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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Nepal : Marriage Ceremony.

With Plate B.

Adam.

A Marriage Ceremony of the Pun-Clan (Magar) at Rigah (Nepal). *By Leonhard Adam.*

I. Introductory.

The present paper contains a small part of the material collected by myself during my stay in the Indian Prisoners of War Camp at Morile-Marculesti (pronounced Marcoolesht) in South Roumania from April to November, 1918. Indian soldiers of various tribes, taken prisoner on the Western Front, could hardly support the North German climate, and it was difficult to arrange the ritual food which was essential for their maintenance. Consequently, after the occupation of Roumania in 1916, the German military authorities sent most of the Indian prisoners, with their consent, to Southern Roumania, where spring and summer at least are so warm as to be more suitable for Indians. It is true that, on the other hand, winter in Roumania is as cold as in the North; but, first of all, the conditions of existence for the Indians who desired to live according to their religious prescriptions were much better here. There was no prisoners' camp in the proper sense of this term, because no enclosure existed. The camp was situated on the plain near to the lovely Jalomița River, and near a wonderful forest. The soldiers lived, partly in solid Roumanian houses, partly in huts they had built themselves of stems and loam with reed-covered roofs, in a primitive style, following their own taste and needs. Sikhs, Thakurs, Gurkhas, Garhwais and Mohammedans lived separately but close by each other. They were free to keep sheep, chickens and pigeons, and to cultivate their own garden, where they grew vegetables and melons, even Indian vegetables, the seed of which they received by post *via* the British Prisoners of War Fund. Furthermore, each tribe had its own temple and could perform its rites according to its religion. In October, 1918, I took part in the great *Durga* Festival of the Gurkhas (*Dasahara*) as their guest, and I saw about ten or twelve sheep being sacrificed in honour of the goddess (*see* Plate B, Fig. 2). Some of the soldiers were dancing, disguised as 'nauch-girls,' while the drum was resounding (*see* Plate B, Fig. 1), and the temple, with its excellent water-colours of Hindu deities painted by Sergeant Ganga-Ram, was beautifully decorated with flowers and coloured paper-garlands. Thus one was really under the impression of being amongst the Gurkhas in their own country. Moreover, every reasonable desire of the prisoners could be fulfilled, since the Commander of the camp was a German officer who had spent many years in India and spoke Hindustani fluently, being sympathetic and of high education. I shall never forget this camp, which with all its details represented a wonderful proof of humanity. These introductory remarks are made to show under what comparatively favourable psychological conditions scientific records could be gathered. While, after some months, I was able to write my records with some Sikhs directly in Punjabi, the Gurkha records required the voluntary assistance of some very intelligent 'line-boys,' who translated the answers of the single men, given in Khas-kura, into English. It is true that conversations with single individuals in a foreign country are but a surrogate for field-work. However, the comparatively agreeable



Fig 1 GURKHAS MASQUERADING AS NAUCH-GIRLS AND DRUMMERS AT THE DURGA FESTIVAL (DASAHARA).



Fig 2 SACRIFICE OF SHEEP—NOTE DARK BLOOD-STAINS THE WHITE POLE HAD PRIMITIVE DESIGNS WHICH I WAS NOT ALLOWED TO COPY, IT WAS PROBABLY A SURROGATE OF A STATUE OF THE GODDESS

GURKHA LIFE IN THE CAMP AT MORILE MARCULESTI, 1918.

Photos by L. Adam.

surroundings at Morile-Marculesti had undoubtedly a favourable influence upon the humour of my voluntary helpers, who, with a few exceptions, were apparently pleased with the opportunity to talk about customs and habits of their tribes, thus giving rather trustworthy reports, although it was difficult to gather a coherent narrative.

In my introduction to the first part of another section of our records collected in the camps,¹ I published a detailed survey of the psychological conditions under which our material was obtained. The Gurkha records have not yet been published. I hope to be able to publish them at length in one of the next volumes of my *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* (Stuttgart).

The literature on Nepal and the Gurkhas published before 1928 was inadequate on social organization and customary law except Colonel Eden Vansittart's 'Notes on Goorkhas.'² But in 1928, Major W. Brook Northey and Captain C. J. Morris published their work, 'The Gurkhas, their Manners, Customs and Country,' (London), and in 1933 appeared Captain Morris's excellent book, 'Gurkhas' (Handbook for the Indian Army, Delhi), an entirely rewritten edition of Colonel Vansittart's book, and a very good introduction to Gurkha social and family organization. Many details noted in my records are confirmed here, and further particulars are given which I was, of course, unable to ascertain from a very limited number of individuals. Nevertheless, I may say that some further information and details can be seen from my records which concern the peculiar organization, customs and customary law of special tribes and in single villages of Nepal.

As a matter of course, when eliciting facts from my Nepalese friends, I started from an unconstrained conversation upon their country and their village. Then the first question was always concerning their caste and which castes were living in their village. Most of the intelligent men gave at once a longer or shorter list of what they called 'castes,' but which were in reality partly castes and partly different tribes. It is well known that the term 'Gurkha' was originally restricted to the inhabitants of a place of this name, but is now in use to denote the natives of Nepal as well as their descendants born and brought up in Indian garrisons.³ Although there are various tribes with altogether different languages in Nepal, it is a striking fact that the people consider themselves as members of one nation, thus treating their tribes almost as mere castes. But there exist undoubtedly both tribal and local peculiarities in social life and customs, and this is why my records often differ from the statements made by Major Northey and Captain Morris, who says himself ('Gurkhas,' Preface): ". . . it is a fact that in some cases the customs and practices of the " various clans and kindreds differ from district to district."

The present paper is but a short chapter of one of the best records (No. 25) I could gather, containing details on local peculiarities which are not found elsewhere.⁴ Control by reference to the books mentioned before, justifies my opinion that the soldier who gave me the following information was absolutely trustworthy and a good observer. His name was Bahadur Pun, of the Magar tribe; *Pun* is the clan-name, though he refused to tell me to which of the many kindreds of his clan⁵ he belonged. In 1918, Bahadur Pun was about twenty-seven years of age; these people do not always exactly know their own age. He was a married man, born in Rigah, a village of about eight hundred souls (1914). The district is Baglung (Western Hills of Nepal; cf. Morris, p. 163); the nearest market-town is Tokshar, and the nearest town is Gulmi (Morris, p. 165). He lived in Rigah until he enlisted, but while he was a soldier in Assam he spent some months every year in Rigah, thus being able to describe the customs of his clan in this village.

¹ 'Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika' (Records on tribal law and custom in Morocco, Algier and Tunis), collected by Ernst Ubaeh and Ernst Rackow, with linguistic notes by G. Kampffmeyer and H. Stumme, edited by Leonhard Adam. (Supplement to the 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft'), Stuttgart, 1923. Some of my photos showing scenes from the Sikhs' life in Morile-Marculesht can be seen from 'Illustrierte Völkerkunde,' ed. by G. Buschan, Vol. II, 2nd and 3rd edn. (1923), Figs. 323, 324, Plate XVII (p. 496) and Fig. 338. My records gathered from two Australian natives are published in my

'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft,' Vol. 43.

² Calcutta, 1890, revised edition published in 1915 by Colonel U. B. Nicolay, reprinted in 1918; but for our researches only the first edition was to hand.

³ See Morris, 'Gurkhas,' pp. 37 and 124, *seq.*

⁴ Compare Captain Morris's 'Gurkhas,' p. 41 *seq.* (on marriage in general); p. 89 *seq.* (on Limbu-marriage); p. 101 (Rai). *Re* Major Northey's and Capt. Morris's 'The Gurkhas,' see references above (p. 24).

⁵ According to Morris ('Gurkhas,' p. 79), there exist no fewer than 62 kindreds of the Pun-Clan.

II. *Betrothal and Marriage Ceremonies of the Clan Pun (Magar) at Rigah.*

If a young man is over 16 years of age, his father has to look for a daughter-in-law. When he has found a girl whom he considers as fit for his son, he has to inform him and to ask whether or not he likes the girl. If the son does not agree, the father is not allowed to choose that girl for him. The son may also select a girl himself. The girl must be not under 14 and not over 15 years of age. Having chosen the girl, the boy's father calls upon the girl's father, requesting him to give his daughter to his son. The boy's father is accompanied by some of his relatives and by the headman (*mukhiya*) of the village; the future bridegroom is not present. The boy's father has to present to the girl's father at least 20 pounds of meat, some dried fish, wine and curds. Thus there is a meeting of the male members of both families in the girl's father's house. If the girl's father agrees to the proposal, the above gifts are handed over to him, and they are then eaten by all the men present. But if the girl's father does not agree, the visitors return to their houses, the boy's father taking the gifts with him. In case of an agreement, the fathers both request the Brahmans to prove the horoscope of both the boy and the girl. Even the hour of marriage will be fixed by a Brahman.

After the meal—in case of an agreement—the boy's father presents a golden ring to the girl's father. The latter does not give this ring to his daughter, but keeps it himself.⁶ This betrothal is called *Saimundri*. Then the girl's father fixes the day of marriage (*i.e.*, according to the horoscope), whereafter the guests return to their houses.

Between betrothal and marriage there is a space of not less than four months and of not more than one year. During this period the engaged ones are allowed to see but not to talk to one another. But the bridegroom may see his mother-in-law and talk with her.

One month before the marriage the girl's father gives notice to the bridegroom's father, and from this time both families are proceeding with preparations for the marriage ceremonies. Before the marriage both fathers assemble the members of their families, and each family has a meal separately.

On the marriage-day the bridegroom's father assembles his family members and his friends again. Four hours before the marriage the bridegroom's father sends a message to the marriage-party, *viz.*, the male members and the male friends of the bride's family, requesting them to be ready. The messengers are two men, who have to take with them about forty bananas and a wooden vessel of curds, bringing these gifts to the girl's father. Meanwhile the bridegroom's father reserves four sheep, three goats, about 50 pounds of curds, wine, clothing, and ornaments for the bride. Musicians, flautists, trumpeters and drummers are fetched.

Then the male members and friends of the bridegroom's family walk to the bride's father's house. They are carrying rifles, on the way firing into the air. The bridegroom's eldest brother and his father, as well as the headman, are on horseback. The bridegroom himself is carried by four men in a closed litter (*doli*⁷). Some male relatives of the bride meet them with musicians. Then the men of the bride's family receive the men of the bridegroom's family and, when welcoming, they sprinkle rice mixed with curds over them. This is called *parchenu*, and it means about 'to give the honour.' Then the marriage company on the part of the bridegroom enters a hut of mats previously erected close by the bride's father's house, where the whole marriage company, *i.e.*, from both sides, takes seats. As soon as the bridegroom's company has taken seats, the food prepared in the bride's house (not the food brought by the bridegroom's companions) is served up and distributed. The bridegroom is present; the bride is not. She is in her room. The men eat and drink. The women belonging to the bride's family are standing round the sitting men, offering food and drinks, but do not take anything themselves. Afterwards the men sing and dance. The women sing, too, but do not dance. The bridegroom is present.

Meanwhile the Brahman arrives. At the hour fixed in the horoscope he brings the betrothed couple together. This is performed before the *jagge*, either in front of the bride's father's house, a little to the side, or at a corner of the house. A *jagge* is a place for the veneration of God, being

⁶ This differs from Capt. Morris's '*Gurkhas*,' p. 41: "of betrothal."

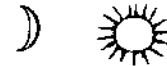
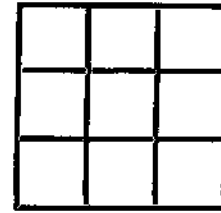
⁷ When a marriage has been agreed upon, the boy's parents give the girl a gold ring (*sahi mādri*) as a sign. Major Narthey and Captain Morris write *dooly*.

made for marriages and certain other festivals by a Brahman. It is somewhat less than 1 foot high and about 1 yard and 3 inches long and broad, and consists of accumulated earth. The Brahman erects this place of earth and cow manure, sprinkles Ganga-water over it and covers it with flour, sprinkling it in the following lines and figures, viz. :—

1. a square with two pairs of parallel lines crossing each other;

2. (facing the bottom line) half-moon and sun.

At the fixed hour, bridegroom and bride are brought together. The couple is sitting before the *jagge*. The bride's face is veiled. They are not allowed to talk with each other. Both are holding flowers (*ful*) and *acheta* (a mixture of rice and milk) in their hands. Then the Brahman begins to read in his scripture book. After finishing one chapter, he requests the couple to circle several times round the *jagge*. Afterwards the two reseal themselves. Now the bridegroom puts a handful of *sendur* (red lead; a powdered red colour) on the front of the bride's head, above the forehead. He has to do so five times. At this moment the bride's family is forbidden to look, the bridegroom's family is not. After this ceremony the girl is considered as the legitimate wife of the young man. But they are not yet allowed to speak with each other. Now the bride's relatives approach the couple and wash their feet. This is done first by the bride's parents, then by the bride's brother, finally by the other relatives. After feet washing, the members of the bride's family sprinkle this water over the couple's heads. Furthermore, after the washing, the male relatives of the bride must make some presentations to the couple (cloth, ornaments, pottery, also money). Then the couple returns, *i.e.*, the husband goes into the hut of mats, the bride into the house. All this happens during the night. Next morning the bride's father puts her and her younger sister into the litter in which the bridegroom came. Then the husband's relatives, especially his father, give presents to the bride's family and, after greeting and taking leave, the young husband's family goes home. The young husband is now on horseback.



On arrival at home a festival is arranged at a distance of about 400 to 500 yards from the house. The family members eat and drink. Then the couple enters the house, while the husband's relatives return to their home. As soon as they have entered the house, the young couple may speak to each other. *But after three days of conjugal life the young couple and the wife's sister must return to the wife's parents.* This is called *duran farkanuu*, meaning: If the couple did not return after three days and for three days to the bride's parents' house, the couple would certainly suffer from ill luck. One of them would die, or one or other piece of their property would be lost. Thus the couple will stay for two or three days with the young wife's parents. Afterwards *the young husband returns to his house alone.* But after a week he returns to take his wife finally. The couple will then live in the house of the husband's father, but in separate rooms reserved for them. Husband and wife are joint owners of the gifts presented to the couple by the bride's family during the marriage ceremony. This is the same with all the other goods. The woman is not the owner of a single piece, and she is not allowed to sell or to buy anything alone; she does not even own her ornaments.

The above description was given in Khaskura and translated at once by the interpreter into simple but very clear English. I recorded his translation in German, except for a few important sentences, which I wrote word for word in English. I am sorry that it is impossible here to add an analysis of the particulars. Some features of these ceremonies prove Indian influence, *e.g.*, the circulating the holy place (*saptapadi*); the half-moon and sun, etc.; and sprinkling rice and milk is a magic fertility-ritual which is well known from many countries and peoples, including Europe. Now, the *Pun* clan (or, according to Northey's and Morris's terminology in 'The Gurkhas,' *Pun* tribe) live "in the high isolated parts of the Magar country" ('The Gurkhas,' p. 189). Their special habits are not separately treated in Major Northey's and Captain Morris's books. Therefore, it is interesting to compare my record with the excellent descriptions given in 'The Gurkhas' of marriage ceremonies of Brahmans, Thakurs and Chetris (p. 127 *seqq.*), of Magars and Gurungs (p. 194, *seqq.*), and of the Rai (p. 241, *seqq.*). The ritual of the Puns is somewhat more primitive, but there are some deviations. For instance, the interdiction to speak to one another seems to be a peculiar custom of the Puns,

although this can be found with other peoples, as well as the returning of the married woman to her family for some time, a well-known custom in other countries, but which I could not find in Northey's and Morris's books. Some further details seem to be peculiar, too. Thus, although there exists a classical description of Gurkha marriage in the books mentioned a part of my records seemed to me worth publishing as a detailed report from a special local district. LEONHARD ADAM.

Egypt : Camel.**Caton-Thompson.****The Camel in Dynastic Egypt.** *By G. Caton-Thompson.*

The evidence for the existence of the camel in protodynastic and dynastic Egypt, resting as it has hitherto done upon rare modelled likenesses of a somewhat ambiguous creature 24 insecurely believed to represent a camel, may now be supplemented by practically certain physical proof of its existence in the early Old Kingdom. In the season of 1927-8 my third season's work in the Faiyum, under the auspices of the Royal Anthropological Institute, included the excavation of gypsum quarries and workshops in the northern Faiyum scarp (*cf.* MAN, July, 1928). Amongst the objects found was a two-strand twist of hair-cord, over 3 feet in length, superficially, I noted, resembling camel-hair.

Through the kindness of Mr. Martin A. C. Hinton of the Natural History Museum, this has now been carefully examined. He reports (Oct. 5, 1933) : " I have made a careful microscopic study of the hair and have compared it with the hairs of many recent mammals. The ancient hairs are, as regards the cortex, somewhat disintegrated; but making allowance for that, they agree perfectly well with those of the camel and they show more or less important differences from those of all the other mammals used for comparison. These included, amongst others, ox, sheep, goat, horse, ass, and man. Ordinary transmitted light and polarized light were used for the examination, and with both the agreement was with the camel. So I think one can say with safety that the rope was made of camel-hair."

The cord, on evidence which will be given in my forthcoming publication of the Faiyum work, is dated to the Third, or at latest possibly the early Fourth Dynasty. It was collected by myself from the 2-ft. level in an undisturbed and culturally homogeneous 4-ft. deposit of consolidated gypsum powder dated throughout by pottery : there is, in my opinion, no possibility of error in its Old Kingdom authenticity.

The cord, at the special request of the late Mr. G. R. Carline, passed into the possession of the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, whose present curator kindly supplied me with the sample for analysis.

I have thought this information may be of sufficient interest to Egyptologists to abstract and isolate it here from its inconspicuous place in the forthcoming Faiyum publication to be issued as one of the series of annual publications of the British School of Archæology in Egypt in financial conjunction with the Royal Anthropological Institute. To prehistorians it will equally be of importance in checking a tendency to consider that desert rock-drawings or engravings of camels must necessarily be either of Pleistocene or of late historic date. G. CATON-THOMPSON.

Nigeria : Archæology.**Balfour.****Occurrence of 'Cleavers' of Lower-Palæolithic type in Northern Nigeria.** *By H. Balfour, F.R.S.*

In the description of 'Stone implements from Nigeria,' published by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz in 1926 (Geological Survey of Nigeria, Occasional Paper, No. 4), there appears 25 to be no reference to a type of implement of Lower-palæolithic *facies*, which is of considerable interest in the general African series of early stone age types. I refer to the axe-like type, commonly referred to nowadays as the 'cleaver,' which is characterized mainly by having the cutting edge formed by the intersection of two large flake-scars, one on either surface of the implement. The junction of these two scars along the lower margin furnishes a cutting edge of extreme sharpness, though, necessarily, one which is incapable of standing prolonged hard usage for chopping purposes. The edge is not altered by secondary trimming, which would have the effect of lessening its keenness. Until recent years, this type had received scant recognition, since it had been noted as an occasional occurrence only among Chelleo-Acheulian implements and was considered to be somewhat rare and