sup>१५</sup> अर्को ठाउँमा जस्तो चिया पिउने चलन यो गाउँमा छैन ।

<sup>३७</sup> Lentils and rice, one of the staple meals (along with millet and corn mush) in the community.

At first I thought what an inauspicious arrival - black clouds and torrential rain. I had nothing to eat all day either and my stomach was aching for food. Things settled out when we got to Surya Man's house. It was dry and even with the 10-15 curious, staring children filled out by a smaller group of adults who came to see the new arrival, it was nice to be there. I finally was graciously offered a delicious meal of *dal bhat*.<sup>37</sup> After a discussion with local men about the past, the present, and America, I went to sleep at about 10:00.

[I lived on a balcony in Surya Man's house for the next three months until living quarters in an adjacent building were built. I lived in this converted barn previously used to store fodder for the next 15 months. I tried cooking for myself for a while but everyone thought I was crazy eating what appeared to them as unappetizing food. I tended to make pots of thick soup in which I would mix everything together including rice and vegetables. Villagers began to insist that I not eat alone and in a short while I ate regularly in Surya Man's house where the food was always excellent. When Kathryn March joined me the following year we began cooking in our own house and because I now had a wife villagers expected their hospitality to be returned!]

February 6, 1976 - *First full day in the village* - I was awake at 5:30 to the serenade of the village cocks. It was a day of see-sawing. Is the best place to do research or is it just over the next hill? I was missing friends and wondered what it was going to be like living all alone here for the next 18 months. I was treated to some local brew made from a sap-like secretion from a bamboo plant. Although, there is one bunch of this bamboo in the village, it tends to grow in forests at higher altitudes. It was a tea substitute made up for me. No one in the village drank tea<sup>38</sup> and the ubiquitous tea stalls you find throughout the hills are conspicuously absent in western Tamang villages. Kids on the way to school stopped by as well as many of Surya Man's friends. We all sat around and talked until the morning meal was served.

त्यसपछि मैले सूर्यमानको बासँग स्थानीय वासिन्दा र बिहेका रीतिस्थितिबारे छलफल गरेँ । नजिकका गाउँका एकजना प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्तिको आगमनले हाम्रो कुरा रोकियो । शुरुमा दिन चिसो थियो र बादल पनि थियो तर पछि विहान आकाश खुल्यो । घाम राम्रो थियो तर तेजिलो र थकाइ लाग्दो थियो ।

दिउँसो म सूर्यमानसँग उसको कान्छी फुपूको पसलमा चुरोट किन्न गएँ । त्यहाँ आइमाइहरू उही साँझ शुरु हुने "ग्राल"<sup>१९</sup> को लागि रक्सी पाउँछन् । भोलि सूर्यमान र अरु सबै भोज खान जानुपर्छ । साँझ पछि मैले ग्रालको बारेमा जान्ने कोशिश गरेँ । तर यो अति नै जटिल रहेछ । स्थानीय मानिसहरूले बोलेको नेपाली बुझ्न मलाई गान्छो भयो र तामाङ्ग भाषाको दखल त्यति राम्रो छैन । यहाँको प्रचलित चलन अनुसार साँझमा सबै जना जम्मा भै कुराकानी गर्छन् र यो नै ठूलो कुरो हो । एक जना भाँकी साँझमा त्यहाँ आए । म धेरै धाकेको छु र आज राती खेल्न सकिदैन । राम्रो डायरी लेख्ने कुरै छैन ।

गाउँमा अर्को दुई दिन सूर्यमानको फुपूको घरमा भएको ग्राल अथवा श्राद्ध विधि हेर्न मै बित्यो । तामाङ्ग जातिमा धेरै विस्तृत रूपमा गर्नुपर्ने यो विधिविधानमा धेरै खलकहरूबाट धेरै मानिसहरू संलग्न हुनुपर्छ । ग्राल क्या गर्दा खेरी धेरै नाँच्ने र गाउने पनि गरिन्छ । कुनै गीतहरू बौद्ध लामाहरूले गाउँछन् त कुनै गीतहरू गाउँका गाइनेहरूले गाउँछन् । रक्सी अथवा कोदोबाट बनेको स्थानीय व्हीस्की खाँदै धेरै नै भोज खान्छन् । गाउँको सामाजिक जीवन र प्रचलनबारे राम्रो परिचय म सोच्न सकिदैन । केही दिनहरू यता मेरो मनमा धेरै कुराहरू खेलिरहेछन् । तामाङ्ग संस्कृति धेरै नै सम्पन्न र जटिल छ भन्ने कुरा मैले बुझेँ र मैले धेरै नै सिक्नु छ । यो संस्कृति त प्रेरणादायक पनि छ र तर्साउने खालको पनि छ । मैले एउटा पुरानो डटपेन हराएको सम्झन्छु ।

After that I was able to have a discussion with Surya Man's father about resident clans and marriage rules. We were interrupted by a distinguished visitor from a neighboring village. The day had started out chilly and a bit cloudy but it cleared up in the late morning. The sun was nice, but intense and aring.

In the afternoon, I went with Surya Man to buy cigarettes from his father's younger sister. The women there were making *raksi*<sup>39</sup> for a *gral*<sup>40</sup> which was to begin that evening. Surya Man and everyone else will have to go tomorrow for the festivities. In the late afternoon, I attempted to find out about the *gral* but it is very complex. I find it difficult to understand local Nepali dialect and my Tamang is not good enough to carry on conversations. In the evening as seems to be the pattern around here, everyone gathers to talk which is great. A shaman<sup>41</sup> came by in the evening. I am tired and can not write anymore tonight. No brilliant diaries from me!

[The next two days of my stay in the village was consumed by attending the *gral* or mortuary rituals conducted at Surya Man's father's sister's house. This ritual which is the most extensive in Tamang life involves many people from many clans. It also involves much dancing and singing. Some by Buddhist lamas and some by village singers. There is also a lot of feasting including the drinking of *raksi* or the local whiskey made from millet. I can not think of a better introduction to village social life and customs. Several things stand out in my mind about these few days. I realized that Tamang culture was rich and complex and I had much to learn. This was both inspiring and intimidating. But more than anything, I remember I dropped an old ballpoint pen (*dartpen*).

<sup>३८</sup> In most of Nepal, tea is usually very common either a sweet milk tea drunk in the lowlands or the salted buttery version drunk in the mountains. But neither form of tea was available in Stupa Hill.

<sup>१९</sup> तामाङ्ग क्याको भोज

<sup>३९</sup> *Raksi* is a locally distilled liquor that figures in most important social events.

<sup>४०</sup> Tamang mortuary feast.

<sup>४१</sup> Tamang: *bombo*; Nepali: *jhankhri*

पछि साँभमा म घर फर्कदा एक जना युवकले एउटा केटोलाई कान निमोड्दै धिच्चाएर सूर्यमानको घरमा ल्यायो । त्यो केटोले कलम ल्याएको थियो र उक्त युवकले कलम मलाई फर्काइ देउ भनी जोड गरिरहेको थियो । त्यो केटोले कलम चोरेको हो भनी उक्त युवकले विचार गरेको थियो । कलमको मसी सकेको र मैले फालेको हुँ भनी मैले व्याख्या गरे । त्यो केटोले चोरेको होइन । कसैले कसैको केही पनि कुरो नचोरोस् र इमान्दारीतामा बसोस् भन्ने कुरामा जोड दिएकोमा मलाई ठूलो प्रभाव परेको छ । माने डाँडाका मानिसहरू धेरै नै इमान्दार छन् र कुनै किसिमको चोरी हुन नदिएको कुरामा गौरव गरेको कुरा अनुभवले पुष्टि गर्थ्यो ।

### आँखु खोलाको भ्रमण

मार्च २३, १९७७ । आँखु खोलाको उत्तर र गातलङ्गको ट्रेकमा जानको लागि बिहान हामीले अन्तिम तयारी गर्थ्यौं । खानेकुराहरू, लुगाफाटाहरू र अरु सबै कुराहरू पाकेटहरूमा र डोकामा राख्यौं । सँधै भै केही कुरा पनि बेलामा सकिएन । दुइ जनामा एक जना भरिया ठीक समयमा आइपुगे र अर्को मध्य अपरान्हसम्म पनि आइपुगेन । सूर्यमानको काका सबभन्दा अघि आइपुगे । अरुहरू घरबाट निस्कनु भन्दा पहिले नै मेघ थापा<sup>१७</sup> र म प्रस्थान गर्थ्यौं ।

अन्तमा गाउँको टुप्पोको सानो मानेमा हामी सबै भेला भयौं । बढी भएको सामान लैजान लेड्डेन र गलदेन लामा हामीसँग जान सागेका थिए भने सूर्यमानको काका ठट्टा रमाइलो गर्दै बाटो काट्नका लागि जाँदै थिए ।

बल्चिको गाउँसम्म हामी हिँडेर सोफ्रै र सुविस्तारसँग पुग्यौं । बाटोभरिका खेत पाखोमा मकै छरिसकेको थियो । उँचाई र माटोको गुण अनुसार प्रायजसो उम्रने ऋतु बदलिने रहेछ भन्ने कुरा थाहा पाउँदा छक्कै पर्ने रहेछ । हामी बल्चिको आइपुग्ने बित्तिकै गाउँको मुखियाको घरमा बास बस्यौं । ऊ घरमा थिएन । जिल्ला सभामा आफ्नो राजनीति गर्न ऊ त्रिशुली गएको छ । उसको स्वामी सान्ही विरामी छे र थाडनामा सुतिरहिछे ।

Later that evening when I returned home, a young man came to Surya Man's house dragging a boy by the ear. The boy was carrying the pen and the man was insisting that he return it to me. The young man had thought the boy had stolen it. I explained that the pen was finished and I had thrown it away. The boy had not stolen it. I was impressed that everyone wanted to make sure that nothing had been stolen and the stress on honesty. As experience was to prove, people in Stupa Hill were very honest and prided themselves on not allowing theft of any sort.]

### Trip to Ankhu Khola

March 23, 1977. In the morning, we made final preparations for our trek north to Ankhu Khola and Gatlang. Food supplies, clothes, and everything else was packed into packs and baskets. As usual nothing happened on time. One of the two porters showed up at a reasonable hour; the other not until mid afternoon. Surya Man's father's brother is the latest of all. Megh Thapa<sup>42</sup> and I set off before the others had even gotten out of the house.

We finally got everyone together at the small stupa at the top of the village. Lendreng and Galden Lama were going to carry our extra supplies and Surya Man's father's brother was along for the fun.

We walked fairly directly to the village of Balche. Along the way all the maize crop has been planted. It is amazing how the growing season changes so often according to altitude and the quality of the soil. When we arrived at Balche we stayed at the village headman's house. He was off in Trisuli - apparently trying to politic his way into the district assembly. His wife is quite ill and crashed out.

गाउँबाट माथिको सरकारी भेंडा फार्ममा काम गर्ने पीसकोर भोलेन्टियरसँग मैले केही बेर कुरा गरें । सन् १९५०<sup>१८</sup> सम्म राणा शासनको नियन्त्रणमा रहेको नौनी उत्पादन केन्द्र गाउँलेहरूले रकमको रूपमा त्यहाँ काम गर्ने पदतिलाई हटाउन त्यहाँ भेंडा फार्म चलाएको हो । काम सञ्चालनबारे राम्रा कुराहरू बताउन उनीसँग धेरै कुरा थिएन । वस्तुभाउको पोषणबारे डिप्री लिडराखेको भएतापनि भेंडा पालनबारे मेनेजरलाई केही पनि थाहा छैन । भेंडालाई ढ्वाउन मिटामिन "बी" को घुप्रो उसले अर्डर गरेको कुरा उनले बताइन् । भेंडाहरूमा मिटामिन "बी" को अभाव कहिल्यै हुँदैन भन्ने कुरो उनले बताइन् । फार्ममा पाँच जना कर्मचारीहरू छन् जसले त्रिशुलीबाट दिनदिनै हल्काराले ल्याउने राष्ट्रिय दैनिक अखबार (गोरखापत्र) पर्खने बाहेक केही पनि गर्दैनन् । हामी चाँडै सुत्थौं

मार्च २४, १९७७ । हामी सबै उठ्यौं र बिहानको खाजा खोले खाँथौं । पीठो, प्याज र नूनको खोले एकदमै मीठो खाना रहेछ । आँखु खोला उपत्यकामा ओर्लनको लागि सबभन्दा अग्लो ठाउँ सिङ्गला तिर हामी हिँड्यौं । नजिकैका गाउँहरूको गोठहरू तल्लो जङ्गलमा सारिसकेको छ । धेरै जसो गोठहरूमा गाई र भैसी पालेका छन् । कुनै कुनै गोठालाहरूले भेंडा पनि पाल्छन् । गोठालाहरू एक हप्ता जति अघि नै माथि गैसकेका छन् ।

मकै रोप्न थालेपछि गोठालाहरू माथि सर्नुपर्छ । सुख्खा खेतहरूमा वस्तुभाउहरूलाई राख्न नसकिने भएकोले तिनीहरूमाथि सर्नुपरेको हो । धेरै तल अवस्थित माने डाँडामा भन्दा यहाँको काम गर्ने तरिका एकदमै फरक देखिन्छ । त्यहाँ सुख्खा खेतमा उम्रेको रूखको स्याउला पात ढ्वाएर अग्ला ठाउँका गाउँहरूमा चौतालाई चढाइएका पवित्र कुञ्जहरू बाहेक अन्त रूखहरू छैन र अग्लो ठाउँको चउरहरूमा वस्तु चर्न लाग्छन् । न्यानो हुने गाउँहरूमा हुने लामो समयसम्म खेतीपाती नगरिकन राख्ने सुख्खा खेतहरूमा वस्तुभाउ धेरै लामो समयसम्म चराउन सकिन्छ । खेतमा मल हाल्ने यो नै मुख्य साधन हो । गोठ राख्नमा केही पनि फाइदा छैन भनी सबैजना जोड दिन्छन् । अत्यन्त आवश्यक भएको र गुजाराको लागि मात्र मानिसहरूले गोठ राख्छन् ।

I talk briefly with the Peace Corps volunteer who is working at a government sheep farm that is located above the village proper. The sheep farm was established to replace a butter producing operation controlled by the Rana regime until the 1950s and worked as a form of labor forced by villagers. She has very little good to say about the operation. The manager knows nothing about sheep although he has some sort of degree in animal nutrition. She says he ordered a bunch of vitamin B for the sheep. She says that vitamin B is the one thing that sheep never lack. The farm is staffed with five people who apparently do nothing except wait for the delivery of the national newspaper (*Gorkha Patra*) which comes by runner everyday from Trisuli. We sleep early.

March 24, 1977. We are up early to a breakfast of *khole* - salt, onions and flour - an excellent, warm meal. We start off for *Singla* - a high point we must cross to descend into the Ankhu River valley. Herding stations from neighboring villages have already moved up into the lower forests. Most of the herding stations keep water buffalos and cows. Some herders keep a few sheep as well. The herders moved up about a week ago.

Herders must move up as soon as the corn is planted. This is because they can not keep the animals in the dry fields any longer. There seems to be a very different strategy than in Stupa Hill which is much lower. There the emphasis is on keeping fodder trees in the dry fields and keeping the animals at the house. In these higher villages there are no trees at all except in the sacred groves devoted to divinities and people take animals to high pasture. Also the longer fallow period in the warmer villages allows them to keep the animals in the fields longer. This is the primary means of fertilizing the fields. Everyone insists that there is very little profit the maintenance of a herding station. People do it out of pure necessity and for subsistence.

<sup>१७</sup> काठमाडौँबाट आएका एक जना साथी

<sup>४२</sup> A friend who was visiting from Kathmandu;

<sup>१८</sup> केन्द्रमा रकमको रूपमा लिइने मालपोत खातेज गरिसकेको भएतापनि यो चलन यहाँ चलिनै रहेको थियो । क्षेत्रीय अभिजात्यहरूले श्रमको शोषण गर्न छोडेको थिएन ।

हामी माथि माथि चढ्दै जाँदा केही गर्हू र जौको खेतको साथसाथै बुटाबुटीको जङ्गल पार गरेर गयौं । अनि बुटाबुटीको जङ्गल पार गर्दै हामी ठुलठुला रूखहरू भएको सुन्दर घना जङ्गलमा पुग्यौं । यो जङ्गलमा पुग्न बाल्चेबाट एक घण्टा जति हिँड्नु पर्छ । अहिले सानो खहरे भएको सालाकु नदी हामीले तय्यौं । लामालामा कपाल पालेका र चिच्याउँदै, गाउँदै नदीतिर गैरहेको बल्चिका एक जमात गोठालाहरूसँग हामीले भेट्यौं ।

सानो खोलाको छेउमा दिउँसोको खाना खान हामी रोक्थौं । पानी एकदम निर्मल र स्वच्छ थियो । हामीले बाटो भरी गोठै गोठ देख्यौं । कोही नभए पनि खोलामा बर्मा बाँस (निगालो) त्यसै भिजाई राखेको छ । गोठालाहरूले ढोको बुन्न र छाना छाउनको लागि मान्द्रो बुन्न फुर्सदको बेलाको व्यवसायको रूपमा बाँस काट्ने गर्दछन् । माने डाँडामा मनाएको छे चू चहाडमा आएको पुरोहित गुर्पा त्यही बाटोबाट आए । अधिल्लो दिन हराएका चारवटा भेडा खोज्दै ऊ आएको थियो । उसँग उसकी स्वास्नी पनि थिए । उसका हराएका भेडाहरू कहाँ गएका छन् भन्ने ठम्याउनको लागि हामीले पात्रो अथवा पुस्तक ल्याएको छ कि भनी सोधे ।

दिउँसोको खाना खाइसकेपछि गहिरा गहिरा खोंचहरू हुँदै पहाडमाथि चढ्यौं र फेरि त्यहाँ माथि पनि धेरै गोठहरू थिए । यी गोठहरू मोटामोटी १००० फिटको उचाइमा छन् । यो उचाइका गोठहरू यो वर्ष मानिसहरू उक्लन सक्ने जतिको उँचाईमा रहेका हुन् ।

हामी ९६१० फिटको उँचाइको गोंगा भंज्याङ्ग पुग्यौं । र त्यहाँ हामीले विश्राम गर्न खोज्यौं । एउटालाई बाँदर (हिमालयको लंगुर) हामीलाई हेर्दै हाम्रो पारीपट्टि बसे । हामी त्यहाँबाट हिँडेपछि भर्खरै मात्र चित्तवाले खसालेर गएका भेडाका उनै ऊन भएका टुक्रा टाकी मासु हामीले देख्यौं । त्यहाँ चारैतिर छाना छाउने काठका रूखहरू धेरै नै छन् र धेरै जसो त ढालिसकेका पनि छन् । रूख काट्नु र छाना छाउनको लागि चपटा चिर्नलाई भर्खर आइपुगेका पाँच जना मानिसहरूलाई हामीले भेट्यौं ।

विश्वासै गर्न नसकिने ठाडो उकालो अर्ध चट्टान जस्तो उकालो चढीसकेपछि हामी फेरि अर्को निर्जन गहिरो खोंचतिर लाग्यौं । त्यहाँ एक प्रकारको जुनियर रूखहरू र चुच्चे चट्टानहरू मात्र छन् । चिनियाँ चित्रहरूमा देखाइने जस्तै ठाडो भीरहरूमा रूखहरू उमिरहेका छन् । अर्को ठाडो उकालो लागेपछि हामी लगभग १२,५०० फिटको उँचाइमा रहेको रूपचेतमा पुग्यौं ।

As we move up, we go through scrub forest with some fields of wheat and barley. Then through the scrub jungle, we reach a beautiful thick forest with huge trees. This forest is about an hours walk above Balche. We cross the Salangku river which is now a small stream. We encounter a group of Balche herders - long haired and screaming, singing down the river.

We stopped to eat lunch at a small stream. The water is all clear and fresh. We encounter herding stations all along the way. In the stream barma bamboo is soaking unattended. Herders often pursue side occupations of collecting bamboo for weaving baskets and producing roof shingles. The gurpa - ritual specialist - who comes to the festival of tshe chhu in Stupa Hill came along the trail. He was looking for four sheep he had lost the other day. He was with his wife. They asked us if we had a calendar or book in which he could ascertain where his lost sheep had gone.

After lunch we head up through a large open canyon where again there were many herding stations. These herding stations were at roughly 9000 feet in elevation. This was as high as people had gotten this time of year.

We reached Gongga pass at 9610 ft. where we took a rest. A lone Himalayan Langur sat opposite us watching. As we left we encountered fresh leopard droppings full of sheep fur. There are a lot of the trees out of which they make roof shingles around and many have been felled. We met five men who had just arrived for cutting and splitting shingles.

After an incredibly steep climb up a semi-cliff, we moved into another virgin canyon. Full of a kind of juniper tree and rock pinnacles. The trees hung off the cliffs like those in Chinese paintings. After another steep climb up with all of us exhausted, we reach Rupchet, at about 12,500 feet in elevation.

त्यहाँ एउटा ठूलो बुझ्को विश्राम स्थल छ । यो ठाउँ त खासगरी यानुहरूको लागि नै बनाइएको जस्तो लाग्छ । यस झलाकामा चरन खर्कहरू बनाउँदै जाने अटुट प्रकृया रहेको छ भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट छ र अफ बढी हुँदैछ । रूपचेतमा पनि विस्तारै रूखहरू ढाल्दै छन् ॥ तिनीहरूले बरिपरि पनि रूख काट्दै छन् ।

उक्त साँभ पानीको लागि हामीले हिउँ पगाल्न बाध्य भयौं । तामाङहरूले डाङ्ज्यू भनिने र नेपालीमा पदमचाल (नेल्यूमविचुम स्पेसियोसम) नाउँले चिनिएको जडिबुटी दुइ जना मानिसहरूले खोज्दै छन् । २ देखि ३ इन्ची सम्मको गोलाई भएको यो जरा गाढा पहेलो छ । यो टुक्रा टुक्रा पारेर सुकाइन्छ । यो बुटी भेट्टाउन धेरै नै गाह्रो छ । तिनीहरूले भेट्टाएको उक्त जरा त्रिशुली बजारमा एकजना क्षेत्री टेकेदार कहाँ लान्छन् र उसले उक्त जरा भारतमा बेच्छन् । त्रिशुली बजारमा यो धार्मीको १०-११ रुपियामा बेचिन्छ । तर त्यो जरा भेट्टाउन अतिनै कठिन छ भनी सबैले जोड दिन्छन् । ठाडो भीरको उच्च चट्टानमा यसको खोजी गर्नुपर्छ ।

बाहिर हल्ला गर्ने अनौठा भूतप्रेतहरू भएता पनि हामीले छाप्रोमा सुविस्तेसँग रात काट्यौं । विश्राम स्थलमा हामीले दुई ठाउँमा अगेना बाल्यौं । ढोका अगाडिको अगेना ठुलै थियो । यो आगो बाल्नुको उद्देश्य अवाञ्छित जनावरहरू र भूतप्रेतहरूलाई टार्दै राख्नु हो भनी मलाई बताइयो । मानिसहरू भूत प्रेत प्रति धेरै नै चिन्तित छन् । प्रत्येक पटक खाना खाँदा एउटा सानो बुझ्कामा अलिकति खाना चढाउँछौं । मलाई भनिए अनुसार यो खाना चढाउनु रूख ढलेर मरेका र बाघले मारेका र अरु यस्तै मानिसहरूको प्रेतात्मा भूतको लागि हो । यो खाना अर्पण गर्दा श्योत् भनिन्छ जसको अर्थ खाएर जाउ भन्ने हो भनी तिनीहरू भन्छन् ।

मार्च २५, १९७७ । हामा सापीहरूले अगेनामा दाउरा थप्न र आगो बालेर धुँवा निकाल्दा विचविचमा हाम्रो नीद खुलिरहन्थ्यो । विहान उठिसकेपछि सबैले आफ्नो सपना र रातीको अनुभवको बारेमा बताए । राती बाहिर कसैले चिच्याउँदै कराएको लेन्ड्रेङले सुने । कुनै भूत (तामाङमा सिङगो) रातभरी त्यसरी नै बिताउने बानी परिसकेको छ भन्ने उसको व्याख्या थियो । जे होस्, हामीले आगो बालेर बसेको हुनाले भूत छाप्रोभित्र पस्न सकेन ।

There is a large stone shelter there. This apparently is for travellers. It is evident and was even more so later that there is an on going process of creating grazing land in this area. Rupchet itself was slowly cleared of trees. In the vicinity they are still cutting.

That evening we were forced to melt snow for water. Two men searching for a kind of medicinal plant known at dangjyu in Tamang and patam chal in Nepali (Nelumbium Speciosum). This root is very yellow and 2 to 3 inches in diameter. It is cut into pieces and dried. It is very difficult to find. They take the roots they find to Trisuli Bazaar to a Chhetri contractor who sells the roots in India. The selling price in Trisuli Bazaar is 10-11 rupees a dharni.<sup>43</sup> But everyone stresses that the root is extremely difficult to procure. One must search in very high crags in the cliffs.

We had a very comfortable night in the hut inspite of strange spirits etc. making noises outside! We built two fires in the shelter. The one in front of the door was quite large. The purpose of this fire I was told was to keep out unwanted animals and ghosts. Ghosts are of considerable concern. At every meal we leave a small portion of the meal on a small stone. This I am told is for the ghosts who may have come from men killed by falling trees, tigers and the like. This offering is called shyot - which they say means "eat and go!"

March 25, 1977. We were interrupted in our sleep all night by our companions restoking the fire and smoking. In the morning, everyone related their dreams and experiences of the night. Lendreng heard some being calling-howling outside in the night. His interpretation was that some sort of ghost (Tamang: shyingo) was accustomed to spending the night there. However, because we were there with our fires, it was unable to enter the shelter.

43 A Nepalese measure of weight equalling roughly 5 pounds



सूर्यमानले सपनामा एउटा कालो मान्छेसँग भेटेको देख्यो । उसले त्यो मानिससँग हात मिलायो तर कुरा भने गर्न सकेन र उसैगै रहेको एउटी आइमाईसँग मात्र कुरा गर्न सके ।

त्यो मान्छेले सूर्यमानसँग एउटै कक्षामा पढेको भने । सूर्यमानले तिनीहरू किन आएको भनी सोध्दा तिनीहरू नआई भएन भने ।

चारैतिर अलिकति न्यानो नहोउन्जेल र हामीले त्यो ठाउँ छोड्नुभन्दा पहिले सिरोटो नमागुन्जेल हामीहरू त्यहीँ पछि रह्यौं । हामीसँग बसेका दुइ जना मानिसले भूल बाटो हिउँले ढाकेको छ भनी बताए र मसँग भएको नक्सा अनुसार १३, २८५ फिट उँचाइमा रहेको सिङ्गला मा सोभै जानु राम्रो हुनेछ । नक्सामा दिएको नाउँ र स्थानीय नाउँ मिल्दैन (के होला अनुमान गर त ! ) ठाडो उकालो लाग्नु छ । यो दुर्गम ठाउँ डाडो भीर छ र चुचुरोको नजिक पुग्दै जाँदा त्यहाँ घाँस बाहेक केही छैन । त्यहाँ चट्टानहरूमा शिकारीहरूको गुफाहरू छन् । त्यहाँ भेडाहरूको लागि पनि केही साना आश्रय स्थलहरू छन् । यो उच्च दुर्गम चरण खर्क खासगरी भेडाको लागि हो । ठाडो चट्टानहरू र छहारीहरूमा अझै केही हिउँ पगलन बाँकी छ । भदौको पूर्णिमाको दिन लाग्ने शामानिक मेलाको ठाउँ हो यो । यहाँबाट हामीले गणेश हिमालको एकदमै राम्रो दृश्य हेर्न सक्छौं । हामीले विहान प्रस्थान गरेदेखि नै तँवालो लागेको छ । यहाँ धेरै जाडो भएकोले हामी तल ओर्लौं । डाँडाभरी स-साना चैत्यहरू छन् ।

हामीले पुरानो हिउँको लामो फैलावट पार गर्नु र सबैले हिउँमा फोटो लिइदिन जोड गरे । हामीले धेरै नै गर्मी महिनाको भेडा गोठहरू देख्यौं । यी गोठहरू साना भएकाले तुरुन्तै चिन्न सकिन्छन् । धेरै नै साना, बिरामी र बुढो भेडाहरू बाहेक सबै भेडा बाहिरै रहन्छन् । यी गोठहरू एकै ठाउँमा नजिक नजिकै बनाउनु पर्यो । बाटो बिराएर ठीक बाटो भेटाउन हामीले धेरै दुःख गर्नुपयो ।

गल्देन लामाले ठीक बाटो पत्ता लगाउन गएकोले हामी रुक्न बाध्य भयौं । हामी फेरी प्रस्थान गरेपछि १०-१५ गोठहरूका जगहरू भएको एउटा ठूलो खुल्ला चरण खर्क तिर ओर्लौं । गाउँलेहरूले त्यहाँ गाई र भैसी पाल्छन् ।

Surya Man in his dream had met a man outside the shelter who was all black. He shook hands with the man but could not speak to him, only to the woman with whom he was. The man said he was in the same class with Surya Man. Surya Man asked why they had come and the response was that they had had to come.

We waited around until it warmed up a bit and the chill burned off before we left. The two men who had stayed with us said that the main trail was full of snow and it was best to go straight over *Singla* which is 13,285 feet in elevation according to the map I have. The names on the map do not correspond (guess what!) to local knowledge. It was a very steep climb up. The country was very precipitous and as you near the top there is nothing but grass. There are hunters caves nestled in the cliffs. There are as well some small shelters for sheep. This high grazing country is exclusively for sheep. There is some snow still resting in the crags and shadows. Finally, we reach the peak of *Singla* where we rest. There is a beautiful stupa there. This is apparently the site of a shamanic festival on full moon of the Nepalese month of *Badau*. From here, we had an excellent view of the *Ganesh Himal*. It is - as it has been since we started in the morning - hazy. It is also quite cold so we head down. Along a ridge sit a line of small stupas.

We head across a long stretch of old snow - everyone insists on photos being taken in the snow. We pass numerous foundations of summer herding shelters - all for sheep. These are identifiable because they are very small. The sheep all stay out except for the extremely young, sick, and old. These small shelters tend to be clustered together. We had considerable trouble finding the proper trail. None of us has been over this trail.

We are forced to stop as *Galden Lama* heads off in search of the correct trail. After we got going again, we descended into large open pasturage where there are the foundations of at least 10-15 herding shelters. Villagers apparently keep buffalos and cows here.

यथार्थमा यी चरण खर्कहरूको चारैतिर सयौं गोठहरू छरिएर रहेका छन् । वास्तवमा, केही दृष्टिले त्यो एउटा सानो गाउँ जस्तै लाग्छ - मानिसहरू तुरुन्तै बस्तु चराउँछन् र रूखपातहरू काट्छन् । पाङ्गलेप रूखहरू अथवा छाना छाउने सामान बनाउन रूखहरू त्यस क्षेत्रभरि नै छथापछथाप्ती छन् । पूर्वका सोलु क्षेत्रभन्दा यी क्षेत्रहरूका मानिसहरू कम आतिथ्यपूर्ण छैनन् र स्थायी बस्ती बसाउन सकिन्छ र एकदिन बन्छ पनि ।

यी ठूला क्षेत्रहरू मध्ये एकबाट हामी ओर्लदै गएपछि रूखहरू ढालिएको र भू-क्षय भएको बातावरणीय विनाश क्षेत्रबाट हामी गयौं । धेरै चरण खर्कहरू बनाउन पाङ्गलेप रूखहरू र अरु रूखहरू दनादन ढालिए । यहाँको एक क्षेत्रले पश्चिमी अमेरिकाको एक ठाउँमा रूखहरू ढालेर मैदान बनाएको कुरा मलाई सम्झाउँछ । खास यो ठाउँ धेरै नै दुर्बल छ । दुङ्गाको चट्टानमा पातलो तह माटो मात्र बाँकी छ । यहाँ बाक्लो जङ्गल थियो । जे होस् मानिसहरूले छाना छाउने पाङ्गलेप रूखहरू र चरण खर्कहरू बनाउन अरु रूखहरू ढाल्दै र चरण खर्कहरू बनाउन अरु रूखहरू ढाल्दै गए । भू-क्षयले जताततै डाँडाहरू भत्काइदिएको छ ।

यो बाटो हिँड्दा धेरै दुःख पाइयो र घना जङ्गलबाट अर्को चरण खर्क जाँदा हाम्रो बाटो फाडीहरूमा अल्मलिन्छ । पिटेर, सुकाएर र पिँधेर खान हुने एक किसिमको च्याउको खोजी गरिरहेका सेरतुङ गाउँका मानिसहरूलाई त्यहाँ हामीले भेट्यौं । तिनीहरूले हामीलाई दायोपट्टिको बाटोबाट जान भने र धेरै नै दुःख खाएर सेरतुङको माथिल्लो खेतहरूमा हामी आइपुग्यौं ।

बाटोमा हामीले सक्रिय गोठहरू देख्यौं । एउटा गोठको बाहिर पासोमा परेको एउटा चरा देख्यौं । गोठालाहरूले राती चराको सूप पकाएको कुरा मलाई भनियो । हाम्रो पार्टीले यो सूप राम्रो छ भनी सोचेको छ । गोठमा बस्ने मानिसहरू गाउँमा भन्दा धेरै शिकार गर्नमा एकत्रित हुन्छन् । गाउँबाट एक घण्टा जति हिँड्नुपर्ने उपल्लो खेतबाट जसै हामी हिँड्यौं जौको खेतमा बाटोका मानिसहरूसँग हामीले भेट्यौं । बाटोमा हामीले भेटेका मानिसहरूसँग कुरा गर्नु । तिनीहरूले गर्मी महिनामा सिङ्गलाको बाटोबा त्रिशुली जाने कुरा भने ।

There are literally hundreds of shelters scattered around these pastures. In fact, in certain respects they constitute small temporary villages - at once people herd and exploit forest resources. *Panglep* trees or the trees that shingles are made from are in great abundance and constitutes the main roofing material throughout the region. These areas are no less hospitable than the Solu region to the east and permanent settlements would clearly be possible and may well eventually be established.

As we move down through one of these large areas we pass through an ecological disaster zone of fallen trees and landslides. *Panglep* trees and others have been felled all over the place to open up more pasture. One area reminded me in a minor way of the clear cutting in the American west. This particular area was very fragile. There was just a slight cover of soil on bed rock. There had been a large stand of trees here, however, as people cut *Panglep* for shingles and other trees to open pasture, the whole forest fell. Landslides gouged the hillside everywhere.

We had more trouble with the trail and bushwhacked our way down through dense jungle to another pasture. There we met some people from the village of *Sertung* who have been searching for a certain kind of fungus which after a process of beating, drying, and grinding is eaten. They set us on the right trail and with a bit more difficulty we made it down to the upper fields of *Sertung*.

On the way, we pass by active herding stations. Outside one we found a snared bird. The herders add this to their soup at night I am told. Our party thinks this is pretty crude. People living in the herding shelters are much more into gathering and hunting than in villages. As we move through high fields which extend for about an hour up and out of the village and are exclusively in barley, we talk with people on the trail who say they take the *Singla* trail to *Trisuli* during the summer.

यो बाटो हिँड्दा साढे दुई दिन लाग्छ जबकि तल्लो बाटोबाट भरी बोकेर हिँड्दा तीन दिन लाग्छ । बाटो भरी मानिसहरूसँग कुरा गर्दै गयो । सूर्यमानको काकाको बास बस्ने ठाउँ भेट्टाउने यो उच्च कलाको राम्रो तरिका हो । शहर जाँदा बाटोमा हामीले अलमल गर्दा उनले बास बस्ने राम्रो ठाउँको बारेमा सोधिहाल्छ ।

माने डाँडा भन्दा सेरतुङ धेरै नै गुचमुच्च परेको बाक्लो बस्ती हो - यस क्षेत्रको अग्ला ठाउँमा रहेका तामाङ गाउँहरू मध्येको यथार्थ हो । आफ्नै जातका मानिसहरू निश्चित ठाउँको वरिपरि गुचमुच्चपर बस्न रुचाउँछन् । माथिल्ला गाउँका घरहरू तल्ला गाउँहरूका घरहरू जस्तै छन् । सेरतुङमा त्यो घर अवकाश प्राप्त गोर्खा सैनिक (लाहुरे)<sup>44</sup> को हो । कुनै कुनै घरको छाना स्लेटले छापेको छ । यहाँ एउटा बौद्ध गुम्बा, स्वास्थ्य चौकी र एउटा विद्यालय छ ।

यो गाउँको एउटा घटलाग्दो कुरो के हो भने त्यहाँ पाँच छ पुस्तादेखि बसोबास गर्दै आइरहेको एउटा नेवार परिवारको एउटा अलग र पखालले घेरेको तिनीहरूलाई स्थानीय तामाङहरूले बोलाएर ल्याएको थियो । तिनीहरूको एउटा ठूलो भैंसी गोठ पनि छ । गाउँलेहरूले अलिकति चुरोट र बीडी लिएर घाँस काटी दिन्छन् । तिनीहरूको एउटा लुगा सिउने कल पनि छ । त्यहाँ चारवटा गृहस्थी घरहरू छन् । प्राय गरी तिनीहरूको विहे पाटनमा हुन्छ र साँच्चै नै शहरी विधिव्यवहार गरिरहन्छ । सबै नेवारहरूले घडी भिडेको छ र पश्चिमी छोटको लुगा सिउँछन् ।

धनाढ्य व्यक्तिको नाउँबाट परिचित व्यक्ति कमटासीको नातीको घरमा हामी बास बस्ने व्यवस्था मिलायौं । ऊ सूर्यमानको काका बाजे बीरमानको मीत<sup>45</sup> हो । सेरतुङका धेरैजसो बुढापाकाहरू सूर्यमानको काका बाजेलाई सम्झन्छन् । कामा तासीको कान्छो नाती कमटासीले ६०-७० वर्ष अघि बनाएको घरमा बस्छन् । त्यो घर पक्की र ठूलो छ । यो घरमा तीन चार परिवार बस्छन् । उक्त घर बनाउनलाई कमटासीले ज्याला दिनको १-५० पैसा थियो । ढकमी काठमाडौँबाटै ल्याइएका थिए ।

This is a two and a half day trail as opposed to the lower which is three days with a load. We kept talking to people on the way. This is a strategy formed into a high art by Surya Man's youngest father's brother of locating a place to stay. As we linger on our way into town he makes inquiries about the best place to stay.

Sertung is a more clustered village than Stupa Hill - this is true of all the higher Tamang villages in the region. Clans tend to be clustered in particular neighborhoods. The house style is basically consistent in most of the higher villages as it is in the lower villages. Only one tin roof is visible in Sertung that of a returning Gurkha soldier (*lahori*).<sup>44</sup> Some houses have slate roofs. There is an active Buddhist temple, a health post, and a school.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the village is the fact that there is a separate and enclosed Newar compound in the middle which has been there for five or six generations. They were invited by the local Tamang to trade in cloth and other market goods. They also have a large stable of water buffalo. The fodder is cut by villagers who do so daily for a few cigarettes or *bidi*-s.<sup>45</sup> They have a sewing machine. There were four households resident there. They generally marry in Patan and certainly have an urban demeanor. All the Newar men have watches and wear western style dress.

We arrange to spend the night at the house of the grandson of Kama Tasi, a man who was known for his wealth. He was also the ritual brother<sup>46</sup> of Surya Man's great great uncle Birman. Many of the older men in Sertung remember Surya Man's great great uncle. The youngest grandson of Kama Tasi lives in a house that Kama Tasi built 60-70 years ago. The house is large and well-built. It is now occupied by three or four families. Kama Tasi brought carpenters from Kathmandu for the construction. They were paid 50 paise a day. The mason was also brought from Kathmandu.

<sup>44</sup> नेपालका मानिसहरू भारतीय सेनाबाट फर्केका भूतपूर्व सैनिक लाहुरेहरूलाई बढी रुचाउँछन् ।

<sup>45</sup> तामाङमा मीत

<sup>44</sup> Called *lahori* after the Indian city, Lahore, where Gorkha recruits were enlisted.

<sup>45</sup> The lowest grade of local "cigarette".

<sup>46</sup> In Nepali: *mith*; Tamang: *leng*.

माने डाँडा र सेरतुङ बीचको सम्बन्ध अनिकाल पर्दा खेरी आपसी सहयोगले जोडेको छ । माने डाँडाका हात्ता साथीहरूले सेरतुङमा बाली बिप्रेर अनिकाल परेको बेला सेरतुङ गाउँका कमटासिको परिवार र अरु मानिसहरू बाँचनका लागि मकै लिन आएको कुरा सम्झन्छन् । अनिकाल परेको वर्षभरिको सहायताको लागि माने डाँडाका मानिसहरूले अन्न पुऱ्याएका थिए ।

साँभमा कमटासिका सन्तानहरू मध्ये एक जनाले सेरतुङको इतिहासबारे अलिकति बताएर । सुनौललो प्रार्थना भण्डा माम्बा जातिको बसोबासको इतिहास बताए । उसले "घले राजाहरू" को पुरानो इतिहास बारे अलिकति प्रकाश पारे । घले राजाहरू त्यहाँका मूल निवासीहरू थिए र पछि दक्षिण पश्चिमतिर सदैँ गएका हुन् । पृथ्वीनारायणशाहको विजय नहोउन्जेलसम्म स्थानीय घले राजाहरूको शासन चलेको थियो तर यो कुरा कतिको विश्वासनीय छ भन्ने कुरामा उसलाई निश्चय नभएको कुरा उसले भने ।

सेरतुङका आइमाइहरू श्यामा<sup>49</sup> लाउँछन् तर सामान्यतया प्रचलित रातो माथि पुरानो ढाँचाको निलो-कलेजी रङ्गको पट्टि भएको लाउँछन् । माने डाँडाका सबै आइमाइहरूले काँध माथि ल्याउने रङ्गीचङ्गी "ग्या" कपडा यहाँ कसैले पनि लाएको देखिँदैन ।

वास्तवमा, यहाँ गाउँमा यस्तो कपडा बुन्ने एउटा पनि चालु तान देखिन । प्रायजसो आइमाइहरूले बजारमा किनिएको कपडा नै काँधमाथि लाउँछन् र सबैले कभिज लाएको हुन्छ । माने डाँडाको ढाँचाको ग्या लाएको एक जना मात्र मैले देखे । कसैले काँधमाथि घरबुना कपडा लाएछ भने त्यो सेतो ग्या हुन्छ ।

लोग्ने मानिसहरूले परम्परागत बाक्लो लुगा बख्नु लुगा माथि लाउँछन् र धेरैजसो बजारबाटै किन्छन् । पटुका बाँध्न पनि कपडा बजारबाटै किन्छन् । तरुण केटाहरू, सरकारी कर्मचारीहरू र लाहुरेहरूले माने डाँडामा जस्तै छुपासमिसे पश्चिमी ढाँचाका लुगा लाउँछन् । माने डाँडामा जस्तो रङ्गीचङ्गी फेटा बाँधेको यहाँ देखिएन । मानिसहरूसँग राम्रा राम्रा घरबुना लुगाहरू होलान् तर तिनीहरू चाड पर्वमा लाउन स्याहारै राख्छन् । निश्चय नै तल्लो गाउँमा भन्दा यहाँ धेरै उनी लुगाहरू लाउँछन् । सबै कुरो पुरानो तानमा बुनेको जस्तो लाग्छ ।

The connections between Stupa Hill and Sertung extend to mutual aid in times of famine. Our Stupa Hill friends remember when people from Kama Tasi's house and others from Sertung came to procure maize to tide them over during a famine that had resulted from the failure of their crops. Others from Stupa Hill have carried grain to Sertung to relieve famine over the years.

In the evening one of Kama Tasi's descendants talks a bit of the history of Sertung. He relates the history of golden prayer flag and the settlement of the Mhamba clan. He also recounted a bit of the old history of the Ghale "kings" who were said to originate from "over there" to the southwest. He said the local Ghale kings did not fall until the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah but I am not sure how reliable this account is.

The women of Sertung wear *shyama* (traditional woven skirts) but generally of the older style with blue-purple bands on the top of the usual red stripe. The colorful *gya* or cloth worn over the shoulders which are worn by all women in Stupa Hill area are not seen here.

In fact, I saw no upright looms for weaving this kind of cloth in the village. Women wear mostly bazaar cloth on the top and everyone has shirts. I only saw one *gya* in Stupa Hill style. If they wear home spun cloth on the top it is white *gya*.

Men tend to wear traditional thick cloth *baku* or over cloth and this is most often bought in the bazaar. The lengths of cloth worn across the middle were also bazaar cloth. Young boys, officials, and *lahori*-s wear conglomerates of western dress much like in Stupa Hill. No colorful turbans as common in Stupa Hill were evident. People may have better hand spun clothes which they save for festivals. There is of course much more wool woven here than in lower villages. Everything seems to be done on the back strap loom.

<sup>49</sup> रघुबा-नुवाकोटक तामाङ आइमाइहरूले पहिलेदेखि लगाएको लुगा (परम्परागत घुबुना जामा)

सेर्तुङ्गबाट गणेश हिमालका मुख्य मुख्य चुचुराहरू देखिन्छन् र यहाँका मानिसले तिनीहरूलाई लाप्साङा कार्पो भन्छन् । यी चुचुराहरू मुनि एउटा मेला स्थल (सान्जेम डोल्मो) छन्, जहाँ भदौ पूर्णिमाको दिन चाड मनाउन मानिसहरू भेला हुन्छन् ।

मार्च २६, १९७७ । सेर्तुङ्गमै विहान भरी बिताउने योजना बनाएर हामी विहान उठ्यौं र हामीले कमटासीको छोरसँग कुरा गर्ने व्यवस्था मिलायौं, जेहोस, सरकारी नापी टोली गाउँमा आइपुगी सकेको थियो र खेत नापी गर्दा र नापी हुने ठाउँमा उपस्थित हुनुपर्छ । फ्रान्सका मानव शास्त्री गेरार्ड टोफिनले तीन अथवा चार महिना सेर्तुङ्गमा बिताएका थिए र गाउँ सभा भवनमा बसेका थिए ।

सेर्तुङ्गको नभए पनि धेरै माथि टाढाको तिम्लिङ्ग उपत्यकाको स्थानीय आर्थिक स्थितिमा प्रत्यक्षत महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रभावबारे केही कुरा हामीले थाहा पायौं । तिम्लिङ्गको माथि लरी भन्ने उच्च इलाकामा एउटा खानी छ । मेघ थापाको भनाई अनुसार खानी सञ्चालनमा ठूलो ठूलो खानीहरू र दुइ खानीहरू सञ्चालन गतिविधिमा संलग्न भारतका विरला परिवारको यो खानी सञ्चालनमा ठूलो हात छ ।

त्यो कम्पनी नेपालमा नेपाल मेटल कम्पनीको नाउँले परिचित छ । यो कम्पनीको अर्को ठूलो हिस्सेदार राजाको फूर्पाङ्ग हुन् - फेरि मेघकै अनुसार उहाँ भारतका राजकुमार हुन् र अब नेपालका बासिन्दा हुन् । उहाँ कम्पनीको नेपाली हिस्सेदार हुनुहुन्छ । स्पूवेकको क्यानाडियन कम्पनीको साथै अरु भारतीय कम्पनीहरू यस खानी सञ्चालनका सहभागीहरू हुन् ।

तिम्लिङ्गका सबै जसो मानिसहरू वर्षभरीमा तीन महिना यस खानीमा काम गर्छन् (एकजनाले हामीलाई बताए) । काम र दक्षता अनुसार ज्याला पनि फरक फरक हुन्छ । मेशिन चलाउने मानिसहरू मध्ये कसै कसैले राम्रो काम गर्छन् । आइमाइहरूले आफ्नै खाना खाएर दिनको ३ या ४ रुपिया ज्यालामा काम गर्छन् ।

दिउँसोको खाना खाइसकेपछि हामी तिम्लिङ्गतिर लाग्यौं । जसै हामी गाउँबाट हिँड्यौं सबै युवा र बूढाबुढीहरूले मलाई गाउँमा बोलाउने नाउँ "उर्च लामा" पहिलो लामाको नाउँ लिएर मलाई बोलाए । मेरो नाउँको त्यो शब्द चाँडै फैलियो ।

One can see the main peaks of the Ganesh Himal from Sertung and they apparently are called *Lapsang Karpo*. Below these peaks is a pilgrimage spot (*Sangem Dolmo?*) where people congregate for a festival on the full moon of Badau.

March 26, 1977. We woke in the morning with the plan to spend the morning in Sertung and after eating to move on to the Timling area. We tried to make arrangements to talk to a son of Kama Tasi, however, the official government measurement of land holdings had reached the village and anyone of any stature had to be present while fields were measured and recorded. We did learn that Gerard Toffin, an anthropologist from France, had spent three or four months in Sertung and lived in the village meeting hall.

We also learned a bit about an apparently significant impact on the local economy - not so much on Sertung but on Timling farther up the valley. There is a mine in the a high area called *Lari* above Timling. According to Megh Thapa, the Birla family of India with major mining and quarrying activities in India are major players in this venture.

The company in Nepal is known as the Nepal Metal Co.. Another major partner in this operation is reputedly the King's father's sister's husband - again according to Megh - who is a prince of India now resident in Nepal. He is the Nepali partner in the company. Other Indian companies are part of the venture as well as a Canadian company of Quebec.

Many people in Timling (everyone, one man told us) work in the mines for three months out of the year. Wages vary according to the amount and skill of work. Some of the men who operate machinery do quite well. Women will apparently work for 3 or 4 rupees a day and have to provide their own food.

After lunch, we head off for Timling. As we leave the village, everyone - young and old - call out my village nickname, "Urtsa Lama," the yellow lama. The word of my name had spread quickly.

हामीहरू ठाडो ओरालो ओर्लेर आँखु नदी पुग्यौं र त्यसपछि तिम्लिङ्गको ठाडो बाटो उक्ल्यौं । तिम्लिङ्ग बसेको ठाउँको एक छेउमा कामीहरूको एउटा गुचमुच्च बस्ती बसेको छ । उपत्यकाको जति जति भित्र हामी गयौं सबै जसो ठाउँ भिरालै भिरालो परेको ठाउँ रहेछ । हामी पानसाङ भन्ज्याङ्ग पुग्ने विचारले तिम्लिङ्ग भएर छिटो छिटो हिँड्यौं । गाउँबाट हिँड्दै गर्दा एउटा घरमा आगलागी भएको थियो उक्त आगलागीमा एक जना आमा र एउटा बच्चा पनि मरेको थियो भन्ने कुरा हामीले सुन्यौं । मर्नेको लोग्ने र बच्चाको बाबु त्रिशुली गएको थियो र अहिलेसम्म पनि फर्केको थिएन ।

हामी तिम्लिङ्गबाट लाप्साङ पुग्न उकालो लाग्दै गयौं र हामीले त्यहाँ पाङसाङ भन्ज्याङ्गको बाटो देखाउने कुनै पथप्रदर्शक भेटाउने कोशिश गर्नुपर्छ । हामीले १० रुपियाँ दिएर हामीसँग लागेर हामीलाई बाटो देखाउन इच्छुक एक जना युवालाई भेटायौं । तामाङ्ग जनजाति भन्दा फरक घले जनजातिले तिम्लिङ्ग र सेर्तुङ्गमा जस्तै राज्य चलाएको दावी गर्छन् । एक जना बुढो घलेले तिनीहरू तामाङ्ग होइनन् र तामाङ्ग जाति तिनीहरू भन्दा तल्लो जातका हुन् भनी दावी, जिद्दी गरेको छ । तैपनि, तामाङ्गहरूसँग बिहावारी चल्छ । यो बुढो मान्छेले म सँग एक बट्टा चुरोट लिएर कुरा गर्न चाहे ।

मध्याह्न पछि हामी मेर्काङ्ग भन्ने ठाउँमा पुग्ने विचारले पहाड चढ्यौं । यो पहाड एकदमै ठाडो भिरालो र चढ्न गाह्रो छ । माथि चढ्दै जाँदा हामीले धेरै गोठहरू देख्यौं र सूर्यमानको काका जिज्यू बाजेलाई चिन्ने एक जना मानिससँग पनि भेट्यौं ।

त्यहाँ सुन्दर जङ्गलहरू छन् तर मौसम डरलाग्दो खालको छ । हामी मेर्काङ्गमा रोकिँदा रात काट्यौं । त्यहाँ नजिकै कतै पनि पानी छैन तर लाली गुराँस फुल धेरै नै मनमोहक छ ।

हिउँ पर्न थाल्यो । हिउँ पर्दा खेरी साँच्चैको अनुभव भएको व्यक्ति मै मात्र थिएँ- वास्तवमा म नेपाल आएदेखि एकचोटि आफ्नै ठाउँमा भएको जस्तो लाग्यो - तर भन्ज्याङ्ग पार गर्ने कोशिश गर्ने बारेमा कसैलाई पनि चिन्त बुझेको थिएन । ४ इन्च बान्को हिउँ परेको हिमपात युक्त आँधिमा परेर पोहर साल दुइजना गोठालाहरू मरेको कुरा हास्य पथ प्रदर्शकले भन्दा पनि मानेनन् ।

We had a steep walk down to the *Ankhu* river and headed up a steep trail to Timling. There is a clustered Blacksmith settlement perched on the end of the promontory on which Timling is located. All the country as we move deeper into the valley is extremely precipitous. We walked quickly through Timling with the idea of working our way up to the Pansang pass. We learned as we went through the village that a house had burned the night before killing a mother and child. The husband-father was in Trisuli and had not yet returned.

We continued up from Timling to Lapdung where we tried to find someone who would guide us over the Pangsang pass. We found a young man who seemed happy to accompany us for 10 rupees. Ghale clans as opposed to Tamang clans claim ascendance here as in Timling and Sertung. An old Ghale man insists that they are not Tamang and that Tamang are inferior. All marriages, though, occur with Tamang. This old man managed to talk me out of a pack of cigarettes.

Just after midday we head up the mountain with the idea of making it to a place called Merkgang. It is a steep and difficult climb up. There were many occupied herding shelters on the way up and we met another person who knew Surya Man's great, great uncle.

There were beautiful forests but the weather looked threatening. We stopped at Merkgang where we spent the night in a stone shelter. There was no water nearby but the rhododendron flowers were fantastic.

Snow began to fall. I was the only one with real experience in the snow - in fact for once since I had been in Nepal I felt in my element! - but everyone else was quite scared about trying to make it over the pass. It did not help when our Lapdung guide recounted the death of two herders last fall when they got caught in a storm that dumped 4 feet of snow.

चट्टानमुनिको नदीमा हामीले आफ्नो दिनको खाना खाऔं र खुरी गाउँसम्म ठाडो उकालो चढौं। गाउँमा घरहरू गुचमुच्च छन् र भाल्ङ्गमा भएको अलिकति ठाकठुक भ्रगडा र नरमाइला घटनाहरू र बुराङ्गको साँभ्रको सम्भ्रना अतीतमा विलाई सकेको छ। हामीले कोदोको जाँड तामाङ्ग जी पियौं र फेरी दही र मही पनि पियौं अगाडि लाग्यौं। हामी थाम्पुमा एउटी बूढीको घरमा बास बस्यौं र तिनले हामीलाई गन्हाउने रक्सी ख्वाइन्। त्यहाँ घरमा ठूलो गाल श्राद्धको भोज थियो र हालै काटेका १५ बटा साना साना रूखका काठले मण्डप बनाएको थियो भनी तिनले हामीलाई बताइन्। मलाई त्यस राती सान्हो आउँ पन्थो।

मार्च २९, १९७७। यो दिन लामो र थकाई लाग्दो थियो। गर्मी असह्य थियो र मेरो आउँ पनि सान्हो हुँदै गयो। धेरैचोटी नै दिसा भयो। हामी पानी सुकेको धारा मात्र भएको गाउँ किम्ताङ्ग भएर गयौं। यो गाउँ रसुवा जिल्लामा छँदा खेरीको यो सरकारी आयोजना थियो - अब यो गाउँ नुवाकोट जिल्लामा पर्छ। फलामकै पाइप ओछ्याइएको थियो। तर ट्यांकीमा एक थोपा पनि पानी छैन। पानीको मुहान पनि चर्पी बनी सकेको छ।

किम्ताङ्गमा जस्ताको छााना भएको दुई तीन तले लाहुरेहरूको घर छ। त्यहाँ एउटा प्रहरी स्टेशन पनि छ र त्यहाँका एक जना मैत्रीपूर्ण तामाङ्ग प्रहरीलाई हामीले भाल्ङ्गमा हामीलाई दिएको दुःखबारे बताए।

किम्ताङ्गबाट हामी बुम्ताङ्ग गयौं र यहाँको एक जना साथीको छाप्रोमा रोक्थौं। त्यहाँ ऊ रक्सी, घ्यू दही अथवा अरु थोक जेसुकै पनि राख्ने काठको भाँडो पोङ्ग ठेकी बनाउँदै थियो। यी काठका भाँडाहरू बनाउने माने डाँडाका मानिसहरूलाई आफ्नै निजि बारीमा उमारेका रूखहरूबाट बनाएका भएतापनि वन विभागका मानिसहरूले दुःख दिनसम्म दिँदो रहेछ। माने डाँडा र बरिपरिका गाउँहरूका मानिसहरू यसले गर्दा रिसले चूरचूर छन्। बुम्ताङ्गका साथीले आज सम्म उसलाई यस्तो दुःख नदिएको कुरा बताए।

केही राम्री ठिटीहरूसँग बुम्ताङ्गबाट माने डाँडातिर हामी छिटो छिटो लाग्यौं। हामी माने डाँडा पुग्दा थकाइले लखत्रान् नै भयो।

We had lunch at the river at the base of the cliff and climbed steeply up to the village of Khuri. The houses in the village were clustered closely together and the somewhat quarrelsome and unpleasant occurrences in Jharlang and the evening in Burang faded into the past. We drank Tamang *ji* or millet beer and drank curds and whey and pushed on. We spent the night at Thampa with an old lady who served foul *raksi*. She told us they had huge *gral* or death rites there in which the altars were supported by 15 freshly cut saplings. I got bad dysentery that night.

March 29, 1977. This was a long hard day. The heat was unbearable and my dysentery was bad. I almost passed out on numerous occasions. We passed through Kimtang which has a water system that does not work. It was a government project when the village was part of Rasuwa district - it is now in Nuwakot. The piping was all metal but no water went into the tank. The water source is also a latrine.

Kimtang has a lot of tin roofs, *lahori-s*, and even two or three stores. There is also a police station where we told a friendly Tamang policeman about the grief we had been given in Jharlang.

From Kimtang we went to Bumtang where we stopped at a friend's hut where he was making *pong-s* or wooden vessels for holding *raksi*, butter, curds or what have you. Those who make these wooden vessels in the Stupa Hill area have been hassled by people from the Forestry Department even though the trees are cultivated and privately owned. People in Stupa Hill and neighboring villages were angry about this. The friend in Bumtang said that he had had no such trouble.

We walked hard and fast from Bumtang to Stupa Hill accompanied by some beautiful young women. We got back to Stupa Hill exhausted.

सूर्यमानको कान्छो काकाले हाम्रो अभियान यात्राबारे सबै विवरणहरू र राती हामीले के के गर्नु भन्ने आदि घटनाहरू सबै सुनाएर हाम्रा सबै नातादार र साथीहरूलाई मनोरञ्जन गराई सकेको छ।

(जे भएपनि लेन्ड्रेङ्गले एकदमै गम्भीर भएर जुताको बारेमा सुनाएको कथा एकदमै रमाइलो बयान थियो। यात्रामा हिँड्नु भन्दा अघि डाँडा काँडा चढ्नको लागि सबभन्दा राम्रो त्रिशुली बजारमा पाइने चाइनिज जुता किन्नलाई मैले लेन्ड्रेङ्गलाई पचास रुपियाँ दिएको थिएँ। पैसा अलिकति बचाउनलाई लेन्ड्रेङ्गले त्रिशुलीमा पाइने सस्तो भारतीय प्लाष्टिकको जुता किने। लाप्डुङ्ग माथि हिउँ परेको ठाउँमा नपुगुन्जेल लेन्ड्रेङ्गले जुता नलाई कनै सबै यात्रा नाङ्गो खुट्टा मै हिँडे। त्यस ठाउँमा पुगेपछि मात्र उसको खुट्टा जाडो र जमाउने हिउँबाट बचाउन उसको भारतीय प्लाष्टिकको जुता फिक्यो। सबैले अनुमान गर्न सक्ने भै यो जुता धेरै नै चिसोमा कडा भयो। त्यो जुताले पोलेर चक्कुले काटे भै घाउ पारिदियो र एकदमै काम नलाग्ने सावित भयो - हामीले पासाङ्ग भन्ज्याङ्ग पार गर्न नसक्नाले एउटा कारण यो पनि थियो। हाम्रो यात्रामा पछि तल्लो उपत्यकाको धेरै नै गर्मी इलाकामा हामी आइसकेपछि प्लाष्टिकको जुता धेरै नै गर्मीमा गरम हुने र काम नलाग्ने रहेछ भन्ने पत्ता लगाउन मात्रै लेन्ड्रेङ्गले फेरि जुता फिके। ऊ आफू नहाँसिकन जुता लाएर कठिन यात्रा गरेको विवरण एकदमै रमाइलो थियो।)

Surya Man's youngest father's brother had already put together the story of our adventures and he entertained all our relatives and friends with tales of our exploits long into the night.

[The funniest story, however, came from Lendreng who in absolute seriousness told the story of his shoes. Before leaving on the trip, I had given Lendreng 50 rupees to buy some strong Chinese sneakers - the best shoes to be found in Trisuli Bazaar for hiking through the hills. To save some money, Lendreng had bought the cheapest plastic Indian shoes he could find. For the whole trip Lendreng carried his shoes and walked barefoot - that is until we reached the snow above Lapdung. At that point Lendreng had taken out his Indian plastic shoes to protect his feet from the cold and freezing snow. These shoes though as one could well imagine became extremely hard in the low temperatures. They cut like knives into his feet and proved to be absolutely useless - this was one of the reasons we could not make an attempt to cross Pangsang pass. Later on in the trip when we got into the extremely hot areas of the lower valley, Lendreng tried his shoes again only to discover that due to the high temperature, they turned very soft and were also useless. We all found his straight faced recounting of his adventures with his shoes hilarious.]

## माने डाँडा जाँदा

डिसेम्बर १६, १९७६।<sup>२२</sup> आजको हाम्रो यात्रा काठमाडौँबाट त्रिशुली जाने नियमित बस सेवाबाट भयो। सूर्यमानजीले यस यात्रालाई "रोटी जस्तै यात्रा" भने। उनको कुरा त्यति सान्छो रमाइलो लागेन र पहिले त बुझ्ने पनि सकिन: काग उड्दा २० कि.मि. मात्र हुने ठाउँमा यो बाटोले ९० कि.मि. घुम्नुपर्ने तथ्यमाथि उनले प्रकाश पार्न खोजेको कुरा मैले राम्ररी बुझे। मैले त शुरूमा कुनै प्रकारको चेटो रोटी अथवा हाम्रो उखान जस्तै "एउटा केक" बारे बताएको हुँदो हो भन्ठानेको थिए। उनले त गोलो सेल रोटी जस्तै भनी बताउन खोजेको कुरा मैले बल्ल बुझे।

यसपटक माने डाँडा जाँदा बाल्जीस्थित भेंडा गोठमा फर्की रहेकी पीसकोर भोलेन्टियर जानिस स्टोन्डहलसँग भेट्न पाउनु एउटा नयाँ कुरो भएको थियो। उनी काठमाडौँमा भेंडा किनेर फर्की रहेकी थिइन्। उनको कार्य स्थलबाट उनी निराश भएकी थिइन्। यसो हेर्दा उनले राम्रै ठाउँमा काम पाएकी हुनु जस्तो लाग्थ्यो। उनी पूर्वी वासिङटनको भेंडा पालक परिवारकै हुन् र उनले पुलमायनबाट भेंडा पालन विषयमा डिग्री प्राप्त गरेकी थिइन्। तर तिनी एकलो भएको अनुभव गर्छिन् र त्यस ठाउँका तामाङ समुदायसँग पनि हेलमेल गर्न सकेकी छैनन्। तिनी भेंडा विकास फार्ममै बस्दिछिन् र नेपाली मात्र बोल्दिछिन्। अझै भनी भने उनको सहायकको रूपमा सरकारले खटाएका तराईवासी उनलाई सहयोगी हुनुको साटो फिजो मात्र भएको छ।

## त्रिशुली बजार

काठमाडौँबाट विहान ७:३० बजे हिँडेको बस विहान ११:४५ बजे त्रिशुली बजार आइपुग्यो। उर्चहीड र सूर्यमान दुवैजना मलाई भेट्न आए।

## EN ROUTE TO STUPA HILL

December 16, 1976.<sup>48</sup> Today's is the usual bus ride from Kathmandu to Trisuli--the one Surya Man calls "just like a piece of bread." It no longer seems so funny that I misunderstood him the first time: I now knew enough to know that he was trying to make light of the fact that this road takes some 90 km to traverse what are a mere 20 km as the crow flies, but I had initially thought he was referring to the flat breads, or perhaps even the (our!) proverbial "piece of cake." Now, of course, I knew only too well that he meant a piece of *sel* bread: the village treat of a deep-fried bread that twisted and curled like a donut trying to become a pretzel.

The only novelty on the ride this time was the Peace Corps Volunteer, Janice Stendahl, returning to the sheep farm in Balji. She'd been on a sheep-buying trip in Kathmandu. She is beginning to be discouraged at her placement. At first glance, hers seems like the perfect placement. She comes from a sheep-ranching family in Eastern Washington and has a master's in something having to do with sheep from Pullman. But she is very lonely and feels isolated even from the Tamang community there. She is living at the development sheep farm itself and speaks only Nepali so far. Moreover, the lowlander<sup>49</sup> assigned by the government to be her assistant sounds like he is far more trouble than help.

## Trisuli Bazaar

The bus left Kathmandu at 7:30 AM and arrived in Trisuli Bazaar at 11:45. Both Urtsa Rang and Surya Man came down to meet me.

<sup>२२</sup> द्रष्टव्य: यी संकलनहरू क्याथरिन मार्चको फिल्टर जर्नलबाट लिइएका हुन्।

<sup>48</sup> These selections come with only minor editing, directly from my personal journals of this date. They were written after I had finished the Sherpa part of my work and had joined David Holmberg, in the Tamang community where he had already been working for some time.

<sup>49</sup> Lowlander Tamang differentiate the people living around them in many ways, such as by clan, caste, ethnic group, wealth, but here the distinction is between those who live high up in the hills (in local Tamang torpa and Nepali *pahariya* or, here, highlander vs. 'lowlander' on Tamang *marpa*).

हामीले त्रिशुलीमा धर्म रत्नको घरमा विहानको भात खाँयौं। धर्मरत्न र उनकी श्रीमती त्यस ठाउँका विशिष्ट व्यक्ति हुन्। धर्मरत्नले स्थानीय सबै तामाङहरूको गहना बनाउँछन् र यस क्षेत्रमा दुई महत्त्वपूर्ण गतिविधिहरू शिक्षा विकास र बुद्ध धर्मको प्रचारमा उनको महत्त्वपूर्ण देन रहेको छ। सूर्यमानले धर्मरत्नको त्रिशुलीको घरमा बसेर माध्यमिक विद्यालयको अध्ययन पूरा गरेको थियो। तिनीहरूले आज परिवार नियोजनका डाक्टरहरूलाई भोज खान बोलाएका थिए। यसकारण हामीले दिउँसोको खाना खाँदा विशेष नेवारी परिकारका दुईधरी थलथले मासु खान पायौं र मलाई त थलथले मासु खुब मीठो लाग्यो।

हामी त्रिशुलीबाट गाउँतिर लाग्यौं र साँझ ५:३० बजे गाउँमा आइपुग्यौं। हामी त्यहाँ पुराने बित्तिकै सूर्यमानको कान्छो काकाको परिवारले हाम्रो लालटिन मागेर लग्यो। भोलि पल्ट जेठो नातीको व्रतबन्ध भएको हुनाले राती अवेरसम्म बसेर तिनीहरूलाई काम सक्नु थियो। भोजमा मुख्य मुख्य पाहुनाहरूलाई थुप्रो च्युरा सेलको चाड र घैटो घैटो रक्सी खाएर सन्मान गरियो।

## माने डाँडा

### गाउँफर्क विकास अभियान

डिसेम्बर २८, १९७६। धेरै नै अपेक्षित "गाउँ फर्क अभियान" को बैठक आज बोलाइएको छ। "गाउँ फर्क" अभियानको कार्यक्रम स्थानीय विकास गर्ने सरकारी योजनाहरूको अंगको रूपमा ल्याइएको हो जसको लागि श्री ५ को सरकारले उठाएको नारा अनुसार<sup>२३</sup> "सरकारले मलाई के दियो भनी नसोध बरु आफ्नो लागि र देशको लागि के गर्न सक्छु भनी सोध।"

मध्याह्नतिर दश बाह्र जना फूलमाला लगाएका उपत्यकाबासीहरू (low landers) आँगनमा आईपुगे। सबैको एउटै पहिरन थियो: भादगाउँले टोपी, जुता लगाएका र राजा र रानीको तस्वीर भएको लकेट भिरेका थिए।

We ate the morning rice meal at Dharma Ratna's house in Trisuli. Dharma Ratna and his wife remain very special people. He is goldsmith to all the local Tamang and has been instrumental in two major activities in the region: promoting education and supporting Buddhism. Surya Man had lived with him during his efforts to complete high school in Trisuli. Today they are planning to entertain the family planning doctors for dinner, so even our midday meal included yet more Newar<sup>50</sup> specialties based on boiled meat skin gelatin--two kinds; I'm actually gaining a taste for the stuff. Sort of.

We left Trisuli for the village. Arrived 5:30 PM. Our lantern was borrowed almost immediately by Surya Man's Younger Uncle's family. They had to work late to get ready for the eldest son's eldest son's first hair-cutting tomorrow. The feast would include stacks of *sel* breads, jugs of liquor, and mountains of rice for the many guests.

## STUPAHILL

### "Back-to-the-Village" Developments

December 28, 1976. The much-anticipated "Return-to-the-Village" meeting is to happen today. The "Return-to-the-Village" program is part of governmental plans for local development, for which the phrase of the moment issued by HMG roughly translates as: Ask not what your government can do for you, but rather what you can do for yourself.

At about noon, so dozen garlanded lowlanders strolled into the courtyard. They had the whole uniform: national caps, shoes, and King-and-Queen buttons.

<sup>२३</sup> जोन एफ केनेडीको भाषणबाट उद्धृत अंश उखान जस्तै चलिसकेको छ।

<sup>50</sup> Newars are renowned for their role in the great trade routes of South & Central Asian for the market towns & cities they build on those routes, for their fine metal and wood work, and for their feasts. A Nepali proverb says: Brahmins are ruined by (the costs of) their weddings; Ranas are ruined by their comfortable/excessive life style; Newars are ruined by their feasts.

तिनीहरूले लालुपाते फुलको माला लगाएको एकदमै सुहाउँदैनथ्यो । दिउँसो धेरैबेरसम्म भएको सभामा अध्यक्षता गर्ने अधिकारी (चहकिलो, रातो खेलकूदमा जुता लगाएका) ले अमेरिकीहरूले चन्द्रमामा टेकी सके भनिन्छ भने यस गाउँका जनताले यी कुराहरू गर्नु पर्लाग्दो:

- गोरेटोहरू बनाउने, बाटोघाटो बनाउने
- टहरोहरू बनाउने, चर्पी बनाउने
- केटाकेटीहरूलाई स्कूलमा पठाउने,
- तामाङहरूको काजक्या जस्ता परम्परागत रूढीबूढीमा धेरै पैसा खर्च नगर्ने,
- नेपाली भाषा सिक्ने र तामाङ भाषा बोल्न बन्द गर्ने,
- छुवाछूत र भाँडाकुँडा दिनको दुई चोटी धोएर छोड्छिन्ने गर्ने पछौटे चलनलाई हटाउने ।

त्यसपछि स्थानीय वक्ताहरूको लहरो लाग्यो । दुई शब्द बोल्न तिनीहरूलाई सबैजसो वक्ताहरूले अड्की अड्की बोले । वक्ताहरू सबै पुरुष थिए र सबैजसोले जनसभामा बोल्ने बानी नभएको कुरा भने र राम्रो बाटोघाटो बनाउने, टहरोहरू बनाउने, र केटाकेटीहरूलाई विद्यालय पठाउनुपर्ने आदिबारे बोले ।

अर्को वक्ता महिला थिइन् । उनको भाषा लोग्ने मान्छेहरूले बोलेको भन्दा अर्को पाराको थियो । बाटोघाटो र टहरोहरू बनाउने बारेमा उनले बोलिन्न् । बरु उनले कतिको दुःख खेप्नु परेको छ र उनको "सानो किसान" मा कतिको जोतिनु परेको छ भन्ने कुरो बताइन् । उनको भाषण त अरु कुनै विषयको सभामा बोलिरहेको जस्तो लाग्थ्यो । उनको राम्रा राम्रा कुराहरू कसैले पनि रुचाएनन् । उनले राम्रा राम्रा कुराहरू मात्र बोल्नानी भनी तिनीहरू सबैले ठानेका थिए ।

### माने डाँडामा स्लाइड प्रदर्शन

डेभिड र मेरो लागि त उक्त दिनको मुख्य घटना त साँझमा मात्र भयो । टुप्चेबाट आएका युवा प्रसारण कार्यकर्ता र हामीले व्याटरीले चल्ने प्रोजेक्टर गाउँमा ल्याइदियो । कार्यक्रम अगाडि बढाउने क्रममा माने डाँडामा सिनेमा प्रदर्शन शुरु भयो: दिउँसोको भेलामा भन्दा दर्शकहरू धेरै नै थिए । प्रदर्शन शुरु भयो ।

The poinsettia flower garlands look particularly ridiculous. At the afternoon-long meeting, the presiding official (most notable for his bright red hightop sneakers) pointed out that since the people of America have stood on the moon (they say), therefore (isn't it obvious) the people of this village should:

- build trails
- build outhouses
- send their children to school
- stop spending so much money on Tamang customary practice like funerals
- learn Nepali language and stop speaking Tamang, and<sup>51</sup>
- obviate the backward practices of caste pollution and untouchability by washing their pots and pans thoroughly twice a day

Then followed a parade of local speakers. Almost all stammered for only slightly more than the "2 words" they'd been invited to say. All were men and most spoke about not being accustomed to public speaking and about: better trails, outhouses, sending children to school, etc.

Next a woman spoke. Her speech varied dramatically from the men's. There was nothing about trails or outhouses. Instead, she talked about how much trouble she'd endured, and still kept on at her "small farm." It was as if she were responding to a completely different meeting. Everyone complained about her speech. They apparently thought she should have talked about more positive things.

### A slide show in Stupahill

The main event of the day as far as David and I are concerned is in the evening. We have made a deal with a young extension worker from Tupche to bring a battery-powered slide projector up to the village. So the Stupahill Cinema opens for business: attendance was markedly better than at the afternoon's meeting. And the show begins.

हामीले गरेका कुराहरू यी थिए: हामीले व्याटरी राखिदिने भए र पहिले विकास बारेका केही स्लाइडहरू देखाउन पाउने भएमात्र उनले प्रोजेक्टर माथि गाउँमा ल्याउँथ्यो । यसकारण सबभन्दा पहिले विकास बारेको चारवटा छोटो फिल्महरू देखाइए । ती फिल्महरूको महत्त्व गाउँको विकासको बारेमा भएकोले ती फिल्महरू नबुझिने खालका थिए । तीनवटा छुट्टाछुट्टै चित्रहरू देखाइए: (१) पहिलो चित्र विरामी वस्तुभाउहरू, मानिसहरू र बिप्रेको बोलीको बारेमा थियो, (२) अनि उही चित्र प्रसारण कार्यकर्ताले प्रोजेक्टरमा फिल्म देखाइरहेको बारेमा थियो, (३) अन्तमा मोटाघाटा वस्तुहरू मानिसहरू र सट्टे बालीनालीको बारेमा थियो । स्लाइड प्रोजेक्टर भएमा मात्र हेर्न सकिने यी चित्रहरूले "विकास कसरी गर्न सकिन्छ" भन्ने देखाउँछ भन्ने गाउँलेहरूको भनाई थियो र यो अस्वाभाविक पनि थिएन ।

त्यसपछि मात्र डेभिडले पोहार साल देखाइएको स्थे छु नृत्य ड्रामा देखाउन पायो । उनले खिचेको चित्रमा कसले कहिले के गरिरहेछ र के भैरहेछ भन्ने कुरो बुझ्न कसैलाई पनि गान्छो भएन । ती दर्शकहरू उत्तेजित भएर पर्दा नै छेक्ने गरी प्रोजेक्टर अगाडि दौड्न रोक्नु र प्रत्येक स्लाइड कतिबेर देखाउने भन्ने कुरा नै मूल समस्या जस्तो लाग्यो । प्रत्येक विषयबारे भएको कुराकानी रोकिएला जस्तो नै देखिएन ।

दिउँसोको सभामा भाग लिन आएका बेसीका मानिसहरू स्लाइड हेर्न आएनन् । राम्ररी सफा गरेका भाँडा र खाना पकाउँदा र खाँदा जातपातका नियमहरूलाई नमान्ने आदि जति कुरा गरे तापनि उनीहरूले आफैले पकाएर खाए ।

### एक दिनको घटना क्रम

बिहवार डिसेम्बर ३०, १९७७ । यसको विवरण कसरी दिन सकिन्छ यसबारे मलाई स्पष्ट भए तापनि मलाई लाग्छ एक दिनका बटुवा र सूर्यमानका आँगनका गतिविधिहरूको साधारण विवरण पनि रोचक हुन सक्छ । यसकारण आजको गतिविधिको साधारण विवरण नै दिएकी छु ।

- बिहान सबैरै भिरभिर उज्यालो हुनुभन्दा पहिले: प्रत्येक घरबाट मानिसहरू नजिकैको खेतमा दिसा निस्कन्छन् ।

Our deal had been this: he would bring the projector up if we would provide the batteries and if he could so some development slides first. So, first came four development film strips. They were incomprehensible pieces apparently about the value of film strips for rural development. The images came in threes: (1) first were pictures of sickly animals, people or crops, (2) then came the same picture of an extension agent with a film strip projector, (3) finally were the pictures of robust animals, people and crops. Villagers--not unreasonably--observed. "These pictures show how, if you have a slide projector, you will have development."

Then it was David's turn to show his slides of last year's Tsche Chhu Dance Drama. At least no one had any problem identifying who, what, when, and presumably why was going on in his shots. The main problem seemed to be keeping people from getting so excited they ran up to the screen--blocking the projection--and deciding how long to display each slide--the conversations about each one never showed any signs of stopping.

The lowlanders who had come up for the afternoon meeting did not come watch the slides. In spite of all their talk about how, with properly cleaned pots, the usual rules about intercaste cooking and eating could be overcome, they cooked and ate by themselves.

### One Day's Flow Of Things

Thursday December 30, 1977. Not that I'm quite sure how it could or should be presented, yet I think that there is something interesting in the simple accumulation of a single day's passers-by and activities of Surya Man's courtyard. So I have decided today to keep a simple log. In the early morning beginning just before dawn:

- people go out from each house presumably to attend to their morning toilet in nearby fields

<sup>51</sup> Note that one of the important changes of the Nepal Constitution of 1990 is to allow (rather than forbid) the use of local languages in the primary schools.

- हामी बसेका घर माथिका चारवटा घरहरू र सूर्यमानको घरबाट मानिसहरू २० मिनेट तल भरेर पानी लिन जान्छन् ।
- बिहान सबै केही खानेकुरा खान्छन्।
- ढिलो उठ्नेहरू पनि उठे पनि अलिकति केही खानेकुरो खान्छन् ।
- गोठका वस्तुहरूलाई ख्वाउन ढोडका कल्लीहरू बोकेर एउटी बुढी आईमाई आउँछिन् ।
- तिनले ती वस्तुहरूलाई ख्वाई पियाई गराएर गोठ सोहोर्छिन् ।
- माथिको एउटा घरबाट उटी बुहारी पानी लिन तलतिर जान्छिन् ।
- सूर्यमानकी आमा धान चुट्न तल बेसीमा जान्छिन् र पहिलेबाटै बटुको भरी कोदोको जाँड ख्वाई सकेका खेतालाहरूलाई परालको भारी बोकाएर उनी माथि आउँछिन् ।
- घरमा पालेका १५ वटा जति बाखा चराउन बिवाले बाहिर लगिन् ।
- बिहान:
- विजयकी आमा वस्तु र भैसीलाई ख्वाउन घाँसपात लिएर आइपुग्छिन् र छोरीको हेरचाह गर्छिन् । उनको छोरो दादुराबाट ग्रसित छ र सानो ज्वरो आएको छ । तर खटिरा ननिस्कूञ्जेल "केही पनि औषधि गर्नु हुन्न" भन्ने सबैको विचार छ ।
- सूर्यमानको बाबुसँग कुरा गर्न एउटा बुढो र एउटी बढी आए ।
- सूर्यमानको बाबु बस्छन् र अचार पार्नलाई केही बिउहरू छुटघाउँछन् ।
- एउटा गुरुङ खेतालाको छोरा देखा पर्छ र (उसको बाबुको ज्यालाको रूपमा) अन्न दिएर नपठाउञ्जेल बसिरहन्छ ।
- the four houses above us and Surya Man's send people down the hill the 20 minute walk to fetch water
- By the breakfast snack at dawn:
- even the late-risers are up and all eat a little
- an old woman arrives with a bundle of corn stalks, fodder for the cattle stabled at the house
- those animals are fed and watered and their stables cleaned
- a daughter-in-law from one of the upper houses passes on her way to get water
- Surya Man's mother goes down the hill to thresh grain and fetch back straw with some workers to whom she has already fed a bowl of millet beer
- Biba goes out with the family's 15 or so goats
- Morning:
- Bijay's Mother arrives with fodder leaves for the cattle and water buffalo and nurses her baby daughter. Her son is very ill with measles and a high fever, but everyone says "No treatment is possible until the rash breaks out!"<sup>52</sup>
- an old man and woman come to talk with Surya Man's father
- Surya Man's father sits and separates some kind of seed for chutney making
- the son of one of the regular Gurung day laborers hangs around until sent off with grain (his father's pay)
- the bombo passes on his way back up the hill from a curing ritual

<sup>52</sup> This was one of these harder prescriptions encountered in field work: several children had died in this measles epidemic; local practice dictated that no medicine could be given until after the spots broke out. This meant that parents were torn between my assertion that fever reducing medicine was more important before the spots erupted and their own dictates to the contrary. Like most parents everywhere, they loved their children and wanted to care for them in the best way they knew; my advice must have sounded cruel. We compromised: no medicine, but they agreed to a number of the other fever reducing techniques & suggested.

#### दिउँसो:

- बिबा भैँडा बोका चराएर फर्कन्छ र सुकुलमा सुकाउन फिजाई राखेका अन्न खान लागेका कुखुराहरूलाई धपाउनलाई कुर्छ ।
- भैसीलाई एकैछिन चराउन गोठबाट निकाल्छ ।
- नजिकैको गाउँकी एउटी आइमाईले (टारो ?) को डाँठ र - गाय-ओभर क्लय ? ल्याउँछिन् ।
- अर्को नजिकको गाउँको मुखिया सदा पन्यो र एकैछिन पछि त्यही गाउँबाट अर्को मानिस पनि आयो ।
- तल बेसीको धाराबाट पानी ल्याउन सबै घरहरूबाट बघानै निस्कन्छन् ।

#### अपरान्ह पछि:

- सूर्यमानको आमासँगै खेतालाहरू पनि फर्कन्छन् ।
- विजयको आमाले सबैको लागि खाना पकाउँछिन् ।

#### साँझ:

- सबैजना सूर्यमानको पिँडीमा बसेर कुरा गर्दै तमाखु खाइरहेका छन् ।
- डाँडा माथिका भगडीयाहरूले (जग्गा बाँडफाँड बारे) उजुर गर्न आए ।
- तल बेसीमा आज नयाँ घरमा भएको पूजा सकेर एक जना लङ्गो माथि डाँडाको घरमा फर्कन्छ ।

मैले यी सब कुरा नछुटाइकन लेख्न खोज्दा पनि धेरै कुरा छुटेको होला भन्ने मलाई लाग्छ । सम्बन्धित पात्रको चरित्र राम्रोसँग थाहा नपाइकन लेख्न खोज्दा पनि धेरै कुरा छुटेको होला भन्ने मलाई लाग्छ । सम्बन्धित पात्रको चरित्र राम्रोसँग थाहा नपाइकन के भैरहेछ भन्ने कुराको अर्थ लगाउन धेरै गान्तो रहेछ । यसकारण कसलाई, कहाँ, कहिले भेट्ने भन्ने कुरा थाहा पाउन र त्यसै पछि धेरै समय बिताउनुपर्ने जस्तो लाग्छ । जानकारी अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा कैयौँ श्रोतबाट पाइन्छ तर अहिले गरिरहेको कामको लागि कमै मात्र सहायक हुन्छन् ।

<sup>53</sup> Note, too, though that I was willing to write about them without asking as I easily could have, exactly who they were. Surya Man's or Bhim's account, although also written from the beginning of their stay, is never vague about the people in it.

#### Almost noon:

- a large meal is being cooked down the hill for those working with Surya Man's mother, also a more modest one for those here
- a messenger arrives to tell about a ritual being done for a new house down the hill

#### Afternoon:

- Biba returns with the goats then watches to keep the chickens from eating the grain that is spread out on a mat to dry
- the water buffalo is taken out to graze briefly
- a woman from a neighboring village brings taro stalks and a gya-overcloth
- the headman from another neighboring village dropped in, followed a little later by another man from there
- the troops go out from all the houses to fetch more water from the spring down the hill

#### Later afternoon:

- workers return home with Surya Man's mother
- Bijay's mother prepares a meal for everyone

#### Evening:

- everyone is sitting on Surya Man's veranda talking and smoking local tobacco in the water pipe
- disputants from up the hill bring their complaints (about a land partition)
- a lama goes home up the hill from the new house ritual below today

Even as I tried to record all this, I realize how much escaped my attention. And how hard it is to interpret what is happening without knowing the cast of characters better.<sup>53</sup> So much time seems to be spent waiting and finding out how to meet whom where and when. Information travels indirect routes along with everyone on every errand but rarely applies clearly to the particular work at hand.

## गुप्तेश्वर गुफामा मेला

जनवरी ११, १९७७ । मेलाको पहिलो दिनमा मानिसहरू सबै उठे । प्रस्थान न बजेको थियो । जाने जति सबै तयार हुनुपर्ने हुनाले त्यो सम्भव नै थिएन । हरेकले आफ्नो भारी तयार पार्नु थियो र आफूलाई ठीकठाक पार्नु थियो । अन्ततः हाम्रो सर्कस ११:३० बजे प्रस्थान गर्‍यो । खाल्टो जमीन साहुगाउँमा चिसापानी र माने डाँडाका मानिसहरू भेटे ।

सूर्यमानकी आमा आफ्नी बहिनीकी छोरीको घरमा गइन् र बहिनीकी आर्की छोरीसित भेटिन् । तिनीहरूलाई भौँकीको<sup>२५</sup> नाच र बाहिरको खलबल हेर्न अलिकति पनि चाख भएन बरु तिनीहरू बसेर दुइ घण्टा सम्म कुरा गरिरहे ।

### भौँकीको काम

चिसापानीका दुइजना भौँकी र दुइजना लामाहरूले<sup>२६</sup> आफ्नो पूजा पाठ गरे । यसलाई खाल्टो जमीनको मुख्य गाउँमा करस्योर छोक्पा भन्दछन् (डेभिडको पहिलेको लेखबाट थाहा पाएकी हुँ) प्रत्येकले आफूलाई सधैं चाहिने पूजाको सामान न्याएको थियो । उनीहरूले काम शुरु गर्दा दुइ ढालाभरी सामान थिए ।

लामाहरूले लगाएको लुगा त्यति सान्धो भकीभकाउ थिएन तर भौँकीहरू भने आफ्नो पूरै पोशाकमा थिए । उनीहरूले सेतो जामा र गाढा रातो, पहेंलो, हरियो, सुन्तला रङ्गको र सेते पगडी अपाडिपट्टि मयूरको प्वाँख ठाडो घुसारेको र घण्टीको माला रूद्राक्षको माला लगाएका र अरु चिजहरू भिरेका थिए । तिनीहरूसँग चारवटा ढ्याङ्ग्रो थिए र ढ्याङ्ग्रो बजाउन खोज्नेहरू धेरै नै थिए ।

## Pilgrimage to Guptiswar Cave<sup>54</sup>

January 11, 1977. On the first day of the pilgrimage, people rose early. Departure was scheduled for 8 AM. Needless to say, however, with the numbers of people who had to get ready, that was impossible. Everyone had to make up their loads and fancy themselves up. Finally our circus got underway at 11:30. The Stupahill troops connected with the Cool Waters contingent at Earth's Hole.

Surya Man's mother went into her sister's daughter's house and was joined there by that sister's other daughter. They were not at all interested in the *bombo-s*<sup>55</sup> dancing and commotion outside; instead, they sat and talked for two hours.

### Ritual work

The two bombos and two *lama-s*<sup>56</sup> from Cool Waters did their ritual thing, called (as I knew from some of David's earlier work) *karsyol chhoppa*,<sup>57</sup> in the central hamlet of Earth's Hole. Each has brought his usual ritual equipment. When they set up for work, there are two baskets full of their stuff.

The lamas are dressed in less than their most spectacular attire, but the bombos have come out in full regalia. They are wearing their white skirts and elaborate red, yellow, green, orange, and white turbans with a peacock feather fan upright in front, with strands of bells, beads, and other accoutrements crossing their chests. Accompanying them are four drums and an enthusiastic and seemingly endless number of drummers.

## तालमा

जुलुस फेरी हिँड्दा अँध्यारो हुन लागिस्केको थियो । रात परेर कोही पनि डराएको जस्तो थिएन । हाम्रो बाटो भरीनै ढ्याङ्ग्रो बजाइ रह्यो । यस यात्रामा बजेको ढ्याङ्ग्रोको ताल म बिसिन सकिदैन । ताल थियो: टा-टा-टा-डम; टा-टा-टा-डम; चोराली नाच्ने बित्तिकै भौँकीहरू नाच्ने र लामाहरू तिघा हाड फुक्ये ।

जनवरी १२, १९७७ । दोश्रो दिन पनि अलिल्लो दिन जस्तै शुरु भयो । मेरो लागि त यस यात्राको तीन विशेषताहरू रहेका छन् पहिलो, सबै मेलामा गएकाहरूको भेटघाट तर खासगरी आइमाइहरू; दोश्रो, बाटोभरी नै घरै पिच्छेको अनुरोध अनुसार ढ्याङ्ग्रो बजाएर नाच्ने र तेश्रो, बनभोज जस्तै खाना र बाहिरै सुत्ने जस्ता कुराहरू लगाएत बाहिर क्याम्प जमाउने तत्वहरू ।

### बनभोज भतेरको समय

दिनको १२ नबज्दै लश्कर एउटा ठूलो खेतमा रोकिए: अहिले बनभोज भतेर खाने बेला भयो । म नेपाल आएदेखि नै मलाई खाएका खानाहरू मध्ये धेरै जसो मलाई मन पर्छ; र यिनीहरू मध्ये केही त मलाई धेरै नै राम्रो लाग्यो । तर तामाङ गाउँमा आएदेखि मैले सोच्नै नसकिने गरी थुप्रो भात खाने कोशिश गर्नुपरेको मात्र नभै बिहानै भात खान पनि बाध्य भए । म असंख्य बिरामी छु या अति नै असभ्य छु भन्ने मानिसहरूले सोच्ने कुरा मलाई थाहा छ । तर मेरो भोजन नली धेरै नै खुम्चेको अथवा दिनको खानाको लागि नफुलेको जस्तो लाग्छ, तर कहिले काँही थुप्रै भातका गाँसहरू मेरो घाँटीबाट छिर्दै छिर्दैन ।

खाना खान भनेपछि मलाई त दिवकै लाग्छ, "तिनले चराले जस्तै खान्छिन्" भन्ने टिप्पणी त मैले निरन्तर सुनिरहनु पर्छ नै, यति मात्र नभै दाहिने हातले राम्रोसँग खाना खाने कला सिक्न सक्नुला जस्तो पनि लाग्दैन ।

## Moving with the rhythm

When the procession got underway again, it was already getting dark, but no one seemed daunted by nightfall. The drums beat a constant rhythm all along our trail. If there is one memory I will keep of this journey, it is of that drum rhythm: ta-ta-ta-dumm; ta-ta-ta-dumm; ta-ta-ta-dumm. Whenever the procession crossed the top of a ridge, the bombos danced and the lamas blew on their thighbone trumpets.

January 12, 1977. The second day unfolded much like the first. As far as I am concerned, it has three main features: first, all the visiting done by everyone (but especially the women); second, the dancing and drumming done by request at houses along the way; and third, the elements of camping out including the picnic-style meals and sleep-outs.

### Rice picnic time

By a bit before noontime, the procession has halted in a large field: it's rice-picnic time! I like most of the food I've been offered since coming to Nepal; and I've found some of it really good. But coming to the Tamang village, for me, is directly associated having not only to try to eat almost inconceivable volumes of rice, but having to do it in the morning.<sup>58</sup> I am sure people think I am either terribly rude or terribly sick, but my esophagus seems to develop an odd constriction, or perhaps it isn't yet loosened up enough for the day, but the rice sometimes simply refuses to go down my throat in convincing enough quantities.

Eating is always an embarrassing moment for me, not only because I have to endure endless comments like "She eats like a bird," but also because I doubt I will ever master the art of eating gracefully with my right hand only.

<sup>२५</sup> नेपालीमा भौँकी भनिने प्रमुख तामाङ्गहरूको प्रमुख धार्मिक व्यक्ति, अंग्रेजीमा प्राय यसलाई समन भनिन्छ ।

<sup>२६</sup> अर्को प्रमुख तामाङ्ग धार्मिक व्यक्ति लामा हुन्छ, जसलाई तिब्बती बौद्ध ग्रन्थको विशेष ज्ञान हुन्छ । यो मेला संपुक्त धार्मिक कार्यक्रम थियो, जसमा भौँकी र लामा दुवै थिए ।

<sup>54</sup> Surya Man's mother invited me to join her on this pilgrimage & was grateful for the chance to get to know people without having to depend quite so entirely upon David. guptiswar is a sacred cave near Dhading in central Nepal.

<sup>55</sup> *Bamboo's* are one of the 3 major Western Tamang ritual specialists. They are usually called Shamans in English *jhankri* in Nepali. *Bamboo* are the most dramatic personages in the Tamang religious field; they wear colorful shirts, full skirts and elaborate headdresses (see Holmberg's *Order in Paradox* for a more detailed study.)

<sup>56</sup> *Lama* are another of the important religious practitioners for Tamang; their speciality is the Tibetan Buddhist texts.

<sup>57</sup> These are the initial offerings set out usually on a winnowing tray) before almost any religions work can begin.

<sup>58</sup> Local Tamang eat two major meals a day, once at about 9-10 AM after the first round of morning chores and again after dark. These meals are always called "rice", even though many Tamang actually eat a millet and/or corn porridge (at lower elevations) or potatoes (higher up). In Nepali, the question of rice eaten rice yet?" is the more customary greeting than "How are you?"



सूर्यमानकी माहिली आमा हंसिलो गुरु हुन् । तिनले भात खाँदा खेरी मुसुरोको दालमा मुछेको भातको गाँस एक सिटा भात पनि भुइमा नखसालीकन र एक थोपा पनि दालको भोल नडीमा नचुहाइकन खान्छिन् । छै के गर्नु, माथि भनिएका कुनै पनि कुरा म राम्रोसँग गर्न सक्छुला जस्तो लाग्दैन ।

### घर बाहिरको बास

दोश्रो दिनको मध्यान्नपछि केही यात्रा सकेपछि घरघरमा भेट्दै रात परिसकेपछि हामी बास बस्ने ठाउँमा आइपुग्यौं । अब हाम्रो यात्रा कस्तो हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा ठम्म्याएँ: रात परिसकेपछि सम्म पनि घर घरमा भेटघाट गर्ने, "एकएक कसैले ल जाउँ हिँड" भन्छ र हामी राती पनि लर्खाराउँदै अर्को गाउँमा पुग्छौं ।

माने डाँडाका मानिसहरूले किन मलाई स्लिपिङ ब्याग लिएर हिँड्न जोड दिएका थिए भन्ने कुरा बल्ल अहिले मैले बुझे । पहिले मैले बुझेको थिएँ: यति जाडो होला भन्ने लागेको थिएँ; एउटा काम्लोले पुग्ला भन्ने मैले ठाने र फेरी जस्तो कि धेरैजसो हुन्छ म आफ्नो मालसामानको बारेमा सोचिरहन्थे । तर आज राती एउटा खाली घर नजिक खेतमा बस्यौं, मैले बल्ल बुझे । उनीहरूको विचारमा हामी आधा दर्जन जतिसँगै त्यही बासमा घुसनु पर्‍यो । अब म आफूले लैजाने माल-सामानबारे गरेको अनुरोधबारे कहिल्यै पनि अल्मलिनन् । तर जब मेरो व्यक्तिगत ठाउँको सिमानालाई पनि तिनीहरूले मिचन खोजेमा पनि मैले धैर्य गर्नुपर्छ ।

जनवरी १३, १९७७ बिहान तताइएको रक्सीले जाडो भगाउने काम नगरून्जेल अधिल्लो चिसो रातको जाडो र बिहानको स्याँठले सबैलाई थर थर कमाइ दियो ।

आजको बनभोज भतेर अन्नपूर्ण दक्षिणदेखि सगरमाथा सम्मको अनि मनमोहक दृश्य हेर्दै धादिङ माथिको डाँडामा मनाइयो । त्यसपछि सल्लाको जङ्गलबाट तल धादिङ्ग भर्ने गोरेटो रमणीय थियो । यस्ता सौन्दर्यको दर्शन र शान्तिका क्षणहरू मैले अनुभूति गरेको छु । यस्तो दृश्यहरूले मलाई त छक्कै पारिदियो र मेरो शरीर हल्का भएर पुनर्जीवन प्राप्त भएको जस्तो लाग्यो । यसले गर्दा मैले बुझ्न नसकेका मागहरू र परिस्थितिहरूप्रति फेरि कहिल्यै पनि निराश नहुने प्रतिज्ञा गरेकी छु । तर यो सधैं भैरहन्न । नेपालमा मेरो समय पनि यहाँको क्षण बाहेक कहिले एकदम माथि पुग्यौं र कहिले एकदमै तल खस्यौं ।

Surya Man's Middle Mother is a very cheerful teacher, as she eats soupy lentils and rice with her hand, without any grains sticking to her fingers afterwards, without any drips running down her elbows, and with all the food ending up in her mouth. Needless to say, I can do none of the above well.

### Camping out

After another afternoon of some travel and mostly visiting, we make the final leg to the camping place in the dark. I should recognize the pattern by now: visit until dark, then someone suddenly says, "Let's go!" and we all stumble-race through the night to yet another village.

I also now understand why people in Stupahill were so eager to have me bring my sleeping bag along. I didn't understand it at first: it didn't really seem that cold; a blanket, I thought, would do. And besides, I was, as was so often the case, self-conscious about my relative material wealth. But as we set up tonight in the fields nearby a vacant house, I understood. They intended for about half-a-dozen of us to squeeze under it together! Let me never again be confused about requests that I bring my equipment along. But let me also have more patience when they turn into demands that test the limits of my personal space.

January 13, 1977. The last cold damp night left most everyone shaking with the chill of the morning--until the morning's heated liquor had time to work.

Today's rice picnic was staged on a ridge above Dhading--with a fantastic view from Annapurna South to Everest. Then a pleasant trail winding through a pine forest over a pass and down into Dhading. There are moments of such beauty and peace. I wonder at them and feel so rejuvenated and cleansed that I vow never again to be frustrated by the demands and situations I don't understand. Of course, it never quite works. My time in Nepal has very few middling moments: like the landscape itself, it swings from great heights to precipitous lows.

### गुप्तेश्वर गुफा

यो चौता स्थान धादिङको बजार र सदरमुकाम बाहिर नजिकैको डाँडामाथि गुफामा छ । भौतिकीहरू अन्तिम डाँडा पार गरेर गुफा नजिक पुग्ने लागेको बेलामा एककासी मान्छेले भने जस्तै उनीहरूमा "चौता चढ्यो" । उनीहरूलाई बलपूर्वक रोक्नु पर्‍यो । किनकि, तिनीहरूलाई "चौता चढेकोले बाटोको डाँडा र अरु खतराको होसै रहेन ।"

हाम्रो पुगनुपर्ने गुफा गुप्तेश्वर महादेवको थान थियो । श्रावण र क्षरणले भरपूर गुफाको प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य अथवा दैवी शक्तिको अद्भूत उपस्थितिले गर्दा मानिसले त्यो ठाउँलाई भव्य ठान्छन् भनन पाइँदो छ । यी कुरालाई छुट्याउने शायद म मात्र छु ।

जे भए तापनि गुफा मोटामोटी अण्डाकार र बढीमा ५० फीट फराकिलो छ । प्राकृतिक आश्चर्यको रूपमा यो कर्सवाद क्यावर्न्स<sup>२५</sup> होइन । तर मैले यो पनि सम्झिराख्नु पर्ला कि यो श्रावण महादेव हो, अर्को चाँहि रामभक्त हनुमान हो र गुफा भरी अरु पनि धेरै चौताका आशीर्वादका प्रतीक हुन् । यी सबले सबै धेरै प्रभावित भए र वास्तवमा जस्तो कि उनीहरूले भने जस्तै "भगवानले यो बनाएको हो ।"<sup>२७</sup>

### माघे संक्रान्ति: नयाँ वर्ष

जनवरी १४, १९७७ । आज माघको पहिलो दिन हो र तामाङहरूले मान्ने पात्रो अनुसार नयाँ वर्ष पनि हो । सबै जना आशीर्वाद पाउनु भौतिकीको हातले नौनीको टीका लिन गए । फेरि सबैले आदरपूर्वक नमसोको मुद्रामा धेरै बेरसम्म निहुरिरहे अथवा ढोगिरहे । एउटी आइमाईले चलान अनुसार पहिलो पकाएको तरुल बाँडिन (मलाई भनियो) ।

आजको दिन अति नै लामो थियो: हामी यहाँ बास बसेको ठाउँमा आइपुग्यौं र अँध्यारो पूरा डेढ घण्टा हिँडेर भञ्ज्याङ बजारतिर लाग्यौं ।

### Guptiswar Cave

The god's place is a cave on a cliff just outside of the market and administrative town of Dhading. As the bombos passed over the last ridge, so that they were only one last stretch from the cave, they suddenly became, as people said, "crazy." They had to be forcibly restrained as they were "caught up in the god's wind and were no longer aware of cliffs or other dangers on the trail."

The cave that was our destination is the seat of the Guptiswar Mahadev, or 'Great God of Guptiswar.' It's hard to tell how much of the magnificence of the place people attribute to the natural wonder of a cave filled with stalactites and stalagmites and how much to the supernatural wonders of a divine presence. Perhaps it is only I who differentiates the two.

In any case, the cave itself is a rough oval about 50 feet at its widest. As a natural wonder, it is no Carlsbad Caverns. But, then again, I must remember that that stalagmite is the Great God, another is Hanuman the Great Monkey God companion to Ram, and throughout the cave are others representing all the blessings divinity can bestow. Everyone was much impressed by all these wonders; clearly, as they said, "Bhagwan made them."

### Magh Sakranti - The New Year

January 14, 1977. Today is the first day of Magh and the New Year according to one of the calendars important to Tamang. Everyone did one more round of blessing-seeking, receiving a butter blessing mark on the forehead from the bombos. Then everyone began a long round of respectful bowings down, or *dok-s*, bending low, palms pressed together in the usual greeting *namaste*.<sup>59</sup> One woman passed around the (I'm told) traditional Magh First cooked taro tuber.

Today was an extra long day: we passed the camping spot where we'd stayed upon arrival and went on to Bhanjyang Town, walking a full one and a half hours in the dark.

<sup>२५</sup> कर्सवाद क्यावर्न्स भनेको अमेरिकाको एउटा ठूलो गुफा हो ।

<sup>२७</sup> भगवान शब्द सर्वशक्तिमान चौताको लागि प्रयोग गरिन्छ (यो न त बुद्ध धर्मको मात्र हो न त हिन्दू धर्मको मात्र) ।

<sup>५९</sup> Respect is shown both in the depth of a bow (the deeper the more respectful) & in the older of bowing. (those who owe the greatest respect bow 1st.)

हरेक जना लखराई रहेका थिए र धेरै सुस्तरी हिँडेका थिए: कसैको पनि जुत्ता थिएन, कोहीसित टर्चलाइट थिएन र जुन पनि लागेको थिएन । मलाई लाग्छ कि यिनीहरू पागल नै हुन् । म यति सान्धो थाकेकी थिएँ मलाई लाग्यो कसैले बोलेमा मलाई राम्रो लाग्ने थिएँ । यसकारण बाटो भरी मैले कुराकानीबाट बच्न र आफूलाई सुरक्षित राख्ने आफ्ना गीतहरू गाइरहे । त्यहाँ पुग्दा सबै उमेरदार मानिसहरू जहाँ पाए त्यहीँ पल्टे र त्यहीँ सुतिहाले । युवाहरू ढ्याङ्ग्रो बजाइ रहे मानो कि यो मोजमञ्जा कहिल्यै सकिन्न । आज राती मलाई लेख्न सान्धो भयो । अबीर छुने काम त्यो दिनको सबभन्दा ठूलो आकर्षण रह्यो । त्यस जमातका युवाहरूले यस्तो जोशले अबीर दलादल गरे कि सँभ सम्ममा तिनीहरूका मुख, कपाल र लुगा जम्मे रातै भए ।

यस यात्राको युवा युवतीहरूलाई एक अर्कालाई फर्काउने औसर पाउने आकर्षण पनि थियो, यो कुरा मलाई पहिल्यै बताइएको थियो । निश्चय नै युवाहरू आफूलाई सिंगार पटार गर्न र एक अर्कालाई आकर्षित पनि व्यस्त थिए । विशेष गरी तरुणीहरू भक्तिभकाउ भएर आएका थिए: नयाँ, राश्री बुनेका निला राता श्यामा जामा गाढा रातो अथवा कलेजी रङ्गका मखमली चोलाहरू आकर्षक पाता पाता जोडे र्या अथवा बखु लुगा,<sup>२५</sup> र मसिनो बुटा भरेका रूमालहरू लगाएका थिए । कहिलेकाहीँ तरुण जोडीहरूले हात समातेर ओरालो लाग्दा गीत गाउँदै हिँडेको देखे । तर सामान्यतया, सबै भन्दा धेरै देखा परेको फर्काउने काम सामूहिक रूपले चल्नु जिस्कनु नै थियो । बाटोभरी खेतमा, जङ्गलमा चिच्याउँदै, कराउँदै, लखेट्ने, अबीर दल्ने र काम भैरहथो, पछि त अबीर नै सिकियो ।

### भेटघाट गर्दै घरतिर

जनवरी १५, १९७७ । मेरो बुबाको जन्म दिन: बुबा हायपि वर्ष डे । सँधैँ भैँ उषाकाल भन्दा पहिलेनै उठे । पहिलो उठ्ने मान्छेले सबैलाई चिच्याएर, बोलेर उठाउने अधिकार आफ्नो ठान्छ र घरमा चुपचाप हिँडे जस्तो होइन ।<sup>२६</sup>

<sup>२५</sup> यी सबै आइमाईहरूका परम्परागत पोशाक हुन् र हामीले यहाँ काम गर्दा गाउँमा तयार हुँदै थिए ।

<sup>२६</sup> मलाई अचम्म लाग्यो: अमेरिकामा हामी बिस्तारै नाम बोलाएर (काटेर) उठाउछौ, नेपालको तामाङ गाउँमा उनीहरू बेस्सरी कराएर उठाउँदोरहेछ ।

<sup>६०</sup> These were the traditional Tamang women's clothing in the region.

<sup>६१</sup> Tamang Villagers wake each other up, not with gentle voices, but by virtually shouting the name of the sleeping person right in their ear. The explanation was given was that this was to make some that none of the person's mine 'souls' failed to reassemble after their rights wandering. But I still never got used to it.

Everyone stumbled and went at a snail's pace: almost no one had shoes; no one had a flashlight; and there was no moon. I think they're completely crazy. I was so tired I was afraid I'd only have something impolite to say if anyone tried to talk to me, so I sang to myself the entire way both to forestall conversation and to fortify myself, especially "We shall overcome" and "Jacob's ladder." All the older people just dropped and fell asleep wherever they landed upon arrival. The younger fools beat away on the drums and made as if the party were neverending. I find it hard to write at all tonight. The big excitement of the day was throwing puja powder on each other. The younger members of the party got into powdering each other with such zeal that they spent the day with totally red-smudged faces, hair and clothes.

I had been forewarned that one of the appeals to young men and women of pilgrimage was the opportunity to court. Certainly, some of the young people seem to be quite busy making themselves attractive and are quite attentive towards each other. The young women, in particular, have come out in all their finery: new beautifully woven blue-and-red *syama*-skirts, lush red or burgundy velvet blouses, brilliantly woven plaid *gya*- or *barku*-overclothes,<sup>60</sup> and minutely crocheted scarves. Occasionally, I spot couples holding hands singing as they walk down the trail. But, in general, the most observable courtship takes the form of collective roughhousing. Pursuit and paint scenes run yelling up and down the trail, through field and forest...until all the powder was quite used up.

### Heading home in between visits

January 15, 1977. My father's birthday: Happy Birthday, Dad. Rose as usual well before dawn. The first person awake seems to regard it as his or her right to roust everyone else with exceptionally loud talking instead of trying to move about quietly as you'd expect at home.<sup>61</sup>

खाएर सँधैँको जस्तो खानेकुरो रक्सी, चिया र नाच गान पछि जमात फेरी बाटो लाग्यो । आज फेरी एक अर्कालाई अबीर दलियो । अब सबै केही बाटोको धुलोसुलो र रातो, पहेंलो, हरियो र निलो रङ्गहरूले पोतिएर फोहरी जस्ता देखिन्थे ।

अब यात्रीहरू आफ्नो घरको इलाकामा फर्किसके । भेटघाटको लागि अड्ने काम बढ्न थाल्यो । घेरैपिच्छे कलश राखेर भौँकीहरूलाई रोक्न थाले । मैले सूर्यमानकी आमासित भेटेका कसैसँग पनि ट्रिटस् कुक बुकको सबभन्दा पछिको नयाँ चिज पोलेको कुखुराको खुट्टाको स्वाद कहिल्यै बिसिने छैन ।

जनवरी १६, १९७७ । आज हाम्रो प्रस्थान धेरै ढिलो भयो । यता भेट्न जाने र उता भेट्न जानेले नै हाम्रो धेरै समय लियो । यस ठाउँबाट घर पुग्न सात घण्टा मात्र लाग्ने भएतापनि पनि रात नपरीकन घर पुग्न सकिएला भन्ने कुरामा मलाई शंका छ ।

शंका गरे जस्तै पाँच मिनेटको बाटो हिँड्न नपाउँदै पहिलो अडान भै हाल्यो । त्यसपछि हामीलाई लामाको छोराको घरमा र त्यसपछि लामाकै घरमा बोलाइयो । लामाहरूले आफ्नो गाउने र पाठ गर्ने कला हामीलाई देखाए । तिनीहरूको स्वर गुञ्जाउने क्षमता धेरै नै प्रभावकारी थियो ।

त्यसपछि लामाको जेठो दाजुको घरमा हामीलाई खान बोलाइयो । यसको लगत्तै पछि तलको घरमा पनि बोलाइयो । भौँकीहरू बाहिर सडकमा कारस्योल नाच देखाउन निस्कें । अनि पहिलो कारस्योल पसेको घरमा पनि हामीलाई खान बोलाए ।

जनवरी १७, १९७७ । हिजो राती हामी घर पुगेौ । तीर्थ यात्राको मेला त हिँड्दै प्युँदै गर्ने भोज जस्तो पो लाग्यो । र हिजो, कमसेकम हिँड्नु भन्दा धेरै नै रक्सी खाइयो ।

हामीले कमसेकम तीन घरमा गएर खानेकुरा खाँदा र त्यसपछि अरु निम्तोको वास्तै नगरिकन हामी आफ्नो बाटो लाग्यौ ।

भौँकीहरूले अझै पनि गर्नुपर्ने विधिविधानहरू सिध्याउँदै छन्, तर धेरैजसो आइमाइहरू र धेरै मानिसहरू गाउँ बाहिरको ओरालो लाग्ने ठाउँमा गएर पछि बसे । धेरैजसो त त्यहीँ निदाए ।

भौँकीहरू र लामाहरूलाई घरतिर डोच्याउन हाम्रो कम्पनीले ढ्याङ्ग्रो बजाउँदै नाचे । अन्तमा हाम्रो जत्था आधा रात परेपछि माने डाँडाको घरमा पुग्यो ।

After the usual snacks, liquor, tea and dancing, the fair was again off on the trail. Once again today, it was paint-your-buddy time: everyone is beginning to look a bit ruffled and encrusted with all the various dirts of the trail as well as the red, yellow, blue and green powders.

Clearly, the pilgrims have made it back onto home territory. Visiting stops are getting more and more frequent. More and more houses are putting out the jug of water with greens and flowers to ask the bombos to stop. I've lost track of everyone I've visited with Surya Man's mother. But I'll never forget the newest entree for my Tamang Taste Treats Cookbook: roasted chickens' claws.

January 16, 1977. We were very slow in getting off today. I can tell that visiting is going to dominate the day. I doubt that we'll get home before dark, although there is not more than seven hours of trail between here and home.

As suspected, the first stop was fewer than five minutes away. Then we were called up to the lama's son's house, and then to the lama's house. The lamas demonstrated their singing and chanting skills. They are very impressive with their ability to sound like more sound.

From there to the elder of the lama's house to eat. Then to another house just below. The bombos have gone to do another road show *karsol*. Then we are called to eat at the house where the first *karsyol* was. Again!

January 17, 1977. We didn't get home at all last night. The pilgrimage has turned into something of a walking drinking party. And, yesterday, at least, there was more drinking than walking.

We went to at least three houses for snacks, then onto the trail in spite of further invitations. The bombos were still finishing off their various ritual obligations, but most of the women and many of the men went onto a slope just outside of the village and waited. Many fell asleep.

Our company then danced and drummed its way to Cool Waters to escort the bombos and lamas home. Finally our Stupahill contingent made it home after midnight.

## छेच्यु ठूलो नाच र नाटक मेला<sup>30</sup>

### नाच र नाटक मेलाको तयारी

फरवरी २५, १९७७ । हाम्रो घरको छिँडीको पीठो पिन्ने ढिकीको आवाज बिहान ३ बजेदेखि राती अबेर सम्म पनि चलिरहन्छ र दिनमा मुख्य काम गर्ने बेलामा एकै छिन रोकिनु बाहेक लगातार चलिरहन्छ । छेच्यु नृत्य नाटक शुरु भएपछि केही पनि काम गर्न नहुने भएकोले सबैले आ-आफ्नो काम सोमबार अघि नै सिध्याउने कोशिश गर्दैछिन् । लुगा धुनु, अन्न निफन्नु, जुम्मा हेर्नु, कपाल कोर्नु, नाच हुने ठाउँमा छाँलाको बस्तु लगाउनु, नाच्ने चउरको पूजा गर्ने स्थानमा चुरोट खानु ... हुन्छ । माथि भनिएको कुराहरू उल्लङ्घन गर्नेलाई जरिवाना गरिन्छ (भनी हामीलाई बताइयो) ।

### चिसापानी गाउँको भ्रमण

शनिवार फरवरी २६, १९७७ । आज पनि चिसापानी गाउँमा गएँ । घरघरमा भेट्न जानु कहिलेकाहीँ तामाङ जातिका बिरामी । एउटी आइमाई केही महिनादेखि बिरामी छिन् । तिनको गाउँको एउटा अन्त्येष्टि क्यामा मैले तिनलाई पहिलोपटक भेटेकी थिएँ; तिनको पहिलो बिहे माने डाँडामा भएको थियो, तर आफ्नो लोपने मरेपछि तिनले चिसापानीमा दोश्रो बिहे गरिन् । त्यति बेलादेखि तिनले वर्षेपिच्छे बच्चा जन्माउँदै गइन् र अहिलेसम्ममा पाँच जना केटाकेटी भै सके र अर्को भुँडी बोकेकी छे । तिनीहरूको अलिकति पनि जग्गा छैन र तिनले कपडा बुनेर गुजारा गर्छन् । अहिले तिनी बिरामी परेकोले कपडा बुन्न सकिदैनन् र घरको अबस्था पहिलेकोभन्दा गएँ गुजेको हुन गयो ।

त्यस्तै आर्थिक स्थितिको अर्को घरमा पनि गएँ; स्थिति त दयनीय नै छ तर घरकी आइमाईको लुगा बुन्ने प्रयासले जेतनै चलिरहेकै छ । त्यहाँ पनि अरु बढी कठिनाईको अन्त्य नै छैन जस्तो छ; उक्त दम्पतिको जेठो छोरा मर्न्यो र बाँचेकी छोरी लठुक भने रहेछिन् ।

<sup>30</sup> छेच्यु - तामाङको परम्परा, संस्कृतिलाई लिएर मनाउने एउटा चाड पर्व हो (ल्लोसार) नयाँ वर्षको दशमी देखि शुरु गर्ने भएकोले "छेच्यु"लाई छेच्यु भनिएको हो ।

<sup>62</sup> This festival was so elaborate that it required the collective efforts of the entire village & even so, could only be performed for 3 yrs. after which there was a 3 yrs. break. It lasted for a days, during which all other work stopped everyone focussed (in roughly equal measure) upon the religious, historical, social & political aspects of the festival.

## TSCHE CHHU: THE GREAT DANCE DRAMA FESTIVAL<sup>62</sup>

### Getting ready for the Dance Drama Festival

February 25, 1977. The grain pounder on the lower floor of our house is going from 3 AM until midnight, with short breaks only during the main working hours of the day. Everyone is trying to get their work done before Monday since after the start of the Tsche Chhu Dance Dramas there can be no more work. No: washing, husking grains, picking lice, combing hair, wearing leather to the dancing grounds, smoking cigarettes near or under the offering stand in the dancing grounds... Failure to comply will (we are told) result in fines.

### Visiting Cool Waters Village

Saturday February 26, 1977. I went to Cool Waters Village today. Visiting house to house is sometimes a crash course in Tamang suffering. One woman has been sick for several months. I'd seen her first at a funeral in her village; I thought then that the odds were near even that the next funeral there might well be hers. She was first married into Stupahill, but when that husband died, she remarried in Cool Waters. She has had a baby almost annually since then, and now has five children with another on the way. They have almost no land, so had supported themselves by her weaving. Now that she is too ill to weave, they are reduced to even less than their starting nothing.

Visited another house with a similar economic situation: bleak but feasible through the woman's weaving efforts. There, too, extra touches of hardship made the scene seem almost impossibly dead-end: the couple's eldest son died; the surviving daughter is so simple minded she is what a blunter pen would call an idiot.

## भव्य नृत्य नाटक

बुधवार, मार्च १, १९७७ । प्रत्येक दिनमा भैँ सूर्योदयमा समूह गायकहरूको अबिश्वासनीय बासो गीत गुञ्जनबाट तेस्रो दिनको हेचु नृत्य नाटक शुरु भयो । उक्त दिनको मुख्य नृत्यलाई बैश्य चेमा अथवा "नेवार आईमाईको नृत्य" भनिन्छ ।

मलाई बताइए अनुसार उक्त नृत्य नाटक तीनजना रानीहरू र दुइ जना राजाहरू र एक जना अश्लील कामी योगीको फसर नृत्य हो र उक्त कामी योगीले एक जना रानीलाई भगाउँछ । योगीले अश्लील यौन क्यारो मूक प्रदर्शन गर्छ । एउटा केरा लिङ्गको रूपमा राखेर दुइ खुट्टाको कापमा उठाएर रतिकडाको स्खलनको दृश्य देखाएर दर्शकहरूको चारैतिर योगी घुम्छ । उसले हुलमा ठट्टा गर्छ र उसको "लिङ्ग"ले तरुनी आइमाई-हरूलाई छुवाएर चिच्याउन लगाएर भगाउँछ र त्यो बेला फोहर फोहर कुरा गर्छ ।

सबै मिलेर नाच्ने र गाउने काम राती २ बजेसम्म पनि चलिरहन्छ । रातभरीमा सबैको शक्ति क्षीण भैसकेको हुन्छ । जस्तो कि तिनीहरूको गीतले देखाउँछ: जवान मानिसहरूको एक जत्थाले तिनीहरूको सबभन्दा बढी लोकप्रिय गीत साईं खोलेको एक पक्ति पनि नदोहराइकन गाएको मैले सुनेको छु । अबेरसम्म नाचिरहनेले भोलि बिहान सबै उठेर आउनेहरूसँग भेट्न सक्ने गराउनको लागि आपसमा ख्याल ठट्टा गरेर एक अर्काको हौस्याइरहन्छन् ।

बिहवार, मार्च २, १९७७ । गुरपाहरूको बिहानको गीतपछि मध्याह्नदेखि साँझसम्म उत्सव समारोहको रूपमा नाचगान र प्रहसनहरू चलिरहन्छन् । यो दिन चाडभरीमा सबभन्दा ठूलो नृत्यको दिन हो र यो नाच हेर्न क्षेत्र वरिपरिका धेरैजसो मानिसहरू हेर्न आउने हुनाले ठूलो हुल हुन्छ । यी नृत्य नाटकहरू हरेक वर्ष हरेक गाउँमा देखाइँदैनन्, तर नाच आयोजना गराउने समुदायलाई सामाजिक, राजनैतिक र भौतिक भार धेरै नै पर्ने भएको हुँदा हरेक तीन तीन वर्ष बिराएर पालेपालो गरी गाउँ गाउँमा देखाइन्छ ।

आजको चाड त साँच्चै रमाइलो लाग्यो । नाटकको विभिन्न अभिनयमा तामाङ जातिको सामाजिक, राजनैतिक, आर्थिक र धार्मिक संसारको सबैजसो महत्त्वपूर्ण व्यक्तित्वहरू देखाइन्छन् ।

## The Great Dance Drama

Wednesday, March 1, 1977. The third day of the Tsche Chhu Dance Drama began, as has each day, with the incredible basso singing of the Gurpa singers at sunrise. The main dance of the day is called the *Baisya Chema*, or 'Newar woman's dance.'

It is, I am told, the dance of three queens, two kings and one obscene yogi who makes off with one of the queens. The yogi mostly occupies himself making blatantly obscene sexual pantomimes. He goes around with a banana stalk 'penis,' stroking it, holding it erect between his legs, and being pulled after it in mock sexual spasms. He plays with the crowd, sending the young women running off screaming as he tries to touch them with his 'penis,' calling out obscenities all the while.

Public dancing and singing continues until 2 AM. The energy of everyone through the night is daunting. As is their singing: I have heard groups of young people sing their favorite *Sai Khole* song for hours without repeating a verse.<sup>63</sup> They tease and encourage one another to keep at it almost until the latest dancers of one day meet the earliest risers of the next.

Thursday March 2, 1977. After the Gurpas' morning singing, from midday to evening is a carnival-like collection of dances and skits. This is the Great Dance Day of this whole festival and it has attracted a huge crowd from all over the region. These Dance Dramas are not performed in every village every year, but instead on a three-year-on three-year-off rotation because of the social, political and material toll they extract from the host community.

Today's festivities, however, make it all seem quite worth it. In the various acts of the drama are displayed all the pivotal figures in the Tamang social, political, economic and religious universe.

<sup>63</sup> In Western Tamang communities, this kind of competitive song singing is extremely popular and a major part of courtship and youth.

सबभन्दा पहिले लगभग हिजैकै जस्तो गरी राजा र रानीका नृत्यहरू देखाइन्छन् । त्यसपछि शिवभक्त "सच्चा" योगीको भेष धारण गरी दुइजना पात्रहरू देखा पर्दछन् । तिनीहरूले जिउमा माटो दलेका, जनावरको छाला ओढेको र लङ्गोटी लगाएका छन् र थरिथरिका नक्कली मालाहरू लगाएका भिक्षा पात्र लिएका र अरु चाहिने नचाहिने पूजा आजका खात्राखुत्रक सामानहरू तिनीहरूको शरीरमा भुण्ड्याइएका छन् । अर्क भन्नु भने तिनीहरूले टाउकोमा जिङ्गीएको उटपटचांग राँको नक्कली कपाल लगाएका छन् ।

अर्को नृत्य नाटकको अर्को पात्रहरू तीनजना "नेवार व्यापारीहरू" हुन् । नेवार जाति व्यापारिक शहर निर्माता हुन् र नेपालभरिका बजारहरूका वासिन्दा हुन् । तर प्रस्तुत नृत्य नाटकमा तिनीहरू साहुकारको रूपमा देखिन्छन् र गाउँका तामाङ तिनीहरूले सेतो लुगा र फेटा लगाएका छन्, तर कालो स्पोर्टकोट, कालो चश्मा र प्लाष्टिकको चुच्चे जुता लगाएका छन् । तिनीहरूका बारेमा देखाइएका सबै कुराहरू शारीरिक श्रम गर्न नपर्ने मध्यम वर्गबारेको संकेत हो । यी तीनजना पात्रहरू व्यङ्गपूर्ण नेवारी गीतहरू गाएर एउटै छाता मुनि उभिन्छन् ।

नाटकको अर्को भागको दृश्यमा काठमाडौँबाट आएका दुई जना वैद्यहरू अथवा लेखनदासहरू देखा पर्छन् । तिनीहरू आफ्नो घोषण पढ्दै दर्शकहरूको एक छेउबाट अर्को छेउसम्म ओहोर दोहोर गर्दछन् । यी घोषणाहरूमा धेरैजसो अश्लील छन्, तर हाले भएको गाउँफर्क अभियानको सभा जस्ता लगायत निम्न सरकारी कर्मचारीहरूको रूपमा देखाइएका छन्: "तिमीहरूको बाटो सफा गर र भाषा शुद्ध गर । यी नियमहरू तलका सबै गाउँहरूमा लागू हुन्छन् (र एक एक गरी नाउँ बताउँछन्) जहाँका सबै राम्रा राम्रा केटीहरूलाई पनि हामी लान्छौं ।"

अर्को सबभन्दा नाटकीय पात्र त कर्णेल साहेब र उनका पिठु हुन् । डोकोको घोडा बनाइएको घोडा चढेर सैनिक लुगा लगाएर गाउँभरीका मानिसहरूलाई उसको बाटोबाट हट्न हुकुम दिन्छ । उसका अप्ठिसरहरूले मानिसहरूलाई बाटो छोड छोड भन्दै घचेड्दै र खास गरी तरुणी आइमाइहरूलाई लखेट्दै र मुठी भरीको खरानीले छघाप्दै कडकेर हिँड्छन् ।

First of all are the dances of the "kings and queens" more or less like yesterday.<sup>64</sup> Then come two characters dressed like "true" *yogi-s* devoted to Shiva. They are smeared with mud, wearing only an animal-skin loincloth, with various imitation beads, begging bowl and other bogus ritual accoutrements hanging from their body. Most of all they wear a fantastic wig of ragged unkempt "hair."

Another dance dramatization involves three "Newar merchants." Newar are the mercantile city builders and people of the bazaar towns throughout Nepal. But in this dance drama they stand for the moneylenders with whom village Tamang have ambivalent relations. They are dressed basically in white, including their turbans, but with black sportcoats, sunglasses and pointed-toed plastic shoes. Everything about them reeks of a middle class freed from manual labor. Three of these characters stand together under joined umbrellas singing mock Newar songs.

Off in another part of the scene are two *baidya*, or scribes from Kathmandu. They wander from one cluster of spectators to another reading out their proclamations. These are mostly obscene declarations, but patterned after the style of petty government officials, including the recent Back-to-the-Village meeting types: "Clean up your trails! Clean up your language! These rules apply for all the following villages [and they list them] where we hope to clean up on all the most beautiful girls!"

The most dramatic personae are Colonel Sahib and his henchmen.<sup>65</sup> Mounted on a bamboo basket covered with cloth to become a "horse" and wearing a military uniform, he charges around the village ordering people out of his way. His officers strut around, pushing people out of his way, and especially chasing young women and plastering them with handfuls of ash.

कर्णेल साहेब केही क्षणको लागि पनि एक ठाउँमा बसेनन् र सधैं मानिसहरू जम्मा भएका ठाउँमा मानिसहरूलाई तितरबितर गरेर उसको बाटो पन्छाई देओस भन्ने चाहन्थे: उ चिच्याउन्थ्यो, "यहाँ के भइ-रहेछ ? मेरो बाटो छोड, यो मेरो हुकुम हो ।" तिमीहरूका सबै राम्रा राम्रा आइमाइहरू मेरो क्वाटरमा तुरुन्त ल्याइदेउ । यो हुकुम हो ! मैले तिमी-हरूका आइमाइहरूलाई पाठ सिकाउनुपरेको छ .....।"

र ठाउँठाउँमा घुमेर व्यापार गर्ने फिरन्ते व्यापारीहरू देखा पर्छन् : पुरानो किसिमको तराजु जस्तो देखिने खर्पन बोकेको छ । उ चारैतिर घुमेर मानिसहरूको अगाडि घचक्क बस्छ र कागजको टुक्राको धुप्रो, लठी, छ्वाली र दुइ बच्चनलाई फैलाउँछ । उसको विनियमको मुख्य मुद्दा उही नै हो: "तमाखु छ ?" एक जनाले सोध्छ । गोबर देखाएर "छ एक दमै राम्रो छ" उसले जवाफ दिन्छ । गोलाकार दुइ दुईवटा दिएर तिनीहरूले भन्छन् "मलाई दुइ रुपियाको देउ ।" उक्त नक्कली व्यापारीले दुइहरू लिएर एक टक लगाएर हेर्छ र रिसले चुर भई भुईँमा फ्याकी दिन्छ: एक सयको नोट । सन्दिन म साट्न ! खुद्रा छैन र ?" र अन्तमा परम्परागत दुइ तारे सारङ्गी बजाएर फोहर फोहर गीतहरू गाउँदै एकजना फिरन्ते गाइने देखापर्छ ।

यी सबै कुराहरू गाउँको भेलामा हुने दृश्यहरू जस्तै देखा पर्छन् । तर यहाँ दर्शक र दृश्यहरूको घुँइचो रहन्छ । उनीहरू यस्तो आधुनिक नहुँदासम्म गाउँका मेलाहरू यस्तै हुँदा हुन् ।

The Colonel Sahib never stayed in one place for more than a few seconds and always wanted a new path cleared for him wherever the most people had gathered: "I order you out of my way," he would shout, "What's going on here? Bring all your most beautiful women to my quarters immediately. That's an order! Your women must be taught...by me!"

And then there was the Nepalese equivalent of a travelling salesman: with a bamboo pole across his shoulders, low-hanging shallow baskets pendant from each end like the platforms on either side of old-fashioned scales. He wandered around squatting in front of various clumps of people to sell his wares--little piles of shit, sticks, straw and stones. The main currency in his exchanges was more of the same: "Do you have any tobacco?" one would ask. "Yes, the best," he would answer, indicating some cow dung. "I'll take two rupees' worth," they'd say, offering a pair of round stones. The mock merchant would take the stones, glare at them, then throw them on the ground angrily: "A 100 rupee note! I can't change that! Don't you have any smaller change?!"

And finally, there is an itinerant minstrel--complete with the traditional two-stringed bowed instrument--specializing in--what else?--obscene songs.

All these acts wander around in a vague procession which mostly resembles the conglomeration of exhibits at a country fair. Except that here the exhibits as well as the spectators mill about. Which is, perhaps, what country fairs were more like before they were quite so rationalized.

## BACK TO WORK

Sunday March 20, 1977.

The weather is getting very warm again, but there is still a small coolish breeze. Fires break out nightly. There was a small one in Stupahill last night, but no one seemed to get too concerned.

## फेरी काममा संलग्न

आइतवार मार्च २०, १९७७ ।

मौसम धेरै नै तात्न थालिसकेको छ, तर चिसोचिसो हावा पनि अलि अलि चल्दै छ । राती डढेलो लाग्छ । हिजो राती माने डाँडामा सानो डढेलो लागेको थियो, तर कसैले पनि चासो लिएको जस्तो लागेन ।

<sup>64</sup> These royal dancers are said to re-enact actual events in local Tamang history.

<sup>65</sup> Representing the non-local overlords appointed from Kathmandu and empowered to extract grain, labour taxes, and other local products. This system of administration has been amply described in other writings (see especially Stiller's *The Silent Cry* on M.C. Regmis *Land Tenure*) but the portrayal in these dances offers a distinctly local perspective on the abuses common in such a system.

मकै छर्ने काम पनि सकियो । तरकारी बाली अलिअलि उम्रन थालेको छ जस्तो कि मुला, तोरीको साग र लसुन । आज दुवै भैसी गोठ अगाडि घुपारी राखेको प्राङगरिक मल पल्टाएर चलाइयो । तर बँसीमा एक जना सात वर्षे बालक मर्न्यो ।

### भाँकीनीको कथा

शुक्रवार अप्रिल २२, १९७७ । तुलाराम हाम्रो कामको महत्तमा धेरै नै उदार रहेको छ । एक जना भाँकीनीको मृत्यु र उनको प्रेतात्माबारे अद्भुतको जटिल कथा बताए । त्यो आइमाईसित उसको टाढाको नाता पर्थ्यो । आफ्नो बाबुको छोरा नभएकाले उनी पनि भाँकीनी बनिन् । र यसैकारण उत्तराधिकारको रूपमा पाएको यस पेशाले उनलाई पिर्न थाल्यो । उनले भाँकीले जस्तै ढ्याङ्गो त ठोकिनन् तर भाँकीका अने धरिका अरु कामहरू गरिन् ।

उनले अर्को भाँकीसित बिहे गरिन् । भनाइ अनुसार उक्त भाँकी भारतबाट आएको अक्सर ठीक हुँदैन । प्रायः जसो मुख्य दिशाहरू बौद्ध मूर्तिकलाका लागि प्रयोग गरिन्छ (जस्तो कि उत्तरको बुद्ध) र यो कुरा व्यवहारिक जीवनमा लागू हुँदैन । मानिसले कुरा गर्दा मुख्यतः दुइबटा दिशा हुन्छन् (पहाड र मधेश) र अर्को सानो बीचको भाग । गाउँ तलको कुनै ठाउँ या त नेपाल (काठमाडौं उपत्यका) अथवा "देश" (भारत) हुन्छ । यसरी हामी अमेरिकीहरू - दिल्ली- बम्बेबाट आएको ठानिन्छु - यो उनीहरूको संसारको सबैभन्दा तलका ठाउँहरू हुन् ।

जे भएतापनि दुइजनाको ठूलो भगडा भयो र लोग्नेले स्वास्नीलाई तै फलानो दिन सम्ममा मर्छेस् भनी सराप दियो । तिथि मिल्थो कि मिलेन तर भाँकीकी स्वास्नी विरामी परिन् र दिदीको घरमा मरिन् ।

मृत्यु पछि भाँकीनी शक्तिशाली शक्तु बनिन् र आफ्नो दिदीको छोरीमाथि चढीन् । यो छोरीलाई छारेरोग लागे जस्तो एक्कासी मुर्छा पर्न थालिन् । भनिन्छ ऊ एक्कासी ढल्थी, मुखबाट फीज निस्कन्थ्यो र कम्पन हुन्थ्यो ।

The corn planting is finished. Some vegetables are coming in: radish and mustard greens, green garlic. The compost heap outside both water buffalo stables was shoveled and turned over today. A seven-day old infant down the hill died.

### The woman shaman's tale

Friday, April 22, 1977. Tula Ram has been most generous in his help with our work. Today he told a wonderfully complex story about the death and haunting of a woman shaman. The woman was distantly related to him and became a shaman because her father, who was also a shaman, had no sons, so his shamanic tutelary *lente* descended to afflict her.<sup>66</sup> Although she had never drummed in a shamanic sounding, she did many other forms of shamanic work.

She married another shaman reportedly "from India." The expression, however, is often geographically very imprecise. The usual cardinal directions apply more to Buddhist iconography (as in "The Buddha of the North") than to everyday life. In most people's talk, there are two main directions--"uphill" and "downhill"--and one minor one--"across." Anything that is "down" from the village must be either "Nepal" (the Kathmandu Valley) or "Desh" (India). Thus, we Americans are generally assumed to be from "Delhi-Bombay"--the farthest down points in their up-and-down universe.

In any case, the two apparently had a serious fight in which the husband cursed his wife, saying she would die on (or by?) a certain date. Exact or not with respect to the date, the shaman wife did indeed fall ill and die in her elder sister's house.

After her death, this woman shaman became a powerful *syultu*<sup>67</sup> and attached herself to her elder sister's daughter. This daughter then developed an epilepsy-like predilection for falling suddenly comatose. People said she would collapse without warning, frothing at the mouth, and twitching slightly in the extremities.

यस्तो हुँदा हुँदै पनि उनले एउटा पति पाइहालिन्: ऊ तरुणो तामाङ केही मात्रामा इसाई भैसकेको थियो, उसले भने अनुसार इसाई धर्मावलम्बीहरू (र सम्भवतः तिनीहरूका स्वास्नी-हरूलाई पनि ?) लाई धरिधरिका स्थानीय भूत र प्रेतात्माहरूले दुःख दिने छैन भनी उसलाई विश्वास भएको कुरा उसले बताए ।

तर त्यस्तो भएन । उनी मुर्छा परी राखिन् । उनले धेरै काम गर्न सकिदैन थिन् किनकि उनी एक्कासी मुर्छा पर्थिन्; जस्तो कि ढाँडा अथवा रूखमा स्याउला काट्दा खस्थिन्; पानी बोक्दा उनको तामाको गापी कच्चाककुचुप पर्थ्यो र यस्तै अरु अरु पनि हुन्थे । एक दिन लोग्ने बाहिर गएको बेला भात पकाउँदा पकाउँदै मुर्छा परिन्, आगोमा लडिन् र नराभोसँग डडिन् । पोलेको त सञ्चो भयो तर लोग्नेले छाडिदिए र सासु उनीसित बसिदैनन् । उनी मर्छिन् र उनको शक्तुले नयाँ मानिसलाई छोप्छ भन्ने बूढीलाई डर भयो । यस कथाले आइमाइ भाँकीनी कस्तो खतरनाक हुन्छ भन्ने देखाउँछ र धेरैजसो आइमाइ भाँकीनी हुँदैनन् ।

ओरालोमा एउटा नव शिशुको मृत्युको आरोपमा एउटा कमीनीलाई शंका गरियो र उनलाई बेस्सरी पिटे ।

### बोक्सीको काम ?

हिजो राती नराम्रो हुरी बतास, पानी असिनाले गर्दा हामी सुत्ने पाएनौं । हामीले आफ्ना नोटहरू जोगाउन त्यसमाथि ओछुघानहरूले छोप्यौं र हामीहरू पानीबाट बच्न झ्यालको चौकोशमाथि बस्यौं ।

एउटी कामीनीलाई पिटेको अर्को खबर: तल बँसीमा जन्मेको एउटा बच्चा जन्मेदेखि नै दुब्लाउँदै गइरहेको छ, किनभने, आमा चाहिँको दूधको मुन्टो बाँगिएकोले दूध ख्वाउन नसकेको हो भनी मानिसहरू भन्छन् । तर तिनीहरूले भाँकी बोलाएपछि उनले "पूर्व दिशा पट्टिको बोक्सी" लागेको भनी छुट्टाछाडि दियो । बाबु चाहिले बोक्सी हो भनी चिनिएकी कामीनीलाई नै शंका गर्थ्यो । तिनलाई निलढाम लपाउने औषधिको लागि उनले दश रुपिया दिनुपर्छ । उनी निर्दोष भएको कुरालाई पनि स्वीकार गरियो । किनकि बोक्सी आत्मा (उनीसँगै बसेको कोहीबाट नौ मध्ये एक जना) थाहा नपाइकन चढेको शरीरबाट सक्रिय हुन सक्छ ।

She nevertheless found a husband: a young Tamang man who had been partially converted to Christianity; he said that he had been promised that Christians (and, presumably, their wives?) would not be attacked by any of the various indigenous ghosts and spirits.<sup>68</sup>

This turned out not to be the case and she continued to have attacks. She could not do much work at all since the attacks came completely without warning: if, for example, she were cutting fodder in a tree or on a cliff, she would fall; if carrying water, the copper water jug would get damaged, and so on. One day, while her husband was out, she was cooking, had an attack, and fell into the fire, burning herself very seriously. She has recovered from the burns, but her husband has left her and her mother-in-law will no longer live with her: the elder woman is afraid that the younger woman will die and *syultu* seek a new living hostess. This is supposed to be a story showing why women shamans are so dangerous and do not often exist.

A blacksmith caste woman was apparently beaten on accusations that she had been involved in the death of the infant down the hill.

### A witch's work?

Bad windstorm last night, rain, hail and little sleep as we piled all our bedclothes over our field notes to protect them and huddled in the window frames to get out of the rain ourselves.

Further news on the beating of the blacksmith woman: the baby born down the hill apparently wasted away from birth, because, people say, the mother could not nurse due to inverted nipples. But when they called the *bo* in, he diagnosed a "witch from the eastern direction." The father assumed it was the blacksmith woman, who has a reputation as a witch. He has since had to pay (10 rupees) for the medicine for her bruises. Her pleas of non-knowledge, too, are accepted since the witch-soul (one only among her nine, gotten from someone she has lived close with) can operate without the host body being aware.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> "Lente", "Tsen" are 2 types of spirit helpers essential to becoming a shaman hire.

<sup>67</sup> *Syultu* (in Tamang) are the spirit forces that attack a shaman's close kin (similar to *Dangre* in Nepali).

<sup>68</sup> An increasing member of Tamang communities are experiencing active christian proselytization, often with divisive effects.

<sup>69</sup> Western Tamang say that each human body houses multiple 'souls' or *bla* - seven in children and nine in adults. These can travel & operate without willful knowledge on part of host as, eg. in a dream.

## राजा, अन्न र विकास

शनिवार अप्रिल १६, १९७७ । सबै ठाउँमा मकै छर्न सकियो । नदी सँगैको खेतहरूमा मकै टुसाई सकेको छ र घाँस उखेल्ने काम पनि चाँडै नै शुरु हुने छ ।

गाउँभरी नै भाडा पखाला फैलेको छ । गर्मी मौसममा जस्तो पानी दूषित अरु बेला छैन ।

साँच्चै नै भाग्यले मौसम ठीकै छ । पोहोर सालको यही बेलाको मेरो सम्झनाको तुलनामा यस पालाको बसन्त रमाइलो लागेको छ । टाढा पहाडहरूमा पानीले भिजेका खैरो ठाउँहरूमा सुनौला हरियो घाँसले अलिअलि छोपेको छ । खेतहरू गहिरो खैरो माटो खेतहरूको बीचमा भएका मेडीहरूमा नौलो हरियो घाँसले घेरिएका छन् ।

चराहरू अति रमणीय छन् । तिनीहरू बथानका बथान देखिन थालेका छन् र त्यसमा पनि साँभ विहान त साँभै रमाइलो छ । भण्डै हरेक राती हल्का वर्षा भएको छ । यसले साँभ बतास चल्छ (कहिलेकाहीँ सिरेटो पनि चल्छ) र हुरी आउनुभन्दा पहिलेको जस्तै बादल मडारिन्छ । तर विहान पख भने आकाश खुल्छ र रातीको वर्षाको शितल सम्झना ताजा हावाले मात्र गराउँछ । मध्याह्नमा अलि गरम नै हुन्छ तर हावा भने शितलै हुन्छ । राती अझै काम्ना चाहिन्छ । सबैतिर रमणीय नै छ ।

आइतवार अप्रिल १७, १९७७ । आजभोलि हरेक दिन विहान सबेरै सबेरै काम शुरु हुन्छ । दिन लामो हुनुको अर्थ विहानका गतिविधिहरू विहान सबेरै चारै बाजे शुरु हुन्छ । ढिकी चल्ने कामले नै दिन शुरु भएको या खतम भएको थाहा हुन्छ । मानिसहरू प्रायजसो दिनको मुख्य कामको अगाडि या पछि धान कुट्ने ढिकी चार बजे विहानदेखि ६:३० या ७ बजेसम्म र फेरी राती ८ बजेदेखि १० बजेसम्म ढिकी चलिनै रहन्छ ।

## King, Corn and Development

Saturday April 16, 1977. The corn is essentially all planted. In the riverside fields, it has already sprouted and the weeding work will soon begin.

Diarrhea is rampant in the village. There is nothing like the warm weather to bring out the worst in the water.

Actually, the weather is mercifully cool. Compared to my memories of this time last year, this spring seems delightful. The far hills have a delicate gold-green overlain on the rain-softened browns. The fields are all freshly plowed and the turned rich-brown is bordered with the new green grasses on the ridges between the terraces.

The birds are fantastic. They are appearing in numbers and varieties unprecedented. Most beautiful, though, are the mornings and evenings. It's been raining lightly almost every night so the evening is a windy (sometimes too much so) cloud-building prelude with all the anticipation and drama of pre-storm turbulence. But the mornings have been clear, with only the sweet freshness of the breeze as a cool reminder of the night's rainfall. It's bone-deep warm in the midday sun, but the breeze has stayed cool and the nights still require a blanket. Altogether most agreeable.

Sunday April 17, 1977. Work begins earlier every day these days. The lengthening days mean that the morning activities begin by 4 AM. The rice pounding level<sup>70</sup> is our unfailing measure of the days: People usually beat their grains before or after the main day's labor. Thus, these days it means that the pounder is going under our mud sanctuary from about 4 AM until 6:30 or 7 AM in the morning, and then again at night from about 8 PM until about 10 PM.

## खेतीको काम

आइतवार अप्रिल २४, १९७७ । गहुँ बाली काट्ने काम जोडतोडले भइरहेको छ । मकै पनि छर्न सकियो र टुसाउन पनि थाले । यसपाली कुनै क्षेत्रमा मकै बाली नराप्परी बिप्रेला जस्तो छ । नयाँ टुसाएको मकैको बोट बीचको डाँठ खाने किराले गर्दा सालाकु नदी माथिको गाउँहरूको धेरैजसो मकै बाली बिप्रेको छ । सालाकु नदीको अर्कोपट्टि पनि नोक्सान भएको थाहा भएको छ । मानिसले टुसाहरू उभेको चिन्तित भएर हेरिरहेका छन् । अहिलेसम्म कुनै नोक्सान भएको देखिन्न । तर यति चाँडै केही भन्न मिल्दैन । किनकि माथिका गाउँहरू भन्दा यहाँका मानिसहरूले धेरै पछि छर्न सक्छन् । माथिपट्टि पनि फेरी छर्ने सम्भावना छैन । माथिका गाउँ मध्य एउटा गाउँमा नोक्सान भएको ठाउँमा मानिसहरूले फेरि छर्ने प्रयास गरेका छन्; तर सबैको भनाई अनुसार सफलता पाउन मुश्किलै छ ।

तर यहाँ नोक्सान नभएका खेतमा पनि कसैले (औषधि छर्ने जस्तो) केही गरेको छैन । सबै चिन्तित भएतापनि केही परिवारहरू जसको ६० प्रतिशत बाली बिप्रेको छ तिनीहरूको अवस्था दयनीय ठानिन्छ । उनीहरू पाँच, छ वर्ष अघि यस्तै एक पल्ट खेती बिप्रेको कुरा गर्छन् ।

फेरी राजा हेलिकोप्टरद्वारा पहाडमा बाल्जी गाउँमा भएको नयाँ विकास भेंडा फार्म हेर्न गए । सूर्यमानको बाबु लालबीर राजा वीरेन्द्रलाई अभिवादन गर्न जाने स्थानीय राजनीतिज्ञहरूको डफफामा थियो । त्यसवर्ष घोसाँदै किराले भण्डै पाकीसकेका गेडा खाइसकेको थियो - मकैको खेतीको त्यो अवस्था देखाउन लालबीरले आफ्नो कोटमा बिप्रेका बाला भएका डाँठहरू राख्यो । उनले राजालाई बाली कस्तो रह्यो भन्ने देखाउन चाहन्थे । किनकि उनले कीटनाशक औषधि प्राप्त गर्ने सबै प्रयास असफल रहे (हुनसक्छ अधिकारीहरूको निस्क्याले यस्तो भएको हो) ।

तर राजाका अङ्ग रक्षकहरूले उससँग त्यो बाला छोसेर भुईँमा फालिदिए । राजाले त्यो देखिहाले: लालबीरसँग त्यो किन ल्याएको भनी सोधे: लालबीरले देखायो भनिन्छ केही दिनपछि कीटनाशक औषधि लिएर भरियाहरू आइपुगे, तर त्यसबेलासम्म धेरै ढिलो भैसकेको छ ।

## Agricultural work

Sunday April 24, 1977. Wheat cutting is in full swing. The corn is all planted and sprouting. The corn looks to be something of a catastrophe in some of the region this year. The villages up the Salanku River have already lost much of their crop to some bug which eats down the middle of the young stalk, eating its future growth right up. The village on the other side of the Salanku River has also reportedly been hit. People here are watching their sprouts very closely. So far there seems to be no damage, but it is too early to tell since people in the microclimates here can plant so much later than in the higher villages. Up there, too, they have no possibility of planting again. In one of the upper villages, some of the people who were hit have tried to sow again; everyone says it is a very long shot.

But here, no one is attempting to do anything (like spraying?) even in the fields that haven't been hit, although everyone is very worried and regards the plight of some of the families who have lost 60% of their crop as very pitiful. They tell the story of another year of corn failure: five or six years ago.

Then the King went by helicopter to visit the then-new development sheep farm in the village up the mountain. Surya Man's father (Lal Bir) was among the group of local politicians who were supposed to go greet King Birendra. To show him the state of their corn--that year some bug ate the almost-ripe ears in the husks--Lal Bir put a few stalks with damaged ears under his coat, intending to show the King what had happened to their corn since all their efforts to obtain pesticide had failed (presumably due to official inaction).

The King's guards, however, initially suspecting something more dangerous, grabbed Lal Bir and took the corn away from him, throwing it on the ground. Apparently the scene was observed by the King: the King asked Lal Bir why he had brought corn; Lal Bir showed him. A few days later, as they tell the story, porters arrived with the pesticide. It was, of course, too late.

<sup>70</sup> Called a *lang* (in Tamang) or *Dhiki* (in Nepali) this is a large beam mounted on a pivot: at one end is a pestle which husks the grain: one or two people push down on the others end with their feet.

## जीवन चल्दैछ

आइतवार मई ८: बाल्जी भेंडा फार्ममा काम गर्ने पीसकोरकी भोलेन्टियर जानिस हिजो भेट्न आइन् । उनी आफ्नो खानाबारे बाक्कै भइसकेकी छिन् । गाउँमा अरु खानेकुरा प्राप्त गर्न उनलाई मद्दत गर्न गत वर्षका सम्पर्कहरू नै अभिसम्म छन् । तर उनले अहिले याममा जामा लाएकी छिन् र हेर्दा खेरी त्यहाँको जीवनमा बढी घुलमेल गर्दैछिन् । गाउँमै बस्न थालेकी छिन् । यसले एउटा फाइदा के भयो भने उनी सरकारी भेंडा फारमका अधिकारीहरूको एकलौटे प्रभावबाट मुक्त भइन र समुदायमा बढी सम्भावित मित्रहरू पाउने औसर पाइन् ।

जानिस फर्केर बाल्जी गइन् । एउटा बोरामा हामीसँग भएको बढी खानेकुरा - पीठो, आलु र फुलहरू बोरामा बोकेर लगिन् । टाउको र काँधमा भुण्ड्याएर बोसन भारी निकै गन्डुङ्गो भएको हुँदा होला, तर मलाई लाग्छ उनलाई आनन्दै भयो होला ।

बुधवार मई ११: ८-१३ जना भएका ठूलठूला पर्महरू मकै खेतमा माटो पल्टाउन निस्केका छन् । यो काम तिनीहरू छिटो छिटो गर्छन् । ती पर्ममा धेरैजसो आइमाइहरू छन् खासगरी छोरीहरू र बुहारीहरू ।

## काठमाडौँतिर

आइतवार मई १५: सूर्यमानको बाबु, आमा काका, काकी सबै निकै रमाएर काठमाडौँ गए । विशेष गरी सूर्यमानकी आमाले आफू पनि काठमाडौँ जाने कुरा गर्दा भन्नु रमाइलो भयो । पहिले त यो कुरा उसको बाबुले लुकाएको थियो । उनले भनिन्, उनीभन्दा अघि या पछि चुपचाप थाहै नदिइकन जान्छिन् ।

उनले यो कुरा थाहा पाए र एक छिन् बेस्सरी भोकिएर र भन्न थाले उनी जानु हुन्न र जान जरूरी पनि छन् आदि । उनका धेरै तर्क थिए: उनलाई यही बसेर काम गर्नुछ, घरमा कोही उनको काम नै छैन ।

## LIFE GOES ON

Sunday, May 8: Janice, the Peace Corps Volunteer working on the sheep farm in Balji came to visit yesterday. She seems quite sick of her diet. She's about where we were a year ago in terms of getting contacts working to help her find other food supplies in the village. But she's wearing a *syama*-skirt now and obviously getting into the life there more. She's moved from the government farm administrative buildings to live in the village of Balji itself which has one great benefit in that it has gotten her out from under the exclusive influence of the government sheep farm official and given her a wider array of potential friends in the community.

Janice went back to Balji carrying all the spare food we had--flour, potatoes and eggs--in a sack. It must have been a heavy bundle to carry slung across head and shoulders, but I hope she enjoys it.

Wednesday, May 11: Great teams<sup>71</sup> of 8-13 people out hoeing the corn. They move along at quite a rate when they're all going at it. The groups are composed mostly of women, especially daughters and daughters-in-law.

## People go to Kathmandu

Sunday, May 15: Surya Man's father, his mother, his younger uncle and aunt all went off to Kathmandu amidst great excitement. Especially when Surya Man's mother declared her intention to go! At first it was a great secret from his father. She was (she said) going to sneak out either before or after him.

Then he found out and, for a while, raved on about how she was NOT going, how there was no need, and so on and so on. He had many arguments: that she had to stay here and work, that there would be no one in the house, that she was being frivolous and lazy, that she had no work in Kathmandu.

तर कान्छी काकीले सूर्यमानकी आमाको पक्ष लिइन्, उनले भनिन् उनीहरू जाने बेला ठीक यहि हो, उनको लोग्ने उनलाई यो गर्न हुन्छ यो गर्न हुँदैन भन्न सक्दैन, आदि आदि । र यस्तै प्रकारले कैयौँ तर्कले उनको कुरा काटिन् ।

आज विहान अरु दिन भन्दा सबै उठीन् र यात्राको लागि खाजा तयार पारिन् । सूर्यमानको बाबु उनको योजनाबारे कराई राखे, तैपनि उनी हिँड्नु भन्दा अगाडि उनले उनको सामान पनि आफैँ बोकेर लगिन् ।

उनको प्रस्थानको पनि केहि कुरा गरी हाल्नु उनले यी कुरा लगाएका थिए: पोलिष्टरको टी-शर्ट, अर्को कमिज, दुई जोर दौरा सुरुवाल स्वेटर, इस्टकोट, नेपाली टोपी र उनी गलबन्दी अहिलेसम्मको सबभन्दा गरम मौसममा पनि ।

सोमवार मई १६, १९७७ । हिजो राती केही पानी पर्नाले राशो भयो । सासु ससुरा गएपछि सूर्यमानकी स्वास्नीले आफूले चाहेजस्तो गर्न पाइन् । त्यसैले उनी विहान ५:३० बजेसम्म सुतिरहिन् । अरुसित कुरा गरेको, ठट्टा गरेको उनको बोली सुन्न थालियो । उनीहरू यहाँ छँदासम्म कहिल्यै पनि भएन ।

## जमीनको भगडा

शनिवार मई २१, १९७७ : चिसापानीमा नरमाइलो । केही दिन अघि एकजना ब्राम्हणले जमीन बेचन खोज्दा यो शुरु भयो । तुला रामले यो किन्न खोजे । तर मोल भने ३००० रुपिया नभैकन २५०० रुपिया मात्र हुनु पर्ने । उसले अरु नभइकन आर्की एउटी जमिन किन्न खोज्ने बूढी आइमाइलाई भनेर अर्को मोल कम गर्ने प्रयास गर्‍यो । तर बूढीलाई जमीनको खाँचो भएकोले उनले ३००० रुपिया तिनै तयार भइन् र तिरिन् पनि । अनि बाहुनले अर्को एक हजार माग्न थाल्यो । उसले तुलारामलाई ४००० रुपिया तिर्छु भनेमा बूढीले तिरेको बढी एक हजार रुपिया दूइ जनामा बाँड्नु हुन्थ्यो । तुलारामले यो कुरा मानेन र उसले भन्थो बाहुन यात बूढीलाई जमिन पास गरी दिनुपर्‍यो या उनको तीनहजार रुपिया फर्काउन पर्‍यो ।

The younger aunt, however, was firmly on Surya Man's mother's side, saying that now was precisely the time in their lives when they SHOULD go, that her husband would never try to tell HER what she could and could not do, and so on in an equal number of counterarguments.

This morning, then, Surya Man's mother rose earlier than usual and made snacks for the trip. Surya Man's father never stopped complaining about her plans, although when she left just before he did, she left carrying his things in her bundle, too!

His departure also deserves some description; he wore: a polyester t-shirt, another shirt, two pairs of *daura-surwal*,<sup>72</sup> a sweater, a suitcoat, his national cap, and his wool scarf! All this in the hottest weather we've had yet!

Monday, May 16, 1977: Great relief in some rain last night. Surya Man's wife comes rather strikingly into her own when the parents-in-law are gone. She slept in--until 5:30 AM, that is! Her voice is now heard calling people and joking in ways that are never heard when they are there.

## A Land Dispute

Saturday, May 21, 1977: Sad story in Cool Waters. It started some time ago when a Brahmin wanted to sell some land. Tula Ram was interested, but only if the asking price of 3000NRs could be brought down to 2500NRs. He tried to get other villagers, including one other older woman who was also interested in the land, to not allow this Brahmin to get away with such a high price by quoting even lower offering prices. The old woman, however, wanted the land badly enough that she agreed to pay the 3000. And she paid it. Then the Brahmin decided he wanted another 1000. He told Tula Ram that if he agreed to say that HE was willing to pay up to 4000, the two of them could split the old woman's additional 1000 when she paid it. Tula Ram refused and said that the Brahmin should transfer title to the old woman right away or give her back her 3000 rupees.

<sup>71</sup> These groups are called *nang* in Tamang or *Parma* in Nepali. Among western Tamang *nang* groups are formed by members of households who work as a single large group in each other's fields in rotation.

<sup>72</sup> This is Nepali official dress for men.

मंगलबार मई २४: चिसापानीको जग्गाको भग्नाङ्कन अझै चल्दैछ । बाहुनले देखाउनलाई बूढीको नाउँमा पास गरिदियो । तर जग्गा भने पहिलेको बाचा जति दिएन । बेच्ने मोल ४००० रुपिया भएकोले बाँकी जग्गा दिन्न भनी उसले भने । उनी पास गरेको लिखत पढ्न सकिदैन थिइन् । यसकारण सूर्यमानको बाबुलाई यो कागज देखाउँदा मात्र यो बेइमानी गरेको थाहा पाइन् ।

सोमबार मई ३०: डेभिड र सूर्यमान आज काठमाडौं जान भनी हिँडे । हामीले गाउँमा अझै दुइ तीन साता बढी बस्ने विचार गरेकोले डेभिडले हाथो भिसा बढाउनु छ । उसले विश्व विद्यालयको लागि रिपोर्ट तयार पार्नलाई कडा मेहनत गरेको छ । भिसा नवीकरण गर्ने काम सजिलै होला भन्ने म आशा गर्छु जसले गर्दा यहाँ उसको काम सिध्याउनुको साटो काठमाडौंमा आफ्नो समय बिताउन नपरोस् ।

### अन्तिम दिनहरू

विहीबार जून २: मेरो आमाको जन्म दिन: ह्युपि बर्थडे आमा ।

खेतहरूमा हरियालीमा परिवर्तन आएको छ । मकै कमरदेखि छातीसम्म अग्ला छ । पहिले खेत जोत्दा वर्षाले सबै चिजलाई हरियो बनाउन थालेको थियो । खेतहरू भने गाढा खैरा रङ्गका थिए र उनको बीचमा भएका आलीहरू मात्र हरिया थिए । अहिले खेतहरू गाढा हरिया छन् र आलीहरू फिका खैरा हिँड्ने बाटो बनेका छन् । अहिले ठीक उल्टो भएको छ: पहिले खैरोको वरिपरि हरियो थियो, अहिले हरियोको वरिपरि खैरो छ ।

अरु कुरा पनि बदलिएका छन् । अब बाटो र पर्ती जग्गा बढी देखिएका छन् । पहिले सबै चिज सुख्खा र बञ्जर देखिन्थे । अब बाटोहरूमा काम नलाग्ने माटोको थुप्रै थुप्रा छन् । अथवा सुख्खा नाङ्ग पाखोहरू देखिएका छन् । सूर्य पनि हिउँदमा उदाउने र अस्ताउने ठाउँबाट ४०° जति (कम्पासमा) सरिको छ ।

Tuesday, May 24: The land dispute in Cool Waters is still boiling. The Brahmin has apparently made out a title transfer to the old woman, but not for the amount of land as was in their initial verbal agreement. He says he will not turn over the rest because the selling price is now 4000NRs. She, of course, could not read the title transaction so only discovered the discrepancy when she brought it to show to Surya Man's father.

Monday, May 30: David and Surya Man left today to go to Kathmandu. David has to renew our visas for the additional 2-3 weeks we plan to stay in the village. He's been working extraordinarily hard to prepare a report for the university. I hope the renewal proceeds simply so he doesn't spend all his remaining time in Kathmandu instead of finishing his work here.<sup>73</sup>

### LAST DAYS

Thursday June 2: My mother's birthday: Happy birthday, Mom.

The pattern of green has shifted in the fields. The corn is now hip to chest-high. Before, when the fields were being plowed and the rains had started to turn everything else green, the fields had been a dark rich brown and only the ridges between them had been green. Now, the fields are a dark corn-green and the ridges have become packed light brown foot trails. It's exactly reversed: before, it was brown outlined in green; now it is green outlined in brown.

Other things have changed, too. Wasteland stands out much more dramatically now, as do trails. Before, everything had the same barren dried look. Now, the paths and useless patches of mudslide or waterless slope stand out, looking starkly vacant. The sun, too, has moved from its winter rising and setting spots some 40 degrees (on the compass).

निसन्देह अब दिनहरू धेरै लामा छन् । साँच्चै भन्नु भने गर्मीले गर्दा दिनहरू धेरै नै लामा छन् । तर कमसेकम दिनको लमाइले हाथो आउने प्रस्थानलाई सगाएको छ । अचेल हामी जानुपर्ने भएकोले मलाई कामको बोझ धेरै अनुभव भएको छ । बिजुली नभएमा (जो यहाँ छैन), मानव शास्त्रीहरूले दिन धेरै लामो भएको बेलामा प्रस्थान गर्ने योजना गर्नुपर्छ : गर्नलाई काम यति बढी हुन्छ ।

### गाउँमा मृत्यु

विहीबार जून ९: कान्छो काकाको ससुरा राती मरे । गाउँलेहरू घरमा जम्मा भए र लाश बाहिर निकालेर दाहसंस्कारको लागि शवयात्रा शुरु भयो ।

लाश एकदम सेतो कपडामा बेरिएको थियो र बसालेर खतमा राखी लगेको थियो । छोरी र नातिनीहरू शोककुल भै पछिपछि हिँडेका थिए । उनीहरूको कपाल खुल्लै थियो । उनीहरू रुँदै थिए र फुटेका हाँडीका टुक्राहरूमा धूप र आगो बोकेका थिए । उनीहरू विलाप गर्दै रुँदै थिए: "बा, मेरो बा मलाई पनि सँगै लानुस" मलामीहरू माने डाँडाको सबभन्दा अग्लो ठाउँको पछाडि जम्मा भए । मर्नेको नातापाताहरूले शोक र विलाप गरिरहेको बेलामा नै लामाहरूले पाठ गरेर पूजा गरे । लामाहरूको पाठ र आइमाइहरूको विलाप नभिल्लो भए तापनि सँगसँगै चलिरहेका थियो । आइमाइहरू अँ माने पेद्मे अँ भन्दै विलाप गर्दै थिए र साथसाथै लामाहरूले पाठ गर्दै थिए ।

मौसम साँच्चैको अद्भूत थियो । हामी माथि चढ्दा धेरै गरम थियो । तर ठीक पूजा भएकै बेला पानी पर्न थाल्यो । तर ठीक पूजा भएकै बेला पानी पर्न थाल्यो । तर घाम लागिहयो र चित्ताको आगो माथि पनि अनौठो टलकको प्रभाव परिरहेको थियो । छोराको बाबुको मुखमा दागबत्ती दिने बित्तिकै छोरीहरूलाई ठूलो पीर परेको देखियो । चामल र पैसाहरू चढाइए र ठूलो पीर परेकाहरूले सघाए र चित्ता बल्ल थाल्यो । लामाहरूले काम सिध्याए । छोरी र नातिनीहरूलाई अरु आइमाइहरूले हात समातेर लगे र त्यो जमात तलतिर फर्के । छोरा र नजिकका नाताहरू मात्र चित्ता राम्रोसँग बाल्न बसे ।

And, of course, the days are much longer. Too long, really, with the heat. But at least the day length is cooperating with our upcoming departure. I feel the pressures of finishing work in order to leave acutely these days. Unless there is electricity (which there isn't here), anthropologists should always plan leaving when the days are the longest: there is so much work to do.

### A death in the village

Thursday June 9: Youngest Aunt's father-in-law died in the night. The village gathered at their house and the brought the body out of the house to begin the procession up the hill for his cremation.

The corpse was wrapped entirely in white cloth and was carried, sitting upright, in a litter. The daughters and granddaughters followed in obvious grief. Their hair was untied and loose, and they were weeping and carrying broken potsherds with coals and incense in them. They sang penetrating wailing songs of grief: "Oh, father! Take me with you, my own father!"<sup>74</sup>

The group gathered on top of the highest hill behind Stupahill. The lamas conducted their recitational worship directly in the face of the grief and work of the deceased's kin. The lamas reading and the women's wailing were a stark, but interwoven, contrast as the women sang wailing "Om mani padme hum" choruses to punctuate the lamas' chanting.

The weather was properly eerie. It had been very hot as we walked up, but then began to rain at the height of the worship. The sun, however, continued to shine, creating a strange glistening effect on everything, even the lighting of the funeral pyre. The daughters' grief was obviously quite acute as a son placed a coal in the father's mouth. As rice and coins were offered, and those whose sorrow overwhelmed them supported, the pyre was lit. The lamas finished their work and each of the daughters and granddaughters was led away by hand by another woman as the group began to move back down the hill. Only a few close-kinsmen remained to oversee the pyre.

<sup>73</sup> It is extremely difficult to get permission to do research in Nepal. At the time of this work, the application and/or renewal process could take 2 weeks to a month, after which a visa would typically only be awarded for 3 months. Relations were generally quite cordial, especially with colleagues at the University, but the visa process was often confusing.

<sup>74</sup> These songs, called *tserlu* or *tsiba* are uniquely associated with death.



ओर्लदा खेरी सबैजना धारामा नुहाइ धुवाइ गर्न रोकिए र त्यसपछि मर्नेको घरमा गए । त्यहाँ तिनीहरूले आफूलाई धूपको धुवाले चोख्याए । त्यसपछि मात्र आफ्ना आफ्ना घरतिर लागे ।

## गाउँ छोड्दा

शनिवार, जून ११: हामी फर्कनको लागि अन्तिम सरकारी व्यवस्थाहरू मिलाउन डेभिड अफै काठमाडौंमै छ । समय धेरै नै छोटो लाग्यो; काम भने सकिएको जस्तो लाग्दैन । गर्मीले पनि मद्दत गरेन ।

उडुसले डेभिड (र मलाई पनि) लाई प्राय रातारातभरी नै सुत्न दिएन । मट्टितेल र उमालेको पानीले उडुसलाई नियन्त्रण गर्ने हाम्रो प्रयास अलिकति पनि सफल भएन । डेभिड नभएको बेला एउटै मात्र भएको भोलुंगोमा सुत्दा मलाई अलिकति पनि अष्टचारो लागेन । असाध्य गर्मीले गर्दा अन्त त सुत्नै सकिन्न ।

सूर्यमान अवेर साँझ घर फर्क्यो । दिनमा सबभन्दा गर्मी भएको बेलामा डाँडा चढ्नबाट बच्न ऊ तल पर्खिरहेको थियो । तर डेभिड भने अफैसम्म पनि फर्केको छैन ।

बुधवार, जून १५: डेभिड नभए पनि गाउँमा काम सिध्याउन खोज्दा भनभन् जटिल भएर गयो । ऊ कुनै दिन आइदिए हुन्थ्यो । तर ऊ आइपुग्ने वित्तिकै हामी प्रस्थान गर्नुपर्छ । डेभिडले काठमाडौंमा अन्तिम व्यवस्था मिलाउन धेरै काम गर्नुपरेकोबारे सूर्यमानले धेरै कुरा बताउन चाहन्थे । काठमाडौंमा हामीले भाडामा लिएका दुइटा कोठाका फर्निचरहरू डेभिडले कसरी बेचिरहेका थिए, बेचिएको मोल, किन्न खोज्ने ग्राहक र मोलमोलाई मात्र गर्नेहरू आदिबारे धेरै कुरा बताए उनले । त्यहाँ भएका घटनाहरूबारे सूर्यमान र डेभिडको भनाईमा मेल खाला जस्तो मलाई लाग्दैन । किनभने काठमाडौंमा भएको हाम्रो एउटा खाट, दुइटा टेबलहरू, छ वटा कुशन मेचहरू, चार वटा पर्दाहरू र अरु फर्निचरहरू के गर्ने भन्नेमा भन्दा पनि विश्वविद्यालयका सहकर्मी-हरूसँग अन्तिम व्यवस्था मिलाउनमा डेभिड बढी संलग्न भैरहेको होला भन्ने कुरामा मलाई विश्वास छ । तैपनि, मलाई एउटा कुरा स्पष्ट छ: हामी फर्कौं छौं ।

डेभिड माने डाँडामा फर्कौं गर्दा गोरेटो बाटोमा भेटें । अब त एक महिना पनि छैन ।

On the way down, everyone stopped first at a small spring to wash and then at the house of the dead man. There, they purified themselves further in incense smoke. Only then did people head to their own homes.

## LEAVING THE VILLAGE

Saturday, June 11: David has gone to Kathmandu to make the final official arrangements for our departure. Time feels very short; work feels very demanding. The heat does not help.

Bedbugs have kept David (and hence also me) awake much of the night. Our efforts to control them with alternate doses of kerosene and boiling water seem to have little effect. With David gone I do not have to feel guilty sleeping in the only hammock; it's too hot to sleep anywhere else.

Surya Man came home late in the evening. He had waited below to avoid the walk up the hillside in the hottest times of the day. But apparently, David is not coming back quite yet.

Wednesday, June 15: Things are getting quite complicated trying to finish up in the village without David. He should be back any day. But we should be leaving almost as soon as he comes up. Surya Man had plenty of tales of the final arrangements David was making in Kathmandu. Long stories about how David was disposing of each item of furniture we had in our two rented rooms there, including prices, potential buyers and bidders. I doubt that Surya Man's and David's versions of events there would resemble each other much since I'm sure David is more concerned about making final arrangements with colleagues at the university than about what to do with the one bed, two tables, six cushions, four curtains, and whatever else we had for furnishings in Kathmandu. Still, it makes clear to me: we are leaving.

Met David as he was returning on the trail to Stupa Hill. It's less than a month left.

बिहीबार, जून २३: गाउँका हाम्रा साथीहरूलाई थरिथरिका सानातिना घरेलु सामानहरू बाँड्न हामीले शुरु गर्‍यौ । खाली टिन, खाली शिशी, बढी भएका लुगाहरू र हामीले ल्याएका उपहारहरू सबै बाँडि दिन हामीले कोशिश गरिरह्यौ ।

हामीलाई गरेको स्वागत सत्कारको लागि धेरै मानिसहरू प्रति हामी ऋणी छौं । तर, अफै, अन्तमा तमाशा गन भन्दा सामानहरू त्यसै खुसुक्क दिने दिने कोशिश हामीले गर्‍यौ । कसरी दिदा ठीक हुन्छ भन्ने कसलाई थाहा छ र ?

शुक्रवार, जून २४: आज त अफै धेरै गर्मी छ । मैले यो कुरा भनी रहे; र दिनमा त भन् गर्मी नै भयो । तर अब यो भन्दा बढी गर्मी हुन्न । भिजेको लुगा लगाई रहँदा पनि मलाई खल्खलि पसिना आइरह्यो ।

शनिवार, जून २५: उडुसहरूले त उधुमै मचायो । अहिले मलाई उपियाँले टोकिरहेछ । उडुस खोज्नु र मार्न हामी जति पटक उठे पनि र मट्टितेल, तातो पानी र कीटनाशकहरू प्रयोग गरेर जति पटक हमला गरेपनि हामीलाई लगातार निस्फल पारिरहेको जस्तो लाग्छ । मकै नछरेका नदी छेउका जग्गाहरूमा धान रोप्ने तयारी हुँदैछ ।

अचेल धेरै गहिरो नदी बराबर, तरिहनुपनै भएता पनि सलाकु नदी माथिको तुइन राख्ने काम अफै सकिएको छैन । यस वर्ष नदी वारपार तुइन राख्न सकिएपछि मात्र हामी फर्कन सक्नेछौं । प्रस्थानबारे, अमेरिका फर्कनेबारे, प्लेन चढ्नेबारे, र फिलिमिलि विजुली, सँधै हुने पानी र मोटरकारहरू र यस्तै सबै कुराहरूबारे मैले विचार गर्दा नदीमाथि राखिएको यो तुइनको घातको तार पाँच वर्ष अघि मात्र राखिएको हो भन्ने सम्झनु यस ठाउँलाई होच्याउनु जस्तो मात्र हुनेछ । यस भन्दा पहिले उक्त "तार" तुइन वारिपारि भुण्डभण्डको डोरीमा अडकुसी लागेको लठ्ठीको भरमा ओहोरदोहोर गर्थे ।

जे होस् यस वर्षको हाम्रो प्रस्थान काइदाले हुने भयो । अब मोटो फलामको डोरी र प्लेटफर्म छ । साथीहरूसँग उडुबस, नाटक हेरेर, प्लेटफर्ममा बसेर, नदीको वारपार तानिएर र त्यसपछि हामी अमेरिका फर्कने यात्रा शुरु गर्छौं ।

Thursday, June 23: We continued the distribution of various of our small household stuff to friends in the village.

We're trying to give things away--from empty tins and bottles to extra bits of clothing and gifts we'd brought in. We owe so many people debts for their hospitality here. But, still, we're trying to give things in small ways, rather than have a big tamasha at the end. Who knows what's the right way to do this?

Friday, June 24: Today is the hottest yet. I keep saying that; and the days keep getting hotter. But it cannot get much worse than this. Even sitting with wet cloths, I sweat.

Saturday, June 25: The bedbugs are quite nearly out of control. Even I'm getting bitten now. No matter how many times a night we get up for search and destroy missions and no matter how many maneuvers we undertake with kerosene, boiling water and insecticides, they seem to outwit us constantly. Rice field preparation is well underway in the river bottom paddies that were not planted with corn.

The cable car over the river<sup>75</sup> is still not up yet, although the river is too high to ford most of the time these days. We will only be able to leave when they have installed this car across the river again this year. As I think about leaving, about returning to America, about riding on planes and getting back to electricity and running water and cars and all, it's humbling to remember that this conveyance across the river here only got metal cables about five years ago. Before that the "car" was supported by a simple forked stick which slid back and forth across the fiber ropes.

This year, however, our departure will be in style. There are iron cables and a sturdy, if modest, platform. With friends and drama, perched on the platform, pulled across the river, then, we will begin our voyage back to America.

<sup>75</sup> A small platform suspended from a cable and pulled manually over the river, these "cable cars" are found where budes haven't get or can't be built.

विशेष गरी नयाँ जनजाती सम्बन्धी कुराकानीमा रूची लिने व्यक्तिहरूलाई यो पुस्तकको गुरुकापी कसरी तयार भयो यसबारे केही भन्नुपर्ला । म यात्रा मार्गको नक्साको खाका अगाडि राख्दैछु र कुन कुराले हाम्रो निर्णयलाई कुन कुराले प्रभावित गरेको छ भन्ने कुरो पनि अगाडि राखेकी छु ।

हाम्रा पहिलेका आ-आफना लेख रचनाहरूलाई सहयोगात्मक रूपले पुस्तकको रूप दिने निर्णय गरेपछि हामीले केही कुरा छलफल गर्‍यो । प्रस्तुत पुस्तक अमेरिकालीहरू र नेपालीहरूले किन्न सक्ने गरी महङ्गो नगर्ने कुरा हामीले निश्चय गर्‍यो । पहिलो संस्करण भीमको जीवन सपोर्ट प्रेसले प्रकाशित गर्ने भयो । वहाँले निःशुल्क काम गरिदिने भयो । अरु खर्चहरू हामीले ब्याहोर्ने भयौं । बिक्रीबाट उठेको रकम जति गाउँघरका जेहेन्दार र आर्थिक कमजोर बालबालिकाहरूको शिक्षामा उपयोग गर्ने भयौं ।

हामीले दुई भाषामा प्रकाशन गर्ने निर्णय गर्‍यो । फेरि, शुरुमा यो पुस्तक नेपाल र अमेरिका दुवै देशहरूमा उपलब्ध गराउने विचार भयो । नेपाली (तामाङ्ग होइन) को छनोट छापने माध्यमले गर्दा भएको हो । यसको केही राष्ट्रिय कारण पनि छ । वर्तमान संविधान नलेखिदासम्म विद्यालय, अदालत, अखबार, रेडियो र टेलिभिजन सबैमा एक मात्र भाषा नेपाली भाषाको प्रचलन थियो । तामाङ्गहरूले आफ्नै देश नेपालमा आफ्नो प्रतिष्ठा राख्न धेरै नै परिश्रम गरेका छन् ।<sup>3</sup> अक्सर वहाँहरू कैयौं कुराहरूबाट वञ्चित छन् र धार्मिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक व्यवहार, चलन र कट्टरपनाले गर्दा वहाँहरूप्रति भेदभाव गरिन्छ ।

The process through which this manuscript was actually produced deserves some discussion, especially for those interested in new ethnographic dialogues. Let us record a sketch map of our route and the decisions affecting each of our turnings.

The initial issues we discussed after deciding to write something collaborative based on our separate, and previously private personal journals, revolved around the final general shape of the book. We decided it had to be inexpensive enough to be affordable by Nepalis as well as Americans. The first edition would be published by Bhim's Jeevan Support Press. He would provide the labor at no cost; we would underwrite other costs. Profits would be dedicated to educating deserving and promising children from the village region.

We also decided to undertake a bilingual publication. Again, the initial idea was to make the book accessible both in Nepal and in the U.S. The choice of Nepali (not Tamang) is, like the choice of the print medium overall, a gesture of some nationalist significance. Until the recent rewriting of the Constitution, the only language in the schools, the courts, the newspapers, the radio, or now television, was Nepali. Tamang people have labored hard, literally and figuratively,<sup>3</sup> to find a place for themselves in the country called Nepal; often they have found themselves disadvantaged and excluded by religious, social, political, or economic precept, practice or prejudice.

<sup>3</sup> See Holmberg's (1989) *Order in Paradox: myth, ritual and exchange among Nepal's Tamang* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press) for a discussion of Tamang labor obligations. See Hofer's (1979) *The caste hierarchy and the state in Nepal: a study of the Muluki Ain of 1854* (Innsbruck, Austria: Universitätsverlag Wagner) for a discussion of the Hindu religious and social structures that underwrote state legal precepts adversely affecting Tamang.

<sup>3</sup> हेर्नुस् होल्मबर्ग (१९८९) अर्ब र इत पाराडक्स: मीथ रिचुअल एक्सचेंज अमंग नेपालस तामाङ्ग (इथाका एन.वाई. कर्नेल युनिभर्सिटी प्रेस) यसमा शुद्ध शुद्ध शाह राजाहरू र राणा प्रधानमन्त्रीहरूको पालामा तामाङ्गहरूले बेहोर्नु पर्ने बेठबेगारीको माध्यताबारे लेखिएको छ । हेर्नुहोस् होफर (१९७९) इ कास्ट हाररार्की आयण्ड द स्टेट इन नेपाल: ए स्टडी अफ र गुल्की ऐन १८५४ (इन्सब्रुक, अस्ट्रिया: युनिभर्सिटीटाटस्वेरमाथग वाग्नेर) यसमा तामाङ्गहरूलाई प्रतिकूल रूपले प्रभावित पार्ने हिन्दू धर्म र सामाजिक संरचनासित सम्बन्ध राज्यका कानूनी प्रबधानबारे लेखिएको छ ।

रसुवा, नुवाकोट क्षेत्रबाट माध्यमिक शिक्षाको लागि प्रयास गर्ने सूर्यमान पहिलो तामाङ्गहरू मध्ये एक थियो र वहाँले एक भाषीय नेपाली विद्यालयको वातावरणमा लेखन पढ्न सिके। आजसम्म पनि निरक्षर रहेका अरु धेरै तामाङ्गहरूको बीचमा वहाँ नेपाली राम्रै बुझ्ने साक्षर थियो र आज राष्ट्रिय भाषाका नीतिहरू उदार भैसकेपछि पनि अरु तामाङ्गहरूले भै वहाँले लेख्दा नेपाली भै लेख्छ। अफ, हाल विभिन्न क्षेत्रका तामाङ्गहरू आफ्नै लिखित भाषा विकास गर्नमा लागि रहेको भएता पनि धेरै भाषिकाहरू भएको तामाङ्ग भाषामा साहित्यिक स्तरको विकास भै सकेको छैन। केही घण्टा मात्र फरक मा रहेका तामाङ्ग गाउँमा अर्को गाउँको भन्दा अलग्गै भाषिका बोलेको पाइन्छ। तामाङ्गहरू नयाँ ठाउँमा केही समय बसिसकेपछि चाँडै नै त्यहाँका भाषिका टिप्न सक्छन् तर टाढाटाढाका क्षेत्रबाट आएका तामाङ्गहरू आपसमा भेट्दा अझैसम्म पनि नेपाली भै कुराकानी गर्छन्।

भविष्यमा यसले गर्दा के हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा विचार गर्न तपाईंहरू र सूर्यमानलाई जिम्मा दिन्छु। अहिलेलाई हाम्रो विचारमा साक्षर तामाङ्गले नेपाली भै पढ्न मन पराउने छन् र नेपालीमा प्रकाशित गर्दा यो पुस्तक नेपालमा अरु कहाँ पुग्नेछ।

यी सब कारणले गर्दा हाम्रो पुस्तकको पृष्ठको मोटामोटी संख्या सीमित हुन गयो जसले गर्दा हाम्रा मूल्य पुस्तकका धेरै अंश नराखिने भयो। कुन अंश समावेश गर्ने कसरी छुट्याउने? यहाँ हाम्रा दृष्टिकोण फरक फरक भए। पुस्तकको सम्पादनबारे भिन्दाभिन्दै विचार उठे र केही थप प्रश्नहरू आए।

यसमा केही हाम्रा आफ्ना पृष्ठभूमिका प्रविधिक भिन्नताले गर्दा उठेका हुन्। यसरी आफै खुल्ने रयारेजको ढोकाबारे वहाँहरूको रुची र मैले राम्ररी हातले भात खान नसक्नु जस्ता कुरा आउँछन्। हाम्रो अन्तरक्रियाहरूमा यस्ता रमाइला कुराहरूका यस्ता श्रोतहरू छन्। यो खोजी र नौलोपनाको भावनालाई जोपाई राख्न हामीले हाम्रा पुस्तकका अंशहरू परिवर्तन नगर्ने निश्चय गर्नु (र पछिका कुराहरू थपेर त्यसलाई भन्नु स्पष्ट पार्ने) यद्यपि कहिलेकाहीं हामी शुरु शुरुमा आउँदाको आफ्नो हुस्सुपनालाई सम्भेर भुत्तकै हुन्थ्यो।

Surya Man was one of the first Tamang from the Rasuwa-Nuwakot region to attempt a secondary education, learning to read and write in a monolingual Nepali school setting. Unlike many Tamang, even today, he is literate, meaning in Nepali; like most Tamang, even after the liberalization of national language policies, when he writes, he writes in Nepali. Moreover, Tamang, in its many dialects has not developed a standard literary form even though Tamang from many regions are now working on developing such a written language. A Tamang village just a few hours walk away from another will have a different dialect. Tamang are quick to pick up new dialects after residing for a while in a new place but when Tamang from distant regions meet, they often still communicate in Nepali.

We leave it to you and to him to speculate on what the implications of this will be in the future. For the present, we decided that those Tamang who were literate would generally find reading Nepali preferable and that the choice of Nepali would also open this publication up to others in Nepal.

These choices set our approximate page limit, which in turn meant that substantial portions of our original journals would go unused. How to select which portions to include? Here, our paths diverged in interesting ways so that, as we moved back and forth, each suggesting different editorial strategies, a number of additional questions emerged.

Some of these arise from predictable differences in the technologies of our respective backgrounds. Thus arises Surya Man and Bhim's enthusiasm for garage doors that can be opened without hands and Kathryn's inability to eat rice gracefully with her hands. These are the cheerful sources of potential (self) parody in our interactions. To retain this sense of discovery and novelty, we decided not to alter the passages from our journals (and to make it clear when we added later thoughts) – even though we were each sometimes justifiably chagrined by our earlier naivete.

कुन कुन कुरा सम्भन्नु जरूरी छ, यसबारे पनि हाम्रो सोचाईमा धेरै नै फरक देखा पर्‍यो। सूर्यमान र भीमले आफ्नो पुस्तक छोट्याउँदा हेबिड र मैले त्यसमा अनौठा विवरणहरूको सूची मात्र भेट्टायौं। त्यसमा धेरै नम्बरहरू मात्र थिए, ठीक फ्लाइट नम्बर, कति पल्ट उडे, आगमन र प्रस्थानका समयहरू, समय क्षेत्रको भिन्नता, दूरीहरू, यात्राको गति, उँचाई र वजनहरू, मितिहरू, किन्ने खोजेको हरेक कुराको दाम, फेरि धेरै नैनाउँहरू हरेक ठाउँको र भेटे जति मानिसहरूको नाउँ, प्रत्येक नाउँलाई धेरै पल्ट चेक गरेको पूरा छ कि छैन, उच्चारण, कुनै पनि मानिस अथवा ठाउँको नाउँ छुटेको छ कि छैन। मलाई के लागेको छ भने अनेकौं राम्रा विवरणहरू र गहिरा विचारहरू केवल आकर्षणहीन तथ्य र संख्या मात्र हुन गए।

मलाई यो समस्या पहिले जीवन कथाहरू तयार पार्दा पनि आइपरेको हो।<sup>4</sup> आफ्नो बयानमा तामाङ्गनीहरूले आफ्नो दाइजोका वस्तुहरूको दाम यति परेको उति परेको भनि पूरै बताउँथे, त्यो प्राप्त गरेको ठीक ठीक समय पनि बताउँथे र अरु कुरो पनि भन्थे जस्तो कि कुनै वस्तु एक ठाउँबाट अर्को ठाउँमा लम्दा कति दिन लाग्यो। उदाहरणको लागि एक जना साठी वर्ष नाघेकी बुढाले सविस्तार वर्णन गरिन् कि फलानो सालमा ठीक यति मूल्य पर्ने धागोबाट वहाँले कपडा बुनेकी थिइन्, जसलाई ठीक यति नाफामा बेचेकी थिइन् र त्यस नाफाबाट ठीक “यति” अन्न किनिन् जसलाई यति दिन लगाएर दक्षिणतिर काठमाडौंमा थिइन् अथवा यति दिन लगाएर उत्तरतिर केरूङ्गमा लागि यतिमा बेचेकी थिइन्। यो सब बयान गर्न लगी यतिमा बेचेकी थिइन्। यो सब बयान गर्न वहाँलाई आधा घण्टा लागेको हुँदो हो।

आइमाईहरूका कथा र सूर्यमान र भीमका वृत्तान्तहरूमा शायद केही कुरा भएको मलाई लाग्छ। मलाई लाग्छ - वहाँहरूले यो कुरा किन गरे यो सोच्नु आवश्यक छ, विशेष गरी वहाँहरूले मबाट कुनै प्रोत्साहन पाएर यसो गरेको होइन (वास्तावमा अरु प्रोत्साहन नदिएको हो)। दाम, मिति र ठाउँहरू सम्भन्ने निसन्देह ठेट किसानहरूको गुण हुन्छ।

Other differences in our approaches suggest somewhat deeper differences in our respective senses of what is important to remember. When Surya Man and Bhim did the initial cut on their journal, they stripped it down to what we found to be a dry listing of peculiar details. It included lots of numbers: exact flight numbers, flying times, times of arrival and departure, time zone differences, distances, speeds of travel, heights and weights, dates, prices of everything purchased or every purchase contemplated. And lots of names: for every place and person encountered, each name checked and double checked for completeness, correctness and spelling, with no encounter left unnamed. It seemed to us that many of what had we found to be the beautiful descriptions and subtle reflections were reduced to lusterless facts and figures.

This puzzle had confronted Kathryn before in some of the life history work – she has been doing.<sup>4</sup> In their narratives, Tamang women would record with painstaking detail the prices of things acquired as part of their personal property, along with the exact time of the acquisition, and perhaps other details like the number of days it took to carry some of it from one place to another. Thus, for examples, a 60+ year old women told how she had woven thread worth an exactly remembered amount in an exactly remembered year into a specific piece of cloth she sold for an exactly remembered amount of grain which could be carried “X” number of days south to Kathmandu and sold for this much or carried “Y” number of days north to Kyirong and sold for that much. It might take her half an hour to recount all these details.

In the case of the women's stories and perhaps Surya Man's and Bhim's telling, it seems likely that a number of things are going on. We start from the premise: that it is worth figuring out why they talked about these things precisely because they did and especially since they did so without any encouragement (and, in fact, with some discouragement) from their interlocutors. Remembering prices, dates, and places is undoubtedly a vital farmer's skill.

<sup>4</sup> See March (forthcoming) *Words and Worlds of Tamang women*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

<sup>5</sup> हेर्नुस मार्च (निसकने लागेको) *वर्ड्स आण्ड वर्ल्ड्स अफ तामाङ्ग वीमेन*। इयाका, एन.यू. कोर्नेल युनिभर्सिटी प्रेस।

वहाँहरूको जीवन यही तथ्यांकको हेरफेरमा नै व्यतित हुन्छ: यो अन्न त्यो अन्न भन्दा दोब्बर मोलको छ, यस महिनामा बेचेको कुरा चार महिनापछि भन्दा आधा मोलमा बिकेको छ ।

फेरि, चामल लिएर नून साट्न चाहेक तिब्बतमा गएको बेला होस् अथवा इथाका एन.वाई.मा पुस्तकको गुरुकापी सम्पादन गर्न जाँदा होस् कहाँ बस्न, खान, किनमेल गर्न राम्रो होला यो थाहा पाउनु उपयोमी नै हुन्छ । तामाङ्गहरूसँग पढ्नलाई गाइड टु तिबेट छैन र फेरि यस्तो पृष्ठभूमिमा जहाँ मूल्य र गुणहरू निश्चित हुँदैनन् कुनै ठाउँमा जाँदा त्यस ठाउँ बारेको भरपर्दो ज्ञान हुनु जरूरी छ । यसका लागि त्यहाँ गैसकेका प्रत्येक भरपर्दा मानिसहरूसँग उहाँहरूको अनुभव बारे सोध्नु पर्‍यो, फेरि बाटामा कुराकानी हुनेसित सोध्नु पर्‍यो, फेरि गएको ठाउँमा पुगि सकेपछि त्यस ठाउँमा सबैसित सोध्नुपर्‍यो । यसरी कुनै ठाउँमा जाँदा आलु किन्नु पर्‍यो भने सबभन्दा पहिले भर्खरै किन्ने मानिसले कति तिर्‍यो (कहिले र कसबाट) फेरि, बाटामा भेटिएका सबैसित सोध्नुपर्‍यो, फेरि, त्यस ठाउँमा पुगेपछि आलु बेच्न चाहने कैयौँ मानिसहरूसित सोध्नुपर्‍यो ।

यस्ता विस्तृत विवरणहरू सम्झनुमा शायद अर्को अप्रत्यक्ष कारण पनि हुन सक्छ । जब सूर्यमान र भीमले ठीक ठीक उड्ने समयको हिसाब गर्थे, विभिन्न समय क्षेत्रहरूको परिवर्तनलाई ध्यानमा राखेर वहाँहरूले केवल एक ठाउँबाट अर्को ठाउँमा पुग्न लाग्ने समय मात्र हिसाब गर्दैनथे । निसन्देह पनि हिमालय क्षेत्रमा हिँड्दा यो कुरा जान्नु जरूरी नै हुन्छ कि अर्को बास पाउने ठाउँ कति टाढा छ र रात पर्नुभन्दा अघि त्यहाँ पुग्न सकिन्छ कि सकिन्दैन ।

तर अहिले मैले तपाईंलाई यो कुरा मात्र हेर्न भन्दैन कि मानिसले समय, मितिहरू, दूरीहरू र दामहरू टिप्ने गर्छन्, तर यो कसरी गर्छन् भन्ने कुरा पनि हेर्नुपर्छ । तौलहरू, नापहरू, मुद्राहरू, समय र ठाउँका नाउँहरू निसन्देह पनि विशेष अवस्था र सभ्यताका विशिष्ट यथार्थहरू हुन् ।

The margin of their existence can be measured out in small variations in these statistics: this grain here is worth twice that grain there; produce sold this month is worth half what it will bring four months later; and so forth.

Moreover, whether travelling to trade rice for salt in Tibet or travelling to edit a book manuscript in Ithaca, NY, it is useful to know where to find the best places to stay, or eat, or buy things. It is not only that there are no Tamang Guides to Tibet<sup>5</sup> to consult, but, as well, in a context where such things as price and quality are far from fixed, it is vital to have a reliable sense of the field before you make a move. Typically, this involves asking everyone you can trust who went before you what their experience was, then asking everyone you interact with along the way, then asking everyone in the locale when you get there. Thus, to buy potatoes on a trip through some place, first you find out what the last person you know says they paid there (when and from whom), then you ask passersby all along the trail, then you ask several potential sellers in the place itself.

There is probably, as well, another more abstract reason for dedicating memory to these details. When Surya Man and Bhim calculated an exact flying, taking into account the various time zone changes, they were not just recording the length of time it takes to get from point A to point B. It is, of course, a matter of some concern when walking in the Himalayas to know how far it might be to the next place where one can find lodging, and to know that it will or will not be possible to get there before nightfall.

But we are now asking you to notice not just the fact that people record places, times, dates, distances or prices, but to attend to how they do it. Weights and measures, coinage, times and place names are, of course, also quite specific artifacts of specific states and civilizations.

जब तामाङ्गनीहरूले आफ्नो जीवन कथामा आफ्नो उमेर बताए, वहाँहरूले ती वर्षहरूलाई या त तिब्बती बाङ्ग पशु वर्षको चक्रमा (कुकुरको वर्ष, भेंडाको वर्ष आदि) अथवा नेपालको शाहवंशको पात्रोको वर्ष (विक्रम सम्बत) मा भन्नुपर्‍थ्यो । मितिहरू नेपाली राष्ट्रिय तिथि पात्रोबाट भन्न सकिन्छ अथवा पश्चिमी सौर्य केलेन्डर तारिखमा पनि भन्न सकिन्छ ।

यसै गरी मूल्यहरू कुनै विशिष्ट दाममा बताउन सकिन्छ । दिनको समय पनि “विहान भात खानुभन्दा अघि” अथवा “दिउँसोको काम” अथवा घडीमा भन्न सकिन्छ । यो नेपाली शब्दको अर्थ अहिले त घडी हुन्छ तर पहिले यसको अर्थ २४ घडी हुन्थ्यो, यो समय नाप्ने यन्त्रको रूपमा प्रयोग हुने प्वाल परेको घँटो डुब्‍यो र पानी घडीको घण्टी बज्‍यो । ठाउँहरू र दूरीहरू “हल” मा नापिन्थ्यो (विहान खाना खाएपछि एक दिनमा एक जोर गोरुले जोत्न सक्ने खेत; र कोसहरू (हातमा लिएको भिजेको कपडा नसुकुन्जेल-सम्म हिँड्ने दूरी); र रोपनी नेपाली झ्याडापट्टल सर्भेक्षण र राष्ट्रिय भूमि नापी, किलो मिटर (वर्ग अथवा त्यसै) अथवा मील र एकडहरूमा गणना हुन्थ्यो ।

सूर्यमान र भीमले यति माइल प्रति घण्टा अथवा डलर, सेन्ट अथवा पूर्वीय प्रामाणिक समयको कुरा गर्दा मुद्रा र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय क्षेत्रबारे वहाँहरूको चेतनाले वहाँहरूलाई अर्कै विदेशी सन्दर्भमा सोच्ने गराउँछ, जुन बेला वहाँहरू बैकक, जापान, डिट्रोइट, सन्फ्रान्सको पुगे, जस्तो कि हामीलाई हुन्छ । संसारका यी ठाउँहरूका नाउँको उच्चारणले मात्र वहाँहरूको नाउँ राखिएको (सबै कहिले, कहाँ, कति टाढा र कति धेरै) ले बोल्नेलाई नयाँ ठूलो संसारमा पुर्‍याउँछ । वहाँहरू यस ठूलो दृष्टिलाई समावेश गराउन चाहन्थे । मैले पहिले यसलाई धेरै नै नीरस तथ्य र संख्याहरू ठानेको भएतापनि यसो हुनु स्वभाविकै थियो ।

तामाङ्गहरूको भूगोल सम्बन्धी चेतनाको मुख्य पक्ष के हो भने घरबाट निस्केदेखि नफकुन्जेल सम्मका ठाउँहरूको नाउँ क्रमवद्ध रूपमा मिलाएर राख्नुहो । प्रायजसो तामाङ्गहरूको मौखिक ब्रम्हाण्डमा नक्साहरू, पथ प्रदर्शन पुस्तकहरू र त्यस्तै सामाग्रीहरूको सहयोग नलिइकनै भौगोलिक स्थानहरू बारेको जानकारी क्रमवद्ध रूपमा मिलाइएको ठाउँहरूको विवरण सधैं मौखिक रूपमै बताइन्छ । तिब्बतमा अन्नसँग नून साटेर

When Tamang women, in their life histories told to Kathryn, talked about how old they were, they had not only to count their years, but they had to count them either in the Tibetan cycles of twelve animal years (Year of the Dog, of the Ram, etc.), or the calendar years of the Shah monarchy of Nepal (Vikram Sambat).

Similarly, prices are framed in the coinage of some specific where. Times of the day, likewise, can be measured in the agricultural “before morning meal” or “afternoon’s work session;” or it can be parsed out in *ghaDi*, the Nepali word that now means “watch” or “clock” but once referred to the 24 minutes it took a pierced waterjug to sink and sound a waterclock gong. Spaces and distances come in *hals* (the amount of land a pair of oxen can plow before morning meal) and *koshis* (the proverbial distance a person can walk before a wet cloth dries in their hand), or in the *ropanis* of Nepali cadastral surveys and national land records, in kilometers\* (squared or not), or miles and acres...

When Surya Man and Bhim speak of miles per hour, or dollars and cents, or Eastern Standard Time, their awareness of currencies and international time zones situates them in another newly cosmopolitan frame of reference as much as it reminds us when they arrived in Bangkok, Japan, Detroit, or San Francisco. Like the very recital of those worldly place names, how they are named (including all the whens, whereas, how fars, and how muchses) also places the teller in a newer larger world. They, quite properly, wanted this larger vision included—even if we thought it was just facts and figures.

The listings of place names in sequence out from your home base and back is an essential feature as well of Tamang geographic consciousness. In the largely oral universe of Tamang and without the aid of maps, guide books and the like, information about geographic space has always been communicated orally in the form of sequential lists of place names.

<sup>5</sup> Although there are ritual recitations (like the Gombo Jyabi Hwai) which recount place names in the order they would be encountered on the way (see below).

\* Each system does more than just count or measure; it situates the teller in a different universe. प्रत्येक तारिख गणना र नापजोख भन्दा नयाँ काम गर्छ; यसले भन्ने व्यक्तिलाई अर्कै भिन्न ब्रम्हाण्डमा पुर्‍याइदिन्छ ।

बेपार गर्न जानको लागि ठाउँहरूको नाउँको सूची र बाटोघाटोको विवरण धेरै नै महत्वपूर्ण हुन्छ । ठाउँहरूका यी सूचीहरूले अरु महत्वपूर्ण जानकारीहरूको सम्झना गर्नको लागि जरूरी छ । कहाँ बास बस्ने, पानी कहाँ कहाँ पाइन्छ, कुन चाहिँ ठाउँमा कुन देउताको निवास छ, कहाँ कहाँ खास गरी डरलाग्दा खतरनाक भूतहरू हुन्छन् र कुन गाउँमा को को नातेदारहरू बसेका छन् ।

धेरै जसो यी ठाउँहरूका नाउँहरूको सूची गीत गाएर र पूजा आजको तोत्रहरू फलाकेर बताइएको हुन्छ । गाउँलेहरूको आफ्नो गाउँ र तिब्बतका ठूलो ठूलो गुम्बाहरू बीचको बाटोमा पर्ने गाउँहरूमा रहेका दर्जनौं मन्दिरहरू गन्दै गाउँलेहरूले नियमित रूपमा गीत गाइरहन्छन् । प्रत्येक पूजा आज्ञाहरूमा जान्नेसुन्ने विशेषज्ञहरूले ठाउँहरूका नाउँहरू धूप बालेर पाठ गरी गाउँका बाटोहरू देखि यी ठाउँहरूलाई चोर्पार्छन् । यी परम्पराहरू आश्चर्य लाग्दा भएको हामीले पायौं । वहाँहरूले हामीलाई हामी बस्ने शिक्षित संसारको सीमाबारे सम्झार्छन् र धेरैजसो अशिक्षित तामाङ्ग-हरूको संसारको गहनताबारे बताउँछन् ।

नेपालको डाँडा काँडा पहाडमा बस्ने मानिसहरूको लागि भौगोलिक स्थान भन्नु गाउँबाट शुरु भै एक गाउँले अर्को गाउँलाई जोड्दै व्यापक ब्रम्हाण्डमा पुग्ने बाटाघाटाहरूको संसार हो । ठाउँहरू केवल अमूर्त रूपमा रहन्छन् तर बाटाघाटाहरूले एक आपसमा जोडेका हुन्छन् । भीम र सूर्यमानका बाजेहरूको पालामा धेरैजसो मानिसहरूका लागि घाहा भएको भौगोलिक ठाउँहरूको सीमा भन्नु वहाँहरूले अन्न दिएर नून साट्ने ठाउँ तिब्बतमा केरूङ र काठमाडौं हो जहाँ वहाँहरूले कि त बेपार गर्छन् कि त अनिवार्य श्रम गर्ने काम गर्छन् । यी घाहा भएका सीमा विशाल “ब्रम्हाण्ड” थिए जहाँ कि हामी सूर्यमानको गाउँमा बस्दाखेरी सम्म पनि मानिसहरूले सुनेका तर कहिल्यै नदेखेका ठाउँहरू: “देश” अथवा भारत, बम्बै, दिल्ली, “बेलायत” अथवा इङ्गल्याण्ड, जापान र “अम्रीका” हुन् ।

हामी सूर्यमानको गाउँमा बस्दा खेरि “तपाईंहरू कुन बाटोबाट “अम्रीका” पुग्नुहुन्छ भनी हामीलाई बारम्बार सोध्नुथ्यो । बीच बीचमा हाम्रो जवाफ हुन्थ्यो - पृथ्वी गोले छ भन्ने सिद्धान्तमा आधारित हुन्छ र हाम्रो यस्तो ज्ञान धेरै नै माथिल्लो हो भन्ने सोचेर - तपाईंहरू कुनै पनि बाटोबाट कुनै पनि दिशामा लामो बाटो हिँड्नु भो भने तपाइहरू अमेरिका पुग्नुहुन्छ ।

Long lists of place names and trail descriptions were crucial to undertaking trips to Tibet to trade grain for salt. These place names, further, trigger specific remembrances about places: the location of places to stay, where water is available, what divinities inhabit a particular locale, where especially dangerous spirits lurk, and which kin or fictive kin inhabit a particular village.

Many of these place listings are formalized in song and ritual incantations. Villagers regularly sing songs counting the dozens of temples in villages on the trail between their home village and the monastic centers of Tibet. At the start of every ritual, specialists chant out place names radiating out from village trails and purify these places with incense. We found these oral traditions astounding and they were a reminder to us of the limits of the literate worlds we inhabit and the richness of the nonliterate world of many Tamang.

Geographic space for people in the hills of Nepal is a world of trails which extend out from villages and link villages to a more encompassing universe. Places do not simply exist in abstract space but are linked to each other along trails. In the time of the grandfathers of Bhim and Surya Man, the known limits of geographic space were for most people, Kyirong in Tibet, where they would trade rice for salt, and Kathmandu, where they would travel either for trade or in fulfillment of forced labor obligations. Beyond these known limits were the great “below” where, at the time of our stay in Surya Man’s village, people located places they had heard of but never seen: “Desh” or India, Bombay, Delhi, “Belayat” or England, Japan, and “Amrika”.

While living in Surya Man’s village, we would often be asked, “By what trail do you reach Amrika?” Our occasional response – based on our acceptance of the theory that the earth is round and our assumption that such knowledge was superior – was that if you walk long enough on any trail in any direction you would reach America.

धेरैजसो गाउँलेहरूका लागि यस्ता कुराहरू एकदमै बुझ्न नसक्ने हुन्छन् र टोलाएर हेरिरहन्छन् । धेरै घण्टाको व्याख्या पछि पनि गाउँले साथीहरूले पृथ्वी गोला छ र अम्रीका एक छेउमा छ र नेपाल अर्को छेउमा छ भन्ने कुरा त मानिहाल्छन् तर कुनै पनि बाटोबाट हिँडेर अम्रीका पुगिन्छ भन्ने मान्न वहाँहरू तयार थिएनन् र अम्रीका भनेको त पाताल नै हो भनी जिद्धी गरि रहन्छन् । पहिले त गाउँका मानिसहरूलाई केही पनि कुरा थाहा रहेनछ या सामान्य भूगोल पनि जान्दा रहेनछन् भन्ने लाग्छ - जुन गल्ली हामीले गयौं । तामाङ्ग गाउँले नै ठीक रहेछन् भन्ने कुरा पछिबाट हामीले सराहना गयौं, वहाँहरूले अम्रीका पातालमा छ भन्दा अम्रीका जाने बाटो पाताल भएरै जानुपर्छ । अम्रीका जानलाई पहिले त तपाईं गाउँबाट डाँडाकाँडा हिँड्दै तल पुग्नुपर्छ, अनि काठमाडौंसम्म बसमा तल जानुपर्छ र त्यसपछि काठमाडौंबाट, बैकक, हडकड, जापान हुँदै विशाल समुद्र नाघेर अन्तमा अम्रीका पुग्नलाई हवाइजहाजमा तल उड्नुपर्छ ।

अझ भन्दाखेरि बाटाघाटाहरूले स्थानीय ठाउँ र स्थानीय समाजमा फर्कने बाटो सधैं देखाएको हुन्छन् । बाटाघाटाहरूले गन्तव्य ठाउँको मात्र वयान गरेको हुँदैनन् बरु वहाँहरूले सधैं टोल र गाउँहरू जोडेका हुन्छन्, जुन ठाउँहरू गाउँलेहरूको निमित्त वहाँहरूको ब्रम्हाण्ड हो र जहाँ वहाँहरू सधैं फर्कन्छन् । जान्नायात्रामा मेला भर्न जाने भनेको धेरैजसो गाउँलेहरूको लागि अर्को सन्दर्भ हुन्छ । यस सन्दर्भमा वहाँहरू कुनै निश्चित ठाउँबाट हिँडेर अर्को ठाउँका ठूलो समाज र पवित्र ठाउँहरूमा आफूलाई समाहित गर्दछन् ।

जताततै तयारी खानेकुरा खाने रेस्टुराहरू, सरकारी विद्यालयहरू र अन्तर राज्य राजमार्गहरूले जोडेका किनमेल गर्ने पसलहरू भएका एउटा ठूलो व्यापारिक केन्द्रबाट अर्को ठूलो व्यापारिक केन्द्रहरूमा हिँडि रहने अमेरिकालीहरूको लागि तामाङ्गहरूको दृष्टिमा सुख समृद्धि जनाउने स्थानीय ठाउँहरू र नाताकुटुम्बहरूसँगको सम्बन्धको सराहना गर्नु धेरै नै गाह्रो छ । वहाँहरूको लागि यात्रा जतिसुकै गाह्रो भएतापनि जतिसुकै लामो बाटोले पनि कुनै निश्चित ठाउँ र नाताकुटुम्बहरूसँग सम्बन्ध जोडिदिन्छ र समाज र ठाउँसँग अन्तरसम्बन्ध हुन जान्छ । यी सम्बन्धहरूले तामाङ्ग गाउँलेहरूलाई ठाउँ र मनोबैज्ञानिक दृष्टिले गहन रूपमा डोर्पार्नेहरूको हुन्छ ।

For most villagers, such a statement was utterly incomprehensible and brought blank stares. Even after many hours of explication where village friends would accept in the abstract that the earth was round and Amrika lay on one side and Nepal on the other, they were not willing to accept that any trail could reach Amrika and insisted that Amrika was down below. At first you might assume that people in the village do not know or appreciate elementary geography – a mistake we made. We came later to appreciate that Tamang villagers are right when they say Amrika is down below because the trail to get to Amrika, takes one down below. First you go down the hill from the village, then take a bus down to Kathmandu and then you fly down in an airplane from Kathmandu to Bangkok or Hong Kong, and then to Japan and then across a huge body of water and finally reach Amrika.

Trails, moreover, always show the way back to a local place and a local society. Trails not only describe the way to a destination, they always connect you back to localities, which are for villagers, the centers of their universes and the places to which they always return. Pilgrimages were, and remain, for many villagers another context in which they move out from specific localities and link themselves and the places they come from into larger social and sacred spaces.

It is difficult for Americans who have become so used to moving from cosmopolitan place to cosmopolitan place and whose towns and cities now all contain the familiar landmarks of fast food restaurants, public schools, and shopping malls linked by interstate highways to appreciate the kind of ties to local lands and kin that underwrite Tamang senses of well-being. For them, even at the extremes of a journey, the thread of the trail, no matter how long, ties one back to a specific village and set of kin and weaves one into social and spatial webs. These linkages orient Tamang villagers spatially and psychologically in fundamental ways.

सूर्यमान र भीम, मेरो र डेबिडको संकलन बारेका प्रश्नहरू ठीक हामीले लेखेका ठाउँ, घटना र वस्तुहरूबारे यस्तै विस्तृत विवरणबारे र खास गरी मानिसहरूबारे थिए । जब म छिमेकको गाउँमा कुनै गरीब महिलालाई भेट्न गएको बारे लेख्ने वहाँहरू सोध्ने, कुनचाहिँ गरीब आइमाई ? कुन गाउँ ? कुनचाहिँ घर ? कसकी छोरी ? कसकी बुहारी ? कसकी स्वास्नी ? कसकी आमा ? विशेष गरी मेरो शुरु शुरुका नोटहरूमा मैले मानिसहरूलाई यस्तो घनिष्ट रूपले चिनेकी थिइन । तर यस्तो भएपछि पनि वहाँहरू मेरा लेखहरूमा सामान्य रूपका हुन जान्दथे - “गरीब आइमाई, डाढे लोग्ने, ह्वान्दार केटा आदि आदि ।” हामी कोही पनि नजन्मिँदै अधिकांश जून मानिसहरूको जीवन हामीसँग गाँसिन गयो वहाँहरू मैले हेरिरहेको कुनै तामाङ नाटकका पात्र जस्ता देखिन्थे ।

तर सूर्यमान र भीमको दृष्टिमा संसारमा सामान्य प्रकारका व्यक्तिहरू हुन्न् । वहाँहरू यो कुरो निश्चय छ कि प्रत्येकले प्रत्येकलाई चिनेको हुन्छ, वहाँहरूका बाबु आमा, छोरा-छोरी, वहाँहरूको आवतजावत, वहाँहरूका कामहरू र इच्छाहरू ..... थाहा रहन्छ । यतिसम्म कि रङ्गमञ्चमा नागी नाच्ने नर्तकीलाई वासिङ्टन डिस्ट्रिक्ट नलबमा हेरेर निस्केपछि भीम र सूर्यमानलाई यो विश्वास भएन कि ती नाटकीहरूलाई कसैले चिन्दैन, जान्दैन, कसैले वास्ता गर्दैन ती को हुन् ? र कहाँका हुन् ? जो मेरो लागि एउटा ठूलो शहरका नाउँ नभएका अजनबीहरूले भरिएका सडक हुन्थे, जहाँ मैले के गरेको छु भन्ने कुराको कसैलाई वास्तै हुँदैनथ्यो । सूर्यमान र भीमको लेखाइमा त्यो मानिस मानिसले भरिएको एउटा गाउँ थियो जहाँ सबैले सबैलाई चिने जानेका हुन्थे, सबैले सबैको चासो लिन्थे, जसको नाउँ हुन्थ्यो र सबै नाटीकुटी गर्ने विवरण हुन्थ्यो । जहाँ मेरो लेखाइ र धारणाहरू थाहा नभएको नाउँ र काम अनुमानमा आधारित थिए र व्यक्तिहरूको बारेमा अलिअलि थाहा भएजस्तो मात्र भान हुन्थ्यो । सूर्यमान र भीमका सबै घनिष्ट रूपले निश्चिन्ता हुन्थे । कुनै पनि उद्देश्य नभएको सामाजिक अन्तरक्रियालाई वहाँहरू बुझ्ने सक्दैनन् । यसरी मेरो विचारमा हरेक पात्रको ठीक ठीक पहिचान जो मेरो लेखाइमा देखा पर्छ, त्यसले हामी बस्ने भिन्दाभिन्दै सामाजिक परिवेशबारे बताउँछ ।

Not surprisingly, many of Surya Man's and Bhim's questions about our selections asked for more of just these details about the places, events, and things we had recorded. And especially about the people. When Kathryn wrote about visiting “a poor woman” in “a neighbouring village”, they wanted to know which poor woman, which village, which house. Who's daughter was she? Whose daughter-in-law? Whose wife? Whose mother? For Kathryn, especially in her early journal entries, she didn't know these people with that specificity. But even after she did, in her writings, they still often remained figures for a more general type - “a poor woman”, “a jealous husband”, “an honest child”, and so forth. Instead of people whose lives had been entwined with ours since before any of us were born, they were at first mostly characters in a Tamang play we were watching.

But for Surya Man and Bhim, the world could not be populated with general types. It was taken for granted that each knew all, and their fathers and mothers, their sons and daughters, their comings and goings, their accomplishments and fancies..... So much so that, after Bhim and Surya Man came out from that Washington D.C. nightclub, where women danced naked on a stage, it did not seem possible that no one would recognize them or care who they were or where they had been. What would have been to us a big city street full of nameless strangers, who could have cared not all what we had been doing, is in Surya Man's and Bhim's writing still a village full of people who see, know, care, and name - in censorious detail. Where our writings and perceptions start from a presumed anonymity and work, but only ever get part of the way there, toward some kind of more personal knowing, Surya Man's and Bhim's are rooted in face-to-face multiply named and known intimacy. Theirs can scarcely conceive of a social interaction in which some sort of connection cannot be traced. Thus, we think that the concern to have precise identities for every ‘character’ appearing in our pages bespeaks a more substantial difference in the realities we inhabit.

झौताहरूका बारेमा हामीले लेखेका अंशहरूमा यस्तै अरु भिन्नता पाइन्छ । अमेरिकातिर उड्दा सूर्यमानले हवाईजहाजको झ्यालबाट बाहिर हेरेको बयानले मलाई ठूलो प्रभाव पार्यो । लामाहरूको उपदेश र चित्रहरूसँग भिन्नै बृत्तान्तहरूलाई हेर्दा उसले बादलहरूमा खुद देवी झौताहरू देखेका भएतापनि आश्चर्य मान्ने थिएन अथवा उसले कुनै भौतिक रूपहरू हेरिरहेको थिएन तर बादलको मञ्चमाथि विश्राम गर्दै आसनमा बसी चुरोट खाइरहेको बेला झौता नै त्यहाँ थिए । हवाईजहाजबाट बाहिर हेर्दा झौता भेट्न पनि बेर थिएन ।

झौता नमान्ने मेरो संसारमा झौता अपभ्रष्ट भेटिन् । मेरो १९७६ को पत्रिकामा मैले जूनबेला गुप्तेश्वरको पवित्र गुफाको तीर्थ यात्राबारे लेख्ने त्यसबेला म निकै प्रभावित भएको थिएँ र ती क्षण मेरालागि पनि आध्यात्मिक थिए । तर देवदेवताको धारणा अमूर्त हुन्छ । उ (उनी ? तिनी ?) त्यहाँका चून ढुङ्गा (गुफामा हुने) हरूमा शारीरिक रूपले उपस्थित हुन सक्दैनथे । त्यसकारण मेरो लागि त्यो अनुपस्थितिले गर्दा पनि वहाँहरू देवीदेवता हुन सक्दैनथे । अरु धेरै परिचित अमेरिकालीहरू भै मलाई पनि पराभौतिक अनुभवहरू हुने गर्छन् । तर मेरो संसारमा साधारण रूपले दैनिक जीवनमा मानिस बाहेकका उपस्थिति हुँदैनन् । झौताहरू खान पनि आउँदैनन् र भाँडामा देखिने गरी औलाको छाप पनि छाउँदैनन् । जस्तो कि जङ्गलको बाटोमा त्यहाँ नजीकै रुख ढल्दा मरेका मानिसको लागि ढुङ्गामा खाना राखी छोडेको डेबिडले बताएको थियो ।

हाम्रो यात्रा बृत्तान्त तयार पार्दासम्म हामी प्रत्येकले एकै एकलै स्वतन्त्र रूपले लेख्यौं, फेरि एक अर्काको रचना र अंशहरूलाई पढ्यौं र टिप्पणी गर्नु र फेरि दोहराई तेहराई पढेर कुन कुन कुरा समावेश गर्ने भन्ने कुराको सहमतिमा पुग्यौं । यसको अन्तिम रूपमा सूर्यमान र भीमको पहिलो अमेरिका यात्राको बारेमा वहाँहरूले लेखेको आधा अंश जति मात्र समावेश छ किनकि डेबिड र म दुवै स्तूप पर्वतमा निकै लामो समयसम्म बसेको थियो । पुस्तकमा हाम्रा अंशहरूको प्रतिशत कमै मात्र छ । हाम्रो लागि तामाङ टिपोटहरूबाट अंश छनौट गर्न पनि सम्भव भयो किनकि कुनै न कुनै रूपमा वहाँहरू अमेरिकाली टिपोट नै थिए ।

Another such difference can be found in our respective passages about divinity. We were deeply moved by Surya Man's description of looking out the airplane window as they flew toward America. The parallels to the lamas' teachings and paintings suggest that he would not have been surprised if he had seen the gods and goddesses themselves in those clouds. Or, rather, that, although he was not looking for any physical forms, prosaically squatting and sharing a cigarette as they rested on a cloud platform, divinity was there. Looking out an airplane window, you just might encounter it.

In our much more secular world, the divine is not something you bump into. When Kathryn wrote in her 1976 journal about the pilgrimage she accompanied to the sacred cave of Guptiswar, she was moved; there were, for her too, spiritual moments. But for most westerners the divine is a metaphysical idea. It (he? she?) can not be physically there - in the stalagmites and stalactites themselves - for us, without by that very tangibility, being less than divine. We are as predisposed to transcendental experiences as most Americans, but our world is not inhabited by nonhuman presences in the same casual, everyday way, as if God could come to lunch and leave fingerprints on the chalice as palpably as David describes leaving lunch on a stone along a forest trail to feed those who were killed by felling trees near there.

Throughout the production of this book - our travel dialogue - each of us has, first, written independently of the other, then, read and commented upon each other's writings and selections, then, through repeated iterations reached various compromises about what should be included. The final text here includes approximately half of what had originally been produced from Surya Man's and Bhim's first visit to the States. Since both of us lived for much longer in Stupa Hill, our selections represent a smaller percentage of our journals. It was also possible for us to attempt to select passages from our Tamang notes that, in one way or another, complemented their American observations.

यसरी हेबिडले आफ्नो बयानमा आँखु खोलाको यात्राको केही अंश समावेश गर्‍यो । किनकि यसमा यात्रा बुत्तान्तको स्वरूप तुलनात्मक रूपमा स्पष्ट देखिन्थ्यो । र मैले आफ्ना टिपोटहरूमा यस्ता कुराहरू पनि समावेश गर्ने प्रयास गरेँ, जस्तोकि - खाना, सुगा, परिवारको आतिथ्य सत्कार "जस्तो कि" हाम्रो बारेमा वहाँहरूले लेखेको मैले पढेँ ।

धेरैपल्ट सम्पादनको प्रक्रियामा हामीलाई आफ्ना समस्या पर्दा हामीले प्रारम्भिक छनोट गर्‍यो - धेरै छोटकरीमा अरुले दिएका सुभावहरूको बारेमा तर प्रायः सम्पादनमा अरुले भिकिदिएको कुरा फेरि समावेश भैहाल्थ्यो । यसरी जब सूर्यमान र भीमले पहिले सम्भव संस्करण तयार पारे, त्यो संशोधित रूपमा खाली समयहरू, मितिहरू, ठाउँहरू मात्र रहन गयो । अनि मैले वहाँहरूलाई मूल रूपमा लेखेको केही विचारमूलक सामग्रीहरू भएको कुराहरूलाई संशोधन नगर्न भनें । त्यसै गरी जब मैले एक दिनको काम कार्यवाहीबारे केही मात्र लेखेँ, अथवा गुप्तेश्वर तीर्थ यात्राको एक दिनको बारेमा लेखेँ । अनि वहाँहरूले मानिस र ठाउँबारे विस्तृत विवरण समावेश गर्न भनें ।

यो पुस्तक लेख्दालेख्दै म सूर्यमान र भीमको जवाफको बाटो हेर्दै छु । यो लेखाइ हाम्रो समझदारीको लागि फलदायी यात्रा भएको छ । यसले गर्दा हामीले फेरि एक अर्काको साँस्कृतिक र वैयक्तिक कमजोरीहरूको आनन्द लिन पायौं । हातले दालभात खाने मैले कोशिष गर्दा र वहाँहरूले विजुलीको यन्त्रले ग्यारेजको ढोका खोल्दा अथवा हेबिडले गाउँमा आफूले कहिल्यै नखाएको कुरा पकाउँदा वहाँहरू हाँसेको आदि । यी सबमा हामी म, सूर्यमान, भीम र हेबिड आफैँ आफैँ हाँस्दा जीवन रमाइलो हुन्थ्यो ।

यसले गर्दा म आफूलाई फेरि मानव शास्त्रमा र अन्तर साँस्कृतिक सञ्चार र समझदारीका परिभाषित गर्ने अन्तरक्रियामा लाग्छु । एकतर्फ जनजाति बारे अध्ययनबाट टाढा हुने इच्छाले गर्दा - चाहे त्यो औपनिवेशिक प्रभुत्वको अवशेषको रूपमा होस् अथवा आत्मरतिको काम सम्बन्धी आनन्द होस् - हाम्रो समकालीन केही समालोचकहरूको मनमा रहन्छ । यसकारण हाम्रो काममा तलमाथि फेरि लेख्ने प्रक्रियाको आदान प्रदान, पढ्ने, जवाफ दिने र फेरि लेख्ने काम अझै हुनुपर्छ ।

Thus, David chose to include his account of the journey into the Ankh Khola in part because it had the relatively more linear texture of a travel narrative. And Kathryn looked to find at least some passages in her journals that dealt with topics - food, dress, family hospitality - "like" those she had read in their tales of us.

In most cases, as we confronted our respective concerns during the editorial process, each of us made an initial selection- often quite brief - about which the others of us made suggestions - usually to put back something that had been edited out. So, when Surya Man and Bhim first presented a possible edition that was pared down almost entirely to times, dates & places, Kathryn asked that more of the original reflective material not be edited out. Similarly, when she first included only part of a day's activities, or only one day of the Guptiswar pilgrimage, they requested that more of the details about people and places be reinstated.

Thus, this work - and as we write this, too, we look forward to Surya Man's and Bhim's reply - has been a rewarding journey into our mutual understandings. It has led us to enjoy anew each other's foibles both cultural and personal. Life is sweeter when we can laugh with Surya Man and Bhim at Kathryn trying to eat rice and lentils with her hands, and with them trying to open garage doors with an electronic device, or with them laughing at David as he tried to cook unfamiliar foods for himself in the village.

It recommits us, yet again, to anthropology and to redefining the processes of cross-cultural communication and understanding. Insofar as a desire to move away from one-sided ethnography- whether as a vestige of colonial dominion or as self-indulgent voyeurism - underlies at last some of our contemporary critics, all our work should involve more of these back - and - forth processes of writing, exchanging, reading, replying and rewriting.

यस्तो बार्तालापहरूको मूल्य केही अंशमा नैतिक हुन्छ । किनकि मानवशास्त्रीहरू आफ्नो सत्कार गर्नेहरू प्रति आभारी र कृतज्ञ हुन्छन् । यो केवल विनम्रता मात्र होइन बरु राजनीतिक पनि हो, किनकि जनजाति समूहहरू र राष्ट्रहरूको भन् भन् बढी राजनीतिकरण हुँदैछ ।

यो भन्नुको अर्थ यो होइन कि संयुक्त लेखाइले परस्पर विरोधी स्वार्थहरूको समस्या सुल्झाउँछ अथवा जनजातीय विशेष अधिकारहरूको समस्या निराकरण गर्छ । तर प्रक्रियाको रूपमा दोहराई तेहराई बार्तालाप गर्नाले यस पुस्तकमा हाम्रा मतभेदहरूलाई बढी स्पष्ट रूपले कम पनि पारेको छ र वहाँहरूको रेकर्ड गर्ने नयाँ ढाँचा पनि पूरै रूपमा नभए पनि केही अंशमा समान पारेको छ जुन कुरा मेरो लागि वहाँहरूले उदारतापूर्वक मलाई ल्याएको गुण केही रूपमा फर्काउने गरी शुरु भएको थियो, त्यो अरु बढी रुचीकार हुन गयो । यो सानो पुस्तकको कामले मलाई समझदारीको लागि धेरै तरिकाहरू सिक्काएको छ । सूर्यमान र भीमको संसारको स्फूर्ति, सौन्दर्य, इमान्दारीबारे मेरो प्रशंसा भन् बढ्न गएको छ । यसरी यो हालै मात्र भएको सुखदायी आदान-प्रदान र सहयोग हो र फेरि फेरि पनि यस्तै भै रहनेछ भन्ने म आशा गर्दछु ।

The value of such dialogues is, of course, at least partly ethical because of the respect and debt anthropologists owe their hosts. It is also increasingly not just polite, but politic as ethnic communities and nations become increasingly politicized.

This is not to suggest that joint authorship solves the problems of conflicting interests or defuses charges of ethnographic privilege. As a process, however, the iterative conversation produced along with this book has potentially both delimited some of our differences more clearly and initiated a framework for recording, if not resolving, them more equitably. What began, for us as a partial return on the many obligations we had incurred because of their generosity became something even more interesting. Work on this little book has taught us very useful new tools for understanding, and renewed our appreciation for, the energy, beauty, and integrity of Surya Man's and Bhim's worlds. This, then, is the most recent of what we hope will continue to be many such pleasurable exchanges and collaborations.

क्याथ्रिन मार्च  
डेविड होल्मबर्ग

David Holmberg  
Kathryn March

## अन्तिम शब्द

खास गरी यो दोहोरी पुस्तकको रसरङ्गलाई रुचि लिने महानुभावहरूले यो (कसरी तयार पारिएको भन्नेबारे) घुम्फिर यात्राको बारेमा टिप्पणी गरिएको संगालोको वाक्यलाई यो पुस्तकमा माथि उल्लेखित भैसकेको छ । हामी पहिले आ-आफ्नो स्वतन्त्र विचारले लेखिएको दैनिक संगालो हो । यसलाई यसरी पुस्तकको रूप दिने विचार गरेको थिएन । मात्र यो पछि सम्भनाको लागि कहाँ कहाँ पुगेछु ? कसरी कोसँग खाएँछु, हिँडेको छु देखेको कुरा त्यो विचारले मात्र टिप्पणी गरेको थियो ।

केही वर्षपछि हामी सबैले गाउँले दुःखी बालबालिकाहरूलाई ख्याल राखी बेथाको कथालाई बोकेर यो हाम्रो दुई तर्फको संगालोलाई दुई भाषामा एक संयुक्त पुस्तकको रूप दिएर मुद्रण गरी नेपाल र अमेरिका मित्र परराष्ट्रका सबै रुचिकार बन्धुहरूले किन्न सक्ने दर कायम राखी बिक्रीबाट उठेको रकम आर्थिक अवस्थाले तिरस्कृत बालबालिकाहरूलाई शैक्षिक क्षेत्रमा सहयोग स्वरूप प्रदान गर्ने निधो गरिएको छ ।

यस पुस्तकलाई सबै महानुभावहरूबाट खरिद गरि यस कार्यलाई "एक जनाले धुके सुक्छ धेरैले धुके नदी बन्छ" भन्ने उखानलाई ख्याल राखी दिनुहोस् भन्ने हाम्रो ठूलो आशा छ । हुनत यस पुस्तक तयार पार्न, बोक्न, उचाल्न, खन्न र जोत्न जस्तो सजिलो थिएन यसमा धेरै जनाको अथक प्रयास अनि उत्तिकै परिश्रम र मेहनत परेको छ । हामीले धन्यवाद दोहोर्न्याइरहनु नपर्ला । बाँकी यो पुस्तक खरिद गरी अध्ययन गर्ने बन्धुहरूलाई दुःखी बालबालिकाको तर्फबाट धन्यवाद ।

सूर्य मान तामाङ  
भीम बहादुर तामाङ

## THE LAST WORD

Actually, to those who enjoyed the sweeter parts of this back-and-forth book, we now tell how it was produced. From the journeys made during our roundabout travels, we made the above collection of sentences. First, of our own free minds, we each wrote down a collection daily things. I had not thought of writing them up in the form of a book then. I had simply gone about jotting these things down – where all I went, how & with whom did I eat & wander, the things I saw – so that I would remember them. That was all.

Some years later, carrying the many tales of our village children's hardships in our hearts, together we all decided to bring out both our sides of the story in the form of a joint book setting the price so that our friends in Nepal and America or any country could buy it, we decided to put all the profit exclusively for the education of impoverished children in the area.

Those of you who buy this book might say, "If only one person spits, it will dry up, but the spit of many makes a river;" and so we hope you will look fondly both upon this proverb and our work. Getting this book ready wasn't as easy as carrying loads, lifting things, hoeing or ploughing. Although it took the toil of many people let it not be necessary to thank everyone again. All that is left is, on behalf of the poor children, to thank you friends who bought and read this book.

Surya Man Tamang  
Bhim Bahadur Tamang